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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Bolleyer Nicole, Swenden Wilfried, McEwen Nicola

A theoretical perspective on multi-level systems in Europe: Constitutional power and partisan conflict in Comparative European Politics, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 367-383

ABSTRACT: This article distinguishes three constitutionally defined categories of multi-level systems – confederations, federal arrangements and regionalized arrangements, which differ in whether their lower-level governments enjoy constitutional protection and whether we find a constitutional hierarchy between central and lower levels of government. We argue that the constitutional category a multi-level system belongs to systematically shapes first, the dominant mode of day-to-day intergovernmental coordination, second, the mode of formal competence (re)allocation; and third, the relative impact of party (in)congruence across central and lower-level governments on these coordination processes, respectively. The article then specifies the indicators used to test the hypotheses across the range of case studies. It finally shows how the multi-level systems covered in this special issue span the confederal – federal – regionalized spectrum and thus allow for an encompassing comparative assessment of multi-level dynamics and their long-term evolution.

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

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Abushov Kavus

Autonomy as a Possible Solution to Self-determination Disputes: Does It Really Work?
in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 182-201

The focus of this article concerns conditions in which autonomy may become a solution to a secessionist conflict, and why it works in certain cases but fails in others. It explores whether autonomy can be a generally applicable solution to complex self-determination disputes, or whether the cases of successful implementation are too specific, depending on specific circumstances. In other words, why has autonomy been accepted in certain cases, but refused in others? I analyse which entities are entitled to the right of secession, proceed to cases where autonomy has been a solution to secession, and finally discuss cases where autonomy-based solutions have failed. There is also some discussion of the conditions for an effective functioning of autonomy and power-sharing. Before proceeding to exploring the above-mentioned questions related to autonomy and power sharing, the legal nature of the right of self-determination and secession is explored.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Smullen Amanda

Conceptualising Australia's tradition of pragmatic federalism
in Australian Journal of Political Science, vol. 49, n. 4 , 677-693



ABSTRACT: This article reviews existing scholarly debates about Australia's pragmatic federalism and seeks to refine it conceptually. It does so against the background of burgeoning international governance literature informed by insights from philosophical pragmatism, as well as in the context of disjuncture in Australian inter-governmental experiences. Pragmatic federalism is posed not merely as a one-dimensional notion referencing a series of ad hoc inter-governmental arrangements over time. Rather, it is conceptualised as multi-dimensional and encapsulating a confined range of institutional designs and postures that can (potentially) be observed across different policy fields and over time. An initial demonstration of the utility of the heuristic to recent empirical experience and change is presented. The consequence is more serious engagement with both the formal and informal features that characterise inter-governmental arrangements at different levels of government, and attention to the degrees to which dialogue and practices are connected.

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Bolleyer Nicole, Swenden Wilfried, McEwen Nicola

Constitutional dynamics and partisan conflict: A comparative assessment of multi-level systems in Europe in Comparative European Politics, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 531-555

ABSTRACT: The case studies revealed that the constitutional nature of a multi-level system indeed shapes its modes of day-to-day intergovernmental coordination and, with it, the way competences are (re)allocated in the longer term. Both in federal arrangements and in confederations, the 'subunits' – whose status is constitutionally protected – could more easily defend their decision-making capacity within their areas of jurisdiction because they can veto changes in the allocation of competences, an advantage lower-level governments in regionalized systems do not enjoy. Similarly, in federal and confederal systems day-to-day interaction in Inter Governmental Relations (IGR) predominantly took place in multilateral structures, while in regionalized systems bilateralism was more pronounced. The relative influence of party-political (in)congruence on IGR, in contrast, was more varied than theoretically expected.

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Beyeler Michelle

Effets directs et indirects du fédéralisme sur les politiques en matière d'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes – Perspectives venues de la Suisse

in Fédéralisme Régionalisme , Volume 14 - Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1364>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Fisher Sarah

Federalism's Fractured Decision Making in the Kyoto Protocol

in Politics & Policy, Volume 43, Issue 1, February , 1-29

Studies have examined a variety of domestic factors that might impact foreign policy decision making with regard to international environmental regimes. However, there have been no quantitative studies that examine how federalism



affects the ratification process for international environmental treaties. The decentralized decision-making process in federal systems should make federal states less likely and slower to ratify international treaties than unitary states. Using the Kyoto Protocol as a test case, I find that federalism has a negative impact on both the likelihood and speed of ratification. In addition, qualitative evidence suggests that federalism played a significant role in the foreign policy decision-making process of the United States and Australia. For Kyoto, the protracted ratification process was especially important given the treaty mechanisms, the dramatic economic repercussions of possible compliance, and the political factors underlying ratification patterns.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/polp.12110/full>

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

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Smith Miriam

Fédéralisme et droits des LGBT aux États-Unis et au Canada : analyse comparatives des politiques in Fédéralisme Régionalisme, Volume 14 - Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1380>

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

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Bhatia Vandna, Haussman Melissa

Internal Variations in Health-care Federalism in Canada and the United States

in Fédéralisme Régionalisme, Volume 14 - Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre

Federal systems are prone to dividing health benefits inconsistently across subnational jurisdictions. In this article, we examine how federalism intersects with economic and social factors, particularly gender and immigration status, to create structural barriers to accessing and receiving necessary healthcare. Drawing on insights from the historical institutionalist literature and the experiences of immigrant women in the Canadian and American health systems, we find significant subnational variations in access to health services and insurance coverage. Gaps in service – which are filled (if at all) by costly, inaccessible private provision – are the product of piecemeal policymaking, as new programs and services are layered onto existing systems which are themselves outdated and anachronistic. Our analysis demonstrates the need to move beyond analyses of federal state architectures to an intersectional approach to better understand the differential negative impact of subnational variations on equity between social groups and their ability to access to basic health services.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1363>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Chappell Louise, Curtin Jennifer

L'incidence de la structure fédérale. Évaluation des politiques relatives à la violence conjugale et familiale en Australie et en Nouvelle-Zélande

in Fédéralisme Régionalisme, Volume 14 - Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre



Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1362>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Benz Arthur

Making Democracy Work in a Federal System

in German Politics, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 8-25

Elections shape the type of democracy. However, rules of elections, election behaviour, and consequences of elections are also affected by the institutions and patterns of democracy. In federal systems, elected governments exert divided powers or share powers, with significant consequences for the way democracy works. The effects of federal organisation on democracy are, however, unclear. Whereas research on federalism tends to suggest that both forms are complementary and mutually supportive, research on democracy points out negative implications of multilevel structures and interlocking politics. This article presents an analytical perspective and attempts to clarify under what conditions federalism and democracy are compatible or in conflict. Understanding these relations is essential to assess the relevance and effects of elections in federalism. In a comparative perspective, it also sheds light on the particular features of democracy and federalism in Germany.

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Rossteutscher Sigrid, Faas Thorsten

Multi-Level Voting: A Stabilising Force or a Push towards Increasing Voter Volatility?

in German Politics, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 26-45

Germany has witnessed a drastic decline in turnout and, at the same time, a clear increase in voter volatility, late deciding and party switching. These changes affected all layers of the federal system to different degrees and with varying speed. While standard explanations refer to processes of modernisation and value change to explain the decline of stable and loyal partisanship, this article focuses on the role of an – until now – neglected aspect: the significance of multi-level voting in both maintaining voter stability and fostering its decline. After all, party loyalty needs to be re-activated and mobilised across individuals' life-cycles. Electoral campaigns are the prime occasion for parties to revive the link with 'their' core clientele. When campaigning is frequent, as in federal systems, mobilising takes place almost constantly. This article argues that multi-level voting contributed considerably to the stability which characterised German party politics for decades after World War II. However, since parties increasingly use campaigns to recruit new voter segments at the expense of mobilising core voters, today, multi-level voting has negative effects on stable party attachments and thus contributes to the increase in fluidity and volatility we witness today.

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Alonso Alba, Verge Tània

Territorial Dynamics and Gender Equality Policies in Spain

in Fédéralisme Régionalisme , Volume 14 - Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre



This article analyses the impact of the multilevel governance structure in Spain. Particularly, it explores how the main territorial dynamics underpinning the Spanish decentralization model have shaped gender equality policies, namely the cross-regional competitive bargaining, the existence of multiple arenas, the underdevelopment of intergovernmental mechanisms and a highly salient territorial cleavage. The article looks at three key fields of gender equality public intervention and scholarly research: gender mainstreaming, electoral gender quotas and policies against gender-based violence. Our results align with the conditional approach of the gender and federalism scholarship. While competition has stimulated policy diffusion across regions and feminist agency has frequently benefited from the multilevel opportunity structure, the lack of well-established intergovernmental mechanisms has brought about negative side-effects like 'patchwork' policies that fail to guarantee equal rights for all Spanish women. The article also shows that territorial interests have not trumped gender equality since the most advanced policies are found in regions with the highest territorial saliency.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1365>

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

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Oklopcic Zoran

The Anxieties of Consent: Theorizing Secession between Constitutionalism and Self-Determination
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 259-277

No abstract available

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

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Bytzel Evelyn

The Nexus between National Party Preferences and State Elections – A Long-Term Perspective
in *German Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 85-98

State elections are one of the most prominent features of Germany's multi-level political system. The prevailing view is that the standing of the national governing parties has a major influence on the results of state elections. Still, two perspectives on the nexus between national party preferences and state election results have so far received less scholarly attention: First, it remains unclear if short-term changes in the national government's popularity also have an effect on state election results. Second, do results of state elections also influence the standing of the national government? A reason for this might be that short-term factors are becoming more important for government evaluation and vote choices. This paper responds to these two questions by examining the nexus between state elections and the standing of the national government in a long-term perspective from 1977 to 2005 and by means of cross-sectional and time-series analyses.

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Christoph Luelfesmann, Anke Kessler, Gordon M. Myers

The architecture of federations: Constitutions, bargaining, and moral hazard
in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 124 , 18-29



The paper studies a federal system where (a) a region provides non-contractible inputs into the social benefits from a public policy project with spillovers to other regions, and (b) where political bargaining between different levels of government may ensure efficient decision making ex post. Allowing intergovernmental grants to be designed optimally, we ask whether project authority should rest with the region or with the central government. Centralization is shown to dominate when governments are benevolent. With regionally biased governments, both centralization and decentralization yield inefficiencies and the second-best institution depends on parameter values if political bargaining is prohibited. When bargaining is feasible, however, the first best can often be achieved under decentralization, but not under centralization. At the root of this dichotomy is the alignment of decision making over essential inputs and project size under decentralized governance, and their misalignment under centralization.

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

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Jewkes Michael

Theorising federal togetherness in multinational states

in **Ethnicities**, Vol. 15, n. 3 , 323-340

Many real-world multinational federal states seem to be engulfed in an almost permanent state of crisis due to a lack of 'togetherness' between federal partners. This has led, in cases such as Belgium and Spain, to near existential crises in which the longevity of the federation, as well as its ability to provide fundamental goods and services to its citizens, is called into question. This paper seeks to develop, for the first time within the realm of political philosophy, a greater understanding of the concept of 'federal togetherness' by unravelling its fundamental nature, the role that it plays in the multinational state, and the root causes of its evasiveness in many empirical cases. It is hoped that, once we have a more complete comprehension of this key multinational value, we will be in a more auspicious position from which to look to ameliorate the prospects of crisis-ridden federal states.

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Rossteutscher Sigrid, Faas Thorsten, Arzheimer Kai

Voters and Voting in Multilevel Systems – An Introduction

in **German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 1-7

This Special Issue, 'Voters and Voting in Multilevel Systems', is a contribution to a better understanding of the functioning and logics of the present-day German electoral system, but its findings and consequences stretch beyond the German case. After all, Germany is ideally suited for studying multilevel voting and the interdependences and mutual repercussions of multilayer electoral systems. The Special Issue takes the challenges and changes in voting behaviour as a starting point and searches for links and causal relationships between levels. Overall, it has two major goals: first, to examine how (increasing) volatility in voting behaviour and declining participation rates manifest themselves at all layers of the multilevel system, possibly amplifying each other; second, to turn the usual perspective on its head by examining the impact of second-order elections and vote choices on parties' fortunes and electoral outcomes at the national level.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09644008.2014.984692>



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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Meier Petra

Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre : un état des lieux

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 14 - Étudier les systèmes fédéraux à travers le prisme du genre

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1359>

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Evans Adam

Back to the Future? Warnings from History for a Future UK Constitutional Convention

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 1, January–March 2015 , 24–32

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12135/abstract>

Abstract

Amid the fallout from the Scottish independence referendum, a UK constitutional convention has been proposed as a mechanism to take stock not only of the referendum, but also of the past fifteen years of devolution. However, despite longstanding conceptions of British constitutional development, a constitutional convention would not herald a brave new world for the UK's constitution. As the article highlights, in the past hundred years there have been two attempts to treat the territorial constitution in the round: the Speaker's Conference on Devolution, 1919–1920 and the Royal Commission on the Constitution, 1969–1973. This article examines both of these forums, arguing that they provide clear warnings for a future UK constitutional convention, in particular the threat of internal division that any such forum risks facing. A danger that this article highlights is heightened by the associated difficulty of reaching agreement across the UK's 'state of unions'.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Hans-Peter Schneider

El nuevo estado federal alemán. La reforma del federalismo I y su implementación

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 99-128

The reform of federalism I, entered into force on 1 September 2006, represents, with its additions and modifications of 25 articles of the German Basic Law, the most profound and complete constitutional reform that have been carried out since the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany. This article discusses deeply both the process generated as the result of it.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Lucia G. Sciannella

Il Federalizing Process belga e la sesta 'ondata' di riforme istituzionali

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 1449-1474

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Patricia Popelier and Werner Vandendriessche

La Belgique et le projet d'intégration européenne: plaidoyer pour une stratégie constitutionnelle

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 3 , 411-422

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Zarzalejos Javier

La reforma federal, entre el modelo y la política

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, n. 45

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Cairney Paul

Scotland's Future Political System

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 217–225

Abstract

Debates on Scottish constitutional reform go hand in hand with discussions of political reform. Its reformers use the image of 'old Westminster' to describe 'control freakery' within government and an adversarial political system. Many thought that the Scottish political system could diverge from the UK, to strengthen the parliamentary system, introduce consensus politics and further Scotland's alleged social and democratic tradition. Yet the experience of devolution suggests that Holyrood and Westminster politics share key features. Both systems are driven by government, making policy in 'communities' involving interest groups and governing bodies, with parliaments performing a limited role and public participation limited largely to elections. The Scottish government's style of policy-making is distinctive, but new reforms are in their infancy and their effects have not been examined in depth. In this context, the article identifies Scotland's ability to make and implement policy in a new way, based on its current trajectory rather than the hopes of reformers.



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

Kangoh Lee

Federalism, guns, and jurisdictional gun policies

in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 52 , 141-153

The paper studies the effects of federalism on gun ownership and efficiency of jurisdictional gun policies. Jurisdictions in a federal system choose gun policies to suit their preferences, and gun policies differ across jurisdictions. The cost of owning a gun depends on the extent of gun regulations, and the differences in gun policies between jurisdictions in a federal system entail cross-jurisdiction gun buying. By contrast, in a unitary system, gun regulations are uniform across jurisdictions, and cross-jurisdiction gun buying is absent. As cross-jurisdiction gun buying enables residents of a jurisdiction to buy guns from other jurisdictions with less stringent regulations, federalism tends to increase gun ownership relative to a unitary system. In addition, more stringent regulations of a jurisdiction decrease the number of illegal guns that criminals of other jurisdictions can purchase, reducing crimes in other jurisdictions and benefiting other jurisdictions. However, the jurisdiction does not consider the external benefits on other jurisdictions when setting its gun policies, and gun policies tend to be too lax relative to the efficient level. The paper also provides an empirical analysis of the effect of federalism on gun ownership, and available evidence suggests that gun ownership depends on federalism.

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

Giacomo DelleDonne

A c. B e altri, fra consolidamento del sistema eurounitario di tutela dei diritti fondamentali e parziale riconoscimento delle ragioni della Corte costituzionale austriaca

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 2020-2025

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

Xavier Arbós Marín

Acuerdos prejudiciales y conflictos intergubernamentales sobre normas con rango de ley

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 129-154

The Organic Law of the Spanish Constitutional Court was modified in 2000, in order to reduce the number of conflicts of jurisdiction. This work studies the new article 33.2 that establishes a prejudicial negotiating procedure, since it came into force till the end of 2013. Using data from the Boletín Oficial del Estado, we quantify and analyze the initial and conclusive agreements. Those data are related to the number of actions of unconstitutionality filed at the Constitutional Court.

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

Gordon David J.

An Uneasy Equilibrium: The Coordination of Climate Governance in Federated Systems
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 121-141

With the prospects for reaching a binding international treaty on emissions mitigation seemingly remote, global climate governance in the near to mid-term future is likely to rely on bottom-up accretion of domestic efforts and initiatives. This opens up new possibilities but also raises questions about the ability of states to produce collective action internally. This is especially so in federated systems where shared jurisdictional authority and divergent interests present barriers to coordinated action. While political will, leadership, and public pressure are necessary conditions, each prioritizes the “whether” and marginalizes the “how.” This article focuses on the latter, exploring how domestic climate governance emerges from the intersection of three archetypal modes of coordination—coercion, competition, and collaboration—and arguing that bringing and holding together these three modes is essential to achieve, and sustain effective coordinated governance. Two cases—Canada and Australia—each with a common coordination challenge but divergent coordination outcomes, illustrate the analytic leverage that can be gained by adopting this approach.

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Elena Innocenti and Elena Vivaldi

Assistenza, volontariato, contrasto alla povertà nella legislazione regionale in tempo di crisi
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5-6 , 1147-1194

No abstract available

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

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F. Andrew Hessick

Cases, Controversies, and Diversity

in *Northwestern University Law Rewiev*, vol. 109, issue 1 , 57-107

Article III's diversity jurisdiction provisions extend the federal judicial power to state law controversies between different states or nations and their respective citizens. When exercising diversity jurisdiction, the federal judiciary does not function in its usual role of protecting federal interests or ensuring the uniformity of federal law. Instead, federal courts operate as alternative state courts for resolving disputes between diverse parties. But federal courts often cannot act as alternative state courts because of Article III justiciability doctrines such as standing, ripeness, and mootness. These doctrines define when a federal court may act. But they do not apply to state courts. Rather, states have developed their own justiciability doctrines that substantially diverge from the federal ones. The consequence is that federal courts sitting in diversity cannot hear many claims that can be brought in state court and can hear other claims that state courts lack the power to decide. This Article argues that, instead of applying federal justiciability doctrines, federal courts should apply state justiciability doctrines to state law cases brought under diversity jurisdiction. Following state justiciability doctrines would better achieve the goals of allowing federal courts to function as alternative state courts.

Moreover, following state justiciability doctrines in state law cases would not undermine the rationales underlying federal justiciability doctrines because those doctrines were developed to limit the federal judiciary's ability to interfere with the



other branches of the federal government—concerns that are inapplicable in state law disputes.

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Criseide Novi

Corte costituzionale italiana, Corti costituzionali europee e rinvio pregiudiziale: il dialogo diretto con la Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea e le sue possibili implicazioni a breve e lungo termine

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 2072-2103

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

Heck Luis Afonso

Die brasilianische Verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit -vorgestellt am Beispiel der Normenkontrolle

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 63, 2015

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

Luis I. Gordillo Pérez and Ariane Tapia Trueba

Diálogos, monólogos y tertulias. Reflexiones a propósito del caso Melloni

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 22

This paper analyses the current situation EU Law vs. National Constitutional Law, taking into account the recent jurisprudence related to the Melloni decision. In order to do that, after a brief introduction, the authors take account on the procedural issues of the case, secondly they analyze this new case law, and thirdly, the paper drafts some preliminary conclusions, before setting up some final considerations in relation with the future of such a complex relationship.

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

Callander Steven, Harstad Bård

Experimentation in Federal Systems

in *Quarterly Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 130 Issue 2 May 2015 , 951-1002

We develop a model of policy experimentation in federal systems in which heterogeneous districts choose both whether to experiment and the policies to experiment with. The prospect of informational spillovers implies that in the first best the districts converge in their policy choice. Strikingly, when authority is decentralized, the equilibrium predicts the opposite. The districts use their policy choice to discourage other districts from free-riding on them, thereby inefficiently



minimizing informational spillovers. To address this failure, we introduce a dynamic form of federalism in which the central government harmonizes policy choices only after the districts have experimented. This progressive concentration of power induces a policy tournament that can increase the incentive to experiment and encourage policy convergence. We compare outcomes under the different systems and derive the optimal levels of district heterogeneity.

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-Rius-Ulldemolins Joaquim, Zamorano Mariano M.

Federalism, Cultural Policies, and Identity Pluralism: Cooperation and Conflict in the Spanish Quasi-Federal System

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 167-188

The division of cultural policy between different levels of administration and the coordination between them in federal countries is a relatively neglected area of research, even though the cultural sphere always requires a balanced combination of autonomy and governance. A particularly interesting case of this equilibrium arises in Spain; often described as a quasi-federal system, both regarding its model of state and within the sphere of cultural policy. However, we demonstrate that, despite the broadly decentralized development of cultural administration in Spain—a plurinational and multicultural state—different recent judicial and political processes are distorting the quasi-federalism constructed over the past three decades. We also show that there is a growing tendency to recentralize and to promote a single cultural conception of the country.

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Wiater Patricia

Föderalismus „hoch zwei“: Zur Rolle der deutschen Länder bei der Ausgestaltung der gemeinsamen Handelspolitik der EU

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 139, Number 4, October 2014 , 497-572

Abstract:

The article deals with the role the German federal States (Länder) play in the common commercial policy of the European Union taking particular account of the liberalisation of the cultural sector. This question arose when the Council of the EU authorized the Commission to open the negotiations for a free trade agreement, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership or TTIP, with the United States. The Länder, assembled in the Federal Council (Bundesrat), had explicitly asked the German Federal Government to work towards a broad exception for the culture and media sector in the Council, thus underlining their exclusive competence for cultural matters – but it only was due to the pressure of the French Government that audiovisual services were (preliminarily) excluded from the mandate of the Commission.

The author contends that the Länder's claim is based on a false assumption but nevertheless correct. According to the Treaty of Lisbon, the common commercial policy, including the trade in cultural and audiovisual services, is in the exclusive competence of the EU without any exception. Consequently, a treaty providing for the liberalisation of the culture and media sector, must not be a mixed agreement necessitating ratifications by both the EU and its member states and, subsequently, the approval by each of the 16 Länder in the course of the so called Lindau procedure



(Lindauer Verfahren). Instead, the possible influence of the Bundesrat is defined by Article 23 para. 5 of the Basic Law and depends on whether legislative powers of the Länder are affected by a possible liberalisation of cultural and audiovisual services. Whereas it is clear that external trade in general is a federal competence, this is far less so once possible effects of trade liberalisation are taken into account: precepts of the trading system, such as the principle of non-discrimination, can conflict with cultural policies. This is the case if cultural policies, for example by means of subsidies or quotas, privilege local or regional products and services and their suppliers. Notwithstanding some scattered federal competences in this context, possible trade liberalisation can affect the right of the Länder to regulate the cultural sector substantially. The allocation of competences between the Federation and the Länder on the German constitutional level has to be seen against the background of tendencies to “economise” cultural matters on the EU level. Neither the EU nor the Federation has the genuine competence to regulate the cultural sector.

The Federation should, in the author's view, have taken this into account during the negotiations for the mandate of the Commission and is obliged to do so whenever concerned with TTIP in the future.

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Woldendorp Jaap

Good governance and local autonomy in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Europe and the Caribbean: An uneasy relationship

in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 35, Number 2 , 11-23

Having a specific ministry for overseas territories is the outcome of Dutch and Caribbean (post) colonial history. The Kingdom of The Netherlands as of 2010 consists of four autonomous countries. The Netherlands in Europe, and Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten in the Caribbean. The government of The Netherlands in Europe also governs three special public entities resembling municipalities in the Caribbean: Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba (BES-islands). The recent changes in the constitutional relations between The Netherlands in Europe and its Caribbean counterparts can be explained by two factors. On the one hand the resourceful and successful resistance of both the local political elites as well as the local populations against Dutch decolonisation efforts in the 1970s and 1980s. On the other hand the responsibility felt by the former colonial power for the detrimental effects of the lack of good governance in the overseas territories under the previous constitutional arrangements, caused by clientelism, corruption and the encroachment of international organized crime on the local administrations. Consequently, direct Dutch involvement in local Caribbean politics and administrations with good governance programs has significantly increased since the 1990s.

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Marta Cartabia

I diritti in Europa: la prospettiva della giurisprudenza costituzionale italiana

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 1 , 29-52

After a long period during which the Constitutional Court was committed to the configuration of the correct relationship between constitutions and the courts of constitutional rights operating in the European space, today, the frame can be considered to be established. The time appears ripe to begin harvesting the first fruits of the interaction between the national Constitution, the European Convention on Human Rights and the European Union's Charter of Fundamental



Rights, and to launch an evaluation of the effects that the composite system of European rights is generating. Overall, the development of supranational protection seems to have triggered a beneficial dynamism in case law, a dynamism that has sometimes manifested as a correction of previous guidelines, which resulted in interpretative convergence between the various jurisdictions; other times, it is instead expressed in differences in case law, some of which remain unresolved. This article examines these interactions, illustrating some cases relating to the compensation for expropriation, the retroactivity of laws, and the procedural rights of the accused.

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Alessandra Albanese

**I garanti per l'infanzia e l'adolescenza fra tutela dei diritti e gestione dei conflitti
in Regioni (Le)**, n. 4 , 721-774

No abstract available

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

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Giacomo Di Federico

**Identifying National Identities in the Case Law of the Court of Justice of the European Union
in Diritto dell'Unione europea**, no. 4 , 769-802

No abstract available

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

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Auel Katrin

**Intergovernmental relations in German federalism: Cooperative federalism, party politics and territorial conflicts
in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 422-443

ABSTRACT: Since the late 1970s, but especially since Unification in 1990, the German federal system has come under considerable stress. On the one hand, party competition is increasingly played out through the Bundesrat, the body representing the Länder governments at the federal level, making intergovernmental coordination more difficult and leading to accusations of 'Reformstau' (reform log jam). On the other hand, Unification not only added five new Länder to the system, but also led to economic disparities between the Länder at a hitherto unknown level, and deepened territorial conflicts over Länder competencies and the allocation of finances. Both developments have led to demands for a reform of the federal structure aimed at disentangling joint policymaking structures to ensure greater autonomy for both the federal level and the Länder. However, as the article will argue, the developments have resulted in a triangular constellation of interests between the federal level, the richer and the poorer Länder that makes reforming the system almost impossible.

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Nalau Johanna, Preston Benjamin L., Maloney Megan C.

Is adaptation a local responsibility?

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 48, April , 89-98

Adaptation is now firmly embedded in the societal discourse regarding the management of climate risk. In this discourse, adaptation planning and implementation at the local level are seen as particularly important for developing robust responses to climate change. However, it is not clear whether the mantra that adaptation is local holds true given the multi-level nature of climate risk governance. Using a multi-method approach, this paper examines the extent to which adaptation should be framed as a local issue and, specifically, the role of local government in adaptation relative to other actors. In so doing, the paper first explores the extent to which the local framing of adaptation is embedded in the international adaptation literature. This is followed by a specific case study from Southeast Queensland, Australia, which focuses on the critical examination of the processes of responsibility shifting and taking among actors involved in coastal adaptation planning. Results indicate the assumption that adaptation is local remains widely held in adaptation science, although counter arguments can be readily identified. Interviews with adaptation actors revealed unclear divisions of responsibility for climate change adaptation as a significant constraint on actors' willingness to implement adaptation. Furthermore, attributing responsibility for adaptation to local actors might not necessarily be a robust strategy, due to the existence of particularly strong constraints and value conflicts at local levels of governance. Greater appreciation by researchers and practitioners for the interactions between local actors and those at higher levels of governance in shaping response capacity may contribute to more equitable and effective allocations of responsibilities for adaptation action.

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Stefano Perfetti

La disciplina legislativa regionale delle funzioni amministrative conferite dallo Stato: il caso della gestione dei rifiuti

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 4 , 701-720

No abstract available

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

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Simone Scagliarini

La sicurezza del lavoro tra Stato e Regioni

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 4 , 683-700

No abstract available

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

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Francesca Biondi Dal Monte and Vincenzo Casamassima



**Le Regioni e i servizi sociali a tredici anni dalla riforma del Titolo V
in Regioni (Le)**, n. 5-6 , 1065-1110

No abstract available

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Alessio Claroni

Le politiche pubbliche regionali nel settore dei trasporti

in Regioni (Le), n. 4 , 661-682

No abstract available

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

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Aja Eliseo, Colino César

Multilevel structures, coordination and partisan politics in Spanish intergovernmental relations

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 444-467

ABSTRACT: The article discusses the historical evolution of the federalized Spanish state and the intergovernmental institutions that have emerged in this process. Although vertical multilateral bodies dominate, they coexist with vertical bilateral cooperation bodies, deriving from the decentralization process and the original asymmetries in regional powers, mainly used for conflict resolution among governmental levels. Owing to the lack of horizontal coordination among Autonomous Communities, however, coordination remains difficult. While political parties and political dynamics in Spain have represented alternative informal mechanisms for intergovernmental relations (IGR) due to a growing level of party congruence in recent years, the proliferation of coalition governments in many Autonomous Communities has made IGR more difficult to manage. Important is the role of non-state-wide parties governing on the regional level: these parties have conditioned the degree of legal conflict. Throughout the last decade, they thereby have achieved the decentralization of powers and devolution of regional resources.

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Blake Raymond

Politics and the Federal Principle in Canada: Newfoundland Offshore Oil Development and the Quest for Political Stability and Economic Justice

in Canadian Historical Review (The), Volume 96, Number 1, March , 32-60

The maintenance of Canadian federalism, and Canada itself, depends on workable relationships between its constituent parts that are able to secure political agreement through accommodation. This argument is developed by examining the dispute between Newfoundland and Ottawa over the control of offshore oil and gas from the late 1950s to 1985, which also became a subtext for the pursuit of economic security, justice, and equality for the province. Energy policy, including the offshore, was often a key issue in the fractious intergovernmental relations in Canada in this period, and



this article argues for the inclusion of political actors as an important force in shaping politics and political decisions. While it does not ignore partisan divisions and issues of constitutionalism, the article makes the case that political stability in Canada also depends on relationships. As such, the article offers a unique opportunity to reframe our understanding of interstate federalism and redirect the discussion of politics and federalism away from constitutionalism and judicial review to the role of politicians and personal relations in federal-provincial governance.

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Tommaso Bonetti and Antonella Sau

Regioni e politiche di governo del territorio

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 4 , 595-660

No abstract available

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Astrid Lorenz

Rights of Minors and Constitutional Politics in the German Länder. Legal Framework, Party Strategies, and Constitutional Amendments

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 1 , E1-E29

The article analyses constitutional politics in the German Länder in the field of minors' rights. Since this issue seems a purely legal matter dealt with at the federal, European and international level, we should expect similar, almost identically shaped policies at the Länder level. However, the analysis brings considerable variations of constitutional activities in this field to the fore: time, frequency, and contents of respective initiatives vary significantly in the period from 1999 to 2014. These variations were due to different party strategies, diverging party platforms and majority constellations in the Länder. The analysis also shows that the public arguments brought forward in favour of constitutional amendments refer only weakly and randomly to legal provisions and processes at other levels. The political debate supporting extended children's rights rather refers to general observations, to the specific regional context, and constitutional provisions in other Länder. At least with regard to this issue, the multi-level system did not systematically impact on constitutional politics in the Länder. It rather can be understood as an opportunity structure providing parties with multiple realms in which they can pursue their goals. Thus the study shows that federal and regional party strategies are key factors in explaining policy diffusion in multilevel systems.

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Antonio María Hernández

Soberanía y autonomía provinciales en la doctrina y en la jurisprudencia de la Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación argentina

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, no. 31 , 247-258

No abstract available



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Colleen Honigsberg, Sharon Katz, and Gil Sadka

State Contract Law and Debt Contracts

in **Journal of Law and Economics (The)**, vol. 57, no. 4 , 1031-1061

This paper examines the relationship between debt contracts and state contract law. We first develop an index to evaluate whether each state's law is favorable or unfavorable to lenders. We then analyze how the contract terms, the frequency of covenant violations, and the repercussions of covenant violations vary across states. We find that cash collateral is most likely to be used when the contract is governed by law that is favorable to debtors and that out-of-state borrowers who use favorable law pay higher yield spreads. In addition, when the law is favorable to lenders, there are significantly fewer covenant violations, and the repercussions of covenant violations—measured as changes in the borrower's investment policy—are more severe. We also compare the characteristics of relevant parties across states, and the results provide support for the theory that there is a market for contracts similar to the market for incorporations.

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Ferdinand Karlhofer

Sub-National Constitutionalism in Austria: A Historical Institutional Perspective

in **Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 7, issue 1 , E57-E84

Austria's federal system is determined by an apparent contrast between formal and real constitution having its roots in foundational defects shaping the system to the present day. As for the formal dimension, Austria has a rather uneven balance with regard to powersharing. No wonder that, given the structural bias between central state and substates, informal forces are at work in order to make up for the shortcomings of the federal architecture. In this context, sub-national constitutionalism at first sight appears to be marginal. Astoundingly, though, in recent time a lot of constitutional changes and amendments, quite possibly paving the way for a sustainable redesign of the federation as a whole have taken place.

The article starts with a historical outline of the Austrian federation's origins. In chapter 2, the interplay of formal and informal rules and practices is discussed. Chapter 3 deals with scope, contents and dynamics of sub-national constitutionalism under the given framework. The article concludes with assessing the efficacy of subconstitutional politics in relation to the capacities of the federal constitution.

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Füglister Katharina, Wasserfallen Fabio

Swiss federalism in a changing environment

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 404-421

ABSTRACT: Switzerland is a prime example of a starkly decentralized federation. Apart from its decentralized structure, direct democracy and consociational governance are the defining features of the Swiss political system. Within that



broader institutional context, we evaluate the three hypotheses of this special issue by discussing empirical research covering various policy areas. In line with the theoretical expectations, our findings support the notion that multilateral coordination dominates inter-cantonal relations and that the Swiss federal system is based on the principle of symmetric vertical competence allocation. However, our analysis does not confirm the third expectation of the theoretical framework, namely that in Switzerland inter-governmental cooperation is driven by partisan connections among ministers. Instead, we argue that the power-sharing mechanism of consociational democracy limits partisan dynamics and shifts the focus from intra- to inter-party coordination.

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Christopher B. Seaman

The Case Against Federalizing Trade Secrecy

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 101, issue 2 , 317-394

Trade secrecy is unique among the major intellectual property ("IP") doctrines because it is governed primarily by state law. Recently, however, a number of influential actors—including legislators, academics, high-technology firms, and organizations representing IP attorneys and owners—have supported the creation of a private civil cause of action for trade secret misappropriation under federal law. Proponents assert that federalizing trade secrecy would provide numerous benefits, including substantive uniformity, the availability of a federal forum for misappropriation litigation, and the creation of a unified national regime for IP rights. This Article engages in the first systematic critique of the claim that federalizing trade secrecy is normatively desirable. Ultimately, it concludes that there are multiple reasons for trade secrecy to remain primarily the province of state law, including preservation of the states' ability to engage in limited experimentation regarding the scope of trade secret protection and federalization's potential negative impact on the disclosure of patent-eligible inventions. Finally, it proposes an alternative approach—a modest expansion of federal courts' jurisdiction over state law trade secret claims—that can help address the issue of trade secret theft without requiring outright federalization.

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Caleb Nelson

The Legitimacy Of (Some) Federal Common Law

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 101, issue 1 , 1-64

On topics that come within the reach of the states' lawmaking powers, modern federal judges have no doubts about the legal status of the common law. With respect to such topics, the unwritten law in force in any particular state has long been regarded as part of that state's law. Ever since *Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins*, moreover, federal courts have followed the settled precedents of each state's highest court about the content of the state's unwritten law. On topics that lie beyond the reach of state law, however, federal courts are less confident about the role of unwritten law. To be sure, in an opinion issued on the same day as *Erie*, the U.S. Supreme Court applied what it called "federal common law" to such a topic, and that practice has continued; in various contexts, modern courts recognize legal principles that are said to have the status of federal law but that have not been codified in any written enactment. Still, even Justice Douglas—who wrote some of the most expansive opinions in this vein—observed that "[t]he instances where we have created federal common law are few and restricted." Subsequent Courts have agreed that federal common law exists



only in “limited areas,” but they have not specified exactly how to identify those areas.

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Calabrò Vittoria, Cocchiara M. Antonella

The form of parliamentary government and ‘perfect’ bicameralism in the Italian constitutional system: at the beginning of the Italian constituents’ choices (1946–47)

in Parliaments, Estates & Representation, Volume 35, Issue 1 , pp. 84-108

This article aims to reconstruct the debates that developed in the Italian Constituent Assembly, 1946–47, concerning two important issues: the form of the Italian government and the structure of the Italian Parliament. These issues are placed in the historical and chronological context whereby the text of the Italian Constitution was written and enacted between 2 June 1946 and 22 December 1947 (the date of enactment). This Italian Constitution is still in force today. These two themes are of contemporary relevance because the choices of Italian constituents, based on the nature of parliamentary government and symmetrical bicameralism, are still at the centre of current political debate about institutional reform in Italy. These historical debates are reconstructed through consideration and analysis of the official records of the Italian Constituent Assembly, the contemporary literature of the period and recent historiography.

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Peter L. Markowitz

Undocumented No More: The Power of State Citizenship

in Stanford Law Review, vol. 67, no. 4 , 869-915

An estimated eleven million undocumented immigrants live in the United States. These individuals have become integral members of American families and vital components of the American economy. Yet repeated efforts to meaningfully reform the nation’s immigration laws—to more fully integrate these individuals into American society—have failed to garner sufficient political support in Congress. The prospects for significant congressional action on immigration reform remain bleak into the foreseeable future as our nation’s debate on immigration has been warped by powerful, but largely inaccurate, themes of criminality, lax border enforcement, and national security threats. These themes have been crafted and cemented in large part by aggressive restrictionist state immigration laws in states like Arizona and Alabama. Until recently, integrationists have failed to similarly capitalize on the power of states to shape both the nation’s policies and, perhaps more importantly, the nation’s discourse on immigration. Recently, however, immigrant advocates have begun looking to the power of inclusive state citizenship schemes to reorient our nation’s immigration conversation.

This Article explores the outer boundaries of state power to promote the integration of immigrants and to reorient the nation’s conversation around more accurate and helpful themes of family, democracy, and economic vitality. Specifically, I explore the constitutional power of states to extend state citizenship to undocumented immigrants. This Article argues that the federalist structure enshrined in the Constitution and in the prevailing interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment leaves untouched the historic power of the states to define the boundaries of their own political communities more generously than the federal government. In addition, this Article argues that such state citizenship schemes could deliver substantial tangible support for the integration of undocumented immigrants through traditional



levers of state power: granting state political rights, granting access to state programs and benefits, and granting state protections against discrimination and mistreatment. Perhaps most importantly, state citizenship could be a powerful expressive tool for states to reorient our national conversation on immigration in ways that may, in the long term, be key to unlocking substantial federal reform.

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Víctor J. Vázquez Alonso

Welfare state and judicial review. Aproximación a una teoría «posible» del estado social en el federalismo in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 34 , 505-536

This paper addresses the evolution of the Welfare State in American Federalism, highlighting the role played by Judicial Review. With such an aim, we first study the causes of the so-called «American Exceptionalism», in reference to the lack of constitutional enforcement of social rights. Concretely, we will focus on the frustrated attempts of the Supreme Court to give efficacy to certain social rights through the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. Once this exception and its reasons are fully acknowledged, we are able to discuss how the construction of the welfare state in the United States, since the New Deal to the present day, has been accompanied by an interpretation of Federal categories very favourable to the powers of the National Congress. Similarly, we will analyse the limitations that state judges have when enforcing social rights protected in state constitutions as well as the current debate taking place at the state level regarding possible reformulations of the judicial function when it comes to implement provisions of social nature that require public policies. Finally, and in light of the recent case law of the Supreme Court, we will insist on the necessary judicial deference in cases in which Federal categories are used to implement new welfare goals.

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-Arnold Gwen

When Cooperative Federalism Isn't: How U.S. Federal Interagency Contradictions Impede Effective Wetland Management

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 244-269

One goal of cooperative federalism is for the federal government to help states adopt policies that are widely considered socially beneficial but which states might not adopt independently. Sometimes, however, federal interventions actually can prevent states from adopting sound policy innovations. U.S. states struggle to adopt rapid wetland assessment tools because of contradictory pressures exerted on states by two federal agencies locked in protracted conflict. This tension creates opportunities for states to influence federal policy and leads each federal agency to try to use states as instruments for imposing its priorities on the other. When analyzing the conditions under which cooperative federalism does not achieve its intended purposes, scholars should attend to horizontal intergovernmental complexity and the realities of policy implementation.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Cristina Fasone



Eurozone, non-Eurozone and “troubled asymmetries” among national parliaments in the EU. Why and to what extent this is of concern

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E1-E41

The reform of the economic governance in the EU, as a reaction to the Eurozone crisis, has increased the asymmetries in the Union. Although formally respected, the principle of equality of the Member States before the Treaties has been put under stress. Likewise the position of national institutions concerned by the same Euro-crisis measure can have different implications depending on the Member State. This article deals with the asymmetries amongst the national parliaments arisen in this context. National procedures adopted to deal with the new legal measures reinforce some parliaments while they severely undermine other. The article argues that such an outcome is produced by the combined effects of EU and international measures with national constitutional rules and case law, which can confer more or less significant powers to national parliaments and enhance or disregard existing parliamentary prerogatives. The asymmetries among national parliaments in the new economic governance can impair the democratic legitimacy and the effectiveness of the Euro crisis measures.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Ferraro Luigi

Il progetto di riforma del Senato. Un esame dei lavori preparatori e un confronto col Bundesrat austriaco

in *Diritto pubblico*, numero 2 , 629-668

No abstract available

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Klüver Heike

Interest Groups in the German Bundestag: Exploring the Issue Linkage between Citizens and Interest Groups

in *German Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 137-153

Do interest groups adjust their activity in response to public opinion? While previous studies have primarily focused on the link between voters, political parties and governments, interest groups have largely been ignored. This article therefore examines how public opinion affects interest group activity. It is argued that interest group activity is a bottom-up process in which interest groups respond to the issue priorities of citizens. Bringing together panel data on citizen concerns with longitudinal data on interest group issue attention, this article examines the issue linkage between citizens and interest groups in Germany from 1984 until 2010 in two different policy domains. Based on a time-series cross-section analysis, it is shown that issue attention of citizens precedes the registration of interest groups in the Bundestag indicating that interest groups play an important role in issue evolution and political representation.

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Elviro Aranda Álvarez

La reducción de parlamentarios y la modificación del régimen retributivo de los miembros de las Asambleas de



las Comunidades Autónomas

in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 92 , 119-164

Are the decisions on reducing number of MPs and the elimination of MP salaries issues that only have bearing on reducing public spending? Or on the contrary, can they have other effects? As we shall examine in this paper, the reduction in number of deputies has a bearing on two issues of constitutional weight: the electoral system in force in each of the territories that enjoy autonomy and the conditions for the organisation and functioning of respective chambers. The question of elimination of salaries is related to both adequate conditions for being able to carrying out representation and the establishment of a compensation system for parliamentary work that is transparent and prevents conflicts of interest and influence peddling. Furthermore, both issues are pivotal for the correct functioning of the parliamentary institution and in the long term can end up effecting the functioning of the territorial model, in the sense of either following a federalist line or returning to a model of a territorially asymmetrical State where certain territories enjoy strong political autonomy and others, little more than administrative decentralisation.

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Talia Ia. Khabrieva and Sergueï E. Narychkine

Le statut de l'Assemblée fédérale de la Fédération de Russie

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 1 , 87-96

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Diane Fromage

National parliaments and governmental accountability in the crisis: theory and practice

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E149-E171

This contribution studies the question of governmental accountability in the crisis. It looks at how three Member State's parliaments – French, German and Spanish – have exchanged on European Council meetings and Euro summits organized between 2010 and 2014.

It first analyzes the formal obligations these Governments have in this domain before focusing on the practice; how National parliaments have used their prerogatives and how the established customary rules have compensated for the lack of formal rights in favour of National parliaments.

Finally, some conclusions are drawn on the role of the established practice and its consequences and some potential prospects.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Michael H. Crespin, Anthony Madonna, Joel Sievert and Nathaniel Ament-Stone

The Establishment of Party Policy Committees in the U.S. Senate: Coordination, Not Coercion

in *Social Science Quarterly* , Volume 96, Issue 1 , 34–48



Objective

We seek to determine if institutional changes designed to increase intraparty coordination influenced observed levels of party unity in the U.S. Senate. In particular, we test competing claims regarding the effects of establishing party policy committees following the adoption of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

Methods

First, we examine Congress at the vote level by looking at the overall proportion of votes that could be classified as “party unity votes” before and after the establishment of the policy committees. Second, we employ a micro-level analysis by examining individual senators’ procedural party support scores.

Results

We find that members of the majority party were more likely to have higher levels of procedural unity after the adoption of policy committees.

Conclusion

The establishment of party policy committees in the Senate played a role in helping party leaders coordinate activities, advance a legislative agenda, and maintain high levels of party unity on the floor by better structuring procedural votes.

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Sieberer Ulrich

Using MP statements to explain voting behaviour in the German Bundestag. An individual level test of the Competing Principals Theory

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 2, March , 284-294

Why do members of parliament (MPs) vote against the party line? Recent explanations of party unity focus on MPs cross-pressured between the demands of competing principals such as their party and local constituencies. This article tests key claims of the Competing Principals Theory on the level of individual deputies. It relies on public statements in which MPs explain their voting behaviour. This new data source allows more direct insights into MPs’ decision-making calculus than roll-call data. The article develops a theoretical model for the usage of such statements and the position MPs take vis-à-vis the party line. Empirically, it studies Explanations of Votes on all roll-call votes in the 16th German Bundestag (2005–2009) statistically controlling for sample selection. The analyses show among others things that district MPs take more critical stances, party leaders dissent less and government MPs are more likely to voice reservations without defecting in voting.

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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) (I)

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 155-192

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

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Jerónimo Maillo González-Orús

A new Commission for a new era. Is the parliamentarization of the European Commission the way forward?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E76-E101

This contribution focuses on the need of fostering a European political space and more in particular on the role and the design of the Commission needed to attain that aim.

It is submitted that to increase true democracy in the European Union, there is a need of promoting 'different in nature' EU politics, more based on cross-national ideological majorities (or alliances) and less on national interests bargaining. The Commission seems to be well-fitted for that purpose and therefore it is at the core of my analysis and my reform proposals.

After explaining the so called Commission's paradox (decline but growing role), the paper contends that, in a new era of closer Economic and Political Union, we need a strengthening and democratization of the European Commission and discusses how to attain it.

Firstly, it reviews two relevant recent steps forward: the indirect election of the Commission President in the 2014 European Elections and the new organization of the Juncker's College.

Secondly, it turns to more medium-long term reforms which can reinforce the Commission and its democratization in the future: an intense parliamentarization of the Commission, the creation of pan-European lists for the European elections and the merger of the Presidency of the European Commission and the European Council.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Kampmark Binoy

Apologists for Power: The Yoo Brief, Executive Power and the State of Exception
in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 61, Issue 1, March , 82-99

This paper examines the legal and political arguments of those who support an expansive interpretation of US executive power in the face of threats to the state, taking a comparative historical perspective. It discusses the rationale for this approach by locating its historical origins in international and American jurisprudence, thereby placing them in a modern context. Attention is paid to the points made by various legal representatives of the Bush administration such as John Choon Yoo and Jay S. Bybee. Their views on an expansive response to state emergencies are based on a reading of executive power that informs the Bush administration's approach to law between 2001 and 2008. But this paper goes further in arguing that a common political-juridical ground exists between various critics of the Bush administration, and those who formulated the policies of torture and rendition. This common ground on the subject of executive power in response to emergency lies primarily in the examination of the state of exception examined by Giorgio Agamben. This approach has various implications as to the general exercise of power by the executive in a democratic system.

Legem non habet necessitas.



Necessity knows no law.

Augustine, Soliloquium, 2.

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

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Raabe Johannes, Linhart Eric

Does substance matter? A model of qualitative portfolio allocation and application to German state governments between 1990 and 2010

in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 481-492

Gamson's Law of office distribution tells us approximately how many ministries each member of a coalition will receive. However, the question of which ministries are allocated to which parties according to a more general party motivation remains largely open. In a model-theoretic investigation of portfolio allocation we focus on the characteristics of the distributional process concerning the qualitative differences of ministries: which motivation drives parties to choose or disregard certain ministries? Applying the technical framework of divisor methods for our model and estimating party preferences according to their election manifestos, we find that substance indeed does matter. Parties seek to obtain ministries in those policy fields which they mention more intensively in their electoral manifestos and at the same time spread their ministerial control broadly. Furthermore, we find that bigger parties are not qualitatively repaid for their usually observable quantitative loss.

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Newland Erica

Executive Orders in Court

in Yale Law Journal (The), Volume 124, Issue 6 - 2015

This Note presents a study of judicial decisions that have engaged with executive orders. The study was designed to elucidate the contexts in which courts have considered executive orders; to identify the questions that courts have posed about executive orders; and to synthesize the doctrine that courts have developed in response to those questions. This study reveals that, although the executive order is a powerful tool of the presidency, courts have not tended to acknowledge, in a particularly theorized way, the special challenges and demands of the executive order as a form of lawmaking. This Note argues that, in the absence of a thicker jurisprudential conception of the executive order, doctrinal asymmetries that heavily favor executive power have emerged. These asymmetries carry costs and therefore merit closer attention.

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Jowei Chen and Tim Johnson

Federal employee unionization and presidential control of the bureaucracy: Estimating and explaining ideological change in executive agencies

in Journal of Theoretical Politics, 27 (1) , 151-174



We present a formal model explaining that US presidents strategically unionize federal employees to reduce bureaucratic turnover and 'anchor' the ideological composition of like-minded agency workforces. To test our model's predictions, we advance a method of estimating bureaucratic ideology via the campaign contributions of federal employees; we then use these bureaucratic ideal point estimates in a comprehensive empirical test of our model. Consistent with our model's predictions, our empirical tests find that federal employee unionization stifles agency turnover, suppresses ideological volatility when the president's partisanship changes, and occurs more frequently in agencies ideologically proximate to the president.

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Courtenay Botterill Linda, Cockfield Geoff

From "Unstable" to "Stable" Minority Government: Reflections on the Role of the Nationals in Federal Coalition Governments

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 61, Issue 1, March , 53-66

In contrast to some other jurisdictions, in Australia, governments relying on minor parties and independents to enact policies and especially to hold power, are readily characterised by oppositions and commentators as unstable, even chaotic and an undesirable deviation from the stability of majority parliaments. The almost unremarked exception is the Liberals' long and frequent reliance on the National Party and its predecessors to form government. This paper explores the role of the National Party in minority Coalition governments and considers why this form of minority government attracts so little comment, noting the inter-party and intra-party systems and strategies that give the appearance of stability.

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Ludger Helms

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

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

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

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Conti Gabriele



L'evoluzione dell'istituto dello state of the union address e la carica progressista nell'ultimo biennio del secondo mandato Obama

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 5

No abstract available

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

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Maryann E. Gallagher and Bethany Blackstone

Taking Matters into Their Own Hands: Presidents' Personality Traits and the Use of Executive Orders

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 45, Issue 2 , 221–246

Existing studies of executive orders tend to focus on two issues: how the frequency of executive orders has changed over time and whether the nature of presidential power has changed such that we should reconsider Neustadt's thesis that bargaining is the essence of presidential power. Although institutionalists bemoan the literature's focus on the "personal presidency," no study of unilateral uses of power has taken into account the systematic influence of presidents' personalities. Instead, studies that consider why some presidents issue more executive orders than others focus on contextual factors, not attributes of the presidents. In this article we address this gap in the literature by examining whether presidents' personality traits significantly influence their propensity to issue executive orders. The results of our analysis demonstrate that both personality and institutional factors play a significant role in presidents' decisions to act unilaterally.

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Strangio Paul

The Ancestry of the Australian Prime Ministership: "the blue ribbon of the highest possible ambition"

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 61, Issue 1, March , 19-36

More than a century after the birth of the Commonwealth of Australia, the office of prime minister is the apex of the nation's political life. Yet little has been written about the antecedence and evolution of the office of prime minister. This article takes a step towards redressing this neglect by considering how the Westminster-derived model of the prime ministership was conditioned by the nature and form of executive office in the Australian colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century. The experience of the colonial legislatures predisposed against fears of an overweening executive. The constitutional Conventions of the 1890s were dominated by seasoned colonial politicians with benign attitudes towards executive authority. Yet as delegates grappled with the challenge of marrying responsible government to a federal system, the form of executive was debated rather than treated as fait accompli. These deliberations hinted at their expectations for the prime ministership in a federated Australia: the office would be the most powerful and greatest political prize in the new nation. The article concludes by suggesting that the first Commonwealth decade was a transitional period for the prime ministership (with pre-Federation patterns still evident) and identifying the Fisher Government of 1910–13 as heralding a shift to a more modern form of (party-based) executive governance.

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Giacomo Delledonne

The European Council after Lisbon: A review article
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E126-E148

This contribution deals with the role of the European Council in the institutional framework of the European Union, as it has been laid down by the Lisbon Treaty. It focuses on its rising influence, even beyond the wording of the Treaty, and the increasing criticism stimulated by this evolution. In reviewing the main relevant issues and critical viewpoints related to the European Council, some aspects are considered in depth: the increasing institutionalisation of the European Council and its critical position with regard to the management of the economic and financial crisis and to the ongoing process of "politicisation" of the Union. The discussion also considers comparative constitutional data and organic proposal of reform of the institutional architecture of the EU.

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Brandon Rottinghaus and Adam L. Warber

Unilateral Orders as Constituency Outreach: Executive Orders, Proclamations, and the Public Presidency
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 45, Issue 2 , 289–309

Scholarship on the unilateral presidency has focused on presidential policy making with the stroke of a pen. However, such studies overlook the influence that the public presidency can have on shaping the president's unilateral strategies. Our research question seeks to link these two elements by exploring the following question: under what conditions do presidents issue executive orders and proclamations as part of their public presidency? Using new data charting the use of these directives to target populations in society, we analyze the role of the political environment on engendering both more constituency-based executive orders and proclamations. The results suggest presidents issue more constituency-based proclamations, but not executive orders, when Congress and the executive branch are more likely to disagree on policy or when Congress is institutionally stronger compared to the president. Presidents are less likely to issue these orders during election years (for proclamations), in changing popularity, or when their party has returned to office. The implications suggest the importance of broadening the study of unilateral orders to link the public and administrative presidencies.

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Velázquez López Velarde Rodrigo

¿Cooperación o conflicto? Las relaciones ejecutivo-legislativo en el sexenio de Felipe Calderón.
in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LV - NÚMERO 1

The principal aim of this paper is to evaluate two key aspects of executive-legislature relations during the administration of President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa: the approval ratings of the legislative agenda of the executive and the amendments or vetoes made by the president to the bills of law approved by lawmakers. It also examines whether any of the constitutional changes approved over this period altered the balance of power in the relationship between the president and Congress. The analysis indicates that neither the presidential nor the multi-party system, nor the lack of a majority for the president's party in Congress led to legislative paralysis, but they did hinder the approval of a number of



key reforms for the country.

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Christos Giannopoulos

Considerations on Protocol N°16: Can the New Advisory Competence of the European Court of Human Rights Breathe New Life into the European Convention on Human Rights?

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 2 , 337-350

A. Introduction Protocol n°16 expands the advisory jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights (hereinafter ECtHR) by introducing a mechanism of litigation-related opinions (“avis contentieux”). It affords the highest national courts and tribunals the ability to ask the ECtHR for an advisory opinion on questions of principle related to the interpretation and application of the rights and freedoms defined in the European Convention on Human Rights (hereinafter Convention) and the Protocols thereto. In theory, the mechanism is simple. If a national court or tribunal sends a request to the Court, a panel of five judges of the Grand Chamber will decide on the admissibility of the question before the Grand Chamber rules on the merits. Protocol No. 16 (hereinafter “the Protocol”) reserves this right only for the highest courts and tribunals, as the Parties have designated them at the time of signature or when depositing their instruments of ratification, acceptance, or approval. This new Protocol aims to strengthen communication between the ECtHR and the national judges by introducing a dialogue between the various institutions that interpret the Convention. In this way, the protection of the Convention’s Rights will be reinforced at the national level according to the principle of subsidiarity. Moreover, this Protocol aspires to enhance the effectiveness of the conventional mechanism so as to ensure the maximal coherence of the case law of the ECtHR. The new mechanism, therefore, will gradually relieve the ECtHR of the deluge of petitions. This article presents an overview of this Protocol, which poses questions regarding the nature and role of the new advisory jurisdiction within the existing system. Part A sets forth the drafters’ deliberate choice in the Protocol of a flexible relationship between the ECtHR and national courts. Part B focuses on the evaluation of this optional Protocol with a...

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Paul Stephenson

Appointing the members of the European Court of Auditors: towards better-qualified management and more efficient and timely decision-making?

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 51 , 99-120

This article draws on the on-going debate at the European Parliament on the future role of the European Court of Auditors and the impact that its appointment procedure may have on the interinstitutional relations and credibility of this European institution. First, it analyses the context and challenges of reforming the Court, with a view to its collegial nature and the desired qualifications of its members. Second, it looks historically at collegiality as a crucial aspect of the Court’s organisational structure, and as a value/norm, addressing the debates on the way in which members are appointed. Third, it provides an overview of recent developments in the push for reform. Fourth, it considers future scenarios for new governance arrangements, acknowledging that effective and efficient management and



decision-making is crucial for the Court's legitimacy within the institutional framework of the European Union, but also essential to ensure financial accountability of the EU budget.

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Dino P. Christenson and David M. Glick

Chief Justice Roberts's Health Care Decision Disrobed: The Microfoundations of the Supreme Court's Legitimacy

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 59, Issue 2 , 403–418

The 2012 challenge to the Affordable Care Act was an unusual opportunity for people to form or reassess opinions about the Supreme Court. We utilize panel data coupled with as-if random assignment to reports that Chief Justice Roberts's decision was politically motivated to investigate the microfoundations of the Court's legitimacy. Specifically, we test the effects of changes in individuals' ideological congruence with the Court and exposure to the nonlegalistic account of the decision. We find that both affect perceptions of the Court's legitimacy. Moreover, we show that these mechanisms interact in important ways and that prior beliefs that the Court is a legalistic institution magnify the effect of updating one's ideological proximity to the Court. While we demonstrate that individuals can and did update their views for multiple reasons, we also highlight constraints that allow for aggregate stability in spite of individual-level change.

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Giuseppe Martinico

Four Points on the Court of Justice of the EU

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E102-E125

This article addresses the role of the Court of Justice of the EU (CJEU) in possible scenarios of EU reforms. Despite its crucial role in the EU integration process the CJEU has been neglected in many of the proposals recently suggested to reform the EU. In this piece I shall try to explore some important issues that should be taken into account when advancing reform proposals with regard to this institution.

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Françoise Tulkens

More Women – But Which Women? A Reply to Stéphanie Hennette Vauchez

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 1 , 223-227

Having spent almost 14 years as a judge at the European Court of Human Rights, the author responds to and shares the critical view expressed by Hennette Vauchez in her article on the presence of women judges at the European Court of Human Rights. Some steps forward have admittedly been made through the voluntary action of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, but there has also been resistance in the implementation of these new rules. The gains are fragile and there are risks of regression. This situation confirms Kenney's analysis: women's progress is not natural, inevitable nor irreversible. A reaction is all the more necessary and urgent since, in the coming months of 2015 and



subsequently, many elections of judges to the Court will take place, due in particular to the non-renewable nine-year term of office of judges introduced by Protocol No. 14 to the European Convention on Human Rights.

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Fionnuala Ní Aoláin

More Women – But Which Women? A Reply to Stéphanie Hennette Vauchez
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 1 , 229-236

This article responds to a thoughtful intervention by Stéphanie Hennette Vauchez documenting the selection process for women seeking judicial appointment to the European Court of Human Rights. Written in the context of the author's experience as candidate for appointment to the Court, the analysis concentrates on the gendered dimensions of international institutional cultures, habits and practices that frame selection to judicial office as much as any formally applicable rules. I explore the ways in which ostensible access to international judicial bodies conceals the manifold ways in which Courts are coded masculine, and how female candidacy requires careful deliberation on performance, presentation and identity. Drawing on 'new institutionalism' theory, I underscore that female presence alone rarely undoes embedded institutional practices. Rather, transforming institutional practices and values must parallel female presence, thereby redefining the institution and the forms of power it exercises. The article concludes by reflecting on the importance of feminist judging, and argues that it is precisely the transformative political and legal changes sought by self-defined feminists that may stand the best chance of undoing the structures, habits and practices that continue to exclude women from being appointed and from engaging on terms of full equality when they arrive.

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Stéphanie Hennette Vauchez

More Women – But Which Women? The Rule and the Politics of Gender Balance at the European Court of Human Rights
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 1 , 195-221

Building on the heightened attention that the optic of judicial selection receives in the world of international courts, this article focuses its attention on one particular criterion that is gaining in importance in that respect: gender. By choosing the European Court of Human Rights as a case in point, the article provides a unique analysis of the history of the 2004 Resolution of the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly that formulated a rule of gender balance on the list of candidates presented by states for the post of judge at the Court. It first unearths the dynamics that allowed the adoption of the rule as well as all of the fierce opposition it triggered as well as the ways in which counter-mobilization eventually prevailed and watered down the initial rule, with the help of states, the Committee of Ministers and the Court itself (which delivered its first advisory opinion on the topic in 2008). It then looks beyond the static analysis of the rule as a mere constraint and addresses in a more dynamic fashion the multiple interpretations, strategies and, ultimately, politics it opens up. By providing a unique qualitative, comparative and exhaustive analysis of the curriculum vitae of all the 120-odd women who were ever listed as candidates to the Strasbourg judicial bench (1959–2012), the article delivers original data and analyses both the features that women candidates put forth when listed for the job and the strategies of states with regard to the gender criterion. It concludes that while there is a strong proportion of candidates that support the notion that states do not differentiate according to gender or require different qualities from men and women



candidates, there is a comparable proposition that contrarily indicates that the world of international judicial appointments is far from gender neutral.

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Wilke Felix M.

Nicht-materielle Grundlagen verfassungsgerichtlicher Entscheidungstechniken. Ein Vergleich zwischen Bundesverfassungsgericht und US Supreme Court

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 63, 2015

No abstract available

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David Hadroušek

Solving the European Union's General Court

in *European Law Review*, vol. 40, issue 2 , 188-206

The EU's judiciary is under pressure: the General Court is facing a growing tide of new cases every year, and the backlog keeps swelling. In 2011, the Court of Justice proposed to deal with the situation by increasing the number of judges by 12. However, three years of negotiations have led nowhere. In October 2014, the Court of Justice reacted by proposing to double the number of judges of the General Court instead and, at the same time, abolish the Civil Service Tribunal. Will the Member States and the European Parliament go for this, at first sight, radical solution? If not, will there be any viable alternative? This article suggests that a new specialised court, if properly framed, could do the trick.

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Tom S. Clark and Jonathan P. Kastellec

Source Cues and Public Support for the Supreme Court

in *American Politics Research*, 43 (3) , 504-535

It is well known that the public often relies on cues or heuristics when forming opinions. At the same time, leading theories of opinion formation about the Supreme Court see such support as relatively fixed. Using a series of survey experiments, we find source cues significantly influence the public's support for the Court, including the extent to which individuals believe the Court should be independent from the elected branches. Specifically, we find partisan source cues play a significant role in shaping public opinion regarding life tenure for the justices and the extent to which the Court should have the final say in constitutional matters—individuals are less likely to support court-curbing measures when informed that elites from the opposite party have proposed them than when such measures are endorsed by either a neutral source or members of their own party. We also find a strong connection between specific support for particular decisions and the degree to which people believe the Court should be free from external influence, as individuals are more likely to say the justices should be influenced by demonstrators when the side they favor is the one doing the demonstrating. These results have important implications for understanding the extent to which politicians can shape the



public's overall support for the Court, as well as for assessing the degree to which the public views the Court as a "political" institution.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Eichner Thomas, Pethig Rüdiger

A note on stable and sustainable global tax coordination with Leviathan governments
in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 37, March 2015 , 64-67

Itaya et al. (2014) study the conditions for sustainability and stability of capital tax coordination in a repeated game model with tax-revenue maximizing governments. One of their major results is that the grand tax coalition is never stable and sustainable. The purpose of this note is to prove that there are conditions under which the grand tax coalition is stable and sustainable in Itaya et al.'s model.

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Eichner Thomas, Pethig Rüdiger

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Leonardo Álvarez Álvarez

Actos ultra vires de la unión europea y derecho a la participación política: La decisión del tribunal constitucional alemán sobre el programa de adquisición de deuda pública del banco central europeo
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 433-446

The January 14, 2014 the German Federal Constitutional Court ruled different appeals against the decision of the Council of the European Central Bank of 6 September 2012, authorizing the acquisition of certain States public debt in a context of severe economic crisis. The Court considers that such a decision has violated the constitutional identity of Germany and imposes the Government and Parliament on federal active duty to conduct to ensure respect for the constitutional identity. The breach of that duty by such bodies against the decision of the European Central Bank has violated the fundamental right of the appellants to political participation.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism



Dietrichson Jens, Ellegård Lina Maria

Assist or desist? Conditional bailouts and fiscal discipline in local governments
in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 38, June 2015 , 153-168

Central government bailouts of local governments are commonly viewed as a recipe for local fiscal indiscipline, as local governments learn that the center will come to the rescue in times of trouble. However, little is known about the consequences of bailouts granted conditional on local governments first making efforts to improve the situation. We examine a case in which the Swedish central government provided conditional grants to 36 financially troubled municipalities. We use the synthetic control method to identify suitable comparison units for each of the 36 municipalities. To compare the development of costs and the fiscal surplus of admitted municipalities to that of their most similar counterparts during the decade after the program, we then estimate fixed effects regressions on the resulting sample. The analysis suggests that conditional bailouts did not erode, and may even have improved, fiscal discipline.

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Sylvie Peyrou

Cour constitutionnelle allemande et pouvoirs de la Banque centrale européenne : le premier renvoi préjudiciel à la Cour de Justice de l'Union européenne (décision du 14 janvier 2014)

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 1 , 145-163

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

Corrado Caruso and Marta Morvillo

Economic governance and budgetary rules in the European context: a call for a new European constitutionalism

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 4 , 699-731

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

Ferreira dos Santos Rui, Antunes Paula, Ring Irene, Clemente Pedro

Engaging Local Private and Public Actors in Biodiversity Conservation: The role of Agri-Environmental schemes and Ecological fiscal transfers

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 25, Issue 2, March-April , 83-96

Biodiversity conservation policies have relied on regulatory approaches, such as the designation of protected areas, which have generally been insufficient to ensure long-term conservation. This is partially explained by the mismatch between those who bear the costs of and those who benefit from conservation. While local actors, private and public,



face management and opportunity costs due to conservation policies, the benefits reach beyond local borders. In this paper, we argue that a successful biodiversity conservation policy mix should include economic instruments directed at public and private local stakeholders. These instruments should be mutually reinforcing and target decision processes regarding land-use zoning and land management practices. To illustrate our argument, we focus on European agri-environmental measures (directed at private landowners) and ecological fiscal transfers (for local governments). We describe each of these instruments and derive main lessons from their implementation. Finally, we present proposals for linking them to reinforce their individual contributions to the overall goal of halting biodiversity loss, taking the Portuguese case as an example.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kern Alexander

European Banking Union: a legal and institutional analysis of the Single Supervisory Mechanism and the Single Resolution Mechanism

in *European Law Review*, vol. 40, issue 2 , 154-187

This article analyses the EU legal and institutional structure of the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) and the Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM) of the European Banking Union (EBU). The Banking Union represents an unprecedented transfer of sovereignty from participating Member States to an EU institution for conducting banking supervision and for delegating authority to an EU agency to have responsibility for the preparation, implementation and funding of a European bank resolution regime. The article examines the legal basis of the SSM in the Lisbon Treaty and considers whether the ECB's strong form of independence is appropriate for its role as a bank supervisor, and whether its limited powers to take macro-prudential regulatory and supervisory measures are adequate to ensure banking sector stability. The article further argues that the SRM provides an important institutional step to build a more effective European bank resolution framework, but it suffers from institutional weaknesses and legal uncertainty regarding the use of resolution tools that undermine its ability to manage a bank resolution. The article concludes that a more effective banking regulation and resolution regime in the Banking Union requires a sounder legal basis in the EU Treaty that would empower the ECB to have full powers to conduct macro-prudential supervision and to co-ordinate more with the Single Resolution Board (SRB) in the use of resolution powers, but subject to strict criteria established in law.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Antra Bhatt and Pasquale Scaramozzino

Federal Transfers and Fiscal Discipline in India: An Empirical Evaluation

in *Public Finance Review*, 43 (1) , 53-81

This article examines the relationship between federal transfers and fiscal deficits in India. The current system of transfers has been criticized on the grounds that it distorts the incentives for states to promote fiscal discipline. We analyze the relationship between transfers, state domestic product, and fiscal deficit for a panel of states during the period 1990 to 2010. The article finds a positive long-run relationship and bidirectional causality between primary/gross fiscal deficits and non-plan transfers. Further, there is a negative long-run relationship and one-way causality from state domestic product to transfers. These results are confirmed by multivariate cointegration analysis, which finds a long-run relationship between fiscal transfers, state product per capita, and state primary deficit. The evidence in the article is



consistent with the system of fiscal transfers being “gap filling.”

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Lisa Grazzini and Alessandro Petretto

Federalism with Bicameralism

in **German Economic Review**, Volume 16, Issue 2 , 138–160

We analyse how bicameralism can affect national fiscal policies in a federal country when vertical and horizontal externalities interact. Conditions are provided to show when, at equilibrium, the two chambers agree or disagree on the choice of a national capital tax rate, depending on whether or not the pivotal voter in the two chambers is the same.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

John William Hatfield

Federalism, taxation, and economic growth

in **Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 87 , 114-125

We present a model of endogenous growth where government provides a productive public good financed by income and capital taxes. In equilibrium, a decentralized government chooses tax policy to maximize economic growth, while a centralized government does not do so. Furthermore, these conclusions hold regardless of whether governments are beholden to a median voter or are rent-maximizing Leviathans. However, a decentralized government will under-provide public goods which benefit citizens directly, while a central government beholden to the median voter will optimally invest in such public goods.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Eccleston Richard, Woolley Timothy

From Calgary to Canberra: Resource Taxation and Fiscal Federalism in Canada and Australia

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 216-243

Intergovernmental conflict over the allocation of resource revenue in federal systems is not uncommon. However, there is remarkably little scholarship on how such political tensions are managed in different federations and whether, over time, resource politics can reshape federal dynamics. This article assesses these questions through a strategic comparison of resource federalism in Canada and Australia since the 1970s. We argue that the political and institutional strategies employed within the Canadian federation, with its greater commitment to fiscal and political decentralization, has been more adept at managing short term political tensions associated with resource booms relative to the Australian model, with its creeping centrism and entrenched system of horizontal equalization. The study also finds that, over time, resource conflict has the potential to shape the practice of federalism in resource-rich jurisdictions by providing political incentives to decentralize nonrenewable resource revenue collection.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Patnaik Ila, Shah Ajay

Fundamental Redesign of Financial Law: The Indian Approach

in *India Review*, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 91-110

India is at the cusp of important financial sector regulatory reform. The reform aims at deeper changes in financial sector laws and regulatory architecture. While many incremental reforms were undertaken in the last two decades, the pace of change has slowed down owing to the constraints posed by the underlying legal framework. The key problems in the financial sector include: lack of financial inclusion, a glacial pace of innovation, the growth of an unregulated shadow financial system, numerous ponzi schemes, high inflation, and barriers to capital flows. In the last decade, there have been many efforts in rethinking financial sector regulation to address these problems. A group of expert committees created a consensus around a strategy for change, which has led to a draft law proposed by the Financial Sector Legislative Reforms Commission set up by the Ministry of Finance of the Government of India.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14736489.2015.1004257>

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Müllenbach Bernhard

Föderalismus - Finanzausgleich - Neugliederung. Überlegungen in geschichtlicher und aktueller Beleuchtung

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 63, 2015

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

Jukka Snell

Gauweiler: some institutional aspects

in *European Law Review*, vol. 40, issue 2 , 133-134

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

Mohan Rakesh, Kapur Muneesh

Getting India Back to the Growth Turnpike: What Will It Take?

in *India Review*, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 128-152

India's real GDP growth has slipped substantially since the onset of the North Atlantic financial crisis (NAFC). There are questions as to whether growth can be revived back to the high growth phase of 2003–2008 in an environment of macroeconomic and financial stability. This article argues that returning India to a high growth turnpike is quite feasible but it will need much more focused attention to the revival of manufacturing and to accelerate investment in transport



and infrastructure. The immediate priority is to achieve the kind of fiscal quality and low inflation level that was exhibited during 2003–2008, with focused attention to increasing efficiency and compliance in tax revenue collection. Higher tax revenues can facilitate increases in public investment for the delivery of public goods and services, which then crowd in private investment. However, the task ahead will be more difficult now in view of the protracted slow-down in global economic growth and in global trade.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Russo Salvatore

I costi standard tra federalismo fiscale, equilibrio istituzionale e sostenibilità della spesa sanitaria in Diritto della regione (il), numero unico

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Massimo Nardini

Il d.lgs. 126/2014: l'«armonizzazione» dei bilanci regionali nel quadro del nuovo principio di «equilibrio» ed i riflessi sull'autonomia del Consiglio

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5-6 , 1031-1064

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

Livia Mercati

Il patto di stabilità e interno: giurisprudenza costituzionale, sistema sanzionatorio, responsabilità per danno erariale

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 , 123-138

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

Ligthart Jenny E., van Oudheusden Peter

In government we trust: The role of fiscal decentralization

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 37, March 2015 , 116-128

This paper looks whether fiscal decentralization is associated with trust of citizens in government related institutions. We



expect a positive relationship based on the argument of governments' improved responsiveness to preferences of citizens that is perceived to result from more decentralized fiscal systems. Survey data from up to 42 countries over the period 1994–2007 confirm this positive relationship. It is robust to controlling for unobserved country heterogeneity and a wide array of other explanatory variables that are associated with trust in government related institutions. Moreover, we do not find that the positive association with fiscal decentralization extends to other, non-government related institutions.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Bosworth Barry, Collins Susan M.

India's Growth Slowdown: End of an Era?

in India Review, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 8-25

This article examines the sources of rapid economic growth in India in the 2000s and explanations for the growth slowdown in more recent years. We use the Indian national accounts and the National Sample Survey (NSS) to perform a growth accounting analysis. We disaggregate the total economy into agriculture, industry and services and separately identify the contributions of labor, capital and improvements in productivity. Services account for the largest share of the acceleration in 2000-10. Industry, on the other hand, is the sector most reflective of the recent slowdown. The high growth of the 2000s can be traced to strong capital accumulation, improvements in labor skills and large productivity gains. A slowing in the pace of economic reform and a general deterioration in fiscal and monetary policies appear to be the major factors responsible for the slower pace of growth since 2010.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

López-Laborda Julio, Zabalza Antoni

Intergovernmental fiscal relations: the efficiency effect of taxes, transfers, and fiscal illusion

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 1, February , 136-162

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the efficiency cost of transfers. To this end, we develop a model of individual demand decisions about the provision of a regional public good that encompasses a continuum of tax–transfer scenarios to finance regional public expenditure. We assume that individuals have identical quasi-linear preferences defined over private consumption and the regional public good, that endowment income varies between individuals and regions, and that regions have different predetermined sizes. In an economy-wide resource constrained framework we show that, despite its simplicity, this model is capable of discriminating the efficiency properties of the different scenarios considered, and that the substitution of matching transfers for own-regional taxes always raises the provision of the regional public good, despite the resource-constrained nature of the exercise. The model allows very easily the analysis of equalising transfers, which we show to be distorting only when a matching element is present. We also find that, when transfers have a matching element, 'fiscal illusion' increases the elasticity of public good provision with respect to transfers, and suggest a potentially refutable hypothesis to identify the existence of this phenomenon.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sara Pugliese



L'unione bancaria europea tra esigenze di coerenza interna e risposte alle sfide globali

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 4 , 831-865

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

Quirino Camerlengo

La tutela dell'unità economica nello Stato autonomista italiano

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5-6 , 977-1029

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

Govinda Rao M.

Political Economy of Government Finance in India

in *India Review*, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 58-72

This article analyzes important developments in Indian public finance from developmental, redistributive, and political economy perspectives. The detailed analysis of policies relating to tax, expenditure, deficits, and debt brings out the failure of these policies in achieving their objectives, which to a considerable extent is attributable to the constraints posed by political economy developments and particularly, the influence of special interest groups. The analysis of tax policy brings out the low revenue productivity on the one hand and severe distortions caused by it. The analysis of expenditure policy shows the proliferation of subsidies and transfers crowding out productive expenditures on social and physical infrastructure. The analysis of deficits and debt shows the inability of the central government in calibrating sustainable fiscal policies and underlines the need for an independent fiscal institution to monitor the budgetary process and report to the Parliament.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Mario Kölling

Reform options for the EU budget – First reflections on the new departure for a new EU budget

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E218-E237

There is a long standing debate on the reform of the EU budget. According to the final agreement on the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) 2014-2020 signed in December 2013, the Commission will present, by the end of 2016 at the latest, a review of the functioning of the MFF. The review will be accompanied by a legislative proposal for the revision of the MFF 2014-2020. This revision could provide an important occasion and stimulus to reform the financing of the budget and to readjust the spending structure.



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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kapur Devesh, Nangia Prakirti

Social Protection in India: A Welfare State Sans Public Goods?

in India Review, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 73-90

Of the two principal components of social welfare policy—basic public services and social protection—India has focused disproportionately on the latter in the last two decades, expanding existing social protection programs and creating new ones. By contrast, the country's basic public services, such as primary education, public health, and water and sanitation have languished. What explains this uneven focus? Why has India prioritized social protection over public services? This article considers explanations suggested by the existing literature on welfare states and concludes that they do not account adequately for the Indian case. Instead, it argues, the prioritization of social protection in India results from a combination of political, ideational, and institutional factors rooted in India's political economy.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Iain Mclean

Spending Too Much, Taxing Too Little? Parliaments in Fiscal Federalism

in European Political Science , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 15-27

In aggregate, general government spending in a democracy always tends to exceed general government revenue. This is because local orders of government typically raise less than they spend, with the difference covered by a block grant. This sets up well-known moral hazards associated with the resultant vertical fiscal imbalance. Various strategies for reducing this moral hazard are discussed, with foci on the possibilities of secession and of finding other ways to apply the Tiebout and marginalism principles.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Alison L. LaCroix

The Interbellum Constitution: Federalism in the Long Founding Moment

in Stanford Law Review, vol. 67, no. 2 , 397-445

Today, the mechanism of the spending power helps to drive the gears of the modern federal machine. But early nineteenth-century constitutional debates demonstrate that the spending power is essentially a work-around, and a recent one at that—a tool by which Congress achieves certain political and legal ends while respecting the formal boundaries set by Article I and the Tenth Amendment. The “interbellum” period between 1815 and 1861 was enormously significant for American constitutional law, in particular the constellation of related doctrines concerning congressional power that we now place under the general heading of “federalism”: the spending power, the enumerated powers of Article I, and the anticommandeering principle of the Tenth Amendment. Political and legal actors in the early nineteenth century believed they lived in a long Founding moment in which the fundamental terms of the federal-state relationship were still open to debate. Constitutional scholars have mistakenly overlooked the constitutional creativity of the period. As a normative matter, I argue for an approach to modern constitutional interpretation that recognizes the ever-changing nature of the landscape of constitutional permissibility, and that offers documentary evidence of the



precise contours of that change. Studying the evolution of the spending power over time, especially where the text itself remains constant, demonstrates that ideas about federal structure are not fixed. Therefore, constitutional federalism itself is not fixed—a particularly important insight in an area of constitutional doctrine that is dominated by originalist approaches.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Moore Clive

The Pacific Islanders' Fund and the Misappropriation of the Wages of Deceased Pacific Islanders by the Queensland Government

in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 61, Issue 1, March , 1-18

The Queensland Pacific Islanders' Fund operated between 1885 and the 1900s but is largely unknown today. It was established in the Treasury to facilitate the operation of the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1880 Amendment Act 1885 to safeguard return fares and to ensure that the money due to deceased Islanders was returned to their families. However, over time, because of the high death rates, the wages of deceased Islanders became so substantial that they were able to be used to supplement the administration of the whole labour trade. Money was drawn off to subsidize Islander hospitals and Christian missions, to an extent that in the final 1900s deportation years there was no longer enough money available to pay full fares. The Queensland government seldom returned the full wages to the families of the deceased Islanders and profited largely from their deaths. In today's money, millions of dollars were misappropriated, in similar fashion to wages misappropriated by the same government from Aborigines.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Maitreesh Ghataka & Sanchari Royb

Two States: A Comparative Analysis of Gujarat and Bihar's Growth Performance Between 1981–2011

in India Review, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 26-42

We examine the growth performance of two states, Gujarat and Bihar, whose economic turnaround under the leadership of Narendra Modi and Nitish Kumar has received a lot of attention in the run up to the recently concluded national elections. We study if there are trend breaks in the growth rates in Gujarat and Bihar relative to the national average after these respective leaders came to power. We decompose the growth rates in these two states by sector, namely, agriculture, industry, and services, and try to ascertain where any potential growth spurt may have come from. We also look at the evidence on trend breaks in growth of real wages in these states relative to the national average as a first step to understand how growth may or may not have trickled down to the poorer sections.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Melo Marcus André, Pereira Carlos, Souza Saulo

Why do some governments resort to 'creative accounting' but not others? Fiscal governance in the Brazilian federation

in International Political Science Review , vol. 35, n. 5, november , 595-612



ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the determinants of compliance with fiscal rules. Using information from 27 Brazilian state governments, the paper shows that the level of political competition and the degree of political autonomy of the fiscal watchdogs explain the extent of creative accounting in the Brazilian federation. Despite hard budget constraints imposed by the much-acclaimed Fiscal Responsibility Law, state governors retain the strategic ability to undertake fiscal window dressing in response to fiscal stress. As fiscal watchdogs are not immune to the influence of the legislature and state governor, however, this paper demonstrates that their level of independence and autonomy is associated with the degree of creative accounting. In addition, we show that political competition encourages non-compliance through various causal mechanisms. Building effective and autonomous institutions is a precondition for deterring fiscal misconduct but this solution is ultimately a by-product of a political equilibrium resulting from self-enforced behavior of politicians.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Ozge Kemahlioglu

You have free access to this content Intergovernmental Politics of Fiscal Balance in a Federal Democracy: The Experience of Brazil, 1996–2005

in *Latin American Politics & Society*, Volume 57, Issue 1, 51–74

Irresponsible fiscal behavior by subnational units is a concern for federal or decentralized systems, especially in the developing world. States' expenditures in Brazil have been no different. Still, spending varies considerably among the Brazilian states, even after controlling for their financial resources. This article provides a political explanation for the variation in current spending, focusing on intergovernmental political relationships. It argues that credit claiming for pork distributed in a state plays a crucial role and that governors elevate state spending in order to make up for their loss in political credit from the pork distributed by the president. Analyzing data from the period 1996–2005, it finds that expenditures decrease as the relative number of federal deputies from the state governor's party increases compared to the number of deputies from the president's governing coalition when the national agenda encourages federal pork distribution in the states.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Claeys Peter, Martire Federico

'If you want me to stay, pay': a model of asymmetric federalism in centralised countries

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 2, April, 305-320

Highly centralised countries like Italy and Spain have devolved fiscal power to regions in an asymmetric way. Some well-off regions get transfers that turn them into net recipients of the fiscal system. We demonstrate in a political economy model of fiscal federalism that, in centralised countries, side-payments are used to compensate regions that are set back by the fiscal system and can credibly threaten to secede. Compensation blocks political negotiation on alternative—more efficient—fiscal systems. We study two regions, Valle d'Aosta in Italy and País Vasco in Spain, as an example.

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



Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Fabio Masini

The ECB: towards a monetary authority of a federal Europe
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E207-E217

The article explores the present role of the ECB in European economic governance and point at the required steps to make such governance effective in tackling the challenges of the Eurozone and of the European Union in the global economic order.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Stanley Fischer

The Federal Reserve and the Global Economy
in *IMF Economic Review* , Volume 63, Issue 1 , 8-21

The second Per Jacobsson Foundation Lecture of 2014, "The Federal Reserve and the Global Economy," was presented by Stanley Fischer, Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, on Saturday, October 11, in the Jack Morton Auditorium at George Washington University in Washington, DC, in conjunction with the Annual Meetings of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The event was moderated by Per Jacobsson Foundation Chair Guillermo Ortiz.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

William B English, J David López-Salido and Robert J Tetlow

The Federal Reserve's Framework for Monetary Policy: Recent Changes and New Questions
in *IMF Economic Review* , Volume 63, Issue 1 , 22-70

The Federal Reserve has made substantial changes to its framework for monetary policy in recent years. On balance, the Federal Reserve has moved closer to the "flexible inflation targeting" used, in some form or another, by many foreign central banks. The Federal Reserve's approach, however, includes a balanced approach to its dual objectives and uses a flexible horizon over which policy aims to foster its objectives. The paper uses a small-scale macro model to help illuminate the Federal Reserve's use of forward guidance. It also examines the case for establishing a different policy objective, such as a higher inflation target or a nominal income target. The paper finds that such changes might be beneficial, but also have potentially significant drawbacks.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Trampusch Christine

The Financialisation of Sovereign Debt: An Institutional Analysis of the Reforms in German Public Debt Management
in *German Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 119-136



This study explores the financialisation of sovereign debt through an in-depth study of institutional change in German debt management. Between 1998 and 2006, the Ministry of Finance fundamentally altered the management of federal public debt by not only disempowering the Bundesbank and Federal Debt Administration as debt managers and outsourcing this task to a new agency, the Federal Finance Agency; moreover, the conservative debt strategy was replaced by strict market orientation. Conceptualising this change as institutional innovation, the paper argues that the Ministry of Finance played a leading role in the reform process. It shows that the arrival of the Euro brought with it a power struggle between the Ministry and the Bundesbank. The evidence fits better the concept of institutional innovation as a result of entrepreneurship than approaches which conceptualise institutional innovations as consequences of profit maximisation or layering and displacement.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Domenico Lombardi **Manuela Moschella**

The institutional and cultural foundations of the Federal Reserve's and ECB's non-standard policies in *Stato e mercato*, numero 1 , 127-152

For institutions that are so inclined to «boring» policy-making as the Governor of the Bank of England once put it, central banks' recent adoptions of non-standard policies has been remarkable. With benchmark rates at or close to zero, a number of central banks in the advanced economies launched innovative programs and facilities and used their balance sheet to mitigate financial instability and support economic recovery. In spite of their common policy goals, central banks' unconventional monetary policies (UMPs) vary considerably in scope and design across advanced economies. The variation in UMP is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the UMPs of the two most prominent central banks: the European Central Bank (ECB) and the US Federal Reserve (FED). Why did the ECB and the FED design different UMPs? Specifically, why did the FED rely extensively on balance sheet policies such as asset purchase interventions rather than on non-standard liquidity facilities like the ECB? Why did the two central banks adopt different types of forward guidance? Using the comparative insights from the case studies, we argue that variation of UMPs cannot be satisfactorily explained by economic and financial fundamentals alone. Explanations that emphasize the influence of cultural identities as enshrined in the legal mandates of the two central banks are also insufficient to account for policy variation. We therefore suggest additional factors that enhance the explanation for why the ECB and the FED formulated different UMPs during the crisis. Specifically, we argue that the decision-making systems of the central bank's monetary policy setting body and the accountability relationship that tie the central bank to policy-makers also matter in the design of UMPs.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pietrzyk-Kaszyńska Agata, Grodzińska-Jurczak Małgorzata

Bottom-up perspectives on nature conservation systems: The differences between regional and local administrations

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 48, April , 20-31

Many proposals to improve biodiversity governance target the stage of policy formulation. In this paper we highlight the importance of the subsequent policy realization stage, which is mostly carried out by sub-national administrative levels. We explore the differences in the opinions of practitioners representing regional and local public institutions in



conservation policy design and implementation. The research was conducted through surveying a representative sample of local and regional practitioners within Małopolska, Poland. The results illustrate a cross-level mismatch between the regional and local practitioners. That is, practitioners operating at different administrative levels have significantly different opinions on nature conservation system performance, system effectiveness, the distribution of power among actors, and on the allocation of costs and benefits stemming from nature conservation. Local level representatives are generally more pleased with overall nature conservation performance and its outcomes, while regional level representatives are more skeptical, especially toward local level performance and the overall effectiveness of nature conservation. Also, local level respondents are more critical, while regional practitioners hold more positive images of the procedures involved during policy implementation. We highlight the practical implications of this kind of research, and the importance of quantitative data in evaluating the overall performance of conservation policy.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Béhar Daniel

Changer les institutions ou changer les pratiques ? Les priorités de la réforme territoriale

in *Esprit*, Février 2015 , 85-95

In the 1970s, local government seemed to be a solution to the crisis ; today, it is seen as part of the problem. Resting on the idea of territorial stability and population permanence, local institutions are profoundly unsettled by personal mobility and economic flows. The logic of « place politics » must be replaced by a politics of links.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Francesco Bonini

Comuni e Province, circoscrizioni (all. A)

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 (supplemento) , 55-90

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Piero Aimo

Comuni e Province, funzioni e controlli (all. A)

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 (supplemento) , 7-54

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vanier Martin

Démocratie locale: changement d'horizon ?



in *Esprit*, Février 2015 , 109-118

People live in networks, but democracy is still very much a matter of places, which limits its scope, since more and more decisions are made between rather than within single territories. How can we extend the reach of democracy beyond the borders of a city ? User participation, managing the commons are possible solutions, which remain however too little discussed.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Helge Blakkisrud

Governing the governors: legitimacy vs. control in the reform of the Russian regional executive

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 31, Issue 1 , 104-121

In December 2011, President Medvedev unexpectedly announced that the Kremlin was planning to re-introduce gubernatorial elections. Such elections had been discontinued in the aftermath of the 2004 Beslan terrorist attack. This article traces the new reform: the process of adopting the necessary legislative amendments in spring 2012; implementation through the elections in October 2012 – and partial backtracking in April 2013. The process was framed by a conflict between the wish to increase the legitimacy of the governors through popular participation and the Kremlin's perceived need for control over the outcome. In the 2012–2013 reform cycle, control eventually trumped legitimacy.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Evans Richard

Harnessing the economic potential of 'second-tier' European cities: lessons from four different state/urban systems

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 1, February , 163-183

In this paper I argue that 'second-tier' European cities warrant more attention because they could potentially help secure balanced development and territorial cohesion. I compare the asset bases of four such cities (Munich, Tampere, Timisoara, and Leeds) located within different state and urban systems and examine the scope for public policy to improve their growth trajectory. Each city has sufficient economic critical mass and institutional capacity to act as motors for their respective regions and to relieve pressure on capital city regions by attenuating the steady drift of investment and jobs to them and encouraging greater deconcentration of investment. The case studies suggest that general characteristics of effective urban policy making also apply to second-tier cities: continuity, compositional balance, comprehensive packages of measures, stakeholder participation in design, and delivery to reflect their particularities. However, better ways of handling relations between second-tier cities and other city regional authorities and interests are needed.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Andrew Simon A., Short Jesseca E., Jung Kyujin, Arlikatti Sudha

Intergovernmental Cooperation in the Provision of Public Safety: Monitoring Mechanisms Embedded in



Interlocal Agreements

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 75, Issue 3 , 401–410,

This article examines how monitoring mechanisms embedded in interlocal agreements (ILAs) are associated with vertical and horizontal intergovernmental relations. The authors hypothesize that ILAs established by local governments with higher-level governments are likely to rely on a clearly specified set of rules to establish an administrative structure, whereas ILAs established by local governments with other local governments rely on associational benefits to ensure that policy preferences are aligned across multiple political boundaries. The article examines ILAs established by small town, county, and municipal governments in Denton County, Texas, for the provision of emergency medical, police, and fire services. Findings show that more than half of the ILAs specified a financial reporting system, but an almost equal percentage did not contain features requiring financial records to be available for audit by a third party. Quadratic assignment procedure correlation analysis confirmed the presence of cross-monitoring mechanisms and showed that the patterns of ILAs tend to cluster around a geographic space

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mariano Marotta

L'associazionismo obbligatorio delle funzioni dei piccoli Comuni calabresi

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 , 151-162

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Giblin Béatrice

L'obsession du local : une exception française?

in *Esprit*, Février 2015 , 64-74

All major European countries have made territorial reforms in the past forty years, slashing the number of municipalities. How were these policies carried out? Why does France so belatedly join in?

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Béja Alice

La France à la découpe? Introduction

in *Esprit*, Février 2015 , 61-73

The full text is free:

www.esprit.presse.fr/archive/review/article.php?code=38225&folder=2



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Torres López M. Asunción

La Reforma del régimen local en España

in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, Fascicolo 1

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Octavio Salazar Benítez

La autonomía local devaluada: La dudosa «racionalidad» de la Ley 27/2013, de 27 de diciembre, de racionalización y sostenibilidad de la Administración local

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 369-394

Law 27/2013, of 27 December, of rationalization and sustainability of local government has been a step in the fragile local autonomy guaranteed in our constitutional system. The reform, which responds to the demands of sustainability to rationalization, attentive not only against local autonomy but also against the competence of the Comunidades Autónomas. While left unresolved the central question that is none other than the location of the local authorities in the territorial structure and especially its financing.

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Estèbe Philippe

La décentralisation? Tous contre!

in *Esprit*, Février 2015 , 74-84

There isn't in France a real desire for devolution. Politicians and elites are happy with a situation in which local powers continue to depend largely on the State. Today, this model is in crisis : the State can no longer afford to protect its territories. Cities, specifically metropolises, are therefore starting to claim greater political autonomy.

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Chauvel Jeanne

Le secrétariat d'État au développement de la Région capitale (2008-2010)

in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 35, Number 2 , 25-49

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content:

Le 26 juin 2007, le Président de la République, Nicolas Sarkozy, nouvellement élu prononce à Roissy un discours fondateur d'un processus de projet urbain pour la métropole parisienne. Ce discours inaugure une série de déclarations et de décisions visant à redonner à Paris les moyens d'une ville globale dans un contexte de concurrence accrue entre



métropoles mondiales. Le développement économique de Paris est en effet essentiel pour l'Etat français, car l'économie francilienne joue le rôle de locomotive de l'économie nationale. Le 8 janvier 2008, le Président de la République fait ainsi ce constat lors d'une conférence de presse :

La situation de l'agglomération parisienne est devenue inacceptable, la dureté de la vie qu'elle impose à un trop grand nombre de ses habitants, les coûts humains, les coûts écologiques, les coûts sociaux qu'engendrent ses dysfonctionnements ne sont pas supportables. Paris doit retrouver sa vitalité, son rayonnement, son attractivité, sa créativité. Paris doit redevenir pour le monde entier le symbole d'un art de vivre, de la plus belle ville du monde.

Les constats alarmistes se succèdent en effet depuis quelques temps dans la presse sur la perte de vitesse de l'agglomération parisienne : logements trop chers et trop peu nombreux, ralentissement économique, vieillissement et inadéquation du réseau de transport, accroissement des inégalités territoriales et violences urbaines manifestes et latentes dans les territoires en difficulté, etc. Dans ce contexte, il s'agit de donner à Paris les moyens de se transformer pour répondre à tous ces défis, comme elle l'a fait pendant cinq siècles : Paris a su évoluer en restant « propice à l'éclosion de nouvelles idées et à l'épanouissement de changements économiques et sociaux » (Gilli, 2014, p. 31-32-33). La ville a ainsi pu conserver son rôle de capitale mondiale où se concentrent les pouvoirs et les richesses. La capitale est en effet le centre politique du pays où se situent toutes les institutions de l'Etat central : mais c'est aussi un centre politique tourné vers le monde. Christian Lefèvre rappelle que Paris, en tant que capitale d'un grand empire colonial, a joué un rôle important au niveau international. Ceci a laissé des traces dans la façon dont la classe politique, au niveau national mais aussi au niveau local, se représente Paris et son rôle dans le pays et dans le monde. Il écrit ainsi (Lefèvre, 2011, p. 155) :

As the capital of the French colonial empire, Paris has played a powerful role at the international level. This has considerably structured the feelings the political and economic elites have of its status – that is, a de facto and de jure world city. As an example, the mayors of Paris have always chaired the international Association of French-speaking Cities, whose membership of about 150 cities goes well beyond the French-speaking countries (e.g., Cairo, Sofia, and Tbilisi are members). For many, Paris does not compete with the world because it has no need to compete; the world has always come to Paris. In a certain way, Paris has conquered the world. In the globalization era, this arrogance and self-confidence may be an obstacle to the continuation of such an international status.

Ce sentiment que Paris doit se battre pour rester attractive dans la course entre métropoles mondiales – et non pas se reposer sur ses lauriers – est omniprésent dans les discours politiques du chef de l'Etat en 2007 et 2008. Des initiatives sont donc prises pour construire un projet d'envergure, pour construire un Paris du futur. Une consultation internationale sur le Grand Paris est annoncée en décembre 2007 par le ministère de la Culture et lancée en juin 2008 : elle rassemble 10 équipes pluridisciplinaires autour d'architectes plus ou moins célèbres. Elle a pour objectif de récolter des bonnes idées qui doivent alimenter un projet d'aménagement global pour l'Ile-de-France. C'est surtout une opération de communication grandiose qui vise à légitimer un projet...

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Christopher B. Goodman

Local Government Fragmentation and the Local Public Sector: A Panel Data Analysis



in *Public Finance Review*, 43 (1) , 82-107

This study analyzes the influence of fragmentation and concentration variables on per capita direct expenditures for all counties in the United States from 1982 to 2002. Building on recent research, fragmentation and concentration variables are developed to incorporate the horizontal as well as the vertical dimensions. This analysis explicitly takes into account the potential simultaneity between individual preferences for the spatial arrangement of local governments and the size of the local public sector using the element of time. The findings suggest that increased levels of fragmentation lead to an enlargement of the local public sector; however, the results are more complex than expected. Similarly, the concentration of service delivery responsibilities into counties and single purpose districts tends to increase the size of the local public sector.

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Elisabetta Colombo

Milano e i Corpi Santi (1860-1885)

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 (supplemento) , 347-418

No abstract available

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

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Coco Antonella

Neopatrimonialism and Local Elite Attitudes. Similarities and Differences Across Italian Regions

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 2 , 167-186

The paper presents the results of a survey to explore local elite attitudes towards legality across Italian regions. Specifically, it focuses on the concept of neopatrimonialism as a means for analysing empirical evidence concerning perceived diffuse illegal practices entailing personal use of public and private administration resources in order to gain particularistic advantage. The distinction between crimes and norms manipulation permits the identification of similarities and differences across Italian regions, since they differ from each other in terms of intensity of phenomena. The emerging attitudinal dynamics, concerning high expectations of widespread illegal practices, raise issues about their influence undermining incremental and durable changes in terms of more legal and responsible institutions. Furthermore neopatrimonialism seems strengthened by difficulties in identifying common institutional actions contesting illegal practices and a diminished sense of trust in the effectiveness of individual action.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.929532>

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Manganaro Francesco

Nuovi assetti degli enti territoriali nella complessiva riforma istituzionale

in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, Fascicolo 1



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Egner Björn

Parliaments in Disguise? How German Councillors perceive Local Councils

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 183-201

Drawing on a survey among German local councillors, the article is discussing the question if German local councils do constitute 'parliamentary' bodies. To which extent do local councillors perceive the council as a parliament and themselves as members of a parliament? This question is especially interesting in Germany, where the public largely associates terms like 'parliament' with the local council and 'government' with the mayor and the executive officers, even if local institutions by law all belong to the executive branch. Despite the institutional setup, I claim that councillors perceive themselves as 'local MPs'. By using the concept of parliamentarism, this article analyses the self-assessments of nearly 900 German local councillors. The article shows that German local councillors act in a quasi-parliamentarian style by controlling the executive, but take important decisions within the frame of 'local laws' and seek to implement their party's programme. Councillors, representing their respective party in the council, also negotiate coalitions and divide themselves into 'majority' and 'minority' benches, resembling the setup of a 'real' parliament.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hess David J., Coley Jonathan S., Mai Quan D., Hilliard Lucas R.

Party differences and energy reform: fiscal conservatism in the California legislature

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 228-248

Research building on political economy and ecological modernisation theories has paid increasing attention to the conditions that affect the prospects for environmental reform. Much work focuses on variation among political units in support of a single type of energy policy, whereas we examine within-state variation in support of a wide range of energy reform policies. Applying multilevel analyses to the 2011–2012 legislative session in California, we identify bill characteristics associated with divisions between Republicans and Democrats. Expanding the size or scope of government (through spending, government commissions, and business regulations) reduces support for energy reform among Republicans, whereas promoting transparency and other 'good government' initiatives reduces support among Democrats. In contrast with the standard view that Republicans oppose almost all energy reforms proposed by Democrats, we identify bill characteristics that increase the likelihood of support from both parties, namely tax reductions and credits, including for bills that promote renewable energy.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09644016.2014.973222>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Spicer Zachary

Regionalism, Municipal Organization, and Interlocal Cooperation in Canada

in **Canadian Public Policy** , Volume 41 Number 2 , 137-150



The challenge of governing multi-municipal areas is a long-standing policy problem for those who study local government. While changes to government structures are often suggested as a solution to the coordination and servicing dilemmas inherent within metropolitan areas, more recent research has demonstrated that decentralized, voluntary means of interlocal cooperation show promise in providing for service and policy continuity within these regions. Very little research has been conducted on the state of voluntary cooperation in Canadian metropolitan areas. This article seeks to correct this by studying interlocal agreements within six Canadian metropolitan areas, while introducing new measures for examining the intensity of these relationships. Overall, this article finds that municipalities within these areas are using interlocal agreements sparingly, and those with arrangements are mostly signing low-value, low-risk agreements that do not integrate governance mechanisms or service responsibility.

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Henderson Ailsa, McEwen Nicola

Regions as Primary Political Communities: A Multi-Level Comparative Analysis of Turnout in Regional Elections in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 189-215

Despite the importance of regional democracy, comparative analyses of voter participation in regional elections are rare. We examine individual participation in regional elections in Canada, Spain, and the United Kingdom and make three arguments: (i) standard models of turnout devised for national contests only partly explain regional turnout, with the personal characteristics of voters more important than contextual variables; (ii) territorial identity and the level of jurisdictional authority wielded by the regional legislature are important determinants of electors' willingness to participate in regional elections; (iii) when we contrast subjective perception and objective/aggregate findings we see that regional legislative authority matters more than perceived salience, and individual regional identity matters more than the views of fellow citizens, but that these effects are largely conditional on age.

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Cole Alistair, Harguindéguy Jean-Baptiste, Stafford Ian, Pasquier Romain, Visscher Christian de

States of Convergence in Territorial Governance

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 297-321

This article engages questions of policy convergence and divergence in four social-democratic European regions (Andalucía, Brittany, Wales, and Wallonia) in a period of economic crisis and ongoing political decentralization. It develops an analytical framework, the "States of Convergence," as a useful heuristic for understanding the interplay between convergence and divergence pressures, and processes of territorial adaptation and translation. Processes of hard and soft convergence and divergence operate in distinctive ways depending upon whether inputs, outcomes, processes, or institutions are considered. Hard convergence arguments are most convincing in terms of inputs (referring to pressures of international ranking and rating, tougher European Union budgetary rules, enhanced central steering and tighter controls on public expenditure). They are less cogent for understanding outputs, institutions, and processes.

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Mario Kölling

Subnational Governments in the Negotiation of the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014–2020: The Case of Spain

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 1 , 71-89

The negotiation of the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014–2020 has been an outstanding topic on the agenda of the EU during the past few years, on which subnational units also tried to have a say. In this article we analyse the formal institutional framework available for the Spanish Autonomous Communities to participate in the negotiation of the Cohesion Policy 2014–2020 and the Common Agriculture Policy 2014–2020. By analysing this participation, this text explores how this institutional framework has evolved during the past few years and how the Autonomous Communities could represent their interests at the domestic and supranational level within these crucial negotiations.

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Domínguez José Andrés, De Noronha Teresa, Vaz Eric

Sustainability in the trans-border regions? The case of Andalusia - Algarve

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 14, No. 1-2, Special Issue on Cities as Engines for Sustainable Development , 151-163

The goal of this work is to detect the basic characteristics of the development of the southern border between Spain and Portugal. This trans-border area is described and analysed comparing the region of Algarve, in Portugal and the region of the County, in Huelva, Spain. The method used 15 quantitative indicators, desegregated at municipal level, obtained from different official sources and applied to 30 municipalities. The analysis includes multivariate statistic methods. The conclusions show that those indicators related to national governance systems are of utmost importance in the cluster classification. Furthermore, those municipalities with higher development levels are also less sustainable from the environmental point of view - this is probably due to the fact that tourism supports the fragile socio-economic systems in many of such regions. Significantly, the clustering tendencies show that the Portuguese municipalities are tourism oriented (or less tourism oriented) and the Spanish ones are agri-business (or less agribusiness oriented). Lastly, such geographic structures seem to have its roots in long term paths of development.

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Tsirbas Yannis

The 2014 Local Elections in Greece: Looking for Patterns in a Changing Political System

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 133-155

In May 2014, municipal and regional elections were held in Greece, concurrently with European elections. This was the first electoral test after the 2012 twin earthquake elections, which marked the beginning of a radical restructuring of the Greek political system. The fragmentation and inconsistency of voting behaviour across different polls in 2014 indicate that Greek politics remains in a transitional phase whose final outcome is still contested. Other characteristics of the elections, including the high proportion of independent candidates, the radical renewal of political personnel and the emergence of Berlusconi in two major municipalities, underline the continuing lack of legitimacy of the political system.



Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.1002555>

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Craw Michael

The Effect of Fragmentation and Second-Order Devolution on Efficacy of Local Public Welfare Policy

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 270-296

Following implementation of welfare reform in 1997, twenty states devolved public welfare functions to local governments. Yet, little consensus exists about how effective local public welfare expenditures are at reducing local poverty: local governments can offer policies more responsive to local needs, but may also face a welfare migration effect. I argue that the effectiveness of local public welfare policy at poverty reduction is a function of interjurisdictional and intergovernmental arrangements. Analyzing data from the 1997 to 2007 Census of Governments, I find that the magnitude of the marginal effect of local public welfare expenditures on poverty is smaller in jurisdictionally fragmented regions than in consolidated regions. In addition, the magnitude of the marginal effect of local public welfare spending is greater following implementation of welfare reform in states that devolved authority to the local level than in states that did not.

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Terman Jessica, Feiock Richard

Third-Party Federalism: Using Local Governments (and Their Contractors) to Implement National Policy

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 2, Spring , 322-349

The federal government relies on states and localities to implement federal policy. The Department of Energy's Energy Efficiency and Conservation Block Grant Program is one case in point. As a part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), over \$3.2 billion was directed to local government energy efficiency and sustainability efforts. However, local governments have struggled to achieve timely implementation—one of the key goals of the program as specified by the federal government. We find that using contractors and the complications associated with using these third-party implementers influenced achievement of this federal goal. The insights for intergovernmental grant implementation derived from this analysis provide a foundation for integrating the fiscal federalism and contracting literatures into a broader theory of third-party federalism.

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Béhar Daniel, Lévy Jacques

Y a-t-il une bonne échelle locale ? (entretien)

in **Esprit**, Février 2015 , 96-108

Each territory has objective (mostly economic) and subjective resources (identity, culture...) ; but today, our lives are made of a web of different places, different uses. Is there an administrative scale that could map it all? How can representative politics reflect these shifting allegiances ?



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Del Gaizo Danilo

(Macro)regioni e riforma costituzionale

in Federalismi, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Fernando Rosenblatt, Germán Bidegain, Felipe Monestier and Rafael Piñeiro Rodríguez

A Natural Experiment in Political Decentralization: Local Institutions and Citizens' Political Engagement in Uruguay

in Latin American Politics & Society, Volume 57, Issue 2 , 91–110

The potential democratizing effect of political decentralization reforms has been a matter of substantial theoretical and empirical debate. This article analyzes the effect of local democratic institution building on the political attitudes and behavior of citizens living in small towns in Uruguay. More specifically, using a natural experiment design, this research seeks to establish the causal impact of recently established elections of local authorities on individuals' political engagement. It develops a comparative case study analyzing the consequences of this institutional innovation in two towns. It shows that individuals from the town where citizens have the opportunity to elect their local authorities have more positive attitudes toward politics than those from the town without such elections.

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Mcewen Nicola, Petersohn Bettina

Between Autonomy and Interdependence: The Challenges of Shared Rule after the Scottish Referendum

in Political Quarterly , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 192–200

Abstract

Drawing on the distinction between self-rule and shared rule in multilevel states, this article argues that shared rule has been the neglected element of the UK devolution settlement. The ability of the devolved administrations to participate in, and influence, national decision making through shared rule mechanisms is very limited. The article argues that the lack of shared rule is especially problematic in light of the increasing complexity of the Scottish devolution settlement in the wake of the Scotland Act 2012 and the Smith commission report. Smith, in particular, seems set to increase both the power of the Scottish Parliament and its dependence on UK policy decisions in the areas of tax, welfare and the economy. Creating a more robust intergovernmental system which could manage these new interdependencies will be a significant challenge, and yet, without such a system, the new settlement will be difficult to sustain.



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Bailey Nick, Pill Madeleine

Can the state empower communities through localism? An evaluation of recent approaches to neighbourhood governance in England

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 2, April , 289-304

‘Empowerment’ is a term much used by policy makers with an interest in improving service delivery and promoting different forms of neighbourhood governance. But the term is ambiguous and has no generally accepted definition. Indeed, there is a growing paradox between the rhetoric of community empowerment and an apparent shift towards increased centralisation of power away from the neighbourhood in developed economies. In this paper we explore the literature relating to empowerment and identify two broad conceptions which reflect different emphases on neoliberalism. We go on to discuss two models illustrating different levels of state intervention at the neighbourhood level and set out evidence from two neighbourhood councils in Milton Keynes in central England. In conclusion, it is argued that those initiatives which are top-down, state-led policy initiatives tend to result in the least empowerment (as defined by government), whereas the bottom-up, self-help projects, which may be partly state enabled, at least provide an opportunity to create the spaces where there is some potential for varying degrees of transformation. Further empirical research is needed to test how far localist responses can challenge constraints on empowerment imposed by neoliberalism.

Full text available online at <http://www.envplan.com/openaccess/c12331r.pdf>

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Pizzetti Francesco

Centocinquanta anni di dibattito sui confini regionali

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Moulaert Frank, Parra Constanza, Swyngedouw Erik

Ciudades, barrios y gobernanza multiescalar en la Europa urbana

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, vol. 40, no. 119 , 5-24

ABSTRACT: Las políticas urbanas, especialmente aquellas orientadas al desarrollo de barrios, carecen de consistencia en el tiempo y en su “régimen urbano”. En Europa, durante las últimas dos décadas, la política urbana ha experimentado un movimiento pendular, desde una política centrada en el barrio de corte social-comunitaria en la década de 1990, hacia una política para la ciudad manejada por la economía y el mercado inmobiliario en los 2000, y el llamado urgente de los últimos años a reintroducir innovación social y barrios en la política urbana. A partir de experiencias de innovación social en ciudades europeas y de sus formas de gobierno, pero también de cómo desafían a las autoridades públicas, este artículo extrae lecciones sobre innovación social, desarrollo urbano y formas de



gobierno más sólidas en el tiempo y en relación con el contexto. Constancia en el financiamiento, articulación y aprendizaje recíproco en la gobernanza y una ética comunitaria solidaria parecen ser las bases de dicha solidez.

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Caluwaerts Didier, Reuchamps Min

Combining Federalism with Consociationalism: Is Belgian Consociational Federalism Digging its Own Grave? in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, 2015 , 277-295

Belgian consociational federalism is often praised for its ability to deal peacefully with the country's internal divisions. Nevertheless, recent political stalemates raise the question: Is Belgian consociational federalism digging its own grave? This article argues that granting segmental autonomy effectively accommodates political conflicts that are currently on the agenda, but renders the process of intersegmental conflict accommodation increasingly more difficult in the long run. More specifically, federalism undermines the problem-solving capacity of the other power-sharing mechanisms in three ways: (1) it increases demands for more autonomy, (2) it decreases the potential for package deals and (3) it lowers the costs of non-agreements which induce a political stalemate. These evolutions are often overlooked, but go to the heart of the impasse Belgian politics has recently experienced.

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Jean-François Leclercq

Comment éviter un démembrement d'Etat à la suite d'élections? Brèves considérations pratiques in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 1 , 115-120

No abstract available

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Jeffery Charlie

Constitutional Change—Without End?

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 275–278

No abstract available

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Wyborn Carina

Cross-Scale Linkages in Connectivity Conservation: Adaptive governance challenges in spatially distributed networks

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 25, Issue 1, January-February , 1-15



Adaptive governance aspires to support learning and experimentation through polycentric and collaborative approaches. Collaborative decision-making focused around a particular problem or region, the ideal suggests, enables actors to have greater flexibility to experiment, learn and respond to the particularities of their landscape. This paper examines the theoretical promise of adaptive governance through an in-depth case study of a connectivity conservation initiative in Australia. Habitat 141° is a network of public, private and civil society actors seeking to align conservation actions dispersed across large spatial scales. In addition to well-established challenges to collaborative practice, sustaining the complex governance arrangements intended to connect local-to-regional scales undermined Habitat 141°'s capacity to provide vertical and horizontal connections between scales of decision-making. Without these linkages, Habitat 141°'s envisaged governance structure was unable to support the necessary functions of coordination and self-organization critical to polycentric governance. This paper highlights challenges to collective action in spatially distributed networks, providing critical empirical insight into the practical challenges of adaptive governance in nested, collaborative, polycentric networks.

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Spina Nicholas

Decentralisation and political participation: An empirical analysis in Western and Eastern Europe
in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 35, n. 4, september , 448-462

ABSTRACT: A major justification for bringing government "closer to the people" is that it improves the opportunities for and frequency of citizen participation in the political system. This article first reviews the major arguments for decentralisation and why it is credited with increasing participation. I then perform statistical analyses in 22 states with country-level decentralisation data and public opinion data drawn from the 2006 European Social Survey. The findings generally fail to support the conventional wisdom that decentralisation improves political participation.

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Benjamin Edwards, Serdar Yilmaz and Jamie Boex

Decentralization as a Post-Conflict Strategy: Local Government Discretion and Accountability in Sierra Leone
in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 25 Issue 1 , 46-60

Sierra Leone has made progress in recovering from a decade-long civil war, in part due to decentralization. As a post-conflict stabilization strategy, decentralization has been effective in satisfying the desire for more equitable political representation, and three rounds of peaceful elections have strengthened democratic norms. However, more needs to be performed to strengthen local governments in order to address regional horizontal inequity. Solely political decentralization is not sufficient in addressing regional differences in pro-poor service delivery, which was a key driver of conflict. It requires broader commitment to establish a functioning local government system, including central government subscription to the tenets of administrative and fiscal decentralization. Though Sierra Leone has remained stable in terms of political violence, recent data show that the nation has not made great strides in addressing weak and inequitable social service delivery. This paper argues that this stagnation is a product of the incomplete nature of the post-conflict stabilization strategy of decentralization and that correcting this failure will require strong commitment from the central government to implementing the full measure of the existing legal framework for decentralization. Copyright © 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.



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Manuel Fondevilla Maron

Derecho a decidir y soberanía. A propósito de la STC 42/2014, de 25 de marzo

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 587-608

STC 42/2014 partially annulled the Parliament of Catalonia declaration of sovereignty. This paper analyzes the main points of this resolution. Regarding the declaration of unconstitutionality and annulment of first paragraph that established that the Catalan People is a «sovereign subject», we agree with the Court that it was the only constitutionally admissible solution. We disagree, however, the solution adopted about the third, seventh and ninth points, that we believe should also be declared unconstitutional and annulled. We criticize also the formalist conception of constitutional amendment instrument defended by the Court.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Whittaker Geraint Rhys

Developing a plural nation? Black and minority ethnic participation in the 2011 Welsh referendum

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 15, n. 3 , 385-413

This paper analyses the manner in which some Black and minority ethnic (BAME) people are adding new voices to conceptions of what national identity can be by re-constructing their own position within the nation's political narratives. It will do so by exploring how the 2011 referendum to establish legislative powers for the Welsh Assembly Government mobilised some BAME individuals and organisations, to contribute to the on-going development of a Welsh political identity, by announcing their support for the 'Yes' campaign. This will analyse how the scale of the national is made meaningful in particular spaces by those at the forefront of BAME relations, and considers the possibility this presents for creating a future plural nationality. It will do so by looking specifically at how sub-national identity challenges primary national narratives, to deepen our understanding of the complex relationships between ethnic diversity and the performance of national identity, in the re-imagining of contemporary ideas of nationhood.

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

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Eaton Kent

Disciplining Regions: Subnational Contention in Neoliberal Peru

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 2 , 124-146

This article examines tensions between two governance trends that have impacted subnational regions across the global south in recent decades: liberalization and decentralization. Although both trends diminish the prerogatives of the central state, a shift in focus from national to subnational scales reveals important contradictions between the two trends. Through an in-depth examination of the Peruvian case, the article explores the scope for resistance to neoliberalism in subnational regions that have become politically empowered via decentralization. Pushed by their constituents, subnational elected officials have sought to contest and disrupt the neoliberal mining policies that were



adopted by Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian government over two decades ago and that his successors have maintained in the years since re-democratization. The national government has responded to this opposition by defending neoliberalism from substantive challenges and by adopting new strategies to discipline subnational regions. These include not just attempts to weaken regional efforts at territorial regulation and to encourage corporate social responsibility by mining companies, but new tax programmes that invite the private sector to displace the state at the subnational level by playing direct roles in infrastructure and service provision.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2015.1005126>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Barceló i Serramalera Mercè, Corretja Mercè

El derecho a decidir en Cataluña: cronología de la construcción de un nuevo derecho democrático in Federalismi, Anno XIII - Nr 4

No abstract available

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

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Susana Sánchez Ferro

El referéndum de independencia escocés: ¿evolución o revolución del Derecho Constitucional británico? in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional, no. 103 , 111-156

This article explores the causes that led to the implementation of devolution in Scotland in 1997 and the call for a referendum on independence in 2014. It argues that the devolution movement succeeded mainly thanks to the support of large parts of the Scottish population disenchanted with the British political model. The article describes the legal framework and the failures of devolution and contends that the SNP victory in the 2011 Scottish elections cannot be put down to the desire of independence by an extended part of the Scottish population. Finally, it argues that the referendum of independence has to be seen as part of a series of changes that have transformed the very essence of the British constitution. The article finishes with a reflection on the Spanish situation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hazell Robert, Sandford Mark

English Question or Union Question? Neither has Easy Answers in Political Quarterly , Volume 86, Issue 1, January–March 2015 , 16–23

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12132/abstract>

Abstract



While devolution has provided a stronger political voice for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland since the late 1990s, it is only in the past few years that English public opinion appears to have become exercised by the lack of similar arrangements for England. The renewed debates over the character of the Union after the Scottish independence referendum reveal a desire for 'fair treatment' of England within a Union conceived as a partnership of equals. At the same time, numerous proposals have been made for devolution of power within England, reflecting long-held concerns about the territorial hegemony of London. Solutions to the former issue include English votes for English laws and an English Parliament. Solutions to the latter include city-regions, strengthened local government, the first of these appears to be the government's preferred route, in the light of the recent 'Greater Manchester Agreement'. However, none of these 'solutions' can count on being implemented.

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Maribel González Pascual

Eurocrisis and Regional States: New trends in the European Regional Policy and the Regions' future in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 6, issue 3 , E172-E186

This article focuses on the impact of the Eurocrisis on Regions and the role played by the European Regional Policy. Budget constraints and austerity measures determine to a large extent social policies, which have been traditionally designed and implemented by the Regions of Member States such Italy or Spain. This trend is particularly troublesome because one of the main Regions' sources of legitimacy is the achievement of positive equality. This tendency could be smoothed by in the European Regional Policy. However, this article puts this into question given the current link of Regional Funds to both economic governance requirements and the Lisbon Agenda.

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Toubeau Simon, Wagner Markus

Explaining Party Positions on Decentralization

in British Journal of Political Science, vol. 45, issue 1, january , 97-119

ABSTRACT: Debates about decentralization raise cultural questions of identity and economic questions of redistribution and efficiency. Therefore the preferences of statewide parties regarding decentralization are related to their positions on the economic and cultural ideological dimensions. A statistical analysis using data from thirty-one countries confirms this: parties on the economic right are more supportive of decentralization than parties on the economic left, while culturally liberal parties favour decentralization more than culturally conservative parties. However, country context – specifically the degree of regional self-rule, the extent of regional economic disparity and the ideology of regionalist parties – determines whether and how decentralization is linked to the two dimensions. These findings have implications for our understanding of the politics of decentralization by showing how ideology, rooted in a specific country context, shapes the 'mindset' of agents responsible for determining the territorial distribution of power.

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Zubair Shahid

Federalism in Pakistan: Of Promises and Perils

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 1 , E117-E145

This paper presents the case of Pakistan, which is also broadly illustrative of the issues concerning federalism and subnational empowerment in developing countries characterized by unconsolidated political systems and enhanced constitutionalism. In the course of the analysis, this paper examines the dynamics and determinants of federalist/subnational politics in Pakistan, the formal constitutional and ordinance frameworks stipulated in support of federalism and subnational governance. The analysis shall be focused on the Local Governments Ordinance of 2001 and the 18th Constitutional Amendment, as these have been the most substantive attempts at subnational constitutionalism that were instituted under opposing political systems, and the extent to which they have enabled greater prospects for a stable federation while also examining the challenges that the radical departure under the 18th Constitutional Amendment put forth.

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Christophe Van der Beken

Federalism, Local Government and Minority Protection in Ethiopia: Opportunities and Challenges

in *Journal of African Law*, vol. 59, issue 1 , 150-177

Federalism is increasingly promoted and utilized in multi-ethnic countries as a means to guarantee minority rights and safeguard the harmony and integrity of the polity and state. Yet, due to the unfeasibility of achieving a perfect overlap between ethnic and territorial boundaries, every ethnic-based territory will contain ethnic minority groups. This is also the case in the Ethiopian Federation where all nine regions are ethnically heterogeneous, albeit to different degrees. This article investigates how Ethiopia's regions are approaching their minority groups by analysing the relevant regional constitutions and laws. The analysis shows that the main minority protection mechanism is the establishment of ethnic-based local governments. Although this device is not without merit as far as minority protection is concerned, the impracticality of achieving ethnically homogeneous territories is its major limitation. The article therefore concludes by recommending a number of complementary legal instruments striving for more comprehensive minority protection.

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Tesfa Bihonegn

Federalization with a Constitutional Guarantee to Secession: Controversies, Paradoxes and Imponderables in Ethiopia

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 1 , 45-70

Ethiopia's federal design has a number of anomalies interesting for comparative federalism. The explicit right to secede provided to member states has become, however, real political dynamite in the country. This article deals with this right, its constitutionalization, its constitutional and ideological underpinnings, and its practical impacts on federal construction in the country for the last two decades. It challenges the political expediency views on its constitutionalization and argues that the inclusion of the right in the federal constitution is motivated by ideological reasons. By having a look at the powers member states are provided by this 'generous' constitution, it reveals its staggering paradoxes. As far as the



practical impacts of the right are concerned, the hefty controversy the constitutionalization of the right has continued creating in the country, the article argues, is a significant federal nuisance.

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Hepburn Eve

Forging autonomy in a unitary state: The Åland Islands in Finland

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 468-487

ABSTRACT: As one of the most stable unitary states in the world, Finland has largely been overlooked in the literature on multi-level political systems. However, this categorisation of Finland neglects the substantial autonomy that has been fought for, and accorded to, the Swedish-speaking Åland Islands over the twentieth century. Åland is the only province that has been granted significant legislative powers vis-à-vis the Autonomy Act (1921) and thereby constitutes a federalised arrangement. It possesses its own regional assembly and regional executive with exclusive powers in the fields of education, health, culture, industry and policing and elects a single representative to the Finnish Parliament. As the Åland party system diverges significantly from Finland's (Finnish parties do not compete on the island), this has led to a vertical disconnect between the Finnish and Åland governments. This article will explore the struggles for, and attainment of, autonomy for the Åland Islands within the centralised Finnish state, and the effects of this on intergovernmental relations.

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Evers David

Formal institutional change and informal institutional persistence: the case of Dutch provinces implementing the Spatial Planning Act

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 33, Issue 2, April , 428-444

Conscious attempts to affect planning practice by reforming the statutory planning system are a common form of institutional design. Despite this, the effectiveness of institutional design as a strategy has not been sufficiently addressed in the planning literature. The Dutch case has been monitored thoroughly and provides a good opportunity to assess the extent to which the instruments introduced under the new legislation were used according to the stated intent of lawmakers. As the national level has largely devolved responsibility to provinces, these comprised the objects of study. The empirical evidence covering the 2008–11 period reveals remarkable variation between provinces in applying the law, including applications that run directly counter to the law's objectives. These findings point to the difficulty of institutional design in planning practice, and suggest that lawmakers should rethink their approach to influencing behaviour of planning agents.

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Poggi Annamaria

I profili costituzionali del riordino territoriale regionale

in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 3



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Riccardo de Caria

I referendum indipendentisti

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 1611-1627

No abstract available

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

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Nicotra Ida

Il senso rinnovato della specialità nel futuro assetto macro regionale della Repubblica

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Croese Sylvia

Inside the Government, but Outside the Law: Residents' Committees, Public Authority and Twilight Governance in Post-War Angola

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 405-417

This article explores the workings of public authority in post-war Angola through an analysis of the history and current functioning of residents' committees at neighbourhood level in peri-urban Luanda, based on case-study research in the Zango housing project. While recognising that power in Angola is highly centralised, and the autonomy of regular state structures limited, it argues that, when power is studied from below, state officials and those they engage with can be seen to produce, recognise and negotiate public authority in multiple ways that are embedded in the country's political history. In doing so, the article aims to bring a sense of history and agency to what is commonly seen by scholars as a top-down and repressive project of state-building. Yet the twilight existence of residents' committees – as institutions that function, but are not officially recognised, as part of the state – also illustrates the deeply ambiguous nature of this endeavour as one that, although formally aimed at building a democratic state that follows the rule of law, continues to be deeply entrenched in informal practices that ultimately serve to preserve the ruling party's hold on power.

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Roberto Dell'Anno, Désirée Teobaldelli



Keeping both corruption and the shadow economy in check: the role of decentralization

in *International Tax and Public Finance*, Volume 22, Issue 1 , 1-40

This paper puts forward a framework for evaluating the effects of governmental decentralization on the shadow economy and corruption. The theoretical analysis demonstrates that decentralization exerts both a direct and an indirect impact on the shadow economy and corruption. First, decentralization helps to mitigate government-induced distortions, thus limiting the extent of corruption and the informal sector in a direct way. Second, in more decentralized systems, individuals have the option to avoid corruption by moving to other jurisdictions, rather than going underground. This limits the impact of corruption on the shadow economy and implies that decentralization is also beneficial in an indirect way. As a result, our analysis documents a positive relationship between corruption and the shadow economy; however, this link proves to be lower in decentralized countries. To test these predictions, we developed an empirical analysis based on a cross-country database of 145 countries that includes different indexes of decentralization, corruption and shadow economy. The empirical evidence is consistent with the theory.

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Piciacchia Paola

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

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 1

No abstract available

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

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Ignacio González García

La devolución unilateral de competencias por las comunidades autónomas

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 477-504

La posibilidad planteada recientemente por algunas Comunidades Autónomas de devolver unilateralmente competencias al Estado ha encontrado una respuesta doctrinal claramente negativa. Una respuesta basada, fundamentalmente, en el carácter bilateral de las reformas estatutarias y la vigencia en nuestro sistema del principio de indisponibilidad competencial. En este trabajo se ofrece una visión y una solución distinta al problema planteado, a partir de una interpretación finalista de las previsiones del Título VIII de nuestra Constitución, que justificaría la existencia de una limitación constitucional implícita de la intervención de las Cortes Generales en estos casos.

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Piraino Andrea

La dimensione europea della riorganizzazione macroregionale

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3



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Martino Mazzoleni

La riforma degli enti territoriali francesi: l'agenda della presidenza Hollande

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 , 99-122

No abstract available

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

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Ellantonio Mariolina

La riforma del Senato in prospettiva europea: tendenza o controtendenza?

in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, Fascicolo 1

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

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Diamond Patrick, Liddle Roger, Richards David

Labouring in the Shadow of the British Political Tradition: The Dilemma of 'One Nation' Politics in an Age of Disunification

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 1, January–March 2015 , 52–61

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12144/abstract>

Abstract

The British state is in flux and the Labour party is struggling to shape an effective response to the politics of disunification. This article reflects on the nature of Labour's governing project and its conception of modern statecraft which has evolved since the party became a serious contender for power in the aftermath of the First World War. We argue that Labour's initially pluralising instincts cultivated in opposition have been checked by the ongoing reality of a state-centric mode of governing, in which the party continued to robustly defend the Westminster model operating within the parameters established by the British Political Tradition (BPT). Ed Miliband's conception of 'One Nation' Labour threatens to reinforce this historical pattern of reversion to the Westminster model, at precisely the moment when



devolutionary forces are destabilising the existing political settlement. To break out of this impasse, Labour must look elsewhere in its ideological lexicon for inspiration, chiefly to the tradition of socialist pluralism and associationalism.

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Lucarelli Alberto

Le Macroregioni 'per funzioni' nell'intreccio multilivello del nuovo tipo di Stato

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 6

No abstract available

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

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Florence Faberon

Le fédéralisme, solution française de décolonisation : le cas de la Nouvelle-Calédonie

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 1 , 53-72

No abstract available

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

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Antonini Luca

Le macro Regioni: una proposta ragionevole ma che diventa insensata senza un riequilibrio complessivo dell'assetto istituzionale

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Guella Flavio

Le riforme dello Statuto della Regione Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, dalla delega sul c.d. federalismo fiscale alla Legge di Stabilità 2015

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 8

No abstract available

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

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Ali Reza Jalali

L'incerto federalismo iracheno

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXVII (1-2015), "L'Eurasia aggredita su più fronti"

No abstract available

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

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Feltenius David

Multi-Level Governance as 'Post-Constitutional' Politics: Subnational Actors and the Swedish Constitution

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 301-319

In 2011, an amendment was introduced to the Swedish constitution to provide stronger protection for local self-government. This article seeks to explain this amendment in the light of the development of central-local relations towards multi-level governance (MLG). It explores the adaptation hypothesis, i.e. the developments in MLG are followed by an adjustment in constitutional policy that is influenced by subnational actors, through an empirical study of the most prominent Swedish subnational actor – the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR). The research showed that SALAR developed an agenda for the regulation of central-local relations in the constitution. SALAR was able to exert influence with this agenda by participating in the policy-making process prior to the amendment of the constitution. The research findings underscore that even though MLG per se has little to do with constitutional policy, it has consequences for such policy due to the role played by subnational actors.

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Natural Resources in Kurdistan, Iraq: Enabling Democracy or Increasing Instability?

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 66-67

No abstract available

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

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La Billon Philippe

Oil, Secession and the Future of Iraqi Federalism

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 68-76

No abstract available

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Lyon Aisling

Political decentralization and the strengthening of consensual, participatory local democracy in the Republic of Macedonia

in *Democratization*, vol. 22, n. 1 , 157-178

This article examines whether decentralization in the Republic of Macedonia has contributed to widening effective political participation and strengthening democracy at the local level between 2005 and 2012. It begins by demonstrating the debate regarding political decentralization and its ability to mitigate ethnic conflict by facilitating the effective participation of national minorities in local institutions. An assessment of the largely consociational power-sharing mechanisms envisaged locally then determines whether decentralization has contributed to: improving the political representation of diverse groups in local decision-making processes; deepening local democracy by providing opportunities for residents to participate in local governance; and enhancing the transparency, accountability, and responsiveness of municipal governments. The opportunities Macedonian citizens have for participating directly in local decision-making processes are also evaluated. This article argues that whilst political decentralization has expanded the potential space available for citizens to participate in local governance, it has not guaranteed the participation of local communities, or that their participation is both equitable and effective. Advocates of decentralization have failed to sufficiently appreciate the extent to which the over-dominance of some political parties, which lack internal democracy, along with the pervasiveness of patronage-based politics, may undermine the reform's potential benefits.

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Allegri Giuseppe

Quale riordino territoriale per un inedito federalismo all'italiana? Primi appunti a partire dall'ottica funzionalista francese

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Sterpa Alessandro

Quali macroregioni e con quale Costituzione?

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Tierney Stephen

Reclaiming Politics: Popular Democracy in Britain after the Scottish Referendum



in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 226–233

Abstract

Referendums are often criticised for being elite-controlled and undeliberative. This article argues that the detailed, multiactor regulation of the Scottish referendum resulted in an elaborate legal regime which helped to overcome these potential pathologies, diluting executive control and facilitating an exercise in national public engagement. It addresses the troubled history of referendum use in the UK and contends that the Scottish process may well transform how referendums are now viewed. Indeed, one outcome of the Scottish process is likely to be a greater demand at UK level for the use of direct democracy in processes of significant constitutional change. It is by no means certain, however, that these demands for greater popular engagement in the process of constitutional change will be met, particularly when we consider the Smith Commission process, which marks a return to elite interparty bargaining.

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Roodbol-Mekkes Petra H, van den Brink Adri

Rescaling spatial planning: spatial planning reforms in Denmark, England, and the Netherlands
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 1, February , 184-198

Following a wave of spatial planning reforms at the beginning of the 21st century, a second wave of reforms has recently swept through several European countries. In this study we investigate the significance of these latest developments by analysing the reforms in Denmark, England, and the Netherlands from the perspective of rescaling, the process of redividing tasks, and responsibilities between the various tiers of government. We show that the reasoning behind the new planning systems and the philosophy they were based on were remarkably similar. Typical catchphrases, such as 'closer to the citizen' and 'development-oriented spatial planning', were used in each of the countries under study. Although the second wave of changes is legitimised by much of the same wording, the changes are significantly different because comprehensive visions on the integrated spatial development at the national and regional level have been almost completely abandoned. The loss of this 'something more' seems to impact the core of spatial planning.

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Ferrara Antonio

Riordino territoriale della Repubblica e riforma costituzionale
in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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

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De Petris Andrea

Riordino territoriale vs. cooperazione fra Länder nell'ordinamento tedesco. Spunti di riflessione rispetto al caso



italiano

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

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Bernhard Boockmann, Stephan L. Thomsen, Thomas Walter, Christian Göbel and Martin Huber

Should Welfare Administration be Centralized or Decentralized? Evidence from a Policy Experiment

in *German Economic Review*, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 13–42

The 2005 reform of the German welfare system introduced two competing organizational models for welfare administration. In most districts, a centralized organization was established where local welfare agencies are bound to central directives. At the same time, 69 districts were allowed to opt for a decentralized organization. We evaluate the relative success of both types in terms of integrating welfare recipients into employment. Compared to centralized organization, decentralized organization has a negative effect on employment chances of males. For women, no significant effect is found. These findings are robust to the inclusion of aspects of internal organization common to both types of agencies.

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Verweijen Judith, van Meeteren Michiel

Social Network Analysis and the De Facto/De Jure Conundrum: Security Alliances and the Territorialization of State Authority in the Post-Cold War Great Lakes Region

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 97-111

This paper presents an alternative reading of the evolution of the territorialization of state authority and security alliances in Africa's Great Lakes Region from that provided by Radil and Flint (2013). Rather than a general transformation in the direction of more territorially centralized states, patterns of state authority have remained variegated in the post-Cold War era, with continuing fracturing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is argued that Radil and Flint's differing interpretation stems from an inappropriate application of social network analysis (SNA) to a context characterized by profound divergences between de facto and de jure phenomena and patchy data availability. These observations suggest scepticism regarding the extent to which SNA can help overcome the epistemological rifts that divide studies on the geography of politics.

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Campbell Kenneth

The 2014 Scottish independence referendum in a wider constitutional context

in *Diritto pubblico*, numero 3 , 761-806

Kenneth Campbell



The 2014 Scottish independence referendum in a wider constitutional context
pp. 761-806

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Cole Alistair, Pasquier Romain

**The Breton Model Between Convergence and Capacity
in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 51-72

Drawing upon mainly qualitative inquiry with political, associative and economic actors over a two-decade long period, the article seeks to provide answers to a key conundrum that challenges, in different ways, territorial politics scholars, as well as those working primarily on France. What are the conditions for a successful form of regional advocacy in a unitary state? The French region of Brittany has a specific mode of operation, one based on mixing identity and instrumental claims, and accessing a repertoire of responses that are not naturally open to other French regions. A related question follows logically from the first: Can a specific territorial model developed in one set of conditions adapt when circumstances change? The Breton case demonstrates limited evidence of endogenous change (a central tenet of discursive institutionalism), though it does admit a continuing capacity to filter external pressures in a way that makes sense to regional actors. Analytically, the article develops territorial political capacity as a part material, part constructed framework that can be used for comparing regions at a particular point in time, as well as for capturing the evolution over time of a specific region.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.977816>

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Malesky Edmund J., Cuong Viet Nguyen, Tran Anh

The Impact of Recentralization on Public Services: A Difference-in-Differences Analysis of the Abolition of Elected Councils in Vietnam

in American Political Science Review, vol. 108, issue 1, february , 144-168

ABSTRACT: Comparative political economy offers a wealth of hypotheses connecting decentralization to improved public service delivery. In recent years, influential formal and experimental work has begun to question the underlying theory and empirical analyses of previous findings. At the same time, many countries have grown dissatisfied with the results of their decentralization efforts and have begun to reverse them. Vietnam is particularly intriguing because of the unique way in which it designed its recentralization, piloting a removal of elected people's councils in 99 districts across the country and stratifying the selection by region, type of province, and urban versus rural setting. We take advantage of the opportunity provided by this quasi experiment to test the core hypotheses regarding the decision to shift administrative and fiscal authority to local governments. We find that recentralization significantly improved public service delivery in areas important to central policy-makers, especially in transportation, healthcare, and communications.

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W. Elliot Bulmer

The Scottish Constitutional Tradition: A Very British Radicalism?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 1 , E30-E56

This paper discusses recent developments in Scottish nationalist constitutional thought during the period of 2002 to 2014, showing how the Scottish constitutional conversation has diverged from, but continues to be influenced by, the UK-wide constitutional conversation at Westminster. It presents Scottish nationalist constitutional thought as a 'very British radicalism', which is characterised by certain constitutional forms and ideas that are radical in a British context (such as popular sovereignty, proportional representation, a written constitution, and a commitment to covenantal socio-economic and environmental provisions) while at the same time retaining a persistent 'Britishness' in terms of specific institutional proposals and ambivalence towards the principles of constitutional government. Finally, I will discuss possible designs of a future constitutional settlement in Scotland and the United Kingdom. Notably, I will explore how far the Scottish constitutional tradition might impact on the constitutional shape of the United Kingdom.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Palermo Francesco, Wilson Alex

The multi-level dynamics of state decentralization in Italy
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 510-530

ABSTRACT: The institutional design of Italy today presents structural elements of a federal state, while its political system and culture remain centralized. However, the collapse of the party system and rise of the Northern League in the 1990s generated a series of decentralizing reforms, contradictory in nature and approved primarily for electoral advantage or coalitional maintenance. Formal inter-governmental relations between the centre and regions are weak, making party politics the crucial mechanism for relaying territorial demands between levels of government. Party organizations are themselves weak, unable to control their elected elites at sub-national levels. This asymmetrical and rather dysfunctional system of territorial organization requires extensive mediation by the Constitutional Court, whose case law in this area has grown enormously since the extensive Constitutional reform of 2001.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Swenden Wilfried, McEwen Nicola

UK devolution in the shadow of hierarchy? Intergovernmental relations and party politics
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 488-509

ABSTRACT: This article looks at the dynamics of intergovernmental relations (IGR) in the context of UK devolution and how these have been affected by the more widespread occurrence of party incongruence since 2007. As predicted by the hypotheses in the introduction to this special issue, we first show how the asymmetric design of devolution is conducive to bilateral and weakly institutionalised IGR, and how the asymmetric design of UK devolution has been perpetuated since devolution was implemented in 1999. Yet, although devolution (unlike federalism) implies a constitutional hierarchy between levels, in the second part of the article we demonstrate that UK governments have used their constitutional muscle with some restraint, in part for fear of losing electoral support and legitimacy among



their electorates. Finally, although the absence of wide-scale intergovernmental conflict in the face of party incongruence is consistent with the third hypothesis of the introduction, we argue that this is not simply the result of the devolved state alone, but also of other institutional features and the presence of political context in which neither the UK government nor the devolved governments would benefit from a path that prioritises intergovernmental conflict over cooperation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Agnew John

Unbundled territoriality and regional politics

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 2 , 119-123

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2015.1031580>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hamad Yussuf S.

Will the Tanzanian Constitutional Referendum Deliver a Fair Deal to Zanzibar?

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 104, Issue 2 , 227-229

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Smith Rhona

A review of African states in the first cycle of the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 14, n. 2 , 346-367

ABSTRACT: Abebe titled his article on the first session of the UN Human Rights Council's Working Group on Universal Periodic Review 'Of shaming and bargaining: African states and the Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations Human Rights Council'. As the title suggests, he argues that African states 'deftly manipulated' the system, evolving from their traditionally-perceived role as "subjects" of a condemnatory system' to 'conscious bargainers and participants in a much more co-operative forum'. With the benefit of hindsight, the first complete cycle of review having been concluded, and aided by qualitative and quantitative data, this article will seek to analyse the extent to which the African regional grouping has demonstrated solidarity inter se and extra se during the review process. It will be demonstrated that African states have proven more engaged with the review process when commenting on other African states than external states. In the spirit of universal application of human rights, it is to be hoped that this will change in the second cycle. African states have also been more positive towards other African states' progress in human rights than states from other regions. Overall, African states adopted a soft, supportive approach in their comments during the interactive dialogues, although this may yet prove to be successful. Whilst some African states have embraced the opportunity to participate in the review process, a more substantive participation in the second cycle would help the process better achieve its objectives.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bosco David

Assessing the UN Security Council: A Concert Perspective

in Global Governance, vol. 20, n. 4, october-december , 545-561

ABSTRACT: This article distinguishes between the UN Security Council's "governance" and "concert" functions and argues that the latter is important in assessing the body's diplomatic value. It presents data suggesting that serving together on the Council deepens diplomatic linkages between permanent members. It also argues that Council membership may offer several benefits for managing relations between the permanent members. Specifically, the Council provides a mechanism through which permanent members have slowed the pace of crises that might threaten their relations, used ambiguity to produce exits from potentially dangerous situations, and mitigated diplomatic humiliation. The article contends that many proposals for Council reform pay little attention to this concert function and, if adopted, may unwittingly diminish a key benefit of the institution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vihma Antto

Climate of Consensus: Managing Decision Making in the UN Climate Change Negotiations

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 58-68

The United Nations climate change negotiations have been constantly hampered by procedural disputes and unclear decision making. This article explores ideas for reforming the decision making of the Conference of the Parties (COP) and the importance of COP decisions. It argues that scholars have tended to overlook the importance of COP decisions in global climate governance as a whole, on the one hand, and the weak practices of the COP's decision-making process, on the other. The article underscores that while majority voting is not politically viable – although voting on a limited set of issues is potentially useful – decision making can be significantly improved by enhancing the current practices of consensus building. The article calls for the strategic leadership role of the COP Presidency to be recognized and its best practices institutionalized. The primary goal of this article is to contribute to the wider ongoing debate on the possibilities and limitations of the regime established by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Monteleone Carla

Coalition building in the UN Security Council

in International Relations, vol. 29, n. 1, march , 45-68

ABSTRACT: Political coalitions in the international system are still understudied in International Relations theory. This article claims that the formation of and variations in coalitions in the international system are affected by changes in their bargaining power and bargaining environment related to the global leadership cycle and by long-term organisational



changes of the international political system. Identifying the Security Council as the institution in which states are more likely to keep their systemic preferences at the institutional level, the article studies the presence, formation and change of coalitions in the international system by testing variations in the behaviour of the Security Council members in the period 1993–2012. To overcome methodological difficulties, it proposes to analyse sponsoring rather than voting behaviour. In the analysed period, the presence of a mutating dominant coalition, signs of potential coalitions in the making and an increase in participation and competition resulting from modifications in the organisational form of the international system are found.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sara Kendall

Commodifying Global Justice: Economies of Accountability at the International Criminal Court
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 13, no. 1 , 113-134

The field of international criminal law operates on multiple overlapping registers, including the ideological, the economic and the political. As part of a symposium exploring the claim that international criminal law constitutes a form of 'global justice', this article takes up the relationship between the political interests and material conditions of possibility that inform and sustain the work of the International Criminal Court (ICC). As the field's sole permanent institution, the ICC relies upon annual funding from its member states, producing a shareholder economy that draws upon managerial logics and reflects the interests of its constituency. This article considers the implications of regarding states as 'shareholders' of global justice, as well as the effects of the ICC's ethos of austerity at the level of practice. It argues that international criminal law risks diminishing its value as a public good through turning to the logics of the private realm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chappell Louise

Conflicting Institutions and the Search for Gender Justice at the International Criminal Court
in *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 67, n. 1, march , 183-196

ABSTRACT: This article examines the mixed gender justice outcomes of the International Criminal Court's (ICC) first case, *The Prosecutor v. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo*, and argues that they were influenced by competing institutions: older gender-biased norms of international law and new formal gender justice rules of the ICC's Rome Statute. Using a feminist institutionalist framework, the article suggests that formal and informal institutions work together in multiple ways to produce different outcomes, and that in understanding the operation of informal institutions, it is as important to search for silences and inaction, as it is to identify articulation and action.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Driessens Edith

Curb your enthusiasm: why an EU perspective on UN Security Council reform does not imply an EU seat
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 59-66



Focusing on the European Union, this contribution analyses the limits and opportunities of regionalism (and regional seats in particular) for breaking the stalemate on the reform of the United Nations Security Council. It explores the realities of effective multilateralism by building upon the notions of internal and external institutional reform. It argues that regional dynamics are not without value, but leaves few reasons for great enthusiasm. Most likely, a common position among the EU member states would mean an important step forwards. Yet past experiences show that this will be no sinecure, even in light of the UN's landmark jubilee.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Metzler Gabriele

Ewiger Frieden? Zur Bedeutung und Haltbarkeit von Nachkriegsordnungen - Essay
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 16-17, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/204276/zur-haltbarkeit-von-nachkriegsordnungen?p=all

1945 war das Jahr, in dem die größten Fortschritte in der Geschichte der Menschheit erreicht werden konnten. Dieses Jahr brachte den Sieg über das faschistische Deutschland, es brachte das Ende der bösartigen Herrschaft Japans. Und es brachte einen bedeutenden Auftakt für die Organisation des Weltfriedens." [1] Mit diesen Worten bilanzierte US-Präsident Harry S. Truman, was im Frühjahr und Sommer 1945 auf internationaler Bühne ausgehandelt worden war. Der Zweite Weltkrieg hatte mit dem alliierten Sieg über Deutschland, Japan und deren Verbündete ein Ende gefunden; das Potsdamer Abkommen hatte eine Grundlage für die europäische Nachkriegsordnung geschaffen, und auch im asiatischen Raum waren Konturen einer künftigen Ordnung deutlich erkennbar geworden. Große Hoffnungen richteten sich auf die neu gegründeten Vereinten Nationen, die sich zu einem Forum friedlicher Konfliktaustragung entwickeln sollten...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Katja Lindskov Jacobsen

Experimentation in humanitarian locations: UNHCR and biometric registration of Afghan refugees
in *Security Dialogue*, 46 (2) , 144-164

Amid good intentions, such as providing humanitarian assistance to refugees, the use of biometric technology in humanitarian refugee management may entail various risks for the implicated refugee populations. Drawing on insights from science and technology studies, this article introduces a distinction between risks stemming from technology failure and risks stemming from successful uses of biometric technology. The article thus departs from the literature in which technology failure has been in focus by showing that analysing the effect of technology success adds an important dimension to our analysis of the range of risks that may emerge in the context of humanitarian technology uses. The usefulness of this distinction is then illustrated through an analysis of the use by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) of iris recognition in the repatriation of Afghan refugees; besides risks of failure at the implementation stage, risks also emerged once refugees had successfully registered their biometric data with UNHCR. To recognize how humanitarian refugee biometrics produces digital refugees at risk of exposure to new forms of



intrusion and insecurity, we need to appreciate how successful technology can have critical implications arising from how technology is constituted in and constitutive of social phenomena.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Philippe Flory

International Criminal Justice and Truth Commissions: From Strangers to Partners?

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 13, no. 1 , 19-42

International criminal justice and truth commissions both experienced strong growth during the past two decades. At the international level, the initial opposition displayed by these two mechanisms, illustrated by the peace versus justice debate, has been replaced by a complementary approach promoting the parallel operation of international trials and truth commissions. Consequently, this collaborative model has become — and is likely to evolve to be even more — frequent, yet no agreed framework has emerged to regulate this relationship, despite several opportunities to develop one. Drawing from past experiences and analysis of the Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), this article aims to define the relationship between international criminal justice and truth commissions and identify potential structures of cooperation between these commissions and the ICC. This article shows how the complementary nature of international criminal justice and truth commissions may need to be nuanced to preserve the specificities inherent to the nature of these mechanisms. Following from this analysis, possible models of cooperation between these institutions are explored by this article.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Luigi D.A. Corrias and Geoffrey M. Gordon

Judging in the Name of Humanity: International Criminal Tribunals and the Representation of a Global Public

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 13, no. 1 , 97-112

In this article, we look at ways in which international criminal tribunals, notably the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Court, purport to do justice in the name of humanity. The exercises of justice in the name of humanity, as we observe them here, also have the effect of supporting the institutional powers of international criminal tribunals. To do so, however, courts must give form to the idea of humanity on which they rely. We argue that international criminal tribunals, in these instances, act as representatives of humanity understood as a global public. But representation and identification of a global public prove to be two sides of the same coin, reflecting a paradox of representation. This paradox, as it is manifest by international criminal tribunals, is situated within the context of Western political culture. Accordingly, proceeding from Hobbes through to ideas of contemporary phenomenology, we explore representation as a creative act: in representing humanity as a whole, international criminal tribunals engage in a constitutive act by which they embody and thereby establish that which they purport to represent. Finally, we investigate this process in terms of self-assertion and community making, done for the purposes of realizing and channelling the potential power of collectivity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Zoé Moody

La fabrication internationale des droits de l'enfant : genèse de la Déclaration des Nations Unies relative aux droits de l'enfant (1946-1959)

in *Relations internationales*, n° 161, 2015/2 , 65 - 80

En 1959, les Nations Unies adoptent une Déclaration des droits de l'enfant. Il s'agit d'un traité controversé. En effet, travaillant à partir d'un texte des années 1920 et pris dans les tensions caractéristiques de la Guerre froide, ses auteurs successifs ne parviennent pas à harmoniser leurs objectifs. À partir de données archivistiques nouvelles et dans une perspective transnationale, cette contribution étudie les processus de genèse et d'institutionnalisation de cette Déclaration. Elle montre que l'instabilité du contexte post-1945 de même que les agendas parfois contraires des organisations internationales induisent l'adoption d'un traité fait de compromis controversés. Elle vise à illustrer l'idée que le consensus apparent autour des droits de l'enfant n'en est pas toujours un.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Télesphore Ondo

La non-coopération avec les juridictions pénales internationales

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 1 , 79-113

The non-co-operation with international criminal jurisdictions is a manifest violation of international law, not only conventional and customary, but also imperative and unilateral, triggering the international responsibility of the author of this internationally wrongful act.

However, because it is an instance of the resistance of states' sovereignty to international criminal justice, the non-co-operation can only give rise to limited sanctions leading to the weakening international criminal justice and the limitation of its operational strength. À palliative system only exists in the particular dynamic of the European sanction system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Corinne A. Pernet

L'Unicef et la lutte contre la malnutrition en Amérique centrale dans les années 1950 : entre coopération et compétition

in *Relations internationales*, n° 161, 2015/2 , 27 - 42

Cet article examine les actions de l'Unicef (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund) en faveur des enfants de l'Amérique centrale. Il analyse plus particulièrement les relations avec les autres organismes internationaux présents dans la région. En tant que successeur de l'UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), le Fonds continue à utiliser du personnel euro-américain et à appliquer des procédures appropriées à l'aide humanitaire. Dans le domaine de la nutrition, l'Unicef offre des prestations standard à court terme – pour l'essentiel la distribution du lait en poudre – même si la perpétuation de ces pratiques n'est pas viable en Amérique centrale. Au début des années 1960, sous la pression d'autres organismes internationaux ainsi qu'après les expériences du personnel sur le terrain, l'Unicef se transforme lentement en une agence qui se consacre à des plans de développement à long terme.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Christian Bueger

**Making Things Known: Epistemic Practices, the United Nations, and the Translation of Piracy
in International Political Sociology**, Volume 9, Issue 1, 1–18

How are international phenomena rendered knowable? By which means and practical devices is international knowledge generated? In this article, I draw on the case of contemporary maritime piracy to introduce a research framework that allows these questions to be addressed. Arguing that the practices of international knowledge generation are poorly understood, I show how concepts from science and technology studies provide the tools to study these practices empirically. Relying on the practice theory of Karin Knorr Cetina, I introduce the concepts of epistemic infrastructures, epistemic practice, and laboratories and demonstrate how they facilitate interesting insights on knowledge generation. I investigate three “archetypes” of epistemic practices in detail and show how these generate knowledge about piracy for the United Nations. The three archetypes are the quantification practices of the International Maritime Organization, the interpretation work of a monitoring group and the network of a special adviser. The article introduces an innovative agenda for studying knowledge generation in international relations by focusing on the practical epistemic infrastructures, which maintain knowledge about international phenomena.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Piers Gooding

Navigating the ‘Flashing Amber Lights’ of the Right to Legal Capacity in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Responding to Major Concerns

in *Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 15, issue 1, 45-71

In recent years, the enumeration of the right to legal capacity in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) has caused considerable controversy. The adoption of General Comment No 1 by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in April 2014 sheds new light on major debates in the field, particularly regarding implementation measures to fulfil the obligation of States Parties to provide people with disabilities with ‘support to exercise legal capacity’ on an equal basis with others. This interpretative guidance builds upon the CRPD framework for achieving equal recognition before the law for people with disabilities. Yet commentators have criticized both the CRPD Committee’s interpretation and the enumeration of Article 12 in the CRPD itself as wanting in key respects. This article draws on General Comment No 1 to list and respond to major concerns raised about the obligation of States Parties to provide people with disabilities with the support they may require in exercising their legal capacity. The list of concerns and counterarguments are set against a broad range of implementation measures from domestic law and policy from around the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Valerie Freeland

Rebranding the State: Uganda's Strategic Use of the International Criminal Court



in **Development and change**, Volume 46, Issue 2 , 293–319

When governments invite the International Criminal Court (ICC) to conduct investigations within their own borders, they seem to indicate acceptance of global norms of accountability for wartime atrocities. The first of these self-referrals came from Uganda, whose government requested investigation into its conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a conflict within which it, too, committed large-scale human rights violations. This article argues that Uganda used the ICC to help solve a problem faced by many of the world's least powerful states, whose domestic politics are often structured through patron–client networks. Their rulers need to distribute basic state resources, including physical protection, to loyal clients without alienating donors who demand provision of these same resources by right to all citizens. By inviting external scrutiny and manipulating the investigative process, the Ugandan government received an international seal of approval for practices that the ICC would normally punish. This strategy has system-wide consequences in that repeated mislabelling of rights violations as compliant with international norms causes the meaning of compliance to become incoherent, and norms are less able to constrain the behaviour of all states in the long run.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jordaan Eduard

South Africa and the United Nations Human Rights Council

in **Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 36, number 1, january , 90-122

ABSTRACT: This article assesses South Africa's foreign policy commitment to human rights by studying the country's role in the United Nations Human Rights Council, which began its work in 2006. South Africa's behavior is evaluated in terms of its participation in four aspects of the Council's work: the institution-building phase that took place during the body's first year, country-specific human rights issues, thematic human rights problems, and the Universal Periodic Review. It is concluded that South Africa has become a defender of unpalatable regimes and an obstacle to the international promotion of human rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gilmour Andrew

The Future of Human Rights: A View from the United Nations

in **Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 28, n. 2, summer , 239-250

ABSTRACT: Ever since the Charter of the United Nations was signed in 1945, human rights have constituted one of its three pillars, along with peace and development. As noted in a dictum coined during the World Summit of 2005: "There can be no peace without development, no development without peace, and neither without respect for human rights." But while progress has been made in all three domains, it is with respect to human rights that the organization's performance has experienced some of its greatest shortcomings. Not coincidentally, the human rights pillar receives only a fraction of the resources enjoyed by the other two—a mere 3 percent of the general budget.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Fröhlich Manuel

The John Holmes Memorial Lecture: Representing the United Nations—Individual Actors, International Agency, and Leadership

in **Global Governance**, vol. 20, n. 2, april-june , 169-193

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Arbour Louise

The Relationship Between the ICC and the UN Security Council

in **Global Governance**, vol. 20, n. 2, april-june , 195-201

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ainley Kirsten

The Responsibility to Protect and the International Criminal Court: counteracting the crisis

in **International Affairs** , vol. 91, issue 1, january , 37-54

ABSTRACT: The establishment of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) process and the International Criminal Court (ICC) were seen by many to constitute significant progress in the protection of human rights. However, these institutions are now in crisis, due in large part to their failure to prevent or prosecute recent acute human rights abuses in Syria. There have been two responses to this crisis: the first assumes that the crisis is caused by the current structures of international governance, in particular the power of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and calls for radical reform. The second sees possibilities within the current structure and advocates making R2P and the ICC more closely aligned under UNSC control. The article argues that both responses are mistaken and sets out an argument in favour of refocusing on the complementary nature of each institution. The Court's most successful actions have been in exercising the powers afforded by its complementary jurisdiction in situations such as Colombia. Similarly, R2P works more successfully at preventing conflict and changing expectations of acceptable state behaviour than it does at confronting situations in which large-scale violence has begun. The article argues that the ICC and R2P should focus on 'positive complementarity' agendas, with the ICC devoting more resources to assisting states to build legal capacity in order to deter future conflict through stronger domestic criminal systems, and advocates of R2P focusing less on intervention in live conflict situations and more on building within states the capacity and resources to protect their own populations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Arye L. Hillman, Niklas Potrafke

The UN Goldstone Report and retraction: an empirical investigation

in **Public Choice**, Volume 163, Issue 3-4 , 247-266



The Goldstone Report is unique among United Nations reports in having been eventually repudiated by its principal author. The Report criminalized self-defense against state-sponsored or state-perpetrated terror. We use voting on the two UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Goldstone Report to study whether support for the Goldstone principle of criminalization of self-defense against terror was influenced by countries' political institutions. Our results, using different measures of political institutions, reveal systematic differences in voting by democracies and autocracies: as an example, based on the Chief-in-Executive measure of political institutions, a country with the highest democracy score was some 55 % points less likely to vote in favor of the second of the two UN Goldstone resolutions and some 55 % points more likely to abstain than a country with the highest autocratic score. The differences between democracies and autocracies in willingness to initiate symmetric warfare are therefore also reflected in differences in sensitivities to loss of life and harm in asymmetric warfare, through broad support by democracies, but not by autocracies, for legitimacy of self-defense against state-supported or state-perpetrated terror.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

John Karlsrud

The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali
in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 36, Issue 1 , 40-54

The UN peacekeeping operations in the Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Mali were in 2013 given peace enforcement mandates, ordering them to use all necessary measures to 'neutralise' and 'disarm' identified groups in the eastern DRC and to 'stabilise' CAR and northern Mali. It is not new that UN missions have mandates authorising the use of force, but these have normally not specified enemies and have been of short duration. This article investigates these missions to better understand the short- and long-term consequences, in terms of the willingness of traditional as well as Western troop contributors to provide troops, and of the perception of the missions by host states, neighbouring states, rebel groups, and humanitarian and human rights actors. The paper explores normative, security and legitimacy implications of the expanded will of the UN to use force in peacekeeping operations. It argues that the urge to equip UN peacekeeping operations with enforcement mandates that target particular groups has significant long-term implications for the UN and its role as an impartial arbitrator in post-conflict countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Betts Paul

The Warden of World Heritage: UNESCO and the Rescue of the Nubian Monuments
in *Past and Present*, Volume 226 suppl 10 , 100-125

On 10 March 1980 the long-awaited consecration of two dozen of the most famous Nubian monuments rescued from the waters of Lake Nasser took place with solemn pomp and circumstance. Over 500 people were in attendance, as the desert ceremony unfolded between two colonnades of the famed Isis temple. One witness described the remarkable sunrise spectacle this way: "In the darkness, well before sunrise, the Cairo Symphony Orchestra, under the wondering eyes of the Nubians, in full evening dress and with their instruments, had filled the Nubian boats to be carried to the re-erected Philae. With them went guests to hear the morning prayer and see the temples first red then golden in the



light of the rising sun." This event crowned the unprecedented twenty-year campaign of the United Nations Education, Culture, and Science Organization to cut, transport, and relocate twenty-three massive Nubian statues to higher ground in order to save them from submersion by Egypt's High Aswan Dam project of the early 1960s. The International 'Save the Nubian Monuments' initiative enlisted the support of dozens of countries and NGOs, along with thousands of archaeologists, engineers, and volunteers, in a common enterprise of fundraising, political will, and technical virtuosity that transcended Cold War division. The Senegalese Director General of UNESCO, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, was on hand to pay tribute to the dawning of a global universal heritage: 'our generation is the first in history to perceive the totality of these works as an indivisible whole, each of them being considered as an integral part of a single universal heritage,' concluding that '[i]t will be numbered among the few major attempts made in our lifetime by the nations to assume their common responsibility towards the past so as to move forward in a spirit of brotherhood towards the future.'

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hanrieder Tiener

The path-dependent design of international organizations: Federalism in the World Health Organization in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 1, march , 215-239

ABSTRACT: The article puts forward a historical institutionalist account of how international organizations are 'designed.' I argue that deliberate institutional design is circumscribed by path-dependent power dynamics within international organizations. Power-driven path dependence is used to explain that organizations lock in and reinforce historical privileges of international organization subunits. Early winners in the international organization lock in their privileges with the support of member-state allies, and reap increasing returns from their positions over rounds of reform. They thereby amplify features of international organization design that reformers would otherwise change later on. The argument is illustrated with a historical case study of the World Health Organization's unique federal design, which grants the regional offices near autonomy from headquarter oversight. Vocal criticisms of the World Health Organization's regionalization and repeated centralization attempts notwithstanding, the powers of the regions have increased over time. The case study retraces the path-dependent struggles over the World Health Organization's federal design since its creation in the 1940s. While the literature on international organizations tends to reserve inertia and path dependence for constructivist analysis, this article offers a rationalist account of inertia in international institutions. The article puts forward a historical institutionalist account of how international organizations are 'designed.' I argue that deliberate institutional design is circumscribed by path-dependent power dynamics within international organizations. Power-driven path dependence is used to explain that organizations lock in and reinforce historical privileges of international organization subunits. Early winners in the international organization lock in their privileges with the support of member-state allies, and reap increasing returns from their positions over rounds of reform. They thereby amplify features of international organization design that reformers would otherwise change later on. The argument is illustrated with a historical case study of the World Health Organization's unique federal design, which grants the regional offices near autonomy from headquarter oversight. Vocal criticisms of the World Health Organization's regionalization and repeated centralization attempts notwithstanding, the powers of the regions have increased over time. The case study retraces the path-dependent struggles over the World Health Organization's federal design since its creation in the 1940s. While the literature on international organizations tends to reserve inertia and path dependence for constructivist analysis, this article offers a rationalist account of inertia in international institutions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Karen Trapenberg Frick, David Weinzimmer, and Paul Waddell

The politics of sustainable development opposition: State legislative efforts to stop the United Nation's Agenda 21 in the United States

in *Urban Studies*, 52 (2) , 209-232

The Tea Party exploded on the US political scene with President Barack Obama's election and scholarly research focuses on its role in national issues. However, Tea Party and property rights advocates, among others, also fiercely oppose sustainability city planning issues, recently having legislation introduced in 26 US states to stop such practices. They perceive planning as directly connected to the United Nation's 1992 document, Agenda 21: the Rio Declaration on Development and Environment. The counter-narrative suggests the UN seeks to restrict individual property rights and American sovereignty. Meanwhile, Agenda 21-related planning is favourably considered and practiced worldwide. Through a mixed-methods approach using quantitative and case-based research, we track the opposition's emergence through the introduction and sometimes adoption of state legislation. We draw conclusions and implications for research and practice using a theoretical framework routed in scholarship from planning, geography, political science, and communications/new media.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

LISA MARIA DELLMUTH and JONAS TALLBERG

The social legitimacy of international organisations: Interest representation, institutional performance, and confidence extrapolation in the United Nations

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 41 - Issue 03 , 451-475

Social legitimacy is central to the effectiveness of international organisations (IOs). Yet, so far, we have little systematic knowledge about what drives citizens to support or oppose IOs. In this article, we isolate and assess three alternative explanations of social legitimacy in global governance, privileging interest representation, institutional performance, and confidence extrapolation. We test these theories in a multilevel analysis of citizen confidence in the United Nations (UN) using World Values Survey and European Values Study data, supplemented by contextual measures. The results grant support to the arguments that institutional performance and confidence extrapolation shape popular confidence in the UN, while offering little support for the explanation of interest representation. These findings challenge the predominant understanding that more democratic procedures lead to greater social legitimacy for IOs. Instead, the UN case suggests that the social legitimacy of IOs is based primarily on the organisations' capacity to deliver, as well as on citizens' general confidence in political institutions, which IOs may have little to do with and can do little to change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Karin Arts

Twenty-Five Years of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Achievements and Challenges in Netherlands International Law Review, vol. 61, issue 3 , 267-303

The 25th anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in November 2014 is an appropriate occasion for



reviewing its record of achievements and challenges in protecting children's rights worldwide. Clear accomplishments to build on are the comprehensive nature of the Convention and its capacity to accommodate the largely diverse contexts in which its provisions are to be realized. In addition, widespread and massive law reform is one of the most tangible achievements stimulated by the Convention. Finally, the existence and performance of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, charged with monitoring the implementation of the Convention, has been assessed positively. Most recently, this was rewarded with the entry into force of the third Optional Protocol to the Convention, which introduced communications procedures including individual and state complaints mechanisms. After having reviewed this record of selected achievements critically, four selected major challenges that still stand in the way of the fuller realization of the Convention will be presented more briefly. The main reason for this difference in emphasis is that, on the whole, the achievements speak more significantly to issues concerning the progressive development of international law while the challenges are, on the whole, more of a practical nature. The latter are: the persistence of poverty and other root causes of many child rights problems; difficulties in permeating into the private – including domestic and corporate – sphere where a considerable number of child rights violations occur but which are still hardly covered explicitly by international human rights law; and issues concerning the availability of data and resources.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Zumach Andreas

Ukrainekonflikt und kein Ende?

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2015 , 13-16

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/april/ukrainekonflikt-und-kein-ende

Mit dem Abschluss von „Minsk II“ ist es, wenn auch unter großen Schwierigkeiten, zu einem höchst fragilen Waffenstillstand in der Ostukraine gekommen – inklusive einer Entzerrung der Frontlinien, des Abzugs schwerer Waffen und weiterer Deeskalationsschritte. Ob die Beendigung der militärischen Auseinandersetzungen diesmal von Dauer sein wird, bleibt abzuwarten. Das hängt nicht zuletzt davon ab, ob die Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (OSZE) jetzt – anders als im ersten Konfliktjahr 2014 – von ihren 57 Mitgliedstaaten die ausreichenden personellen, finanziellen und logistischen Mittel erhält, damit sie die ihr in „Minsk II“ zugewiesenen Aufgaben auch erfüllen kann. Doch selbst dann wäre der Weg zu einem nachhaltigen Frieden noch weit.

Selbst wenn es tatsächlich gelingen sollte, den Krieg in der Ostukraine dauerhaft zu beenden, wäre der hinter den innerukrainischen Auseinandersetzungen stehende geopolitische Großkonflikt zwischen Russland und den Mitgliedstaaten von Nato und EU keineswegs überwunden. Voraussetzung dafür ist vielmehr, dass diese Konfliktparteien ihre grundlegenden Fehler und die falsche Politik der letzten Jahre korrigierten.

Theoretisch könnte den Vereinten Nationen dabei eine wichtige Rolle zukommen. Sie müssten den Konfliktparteien dazu verhelfen, in einen Deeskalationsprozess einzusteigen. Aus realpolitischen Gründen ist der UN-Sicherheitsrat jedoch das ungeeignete Gremium: Denn jedes Mandat des UN-Sicherheitsrates für eine wie auch immer geartete Präsenz in der Ukraine, das über die bisherige OSZE-Mission hinausginge, würde an einem Veto des ständigen Sicherheitsmitglieds Russland scheitern...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Imoedemhe Ovo

Unpacking the Tension Between the African Union and the International Criminal Court: the Way Forward
in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 23.1

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wolman Andrew

Welcoming a New International Human Rights Actor? The Participation of Subnational Human Rights Institutions at the UN
in *Global Governance*, vol. 20, n. 3, july-september , 437-457

ABSTRACT: Subnational human rights institutions are often thought of as distinctly local bodies, addressing human rights concerns within their jurisdictions with little attention to the processes and mechanisms of the wider international human rights regime. This article shows that this description is no longer necessarily accurate. Rather, subnational human rights institutions can and do participate in the UN human rights regime in a number of important ways. Such participation is potentially beneficial to the UN human rights processes, and subnational human rights institutions have in fact been welcomed by institutional actors at the UN. Nevertheless, the UN, national human rights institutions, and subnational human rights institutions themselves can all do more to ensure that subnational human rights institutions are able to participate fully in the UN human rights system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kanninen Tapio, Piiparinen Touko

Why bureaucracies matter in the global age: A post-Weberian explanation with the case study of preparing and implementing the United Nations' An Agenda for Peace
in *International Relations*, vol. 28, n. 1, march , 46-66

ABSTRACT: This article will challenge the conventional wisdom according to which international bureaucracies are unviable and undesirable in the age of globalisation. The relevance and powers of today's international bureaucracies can best be understood by reference to the model of the 'network logic of globalisation' rather than Max Weber's classic theory alone. Bureaucracies are undergoing a transformation from the rigid and hierarchical institutions of Weber's time to more network-oriented and delayed post-Weberian entities. On occasion, these post-Weberian structures allow middle-level officials in international organisations to wield considerable new bureaucratic powers. The case study of this article draws upon empirical evidence on the drafting and implementation of An Agenda for Peace (1992) by UN Secretariat officials and its contributions to the United Nations early warning and conflict prevention mechanism. The network-oriented structures and approaches have started to permeate the UN Organisation in two ways: First, the United Nations operates more and more through interdepartmental and interagency teams. This trend was evident



already in the drafting and implementation processes of the Agenda. Second, the United Nations is reaching out to academic and civil society networks. The start of these two transformations of the UN bureaucracy is related to globalisation and can be seen already in action in the early 1990s when the Agenda was drafted.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Daniel Berliner and Aseem Prakash

“Bluewashing” the Firm? Voluntary Regulations, Program Design, and Member Compliance with the United Nations Global Compact

in Policy Studies Journal, Volume 43, Issue 1 , 115–138

Voluntary programs have emerged as important instruments of public policy. We explore whether programs lacking monitoring and enforcement mechanisms can curb participants' shirking with program obligations. Incentive-based approaches to policy see monitoring and enforcement as essential to curb shirking, while norm-based approaches view social mechanisms such as norms and learning as sufficient to serve this purpose. The United Nations Global Compact (UNGC), a prominent international voluntary program, encourages firms to adopt socially responsible policies. Its program design, however, relies primarily on norms and learning to mitigate shirking. Using a panel of roughly 3,000 U.S. firms from 2000 to 2010, and multiple approaches to address endogeneity and selection issues, we examine the effects of Compact membership on members' human rights and environmental performance. We find that members fare worse than nonmembers on costly and fundamental performance dimensions, while showing improvements only in more superficial dimensions. Exploiting the lack of monitoring and enforcement, UNGC members are able to shirk: enjoying goodwill benefits of program membership without making costly changes to their human rights and environmental practices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Buntaine Mark T.

Accountability in Global Governance: Civil Society Claims for Environmental Performance at the World Bank in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 59, issue 1, march , 9-111

ABSTRACT: International organizations frequently lack accountability to both states and civil society groups. States often face difficulties monitoring the actions of international organizations. Civil society groups do not often enjoy direct influence over decision-making within international organizations. To address these challenges, states have created accountability mechanisms for international organizations. Accountability mechanisms allow civil society groups to submit complaints about the performance of international organizations. They take the form of ombudsmen offices, accountability panels, and complaint procedures. Little is known about when and why these mechanisms constrain behavior by international organizations that runs counter to the mutual interests of states and civil society groups. Using the World Bank Inspection Panel as a test case, I show that monitoring by civil society groups alters lending at the World Bank when it enhances oversight by powerful states. By combining their abilities in sanctioning and monitoring, states and civil society groups can promote accountability at international organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Elsig Manfred, Pollack Mark A.

Agents, trustees, and international courts: The politics of judicial appointment at the World Trade Organization
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 2, June , 391-415

ABSTRACT: Scholars have increasingly theorized, and debated, the decision by states to create and delegate authority to international courts, as well as the subsequent autonomy and behavior of those courts, with principal-agent and trusteeship models disagreeing on the nature and extent of states' influence on international judges. This article formulates and tests a set of principal-agent hypotheses about the ways in which, and the conditions under which, member states are able to use their powers of judicial nomination and appointment to influence the endogenous preferences of international judges. The empirical analysis surveys the record of all judicial appointments to the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organization (WTO) over a 15-year period. We present a view of an Appellate Body appointment process that, far from representing a pure search for expertise, is deeply politicized and offers member-state principals opportunities to influence Appellate Body members *ex ante* and possibly *ex post*. We further demonstrate that the Appellate Body nomination process has become progressively more politicized over time as member states, responding to earlier and controversial Appellate Body decisions, became far more concerned about judicial activism and more interested in the substantive opinions of Appellate Body candidates, systematically championing candidates whose views on key issues most closely approached their own, and opposing candidates perceived to be activist or biased against their substantive preferences. Although our empirical study is specific to the WTO, our theory and findings have implications for the judicial politics of a large variety of global and regional international courts and tribunals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rafael Rosa Cedro and Leanne Melnyk

An Interplay between Internal and External Markets: EU Dairy Tariffs and the Doha Round of the WTO
in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 39 (3) , 177-186

In a world undergoing multiple transformations, domestic and regional development policies are increasingly conditioned by multilateral treaties, such as those within the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This article analyzes an aspect of the interplay between internal/regional and external markets and their respective regulatory frameworks. It uses a case study of the dairy import tariffs of the European Union in contrast to the broader multilateral regulation provided by the WTO. The case analyzed demonstrates the need for detailed attention to potential impacts of ongoing multilateral integration processes that may affect different countries and regions of the world, their policies, and their capacity to pursue their own development objectives

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Igor Abdalla Medina de Souza

An offer developing countries could not refuse: how powerful states created the World Trade Organisation
in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 155-181

Drawing on Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall's concept of institutional power, this article presents the empirically



ascertained asymmetries created by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to investigate the Uruguay Round from a power standpoint. The argument is that developing countries, especially least developed nations, only accepted the WTO as a choice for the lesser of two evils. They are worse-off with the WTO trade regime, in contradiction to the positive-sum view of normative settings laid out by mainstream International Relations (IR) since the 1980s. The concept of institutional power is broken down into the sub-categories of 'go-it-alone' power, market power and forum-shifting power to demonstrate how the United States and the European Communities relied on their huge markets to shift the forum in charge of intellectual property and impose on developing countries a choice between accepting the WTO Agreement and being denied access to the world's two largest markets. Developing countries thus rationally became members of an organisation that entails absolute losses to them. The argument that institutions such as the WTO are desirable because they are agreed to does not reflect the realities of power and is ultimately an ideological stance that precludes mainstream IR from grasping how institutions (re)produce inequalities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Piccardi Carlo, Tajoli Lucia

Are Preferential Agreements Significant for the World Trade Structure? A Network Community Analysis

in *Kyklos*, Volume 68, Issue 2, May 2015 , 220-239

We assess the impact of preferential trade agreements (PTAs) on the structure of world trade by looking for communities in the world trade network (WTN), and allowing the presence of preferential trade patterns to emerge endogenously. The finding of significant communities (as defined in the topology of the networks) would imply that trading countries are organized in groups of preferential partners. We use different approaches to analyze communities in the WTN between 1962 and 2008, but all methods agree in finding no evidence of a significant partition, supporting the view that the existing PTAs are not strongly distorting the geography of trade patterns, at least at the aggregate level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tsingou Eleni

Club governance and the making of global financial rules

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 22, Issue 2, 2015 , 225-256

Who writes the rules of global finance? This article explains how the transnational financial policy community can influence the content of financial governance by organizing itself via a club model. This agent-centered explanation advances the concept of a club to highlight the mechanisms through which actors operate, the expertise and skills valued by this community and the way in which principles for what constitutes appropriate financial governance are derived. Evidence is provided by an investigation of the Group of Thirty, part-think tank, part-advocacy group, a hybrid organization whose members are active in both the official and private sectors. Club characteristics can be seen in the group's high profile and prestigious membership, which self-presents a strong sense of honor. The article highlights the club as a location for those traditionally understood as financial elites. It emphasizes the collective attributes of the club, such as reputational consistency of membership, but also the importance of a track record of policy work for the enduring relevance of club arrangements in agenda-setting, consensus building and establishing mechanisms for private influence in financial governance. The study draws on 80+ interviews with key stakeholders from the community,



including group members, conducted between 1998 and 2010.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mark Hibben

Coalitions of change: explaining IMF low-income country reform in the post-Washington Consensus
in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 202-226

Contemporary scholarship focused on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has identified various external and internal actors involved in individual cases of Low-Income Country (LIC) reform. Currently underdeveloped in the literature is comparative exploration of how these actors inform policy shifts in the institution. This paper addresses this concern through a study of four cases of LIC reform from 1996 to 2010. Evidence from these cases suggests that a significant policy shift only occurs when a successful coalition is constructed between or among 'primary' (powerful states, the IMF Managing Director (MD), IMF staff) and 'secondary' (poor states, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the US Congress) actors. As such, while the actors may change, coalition formation is a necessary condition for LIC policy reform. Data drawn from the cases also supports several assumptions of principal-agent and sociological organisational theory. With regard to the former, LIC staff and the MD exhibited greater agency in policy formation when powerful state preferences were divided. When the reform in question challenged organisational culture, the MD and/or senior staff in the Strategy Policy and Review Department took on the role of strategic 'norm entrepreneur' through persuading others to join coalitions of change. Inclusion of the most recent case of LIC change following the 2008 crisis also highlights the evolving relationship between NGOs and IMF LIC policy outcomes. While NGOs were centrally involved in LIC reform efforts in the late 1990s, they were not significant agents of change in the post-2008 period.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hopewell Kristen

Different paths to power: The rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 22, Issue 2, 2015 , 311-338

New powers, such as China, India and Brazil, are challenging the traditional dominance of the US in the governance of the global economy. It is generally taken for granted that the rise of new powers is simply a reflection of their growing economic might. In this article, however, I challenge this assumption by drawing on the case of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to show that the forces driving the rise of new powers are more heterogeneous and complex than suggested by a simple economic determinism. I argue that these countries have in fact taken different paths to power: while China's rise has been more closely tied to its growing economic might, the rise of Brazil and India has been driven primarily by their mobilization and leadership of developing country coalitions, which enabled them to exercise influence above their economic weight. One important result is that Brazil and India have assumed a more aggressive and activist position in WTO negotiations than China and played a greater role in shaping the agenda of the Doha Round. Thus, although the new powers are frequently grouped together (as the 'BRICs', for example), this masks considerable variation in their sources of power and behaviour in global economic governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sattler Thomas, Spilker Gabriele, Bernauer Thomas

Does WTO Dispute Settlement Enforce or Inform?

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 4, October, 877-902

ABSTRACT: Whereas some researchers emphasize how World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement reduces complexity and clarifies legislation, others argue that dispute rulings promote co-operation by providing an enforcement mechanism. This article identifies empirical implications from these distinct arguments and tests them on WTO disputes from 1995 to 2006. The study's analytical approach combines a three-step coding of dispute escalation with a strategic bargaining model and statistical backwards induction to account for governments' forward-looking behavior. It finds strong support for the argument that WTO dispute settlement primarily serves as an enforcement device. It finds much less support for the argument that dispute settlement reduces complexity and clarifies trade law. These results suggest that the role of WTO dispute settlement in generating information on acceptable trade policy standards is less relevant than proponents of the complexity argument tend to assume.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Connolly Richard

Economic Modernisation in Russia: The Role of the World Trade Organization

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 1, Special Issue: Modernisation in EU-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future, 27-44

Economic modernisation in Russia will require rapid and sustained productivity growth. The available evidence suggests that a key ingredient of productivity growth is an increase in the intensity of economic competition. This article considers the role that Russia's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) might play in increasing competition in the Russian economy and, in turn, facilitating economic modernisation. It is argued that while WTO accession provides an opportunity to help those in favour of a competition-based model of economic modernisation in Russia, accession without any corresponding reform of the existing system of political economy in Russia will be unlikely to yield significant results.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vera Thorstensen, Carolina Müller, and Daniel Ramos

Exchange Rate Measures: Who Judges The Issue—IMF or WTO?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 18 Issue 1, 117-136

This article aims at adding to the debate on the impacts of exchange rate misalignment on trade. It is the continuation of an article—The Missing Link between the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), published by JIEL (May 2013). The first article presented the evolution of the regulation of exchange rates under the IMF framework and its impacts to the multilateral trading system. This article focuses on the mechanisms available to the WTO to deal with the impacts of exchange rates on trade and discusses the prerogatives of the WTO and the IMF in judging such issues. Also, this article aims to decipher what would be the IMF role in a dispute involving exchange rate



brought before the dispute settlement body (DSB) of the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gregory Shaffer

**How the World Trade Organization shapes regulatory governance
in Regulation & Governance**, Volume 9, Issue 1 , 1–15

The World Trade Organization (WTO) arguably shapes regulatory governance in more countries to a greater extent than any other international organization. This article provides a new framework for assessing the broader transnational regulatory implications of the WTO as part of a transnational legal order (TLO) in terms of four dimensions of regulatory change that permeate the state: (i) changes in the boundary between the market and the state (involving concomitantly market liberalization and growth of the administrative state); (ii) changes in the relative authority of institutions within the state (promoting bureaucratized and judicialized governance); (iii) changes in professional expertise engaging with state regulation (such as the role of lawyers); and (iv) changes in normative frames and accountability mechanisms for national regulation (which are trade liberal and transnational in scope). In practice, these four dimensions of change interact and build on each other. The article presents what we know to date and a framework for conducting further study of such transnational legal ordering.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Breen Michael

**IMF conditionality and the economic exposure of its shareholders
in European Journal of International Relations** , vol. 20, n. 2, june , 416-436

ABSTRACT: There is substantial evidence that International Monetary Fund policies are driven by the powerful states which intervene to align policy with their preferences. In particular, many have argued that the United States uses its position as the Fund's largest shareholder to achieve its foreign policy objectives. As a result, a substantial volume of literature argues and presents evidence to support the claim that International Monetary Fund decisions faithfully reflect US interests. My findings extend these claims. Using a new dataset on the presence in International Monetary Fund agreements of binding conditions, which cause the agreement to be suspended or terminated if they are not met, I demonstrate that International Monetary Fund agreements contain fewer binding conditions when a suspension of International Monetary Fund lending plausibly would impose greater hardship on creditor country banks and exporters.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Stattman Sarah L., Gupta Aarti

**Negotiating Authority in Global Biofuel Governance: Brazil and the EU in the WTO
in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 1, February , 41-59

The global demand for biofuels (liquid or gas fuels deriving from biomass) has grown dramatically in recent years.



European Union policies that promote biofuels as more sustainable sources of transport fuel are partly driving this development. In this article, we analyze how Brazil, as a key producer of biofuels, navigates an emerging global governance context for sustainable biofuels. We do so by examining how Brazil responds to EU biofuel sustainability imperatives, including by evoking World Trade Organization disciplines in questioning their transnational validity and reach. While domestically Brazil emphasizes the social and developmental objectives of its biofuel policies, globally it frames itself as a leading producer of sustainable biofuels. In so doing, it navigates intersecting spheres of authority in a manner that promotes its own biofuel policy agenda, partly by seeking to reframe “sustainability” debates internationally to reflect its developmental agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kerckhoven, Sven Van; Luyten, Adriaan

O conto do cavalo de Troia ou uma busca por acesso ao mercado? China e a Organização Mundial do Comércio

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.57 no.spe Brasília , 193-209

Em 2001, a China finalmente aderiu à OMC. A adesão da China foi esperada por muitos membros da OMC e da própria China. No entanto, os observadores tinham alguns receios de que a adesão da China viria a ser um cavalo de Tróia, interrompendo o funcionamento da OMC. Este artigo analisa a adesão da China e seu envolvimento na Solução de Controvérsias da OMC e defende que estes receios parecem ser infundados.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bénassy-Quéré Agnès,   Capelle Damien

On the inclusion of the Chinese renminbi in the SDR basket

in *Economie internationale*, n° 139, 2014/3

This paper studies the impact of a broadening of the SDR basket to the Chinese currency on the composition and volatility of the basket. Although, in the past, RMB inclusion would have had negligible impact due to its limited weight, a much more significant impact can be expected in the next decades. If the objective is to reinforce the attractiveness of the SDR as a unit of account and a store of value through more stability, then a broadening of the SDR to the RMB could be appropriate, provided some flexibility is introduced in the Chinese exchange-rate regime. This issue of flexibility is de facto more important than that of “freely usable” to make the SDR more stable, at least in the short and medium run.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Carnegie Allison

States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 108, issue 1, february , 54-70

ABSTRACT: This paper argues that the benefits of international institutions accrue disproportionately to pairs of states



that find cooperation most difficult. It determines which states achieve the greatest gains from these institutions by identifying a central reason that states fail to cooperate in international relations: they fear being “held up” by other states for political concessions. Political hold-up problems occur when one state fails to undertake an otherwise productive investment due to the increased ability it would give another state to extract political concessions. Focusing on the World Trade Organization (WTO), I demonstrate that political hold-up problems are pervasive in international relations due to links between economic and political policies, but that international institutions can solve hold-up problems by helping to enforce agreements. I first formalize this argument and then empirically test the implications derived from the model, finding that the WTO increases trade most for politically dissimilar states by reducing states' abilities to hold up their trading partners for foreign policy concessions. I provide evidence of the causal mechanism by showing that WTO membership increases trade in contract-intensive goods and boosts fixed capital investment. I conclude that by solving political hold-up problems, international institutions can normalize relations between politically asymmetric states that differ in terms of capabilities, regime types, and alliances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Thomas Cottier

The Common Law of International Trade and the Future of the World Trade Organization
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 3-20

The public perception of international trade law largely hinges upon the state of play of international negotiations, either at the World Trade Organization (WTO) or elsewhere in the context of preferential negotiations. The bicycle theory looms large: the life of international trade law depends upon successful negotiations, or otherwise fails and falls to the ground. According to this theory, the current state of play, 20 years after the inception of the WTO, is rather depressing: gone is the optimism of the post Uruguay Round years for institutional reform, still evident at its 10th anniversary in 2005.¹ The facts are well known: the stalling of the 2001 Doha Development Agenda, producing minimal, albeit important results in a new type of softer law on trade facilitation in 2014, a non-transparent agenda on services formally outside the WTO (Trade in Services Agreement (TISA)), and the advent of new bi and multilateral interregional trade negotiations (Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)), diverting energy and efforts away from most-favoured-nation (MFN)-based multilateralism despite increasing global value chains. At the end of 2014, more than 790 preferential trade agreements (PTAs) existed worldwide.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Godard Simon

Une seule façon d'être communiste ? L'internationalisme dans les parcours biographiques au Conseil d'aide économique mutuelle

in **Critique Internationale**, n° 66 , 69-83

Plan de l'article

Le rôle du CAEM dans la tentative des pays socialistes de « faire bloc ».

Profession : « expert de l'économie internationale socialiste » ?

Typologie des biographies d'internationalistes au CAEM



Les diplomates, des internationalistes par juxtaposition
Les passeurs, une acculturation entre deux mondes
Les carrières-CAEM, une réelle acculturation transnationale

Shifting away from the totalitarian paradigm of the Cold War to the history of everyday-life, the historiography of communism first denied the existence of a true unification process in the Eastern Bloc, before becoming indifferent to the question. Though they have received little attention, the international communist organizations of the Cold War era constituted laboratories for internationalism. In the field of economics, the socio-history of East German public servants working with and for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) casts light on three different ways of being an internationalist. To various degrees, the diplomats, brokers and career experts of COMECON adopted the habitus of a new transnational community of communist economists. The construction of an identity as an Internationalist and the possibility to consider the Eastern Bloc as a relevant professional and symbolic frame of reference was determined by the biographical histories of COMECON experts. ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Camdessus Michel, Steta v

À quoi sert le FMI ?

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier

Le Fonds monétaire international (FMI) n'a jamais été épargné par la caricature. Ses interventions dans les pays qui l'appellent à leur secours lui valent souvent l'hostilité de la population et des dirigeants. Lors de leur première rencontre, le président égyptien Hosni Moubarak accueillit Michel Camdessus, qui fut directeur général du FMI de janvier 1987 à février 2000, avec ces propos provocateurs: «?Je lis sur les murs que le sigle FMI signifie "Fonds du meurtre international" ou "Fonds de la misère internationale"?; quelle est, des deux, la version correcte???» Abondamment véhiculée, cette image détestable contraste fortement avec l'une des missions assignées au FMI par l'article 1er de ses statuts: «?Donner confiance aux États membres.?» Dans La scène de ce drame est le monde, Michel Camdessus dévoile le fonctionnement d'une institution aussi puissante que méconnue. Il raconte les crises auxquelles le Fonds a dû faire face pendant les treize années qu'il a passées à sa tête et en tire les leçons.

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=73053&show=picture>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Alexander Beresford

A responsibility to protect Africa from the West? South Africa and the NATO intervention in Libya

in *International Politics* , Volume 52, Issue 3 , 288-304

This article will argue that South Africa's widely misinterpreted approach to conflict mediation and peace building is informed by the African National Congress's (ANC's) experience of the transition to democracy in South Africa. This was particularly evident in the Libyan crisis, where South Africa was widely accused of exhibiting a morally duplicitous and ideologically rudderless foreign policy because of the manner in which it initially supported intervention and



subsequently became one of the fiercest critics of the NATO campaign. It will be argued that this is an inaccurate caricature of South Africa's foreign policy and that South Africa's approach could in fact inject vital pluralism into debates about the future of humanitarian interventions in Africa. The article draws upon interviews with senior officials in the ruling ANC and South African officials who negotiated the UN Security Council resolutions that sanctioned intervention in Libya.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kaija E. Schilde

Cosmic top secret Europe? The legacy of North Atlantic Treaty Organization and cold war US policy on European Union information policy

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 167-182

As the EU has expanded its authority into areas of high politics such as monetary, defense, and foreign policy, it has simultaneously developed procedures for handling more sensitive and classified information. These critical policy domains require standards regulating secure information and personnel, but the concept of official secrets is in tension with the treaty norms of the EU. Observers allege that the classified information policy of the EU was imposed through the coercion of external actors such as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the USA in a significant historical departure from the information security policies of European member states. This article evaluates the content of EU-classified information policies and compares them to the content of European member states, NATO, and the USA, in an effort to clarify the mechanisms of policy diffusion in the area of information security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Vivien Pertusot

Défense européenne : enfin du nouveau

in *Politique Etrangère*, N.1 , 11-23

Le débat sur la défense européenne sort de l'opposition classique entre zéloteurs de l'Europe de la défense et partisans de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN). Les difficultés budgétaires, comme les évolutions géopolitiques, poussent les Européens vers des coopérations partielles ou des ententes entre groupes de pays réduits, « minilatéralismes » qui contournent, pour un temps au moins, les logiques des grandes organisations multilatérales. Une dynamique nouvelle pour les débats des années à venir.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Matthew Kroenig

Facing Reality: Getting NATO Ready for a New Cold War

in *Survival*, Volume 57, Issue 1 , 49-70

If Russia were to rerun its playbook from Ukraine against a NATO member, how would the West respond?



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Karl-Heinz Kamp

**From Wales to Warsaw: NATO's Future beyond the Ukraine Crisis
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Volume 36, Issue 6 , 361-365

Since Russia's illegal annexation of parts of Ukraine, the question of NATO's tasks and missions is back on the agenda. Some NATO allies favor a "back to basics" approach with an Alliance that concentrates on its defense mission according to Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. However, Putin's neo-imperialist course is not the only reason for a profound reassessment of NATO's future role. Instead, the growing relevance of China, the eruptions in the Middle East, or the stronger U.S. focus on domestic problems require NATO to preserve its 360° global perspective in order to be prepared for the twenty-first century. Thus, preparing for the next summit in 2016 in Warsaw, NATO allies need to find consensus on future members, on NATO's role in Asia, on the scope of partnerships, and on how to deal with the Middle East.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hylke Dijkstra

**Functionalism, multiple principals and the reform of the NATO secretariat after the Cold War
in Cooperation and Conflict**, 50 (1) , 128-145

The literature on international organizations tells us that diverging member states' preferences and concerns about the loss of control are major obstacles to institutional reform. But what if changes in the international environment necessitate institutional reform? This article examines such dilemma in the case of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO has faced functional pressures to adjust its machinery to the post-Cold War era, but has at the same time seen its membership and the preference heterogeneity of the membership increase. The article finds that institutional change is indeed difficult with multiple principals and uncertainty about the consequences of reform. Yet modest reform has still taken place. Firstly, strong functional pressures can help the member states to overcome their differences concerning institutional reform. Secondly, lower-level incremental reforms, beyond the control of the member states, have made NATO a more efficient organization. The empirical focus is on the development of the understudied International Staff post-1989.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Giovanni Gagliano

**IL RUOLO DELLA NATO CFI NELL' EVOLUZIONE DELL' ALLEANZA
in Rivista Militare**, n.1 Gennaio-Febbraio , 10

The Connected Forces Initiative mobilizes all of NATO's resources to strengthen the Allies' ability to work together in a truly connected way.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

La National Security Strategy 2015

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.2 , 89-96

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Girardeau Stéphane

La défense antimissile balistique de l'Otan, une réalité en devenir

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 776 Janvier

Le projet de défense antimissile balistique de l'Oran progresse, malgré la complexité technique des défis à relever, notamment dans l'organisation du commandement, avec le besoin d'avoir une approche commune entre tous les partenaires sur les objectifs de la DAMB.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

SUSI DENNISON

La seguridad se impone a una estrategia global

in *Política Exterior*, n.164

La crisis de Ucrania y la tensión en Oriente Próximo y el norte de África muestran que la Unión Europea no es capaz de encontrar su papel como agente de estabilidad en sus vecinos del Este y el Sur.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen; Sten Rynning

Le partage des capacités militaires : impasse ou avenir ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, N.1 , 49 - 60

Le « concept de nation cadre », élaboré en Allemagne, a été retenu par le sommet de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN) du Pays de Galles en 2014. Il tente d'organiser la coopération de défense entre un nombre limité de pays partageant une certaine proximité culturelle. Il ne permet cependant pas de trancher clairement entre les ambitions de développement à long terme des capacités, et celles de déploiement opérationnel à court terme. Ce concept est pourtant appelé à jouer un rôle important dans les débats à venir.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen; Sten Rynning

Le partage des capacités militaires : impasse ou avenir ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, N.1 , 49 - 60

Le « concept de nation cadre », élaboré en Allemagne, a été retenu par le sommet de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN) du Pays de Galles en 2014. Il tente d'organiser la coopération de défense entre un nombre limité de pays partageant une certaine proximité culturelle. Il ne permet cependant pas de trancher clairement entre les ambitions de développement à long terme des capacités, et celles de déploiement opérationnel à court terme. Ce concept est pourtant appelé à jouer un rôle important dans les débats à venir.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Alice Pannier

Le « minilatéralisme » : une nouvelle forme de coopération de défense

in *Politique Etrangère*, N.1 , 37 - 48

Le multilatéralisme a joué un rôle capital en matière de coopération internationale. Il semble pourtant s'essouffler, en matière de défense européenne, à travers ses grandes institutions (Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord, Union européenne). Les « minilatéralismes », coopérations plus limitées entre des États en nombre restreint, représentent sans doute une dynamique prometteuse en Europe, en dépit des multiples difficultés auxquelles ils se trouvent confrontés.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pjer Šimunovič;

Making of an Ally – NATO membership conditionality implemented on Croatia

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 13, Issue 2 , 175-203

The study examines the convergence of critical factors of Croatia's accession to NATO, revolving around policies of membership conditionality. Against the background of an overarching conditionality of NATO's entire post-Cold War enlargement, which was making Croatia's accession possible, it will look deeper – matching the defining traits of the accession process with the tenets of the main international relations theories – into Croatia's own dynamics, conditioned by an application of the policies of NATO membership conditionality as to Croatia, to present a process decisively governed by a set of distinct parameters, composed of a specific geopolitical, sub-regional backdrop of relationship between NATO and Croatia, of the legacy of war of the 1990s, political, societal, economic and defence reforms, as well as of the criteria associated with the public support for membership.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Preziosa Pasquale

No Virtute like Necessity? Cooperation between the Poles of National Sovereignty and European Army - Some



Thoughts for a Systemic Approach

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 0 , 191-196

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Bastien Irondelle, Frédéric Mérand and Martial Foucault

Public support for European defence: Does strategic culture matter?

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 54, Issue 2 , 363–383

This article identifies previously ignored determinants of public support for the European Union's security and defence ambitions. In contrast to public opinion vis-à-vis the EU in general, the literature on attitudes towards a putative European army or the existing Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) suggests that the explanatory power of sociodemographic and economic variables is weak, and focuses instead on national identity as the main determinant of one's support. This article explores the possible impact of strategic culture, and argues that preferences vis-à-vis the EU's security and defence ambitions are formed in part through pre-existing social representations of security. To test this proposition, 'national' strategic cultures are disaggregated and a typology is produced that contains four strategic postures: pacifism, traditionalism, humanitarianism and globalism. Applying regression analysis on individual-level Eurobarometer survey data, it is found that strategic postures help explain both the general level of support for CSDP and support for specific Petersberg tasks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Mayer Sebastian

Putin der Getriebene? Wider den Strukturdeterminismus in der Russland-Ukraine-Debatte

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2015 , 77-83

Nach dem Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts wurde die Nato, maßgeblich auf Betreiben der USA, nach Osten erweitert. Der Westen missachtete Russlands genuine Interessen in den internationalen Beziehungen und zollte Moskau keinen Respekt. Einen vorläufigen Höhepunkt dieser gefährlichen Politik stellte der Versuch dar, die Nato mit der Ukraine und Georgien bis zum Südkaukasus hin auszuweiten. Als logische Folge hat Russland auf diese geopolitische Einkreisung nun mit militärischer Gewalt reagiert und ist mit der Eingliederung der Krim der westlichen Machtausdehnung entgegengetreten.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Helene Forsland Widerberg

Rallying for reassurance: a study of North Atlantic Treaty Organization diplomacy

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 183-202

This article examines how allies who shared the same overall goal chose different tactics. It compares how Norway,



Poland, and Lithuania pursued a strengthened emphasis on collective defense in the revision of NATO's strategic concept, which was adopted in 2010. In their efforts to influence the outcome of this process, the three allies made use of both bilateral and multilateral channels, but differed in terms of rhetoric, political access, use of media, and mix of national and alliance interests. The article finds that not only size, but also different levels of alliance maturity and diplomatic skills can explain the different tactics. As the study demonstrates, these differences not only create internal dynamics in the form of learning and division of labor, but they can also affect decision-making.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Layton Samuel

Reframing European security: Russia's proposal for a new European security architecture
in *International Relations*, vol. 28, n. 1, march , 25-45

ABSTRACT: On 5 June 2008, then Russian President Dmitry Medvedev proposed a new European security architecture. Medvedev suggested that the new security architecture could be considered a 'Helsinki Plus' treaty, an adaptation of the Helsinki Final Act to the current international state of affairs. This article examines how Russia was strategically reframing European security through its proposal for a new European security architecture, and in particular the sub-issues of how Russia was strategically framing security and European security and how this framing was an attempt to change existing formulations and perspectives on European security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Emmers Ralf, Teo Sarah

Regional security strategies of middle powers in the Asia-Pacific
in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 15 Issue 2 May 2015 , 185-216

This paper seeks to enrich understandings of middle-power security strategies by examining countries that lack great-power capabilities but still aim to influence the regional security environment. Based on a literature review highlighting the functional and behavioral approaches of middle power diplomacy, we note that these elements could also apply to their regional security strategies. The paper focuses on regional security strategy as a subset of foreign policy and asks why some middle powers appear to go for a regional security strategy that is more functional while others adopt a strategy that is more behavioral. It argues that this divergence derives primarily from differences in resource availability and strategic environment. An analysis of Indonesia, South Korea, Australia and Vietnam highlights how each of these middle powers has adopted a particular regional security strategy, driven by their resource availability and strategic environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Webber Mark, Hallams Ellen, Smith Martin A.

Repairing NATO's motors
in *International Affairs* , vol. 90, issue 4, july , 773-793



ABSTRACT: NATO moves toward its next summit (to be held in Newport, Wales in September 2014) in a mood of anxiety and uncertainty. This is not simply because telling questions are being asked of the alliance in relation to Afghanistan and Ukraine, but because the twin motors which have sustained NATO now show signs of considerable wear and tear. The first of these motors relates to principles of purpose. This encompasses the activities (or purposes) which NATO has consciously pursued in the last 25 years: namely, operations, enlargement, partnership, transatlanticism and security. The second is principles of function: the means, in other words, by which NATO is kept in motion. Here, American leadership, cohesion and trust, burden-sharing and credibility all matter. These motors are not about to completely break down (NATO has underlying strengths which make that unlikely) but they do need attention. NATO's good health requires it to focus on a series of core tasks—what this article refers to as readiness, reassurance and renewal. These three tasks speak to an agenda of consolidation and preservation, rather than one of task expansion. But this is not a conservative agenda; grasping the nettle of prioritization and focus requires, in itself, a certain foresight and enterprise. Managed successfully, it is an agenda that will preserve and strengthen NATO in what are increasingly troubled times.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ditrych Ondrej

Security community: A future for a troubled concept?

in *International Relations*, vol. 28, n. 3, september , 350-366

ABSTRACT: This article offers first a brief commentary on Karl Deutsch and his collaborators' development of the concept of security community, before moving to a critical review of constructivist attempts by Adler, Barnett and their colleagues at resurrecting it. The article makes the case that while the serious effort to give security community a new life is laudable, the appropriation also renders the concept at once theoretically complex and methodologically superficial. Drawing constructive lessons from the previous research, it seeks to demonstrate the potential of the security communities research provided that it (1) restores the Deutschian ethos of rigorous, transparent, collective and transdisciplinary research; (2) takes seriously the challenge to the realist paradigm by zooming in and out of the modern state when thinking about security community; and (3) in addition to processes of integration investigates more thoroughly also the processes of disintegration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Fiott Daniel

The EU and NATO at last united – by Putin

in *Europe's World*, n. 29, Spring

Prickly relations between the EU and NATO have long been the despair of Brussels' policymakers. looks at the factors, including the Ukraine crisis, now pushing them closer together

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Niklas Bremberg



The European Union as Security Community-Building Institution: Venues, Networks and Co-operative Security Practices

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 674–692

How does the European Union promote security beyond its borders? This article answers this seemingly straightforward question by exploring how the EU works as security community-building institution vis-à-vis non-members. Drawing upon practice theory in International Relations, the article unpacks the security community concept, focusing especially on the relation between co-operative security practices and the expansion of security communities. The article discusses how recent practice-inspired insights can be applied in empirical research to generate novel and interesting results of relevance for EU studies. It does so by recapitulating the main findings from a study on Spanish-Moroccan co-operation on civilian and military crisis management. The findings support the claim that common practice precedes collective identity in processes of security community-building in that the EU has helped bring together and perpetuate a community of security practitioners in the western Mediterranean that builds upon, as well as transcends, already existing bilateral relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Weiss Thomas G., Welz Martin

The UN and the African Union in Mali and beyond: a shotgun wedding?

in *International Affairs* , vol. 90, issue 4, july , 889-905

ABSTRACT: The United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) have collaborated in building a viable African Peace and Security Architecture and have worked together in a number of armed conflicts over the past decade. Examples include the peace operations in Burundi and Somalia, and the hybrid peace operation in Sudan's Darfur region which is perhaps the most prominent illustration of this collaboration. Although the UN Security Council authorized the intervention in Libya, which was approved by leading regional organizations (the Arab League, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Gulf Cooperation Council), it was opposed initially by the AU although the three African states in the Security Council voted for it. Relations cooled as a result and have grown colder still as the UN snubbed the AU and its initial efforts to engage in post-conflict stabilization in Mali. While the AU sought to prove itself as a capable security provider and partner on the continent with its operation AFISMA, France's Opération Serval and the UN's peace operation for Mali, MINUSMA, bypassed the African Union. This article explores the underlying fault-lines between the two organizations by examining interactions between the UN and AU since the latter's launch in 2002, but focusing on the Mali case. The fault-lines emerging from the analysis are different capabilities, risk-averse vs risk-assuming approaches to casualties, diverging geopolitics and leadership rivalry.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rynning Sten

The geography of the Atlantic peace: NATO 25 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall

in *International Affairs* , vol. 90, issue 6, november , 1383-1401

ABSTRACT: This article examines NATO's transformation from the Cold War to the present and offers a framework of interpretation. Transformation has entailed a downgrading of territorial defence and an upgrading of out-of-area crisis



management, as well as diplomatic engagement and partnership. NATO has thus become a more diversified and globalized alliance. The article traces the evolution post-1989 of the principled policy areas for the alliance—defence, crisis management and partnership—and explains difficulties of development within each area. It also enters into the controversy of interpreting NATO. It explains NATO as an outcome of America's enduring need to engage in the management of Eurasia's rim and Europe's equally enduring need for outside assistance in organizing a concert of power inside Europe. NATO has historically been strong when Europe's and North America's power capabilities and concepts of order are in equilibrium and thus when NATO governments have defined the geography of the Atlantic peace in such a way that both pillars can contribute to it in substantial ways. The article puts this perspective in opposition to two mainstream frameworks of thinking—liberal idealism and retrenchment realism—and applies it in a critique of the diversified and globalized profile that the alliance has developed. The article finally offers a moderately positive assessment of NATO's September 2014 Wales summit as a contribution to renewed geopolitical equilibrium, and it suggests how this contribution could be further strengthened.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kamp Karl-Heinz

The sharpening of NATO's 'Spearhead'

in Europe's World, n. 29, Spring

NATO's planned 'Spearhead' force has flaws, says Karl-Heinz Kamp, but it is already sending signals to deter Putin from further incursions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Carmen Gebhard and Simon J Smith

The two faces of EU–NATO cooperation: Counter-piracy operations off the Somali coast

in Cooperation and Conflict, 50 (1) , 107-127

Maritime engagement in the Gulf of Aden is a puzzling case for anyone interested in the political and institutional problems underlying European Union–North Atlantic Treaty Organization (EU–NATO) cooperation. Although the EU's operation NAVFOR 'Atalanta' and NATO's 'Ocean Shield' operate in the same theatre and with similar mandates, there is no formal link between them. No joint planning has been envisaged, and no official task-sharing takes place. As this article aims to show, cooperation and coordination between EU and NATO forces at the operational and tactical levels have nevertheless worked surprisingly well. Two faces of EU–NATO cooperation become apparent: the political level is dominated by a permanent deadlock, while on the ground and at sea staff have developed a *modus operandi* that allows them to deliver fairly successfully in complementing yet detached operations. Based on 60 interviews with EU and NATO officials (2010–2013), this article illustrates how the operational and tactical levels have developed ways of coordinating efforts informally despite the lack of a formal framework. It aims to show to what extent and how they succeed at bypassing organizational boundaries and at overcoming political limitations. Although these practices are becoming increasingly institutionalized, it remains to be seen whether this will translate into formal changes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Florent Marciacq & Natalia Sanmartín Jaramillo

When the European Union speaks on behalf of non-European Union states: a critical appraisal of the European Union's alignment mechanism in multilateral fora

in European Security, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 203-220

Once only coordinating the foreign policy of its member states, the European Union (EU) now endeavors to speak on behalf of non-EU states. In the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), its declarations are often backed by a large number of countries. This article enquires into the function of diplomatic alignment. Its findings question the use of alignment as a normative benchmark for European integration. It argues that adherence to EU norms is not the only rationale for alignment, and, more interestingly, that there are valid reasons not to align, which do not contradict EU norms, as well as more questionable reasons to align, which do. This article, in conclusion, argues that the function of alignment supports the EU's claim for international leadership, and that the reactions of non-EU states should be gaged in the light of this venture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Holz Franziska, Richter Philipp M., Egging Ruud

A Global Perspective on the Future of Natural Gas: Resources, Trade, and Climate Constraints

in Review of Environmental Economics and Policy , Volume 9, Issue 1, Winter , 85-106

Natural gas plays an important role in the global energy system as an input to power generation, heating, and industry. This article identifies key drivers and uncertainties for natural gas markets in the coming decades. These include the availability of natural gas from conventional and unconventional sources, the role of international trade, and the impact of climate policies. We build on model-based research as well as an up-to-date survey of natural gas resource availability. We find that natural gas is an abundant fossil fuel and that the Asia-Pacific region will be most important in future global natural gas markets, especially under stringent international climate change mitigation. This means that an increasingly large share of future natural gas trade flows and infrastructure expansions will be directed to the Asia-Pacific region and that the role of liquefied natural gas will continue to increase globally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Malik Omar A., Hsu Angel, Johnson Laura A., de Sherbinin Alex

A global indicator of wastewater treatment to inform the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 48, April , 172-185

This paper assessed an effort to create an indicator of global wastewater treatment performance to inform environmental performance and sustainable development. We compiled wastewater treatment statistics for 183 countries and constructed a first-of-its-kind global indicator for wastewater treatment performance. Although reporting definitions are inconsistent across countries, we preliminarily concluded that wastewater performance trends vary globally, regionally, and by income. Overall, the lack of consistent definitions, reporting protocols, and a central custodian for wastewater treatment data are main reasons for many challenges we confronted in constructing comparable performance measures. We suggest a standardized definition of wastewater treatment aimed at the utility



level, which could be normalized and aggregated to reflect national performance. U.N. negotiators, who are designing a Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) for water that includes a metric on wastewater treatment, must consider these issues if countries are to be successful in managing wastewater and ultimately, water quality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alston Philip

Against a World Court for Human Rights

in **Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 28, n. 2, summer , 197-212

ABSTRACT: Too much of the debate about how respect for human rights can be advanced on a global basis currently revolves around crisis situations involving so-called mass atrocity crimes and the possibility of addressing abuse through the use of military force. This preoccupation, as understandable as it is, serves to mask much harder questions of how to deal with what might be termed silent and continuous atrocities, such as gross forms of gender or ethnic discrimination or systemic police violence, in ways that are achievable, effective, and sustainable. This more prosaic but ultimately more important quest is often left to, or perhaps expropriated by, international lawyers. Where the politician often finds solace in the deployment of military force, the international lawyer turns instinctively to the creation of a new mechanism of some sort. Those of modest inclination might opt for a committee or perhaps an inquiry procedure. The more ambitious, however, might advocate the establishment of a whole new court. And surely the most “visionary” of such proposals is one calling for the creation of a World Court of Human Rights. A version of this idea was put forward in the 1940s, but garnered no support. The idea has now been revived, in great detail, and with untrammelled ambition, under the auspices of an eminent group of international human rights law specialists.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Armstrong Chris

Against ‘permanent sovereignty’ over natural resources

in **Politics, Philosophy & Economics**, Volume 14, no. 2, May 2015 , 129-151

Abstract

The doctrine of permanent sovereignty over natural resources is a hugely consequential one in the contemporary world, appearing to grant nation-states both jurisdiction-type rights and rights of ownership over the resources to be found in their territories. But the normative justification for that doctrine is far from clear. This article elucidates the best arguments that might be made for permanent sovereignty, including claims from national improvement of or attachment to resources, as well as functionalist claims linking resource rights to key state functions. But it also shows that these defences are insufficient to justify permanent sovereignty and that in many cases they actually count against it as a practice. They turn out to be compatible, furthermore, with the dispersal of resource rights away from the nation-state which global justice appears to demand.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mattes Michaela, Rodríguez Mariana

Autocracies and International Cooperation

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, issue 3, september , 527-538

ABSTRACT: Scholarly work on the impact of domestic politics on international cooperation has grown significantly over time. Unfortunately, there is a democratic bias to much of this literature as scholars typically focus on the relative advantage of democracies at cooperation. Our paper seeks to shed more light on the cooperation potential of autocracies by distinguishing different types of autocratic regimes. We argue that autocracies that more closely resemble democracies in the institutional characteristics that have been found to be important for cooperation (that is, greater leader accountability, limited policy flexibility, and greater transparency) should be more successful at cooperation and thus more likely to cooperate with one another and with democracies. Specifically, we expect single-party and military regimes to be advantaged at international cooperation compared to personalist systems. We test our theoretical expectations using the 10 Million International Dyadic Events data (1990–2004) and find support for our theoretical argument.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weiss Tobias

Between Functionality and Legitimacy: German Diplomatic Talk About the Opening of Intergovernmental Organizations

in *Global Governance*, vol. 21, n. 1, january-march , 99-117

ABSTRACT: Who should be allowed to participate in intergovernmental organizations? There is a growing debate about the increasing opening of IGOs for nonstate actors. Explanations of this phenomenon either highlight the functional benefits of opening, or the need of opening to maintain or increase organizational legitimacy. This article analyzes how German diplomatic talk frames nonstate participation and refers to functionality or legitimacy when justifying the opening of IGOs. The perspective of diplomats, the main gatekeepers of change in IGOs, has rarely been considered for analysis. This article argues that German diplomatic discourse about opening is mainly functional. There is only limited reference to nonstate participation as an element of IGO legitimacy. Further, there are elements in German diplomatic talk that challenge the legitimacy of nonstate actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Suhardiman Diana, Giordano Mark, Molle François

Between interests and worldviews: the narrow path of the Mekong River Commission

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 1, February , 199-217

Hydropower development is occurring at a rapid, though controversial, pace in the Mekong. We highlight the role of scientific assessment in shaping the Mekong hydropower debate, taking the strategic environmental assessment of the twelve planned mainstream dams as a case study. While environmental impact assessments are designed as science-based decision-making tools, they have often been criticized in practice as a political means to justify already made development decisions. In this case we demonstrate how the Mekong River Commission, operating in a



constrained political environment, has instead used environmental impact assessment as a way of providing political space and opening the discussion on dams to a wider public. The main argument of this paper is that scientific assessment can be politically maneuvered to shape governance alliances at both national and transboundary levels, and to a certain extent democratize decision-making processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Penca Jerneja

Biodiversity Offsetting in Transnational Governance

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 93-102

This article discusses the introduction of biodiversity offsets at the transnational governance level, at the vanguard of which is the practice by the Business and Biodiversity Offset Programme (BBOP). The institutional setting of the BBOP and the legal arrangement of biodiversity offsets at the international level are analyzed, zooming in on the institutional and normative interplay between the transnational governance network (BBOP) and the Convention on Biological Diversity as well as the Ramsar Convention. The significance of the case study lies in highlighting the cooperative, but also the exclusionary, effect of transnational networks and in demonstrating how new governance structures implement treaty provisions but rely on a contested interpretation, which then feeds back into the treaty process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ponte Stefano, Daugbjerg Carsten

Biofuel sustainability and the formation of transnational hybrid governance

in Environmental Politics, Volume 24, Issue 1, February , 96-114

We examine the transnational governance of biofuel sustainability and its coexistence with the WTO trade regime. The way in which the EU Renewable Energy Directive (RED) is shaping transnational biofuel governance shows deep and mutual dependence between public and private. The EU relies on a private system of compliance and verification, but private certification schemes are dependent on the incentives provided by RED to expand commercially. A second layer of hybridity in this governance system is that it is emerging in the shadow of the WTO. EU policymakers refrained from introducing binding requirements for social sustainability criteria in RED, and left private certifiers to fill this gap. Our discussion also serves to introduce the symposium on the 'Transnational Hybrid Governance' (THG) of biofuels. The three contributions to the symposium analyse the complex making and mutual shaping of biofuel sustainability and discuss the institutional features, processes, networks, and sociotechnical devices by which markets are organised, and economic and political orders take shape.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Betsill Michele, Dubash Navroz K., Paterson Matthew, van Asselt Harro, Vihma Antto, Winkler Harald

Building Productive Links between the UNFCCC and the Broader Global Climate Governance Landscape

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 1-10



This forum article outlines a research agenda focused on linkages between the UNFCCC and other governance arrangements that also address climate change. We take as our point of departure the recognition that the UNFCCC is no longer the sole site of global climate change governance, and thus the types of linkage across what we call the global climate governance landscape including as a central node the UNFCCC are important for thinking through how improved global responses to climate change may be pursued. The forum identifies two specific types of linkage: division-of-labor linkages and catalytic linkages. We illustrate these with some examples and raise questions we believe would be useful to pursue in future research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rueff Henri, ur-Rahim Inam, Kohler Thomas, Mahat Tek Jung, Ariza Clara

Can the green economy enhance sustainable mountain development? The potential role of awareness building in Environmental Science & Policy, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 85-94

Mountain socio-ecological systems produce valuable but complex ecosystem services resulting from biomes stratified by altitude and gravity. These systems are often managed and shaped by smallholders whose marginalization is exacerbated by uncertainties and a lack of policy attention. Human–environment interfaces in mountains hence require holistic policies. We analyse the potential of the Global Mountain Green Economy Agenda (GMGEA) in building awareness and thus prompting cross-sectoral policy strategies for sustainable mountain development. Considering the critique of the green economy presented at the Rio + 20 conference, we argue that the GMGEA can nevertheless structure knowledge and inform regional institutions about the complexity of mountain socio-ecological systems, a necessary pre-condition to prompt inter-agency collaboration and cross-sectoral policy formulation. After reviewing the content of the GMGEA, we draw on two empirical cases in the Pakistani and Nepali Himalayas. First, we show that lack of awareness has led to a sequence of fragmented interventions with unanticipated, and unwanted, consequences for communities. Second, using a green economy lens, we show how fragmentation could have been avoided and cross-sectoral policies yielded more beneficial results. Project fragmentation reflects disconnected or layered policies by government agencies, which inherently keep specialized agendas and have no incentive to collaborate. Awareness makes agencies more likely to collaborate and adopt cross-sectoral approaches, allowing them to target more beneficiaries, be more visible, and raise more funds. Nevertheless, we also identify four factors that may currently still limit the effect of the GMGEA: high costs of inter-agency collaboration, lack of legitimacy of the green economy, insufficiently-secured smallholder participation, and limited understanding of the mechanisms through which global agendas influence local policy.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McAusland Carol, Najjar Nouri

Carbon Footprint Taxes

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 61, Issue 1, Special Issues on Mathematical Bioeconomics and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Colin Clark, May, 37-70

We analyze whether a carbon consumption tax is logistically feasible. We consider a carbon footprint tax (CFT), which would be modeled after a credit-method value added tax. The basis for the tax would be a product's carbon footprint, which includes all of the emissions released during production of the good and its inputs as well as any greenhouse



gases latent in the product. Our analysis suggests that a pure CFT, requiring the calculation of the carbon footprint of every individual product, may be prohibitively costly. However a hybrid CFT seems economically feasible. The hybrid CFT would give firms the option to either calculate the carbon footprint of their outputs—and have their products taxed based on those footprints—or use product-class specific default carbon footprints as the tax basis, thereby saving on calculation costs. Because the CFT would be levied on all goods consumed domestically, the CFT would keep domestic firms on an even footing with those producing in countries without active climate policy, protecting competitiveness and reducing leakage.

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Baccini Leonardo

Cheap talk: Transaction costs, quality of institutions, and trade agreements
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 1, march , 80-117

ABSTRACT: While there is evidence that politics matter for international cooperation, the impact on economic integration of the quality of institutions has been given short shrift in the previous literature. I argue that the quality of institutions raises the quantity and the quality of information available to potential member states during the bargaining phase of a trade agreement. In turn, this inflow of information reduces the negotiation period of an agreement and, in doing so, dampens the transaction costs associated with it. As a result, countries with good institutions are more likely to form trade agreements. Using original data on both the formation of trade agreements and the duration of negotiations, I quantitatively test this argument. The results strongly support the claim that the quality of institutions is a crucial driver in explaining the recent wave of regionalism.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dinar Shlomi, Katz David, De Stefano Lucia, Blankespoor Brian

Climate change, conflict, and cooperation: Global analysis of the effectiveness of international river treaties in addressing water variability
in *Political Geography* , Volume 45, March , 55-66

Climate-driven water variability is a natural phenomenon that is observed across river basins, but one that is predicted to increase due to climate change. Environmental change of this kind may aggravate political tensions, especially in regions which are not equipped with an appropriate institutional apparatus. Increased variability is also likely to challenge regions with existing institutional capacity. We argue that our best attempts to assess the ability of states to deal with variability in the future rest with considering how agreements have fared in the past. In this paper, we explore treaty effectiveness, or treaty resilience, by investigating whether particular water allocation and institutional mechanisms help mitigate inter-country tensions over shared water. We use water-related events from the Basins at Risk events database as a dependent variable to test particular hypotheses regarding the impact of treaty design on conflict and cooperation over time. A broad set of climatic, geographic, political, and economic variables are used as controls. The analysis is conducted for the years 1948–2001 using the country dyad as the level of observation. Findings pertaining to our primary explanatory variables suggest that country dyads governed by treaties with water allocation mechanisms exhibiting both flexibility and specificity evince more cooperative behavior. Country dyads governed by treaties with a larger sum of institutional mechanisms likewise evince a higher level of cooperation, although certain



institutional mechanisms appear to be more important than others.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kamigawara Kenji

Comparative typological study of change in global environmental regimes

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 179-197

Many global environmental agreements have shown diverse changes in their long-term implementation. Comparative studies on international regimes are limited, and research on change in such regimes is not well developed. A comparative typological study of change in global environmental regimes is presented in this paper. Ernst B. Haas's "three models of change" is chosen as a framework to explain change in the regimes. The models are (1) incremental growth, (2) turbulent nongrowth, and (3) managed interdependence. They reflect the shift of power balance among member states and their knowledge of policies. The models are applied to five case studies covering the Ramsar, CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna), Basel, Ozone, and Climate regimes, which have been in effect for over 15 years. The three models help explain diverse changes in those regimes. Five factors, (1) shift of power balance and political leadership, (2) the scope of the regime (narrow or wide), (3) institutional legacy, (4) consensual knowledge and conflict of political value, and (5) learning between rival groups, have made major contribution to the change in those regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jeff Bridoux & Milja Kurki

Cosmetic agreements and the cracks beneath: ideological convergences and divergences in US and EU democracy promotion in civil society

in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Volume 28, Issue 1 , 55-74

This piece examines the substance of EU democracy promotion from a comparative point of view and from a perspective placing under inquiry the meaning of the idea of liberal democracy itself. Instead of assuming that the democratic ideal that the EU promotes ('liberal democracy') has a clear, fixed meaning, the article examines in detail what actually constitutes the 'ideal of democracy' at the heart of EU democracy promotion, and compares this vision to that which informs the democracy promotion of the US. It argues that interesting differences, and shifts and oscillations, in the models of liberal democracy that the EU and the US promote exist and that these are important to note in order for us to fully appreciate how the substance of EU and US democracy support can be shaped by conceptual and ideological debate on the meaning of democracy. This dynamic is particularly relevant today, in the context of the recent attempts to develop transatlantic dialogue on democracy support. This dialogue, it is suggested, plasters over some subtle but important ideological cracks over what is meant by democracy in EU and US democracy support.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Meek David

Counter-Summitry: La Via Campesina, the People's Summit, and Rio+20



in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 11-18

Counter-summits are important arenas of global environmental politics. Drawing upon Death's analysis of summitry as a form of environmentality, the forum argues that these alternative venues are defined by counter-summitry, a set of practices that are performative, enact legitimacy, and communicate norms of responsible conduct. This forum analyzes counter-summitry at the People's Summit in Rio de Janeiro, held in opposition to the UNDP's 2012 Rio+20 summit. I explore the actions of La Via Campesina—one of the larger participating movements at the People's Summit—analyzing this movement's mobilizations at Rio+20 and the People's Summit's final outcome document. These function as a form of counter-summitry, influencing the production of environmental subjects. I conclude with several questions to help direct debate concerning the relationship between counter-summitry and global environmental politics.

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Carbonell Joel R., Allison Juliann E.

Democracy and state environmental commitment to international environmental treaties

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 79-104

One of the current research endeavors in international environmental politics is understanding the link between democracy and international environmental protection. Scholars in the field seek to identify the international and domestic factors that increase state commitment to international environmental treaties and agreements. Counter to the traditional literature on international environmental commitment, this paper reconceptualizes both traditional and alternative theories in order to identify domestic institutional factors that may increase state cooperation with international environmental agreements. In particular, this study posits that democratic governments in comparison to authoritarian governments increase state compliance with international environmental agreements; however, there may be domestic environmental conditions, such as limited access to clean water that may constrain democracies in participating in international environmental agreements. This study presents a quantitative analysis measuring the effects of democracy on state compliance behaviors with international environmental agreements. The results of the study provide support for an alternative bottom-up theoretical framework focusing on domestic environmental politics in addressing international environmental agreements.

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Laqua Daniel

Democratic Politics and the League of Nations: The Labour and Socialist International as a Protagonist of Interwar Internationalism

in **Contemporary European History** , vol. 24, n. 2, May , 175-192

The Labour and Socialist International (LSI) was a major vehicle for transnational socialist cooperation during the interwar years and thus seemed to continue the traditions of socialist internationalism. In the realm of international relations, however, it championed key tenets of liberal internationalism. The LSI supported the idea of a League of Nations and embraced the notion of a world order based upon democratic nation-states. While it criticised some aspects of the international system, its overall emphasis was on reform rather than revolution. The article sheds light on the wider phenomenon of interwar internationalism by tracing the LSI's relationship with the League of Nations, with the



politics of peace more generally and with the competing internationalism of the communists.

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Sánchez Castillo Nadia

Differentiating between Sovereignty over Exclusive and Shared Resources in the Light of Future Discussions on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 4-15

This article argues that sovereignty over exclusive resources and sovereignty over shared resources are different concepts constituting distinct legal regimes. First, it presents the controversy caused by applying the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources to shared resources. It then explores the main differences between sovereignty over exclusive and shared resources. The article suggests that increased awareness about these differences could facilitate negotiations on shared resource management, particularly in the light of discussions on the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers at the United Nations General Assembly scheduled for 2016.

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Tallberg Jonas, McCall Smith James

Dispute settlement in world politics: States, supranational prosecutors, and compliance

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 1, march , 118-144

ABSTRACT: This article addresses one prominent expression of the interplay between politics and law in international cooperation: the dynamics of bargaining in the settling of compliance disputes. Our central argument is that the formal structure of dispute settlement systematically shapes the likelihood and terms of negotiated compliance settlements. We introduce an ideal type distinction between interstate dispute settlement, where the authority to sue states for non-compliance resides exclusively with states, and supranational dispute settlement, where this authority is partly or entirely delegated to a commission or secretariat with a prosecutorial function. We hypothesize that systems relying on supranational prosecution are more effective in addressing non-compliance, and more likely to mediate the impact of power asymmetries on dispute settlement outcomes, compared to systems relying on state-initiated complaints only. We find support for this proposition in an in-depth comparison of dispute settlement and compliance bargaining in the World Trade Organization and the European Union, and in a brief survey of experiences from other international organizations.

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Rosendahl Knut Einar, Strand Jon

Emissions Trading with Offset Markets and Free Quota Allocations

in *Environmental & Resource Economics*, Volume 61, Issue 2, June , 243-271

We study optimal climate policy for a “policy bloc” of countries facing a market where emissions offsets can be



purchased from a non-policy “fringe” of countries (such as with the CDM). Policy-bloc firms benefit from free quota allocations, which are updated according to either firms’ past emissions, or outputs. We show that the resulting abatement and its allocation between policy bloc and fringe are both inefficient. When all quotas are traded freely at a single price, the policy bloc chooses to either not constrain the offset market, leading to suboptimal policy-bloc mitigation; or ban offsets completely. The former (latter) case occurs when free allocation of quotas is not (very) generous, and the offset market is large (small). It is preferable for policy-bloc countries’ governments to instead buy offsets directly from the fringe at a quota price below marginal damage cost of emissions, while the policy-bloc quota price will be above this cost. With maximization of global welfare and a unified quota price, this price is higher, and offsets constrained in fewer cases, but the solution still inefficient. Full efficiency then requires a higher quota price in the policy bloc than in the fringe.

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Fearnside Philip M.

Emissions from tropical hydropower and the IPCC

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 50, June , 225-239

Tropical hydroelectric emissions are undercounted in national inventories of greenhouse gases under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), giving them a role in undermining the effectiveness of as-yet undecided emission limits. These emissions are also largely left out of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Special Report on Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation, and have been excluded from a revision of the IPCC guidelines on wetlands. The role of hydroelectric dams in emissions inventories and in mitigation has been systematically ignored

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Müllerová Hana

Environment Playing Short-handed: Margin of Appreciation in Environmental Jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 83-92

The European Court of Human Rights established the interpretative doctrine of margin of appreciation to support the subsidiarity principle underlying the whole system of the Council of Europe. Despite not being well accepted by theorists, the doctrine has found its way into many rights enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights. This article analyzes how the Court applies the margin of appreciation in environment-related cases, based on Article 8 of the Convention. The objective is to uncover how the wide margin of appreciation granted to States in environmental matters impacts on the environment. In that regard, the methods of the Court in hearing environmental cases and their results are examined. Special attention is paid to how the Court balances the competing interests within the fair balance assessment and how it evaluates whether the respondent State exceeded the margin of appreciation.

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Ehresman Timothy G., Okereke Chukwumerije

Environmental justice and conceptions of the green economy

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Environmental Justice and the Quest for a Green Global Economy, March , 13-27

Green economy has become one of the most fashionable terms in global environmental public policy discussions and forums. Despite this popularity, and its being selected as one of the organizing themes of the United Nations Rio+20 Conference in Brazil, June 2012, its prospects as an effective mobilization tool for global environmental sustainability scholarship and practice remain unclear. A major reason for this is that much like its precursor concepts such as environmental sustainability and sustainable development, green economy is a woolly concept, which lends itself to many interpretations. Hence, rather than resolve long-standing controversies, green economy merely reinvigorates existing debates over the visions, actors and policies best suited to secure a more sustainable future for all. In this review article, we aim to fill an important gap in scholarship by suggesting various ways in which green economy may be organized and synthesized as a concept, and especially in terms of its relationship with the idea of social and environmental justice. Accordingly, we offer a systemization of possible interpretations of green economy mapped onto a synthesis of existing typologies of environmental justice. This classification provides the context for future analysis of which, and how, various notions of green economy link with various conceptions of justice.

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Oisin Suttle

Equality in Global Commerce: Towards a Political Theory of International Economic Law

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, no. 4 , 1043-1070

Notwithstanding International Economic Law's (IEL's) inevitable distributional effects, IEL scholarship has had limited engagement with theoretical work on global distributive justice and fairness. In part this reflects the failure of global justice theorists to derive principles that can be readily applied to the concrete problems of IEL. This article bridges this gap, drawing on existing coercion-based accounts of global justice in political theory to propose a novel account of global distributive justice that both resolves problems within the existing theoretical literature and can be directly applied to both explain and critique concrete issues in IEL, including in particular WTO law. By complementing existing coercion-based accounts with a more nuanced typology of international coercion, it distinguishes two morally salient classes of economically relevant measures: External Trade Measures (ETMs), which pursue their goals specifically through the regulation of international economic activity; and Domestic Economic Measures (DEMs), which do not. The distinctive intentional relationship between ETMs and the outsiders they affect means such measures require more stringent justification, in terms of global equality or other goals those outsiders themselves share; whereas DEMs can be justified under the principle of self-determination. Non-Product Related Production Processes and Methods (NPRPPMs) provide a case study to show how this framework can illuminate recurring problems in IEL.

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Coolsaet Brendan, Pitseys John

Fair and Equitable Negotiations?: African Influence and the International Access and Benefit-Sharing Regime

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 38-56



In 2010, at the tenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), Parties adopted the Nagoya Protocol on Access and Benefit-sharing (ABS). The adoption is the result of a long set of negotiations on the making of an international ABS regime, aiming to share benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources in a 'fair and equitable way.' However, the conditions for this fair and equitable benefit-sharing lie in a decision-making process that is similarly fair and equitable, i.e., governed by the principles of procedural justice. This article traces the participation of the supposedly most disadvantaged participants in the ABS negotiations: the African countries. It shows that these countries managed to have more influence than expected in light of their economic and demographic weight. It then explores the procedural and institution-based sources underlying this influence and draws lessons from the African experience in the ABS negotiations with regard to international procedural justice.

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Hettiarachchi Missaka, Morrison T.H., McAlpine Clive

Forty-three years of Ramsar and urban wetlands

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 32, May , 57-66

The Ramsar Convention is unquestionably the backbone of modern wetland management theory and practice. In the last four decades, it has mainstreamed wetlands in the environmental discourse and fostered the development of a comprehensive institutional framework for wetland governance. However, many of the wetlands that occur in human-dominated landscapes remain acutely threatened. The problem is most alarming in urban areas, especially in the fast expanding cities of the developing world, where unprecedented wetland destruction is leading to recurring environmental disasters. This triggers the question: are these failures in wetland governance purely induced by factors exogenous to Ramsar-based institutions or are they manifestations of conceptual drawbacks within Ramsar conceptual framework. Here, we investigate the success and failures of the application of the Ramsar framework's policy directives and management guidelines for urban wetlands using two rapidly expanding cities in South Asia as case studies – Colombo (Sri Lanka) and Kolkata (India). We conclude that despite its remarkable achievements over the past four decades, the Ramsar framework has several conceptual drawbacks that weaken its effectiveness in complex urban contexts. An inadequate recognition of the complex dynamics of urban social-ecological systems, an inadequate recognition of the political complexity of the policy processes, and a lack of an environmental justice perspective are the main shortcomings contributing to failures in urban wetlands governance. While we acknowledge that some solutions are contingent upon national and transnational level socio-political processes and reforms, we offer a set of technical and strategic modifications to the Ramsar framework that can significantly improve its effectiveness in urban wetlands governance.

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Gonzalo Escribano

Fragmented Energy Governance and the Provision of Global Public Goods

in *Global Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 2 , 97-106

This article analyses global energy governance from an international political economy and global public goods (GPG) perspective. It first describes the fragmentation that characterises energy governance and its current trend towards an increasingly inter-polar and polycentric pattern. Then, it shows how the myriad of dedicated international energy regimes



conform to an energy regime complex that provides a diverse set of GPG rather than a single international energy regime. Then, global energy governance is analysed from a global public good angle, (1) categorizing the different institutional energy-related arrangements according to the public good they intend to provide; and (2) highlighting that the supply of such institutional arrangements is greatly influenced by the different provision technologies that are applied to the different energy-related global public goods.

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Balsiger Jörg, Nahrath Stéphane

Functional regulatory spaces and policy diffusion in Europe: The case of mountains

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May , 8-20

The aim of this article is to propose a new analytical framework for comparing and explaining the emergence and diffusion of European regional mountain initiatives (ERMIs), envisaged as 'functional regulatory spaces' (FRS). The article examines three exploratory hypotheses. The first hypothesis considers that the different ERMIs (Alps, Pyrenees, Jura, Carpathian, Balkan Mountains, Dinaric Arc, Caucasus) can be compared, distinguished, and classified using the FRS approach. The second hypothesis addresses the relationship between the degree to which ERMIs correspond to an ideal-type FRS and their role and position within policy diffusion processes. We suggest that the more an ERMI corresponds to an ideal-type FRS, the more important is its role in diffusion processes. The third hypothesis focuses on the relationship between the degree of formalization and institutionalization of ERMIs and their role in policy diffusion processes. We argue that the more and the earlier an ERMI is "formalized" and "institutionalized" in a clear and robust way as a "mature" FRS, the more important its role, and the more central its position, in diffusion processes. This article is a very first attempt to link FRS and policy diffusion concepts. As such it seeks to assess the link's feasibility and relevance, rather than a definitive empirical (in)validation of the three hypotheses.

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Richard Eccleston, Aynsley Kellow and Peter Carroll

G20 Endorsement in Post Crisis Global Governance: More than a Toothless Talking Shop?

in British Journal of Politics & International Relations , Volume 17, Issue 2 , 298–317

The G20 Leaders' Forum has been touted as 'The world's premier forum for promoting global cooperation', yet beyond this rhetoric the track record of the G20 is varied leading critics to claim it is little more than a 'toothless talkshop'. We argue that such sweeping generalisations are difficult to sustain in the light of evidence from some issue arenas in which the G20 has been active. This article draws on the extant literature on the 'Gs' and network governance in an attempt to theorise and explain the G20's endorsement function, or its capacity to promote and legitimise the work of specialised organisations and networks. We build on the extant literature using a semi-inductive method focusing on the G20's endorsement of the OECD's international tax transparency agenda to develop a mid-level framework for analysing this important source of authority in global governance.

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De Búrca Gráinne, Keohane Robert O., Sabel Charles

Global Experimentalist Governance

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 3, July, 477-486

ABSTRACT: This article outlines the concept of Global Experimentalist Governance (GXG). GXG is an institutionalized transnational process of participatory and multilevel problem solving, in which particular problems (and the means of addressing them) are framed in an open-ended way, and subjected to periodic revision by various forms of peer review in light of locally generated knowledge. GXG differs from other forms of international organization and transnational governance, and is emerging in various issue areas. The Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting substances is used to illustrate how GXG functions. The conditions for the emergence of GXG are specified, as well as some of its possible benefits.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Ruggie John Gerard

Global Governance and “New Governance Theory”: Lessons from Business and Human Rights

in *Global Governance*, vol. 20, n. 1, January-March, 5-17

No abstract available

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Weiss Thomas G., Wilkinson Rorden

Global Governance to the Rescue: Saving International Relations?

in *Global Governance*, vol. 20, n. 1, January-March, 19-36

ABSTRACT: International relations teeters on the edge of an abyss of irrelevance. As an academic pursuit, it has become disparate and fragmented. Those of us in the discipline have ceased to pursue greater clarity in the way that we understand the world around us. Moreover, we have failed as agents of change; that is, as purveyors of opinion and proposals about a better and fairer world order. As such, we no longer serve our students and those practitioners who seek our advice, or, for those of us who take on policy jobs, to push out the envelope of what is considered acceptable. Global governance offers one potentially compelling way of “saving international relations”—though it is not without its problems. This article outlines how and why. The argument unfolds in three parts. The first outlines why and how IR teeters on the edge of an abyss. The second offers a proposal for moving beyond the fragmentation and atomization that afflicts international relations. We suggest that one way of encouraging reengagement is to return to debating grand questions that used to be the sustenance of IR. The third part argues that global governance—appropriately and specifically framed to make it fit for purpose—offers an opportunity to return to these questions and, in so doing, reinvigorate our fragmented and atomized field.

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Rita Floyd



Global climate security governance: a case of institutional and ideational fragmentation

in *Conflict, Security, and Development*, Volume 15, Issue 2 , 119-146

In recent years climate change has become integrated into pre-existing, but fragmented structures of global security governance. In this article I argue that while institutional fragmentation of global climate security governance is not automatically problematic, the phenomenon of ideational fragmentation that often goes with it is highly disadvantageous to achieving climate security for people. This is because the preferences of a diverse group of security organisations/actors (in this article the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the European Union and the United States/Pentagon) are often vastly removed from the global agenda set by the United Nations and its expressed preference for understanding climate security in terms of human security. I suggest that the first step towards overcoming ideational fragmentation would have to be the advancement of a universal definition of climate security by an authoritative source, however, given that security is for many actors a matter of perception the chances of overcoming ideational fragmentation are slim.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dingwerth Klaus

Global democracy and the democratic minimum: Why a procedural account alone is insufficient

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 4, december , 1124-1147

ABSTRACT: In this critical comment on the global democracy debate, I take stock of contemporary proposals for democratizing global governance. In the first part of the article, I show that, empirically, many international institutions are now evaluated in terms of their democratic credentials. At the same time, the notions of democracy that underpin such evaluations are often very formalistic. They focus on granting access to civil society organizations, making policy-relevant documents available online or establishing global parliamentary assemblies to give citizens a voice in the decision-making of international organizations. In the second part, I challenge this focus on formal procedures and argue that a normatively persuasive conception of global democracy would shift our focus to areas such as health, education and subsistence. Contrary to much contemporary thinking about global democracy, I thus defend the view that the institutions we have are sufficiently democratic. What is needed are not better procedures, but investments that help the weaker members of global society to make effective use of the democracy-relevant institutions that exist in contemporary international politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kuyper Jonathan W.

Global democratization and international regime complexity

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 3, september , 620-646

ABSTRACT: How can democracy best be pursued and promoted in the existing global system? In this article, I propose a novel suggestion: democratization should occur at the level of international regime complexity. Because each issue-area of world politics is distinct, we require tailor-made (as opposed to one-size-fits-all) responses to the global democratic deficit. I conceptualize global democracy as an ongoing process of democratization in which a set of core



normative values are more or less satisfied. I explicate equal participation, accountability, and institutional revisability as those key standards. I argue that the democratization of regime complexes should occur across two distinct planes: (1) the realm of multilateral negotiations; and (2) institutional forms of democratic experimentalism between rule-makers and rule-takers. I evaluate and defend the potential of this argument by analyzing the intellectual property rights regime complex. Because intellectual property rights represent a 'tough case' for global democrats, we should be optimistic about the democratization of alternative regime complexes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stavis Dimitris, Felli Romain

Global labour unions and just transition to a green economy

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special Issue:

International Environmental Justice and the Quest for a Green Global Economy, March , 29-43

Questions of justice in the transition to a green economy have been raised by various social forces. Very few proposals, however, have been as focused and developed as the "just transition" strategy proposed by global labour unions. Yet, labour unions are remarkably absent from discussions of the transition towards a green economy. This is surprising as labour unions are arguably the largest organizations in the world fighting for basic rights and more just social relations. This paper tries to advance the potential contribution of labour unions in this arena by asking: what is the full scope of "just transition" today and how have labour unions developed and refined it over the years to render the move towards a green economy both environmentally and socially sustainable? The concept of just transition is hotly debated within labour unions and has different interpretations, and hence different strategies. The last section assesses these interpretations by means of a normative framework, which seeks to fuse political economy and political ecology. Empirically, we add to the growing literature on labour environmentalism, as well as transitions more generally. Analytically, our goal is to place the various approaches to a "just transition" within a heuristic framework of environmental justice that is explicit about power relations when demanding justice, two themes central to this special issue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schindler Seth

Governing the Twenty-First Century Metropolis and Transforming Territory

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 7-26

This article puts forward the argument that urban governance in metropolises in the global South has entered a territorial moment. There is a subtle shift of emphasis underway in many Southern metropolises as municipal governments increasingly focus on transforming urban space rather than 'improving' populations. This shift away from Foucauldian disciplinary tactics—i.e. fixing people in place, classifying them into populations and acting upon them—is driven by political economic circumstances. Many of these cities have abundant reserves of capital and labor but they remain intractably disconnected; the former is invested in real estate and infrastructure, while a large number of urban residents struggle to sell their labor power for a wage. In this context municipal governments seek to manage the transformation of urban space, the urban governance strategies for which are presented here in a typology ranging from modest efforts to control places that were hitherto beyond the reach of the state through to the wholesale creation of new cities. Ultimately



this article demonstrates that any attempt to 'reload' urban studies must focus on the governance of territory—i.e. the reconfiguration of power and place—in metropolises at the frontier of the urban revolution.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.937453>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McKendry Corina, Janos Nik

Greening the industrial city: equity, environment, and economic growth in Seattle and Chicago

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special Issue:

International Environmental Justice and the Quest for a Green Global Economy, March , 45-60

In many cities of the global North, city leaders are using greening as a way to compete in the globalized economy. Critiques of this development strategy typically focus on downtown areas, and many have noted that such processes often displace poor and working class people. Less studied are those areas that have not been fully incorporated into the postindustrial economy and where the struggles around social justice, economic development, and ecological restoration are still being played out. It is this insufficiently informed area of knowledge which this paper seeks to address and as to which we ask: What has been the impact of the green economy discourse in relatively more marginalized urban areas? Using industrial areas of Southeast Chicago and South Seattle as case studies, this paper draws on previously unreported qualitative data to argue that community efforts to promote environmental justice in these areas have the potential to redefine practices of green economic growth to incorporate social equity and community coherence. However, their ability to do so is constrained by the difficulty in challenging neoliberal discourses of the primacy of growth and the need of greening to benefit the consumer class. The paper contemplates the implications of the lessons learnt for greening cities in both developed and developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hafner-Burton Emilie M., Mansfield Edward D., Pevehouse Jon C. V.

Human Rights Institutions, Sovereignty Costs and Democratization

in British Journal of Political Science, vol. 45, issue 1, january , 1-27

ABSTRACT: Why do countries join international human rights institutions, when membership often yields few material gains and constrains state sovereignty? This article argues that entering a human rights institution can yield substantial benefits for democratizing states. Emerging democracies can use the 'sovereignty costs' associated with membership to lock in liberal policies and signal their intent to consolidate democracy. It also argues, however, that the magnitude of these costs varies across different human rights institutions, which include both treaties and international organizations. Consistent with this argument, the study finds that democratizing states tend to join human rights institutions that impose greater constraints on state sovereignty.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Palmer Eric

INTRODUCTION: The Sustainable Development Goals Forum



in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 3-9

Abstract

This introduction notes the contributions of various authors to the first issue of the Journal of Global Ethics 2015 Forum and briefly explains the United Nations process through which the sustainable development goals have been formulated up to the receipt by the General Assembly, in August 2014, of the Report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals (UN A/68/970). The goals are identified as a confluence of distinct streams of UN work attended to variously by policy experts and political figures in the past several decades. Sources include, most obviously, the Millennium Declaration of 2000 and the Millennium Development Goals, but also the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the Human Development Reports of 1990 forward, and the 1987 Brundtland Report.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Häyry Matti, Takala Tuija

INTRODUCTION: The theory and practice of global justice

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 65-67

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mäkinen Jukka, Kasanen Eero

In defense of a regulated market economy

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 99-109

Abstract

The dominant understanding of political corporate social responsibility (CSR) suggests new, broader political roles for businesses in the globalized economy, challenging the classical liberal social order (where business firms' task is to focus on economic issues and the government's role is to take care of political responsibilities). In this paper, we show how the major framing of the political CSR discussion not only challenges the classical liberal social order but also goes against the more general political economic perspective of the regulated market economy (where strict and [in most cases] strong boundaries exist between business and politics). We argue that this latter tendency of the political CSR discussion is its main weakness. We introduce a Rawlsian reframing of political CSR that is in line with the idea of a global-regulated market economy and compatible with some of the basic global ethical aims of the political CSR movement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Waylen Georgina



Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality

in *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 67, n. 1, march , 212-223

ABSTRACT: This paper makes two claims: insights from gender research improve understandings of informal institutions and institutional change, and studying informal institutions helps scholars understand the gap between formal institutional change and outcomes. Informed by institutional analysis and feminist institutionalist scholarship, it explores the relationship between informal institutions, institutional change, and gender equality, using gender equality to scrutinize issues central to institutional change, demonstrating that institutional analyses improve when gender dynamics are incorporated. Showing the gendering of power relations highlights power in institutional change in new ways, improving understandings of why institutional change rarely happens as intended by institutional designers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Böhmelt Tobias, Vollenweider Jürg

Information flows and social capital through linkages: the effectiveness of the CLRTAP network

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 105-123

This paper examines the effectiveness of the convention on long-range transboundary air pollution (CLRTAP) from a network perspective. The authors claim, contrary to most existing research, that we must consider all links and connections that a regime creates among its members for determining whether and how it influences states toward 'greener' environmental behavior. To this extent, the paper advances two arguments. First, parties more central to the CLRTAP network can rely on and signal mutual interests, shared preferences, and decreased uncertainty with all actors involved. In turn, a central position embodies social capital, which facilitates that a well-connected state is *ceteris paribus* more likely to cooperate with the regime. Second, if other countries in the network do not cooperate, however, it is likely that the positive effect stemming from social capital disappears and that a state will defect even if it has a central position in the network. The authors' empirical analysis provides support for the theory and may have important implications for studies on regime effectiveness and on networks in general.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Belyi Andrei

International Energy Governance: Weaknesses of Multilateralism

in *International Studies Perspectives* , vol. 15, issue 3, august , 313-328

ABSTRACT: The article attempts to highlight major institutional causes for weaknesses of multilateralism in energy relations between States. In particular, the view defended here focuses on the concept of logic of appropriateness, which helps to conceptualize the level of acceptance of norms and practices. Four various angles of institutions of energy relations are then analyzed: political vs economic angles and rational vs value angles. On these grounds, the case study about the Energy Charter process is then analyzed. In conclusion, the article argues that the Energy Charter process is an explicit attempt to create an international governance, although the issues of acceptance (conflict of appropriateness) is an important barrier to the multilateralism in energy.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jochen von Bernstorff

International Law and Global Justice: On Recent Inquiries into the Dark Side of Economic Globalization in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 1 , 279-293

Global economic justice as a topic of moral philosophy and international law is back on the intellectual agenda and figures prominently in feuillets, blogs and academic publications. A wave of recent studies by both international lawyers and moral philosophers on the dark side of economic globalization and the role of international law in this context is as such a remarkable phenomenon. The essay engages with diverging scholarly perspectives on global justice and international law as represented in the four volumes under review. Three substantive questions structure the non-comprehensive sketch of the global justice debate: (i) Is the current international economic order unjust? (ii) Can existing international legal rules and institutions be transformed or developed into a more just economic order? (iii) What is the potential role of international lawyers in this context?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Irène Couzigou

International Organisations and States within an Agency Relationship: The Distribution of Responsibility in *Netherlands International Law Review*, vol. 61, issue 3 , 335-364

This article first examines the entire range of agency relationships between an international organisation, acting as a principal, and one or more states, acting as its agent(s). It is here argued that an agency relationship between an international organisation and one or more state(s) can be established by the constitutive treaty of the organisation, or ad hoc. In particular, an ad hoc agency relationship results from a state placing one of its organs at the disposal of an international organisation and under its effective control, with the purpose of carrying out functions of that organisation.

The article then examines the consequences for the responsibility of the organisation and the relevant state(s) of an agency relationship between an international organisation acting as a principal and one or more states acting as its agent(s). It is demonstrated that an international organisation may be responsible for damage caused by the conduct of the state. Furthermore, it is argued that the state itself may bear responsibility for having established or for not having terminated the agency relationship if it commits wrongful conduct on behalf of the international organisation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tsveta Petrova

International, national or local? Explaining the substance of democracy promotion: the case of Eastern European democracy promotion in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 28, Issue 1 , 136-155

The EU is one of the most prominent democracy promoters in the world today. It has played an especially important role in the democratization of its Eastern European member states. Given the acknowledged success and legitimacy of EU democracy promotion in these countries, it could be expected that when they themselves began promoting democracy,



they would borrow from the EU's democracy promotion model. Yet this paper finds that the EU's model has not played a defining role for the substantive priorities of the Eastern European democracy promoters. They have instead borrowed from their own democratization models practices that they understand to fit the needs of recipients. This article not only adds to the literature on the Europeanization of member state policies but also contributes both empirically and theoretically to the literature on the foreign policy of democracy promotion. The article theorizes the factors shaping the substance of democracy promotion—how important international 'best practices' are and how they interact and compete with donor-level domestic models and recipient democratization needs. Also, this study sheds light on the activities of little-studied regional democracy promoters—the Eastern European members of the EU.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Del Biaggio Cristina

Investigating regional identities within the pan-Alpine governance system: The presence or absence of identification with a “community of problems” among local political actors

in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 45-56

The creation in the Alps of networks of local political actors can be considered one of the most successful attempts to regionalize issues at a mountain-range level. This regionalization process began with the signing of the Alpine Convention in 1991 by the eight Alpine countries (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Slovenia and Switzerland), as well as the EU. Pan-alpine networks of political actors are emblematically identified as the “ambassadors of the Alpine Convention” (Götz and Rohrer, 2011). But why did local actors choose to adhere to these networks that emerged in the Alps in the 1990s? Could this new way of connecting people and ideas beyond national borders result from a solid Alpine identity and a strong adherence to the principles entailed in the Alpine Convention? Evidence from field work shows that some municipalities chose to seek solutions for issues within the Alpine perimeter and to actively promote sustainable development via adherence to pan-Alpine networks of local actors that aim to solve local problems. Nevertheless, this is not the only possible strategy for local problem solving, nor does this approach necessarily lead to strong identification among municipalities within this perimeter. Based on an examination of three municipalities in the Alps, this article demonstrates that identities are a matter of choice and that a municipality's geographical position does not pre-determine a particular political or social identity. Identities evolve over time and are pluralistic and Alpine examples indeed show that socio-political actors have multi-layered identities. Pan-Alpine networks contribute to the emergence of a transnational governance system through the identification of certain local political actors with the “Alpine community of problems” transcending national boundaries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Thomas Schultz and Cédric Dupont

Investment Arbitration: Promoting the Rule of Law or Over-empowering Investors? A Quantitative Empirical Study

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1147-1168

Investor–state arbitration, also called investment arbitration, is often accused of harming developing states facing economic hardship for the benefit of a wealthy few from the Global North. Its proponents respond that it is the only available means to resolve disputes impartially, and that its increased use clarifies international law. In this article, the



authors investigate the empirical manifestations of the uses and functions of investment arbitration, with an original dataset that compiles over 500 arbitration claims from 1972 to 2010. The study reveals that until the mid-to-late 1990s, investment arbitration was mainly used in two ways. On the one hand, it was a neo-colonial instrument to strengthen the economic interests of developed states. On the other, it was a means to impose the rule of law in non-democratic states with a weak law and order tradition. But since the mid-to-late 1990s, the main function of investment arbitration has been to provide guideposts and determine rights for investors and host states, and thus to increase the predictability of the international investment regime. In doing so, however, it seems to favour the 'haves' over the 'have-nots', making the international investment regime harder on poorer than on richer countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dany Charlotte

Janus-faced NGO Participation in Global Governance: Structural Constraints for NGO Influence in *Global Governance*, vol. 20, n. 3, july-september , 419-436

ABSTRACT: Increasingly, nongovernmental organizations participate in negotiations within international organizations as well as in global working groups and discussion forums. This trend is commonly said to enable the influence of the participating NGOs. Yet this article highlights the negative effects of the high level of NGO participation on the NGOs' influence. It shows, in the case of the UN World Summit on the Information Society, how the NGOs' influence is reduced to less relevant issues and how this influence turns out to be highly selective: while the views and demands of a few NGO actors are successful, more diverse views from the broader NGO community become neglected. This suggests greater caution regarding the usual claim that more is necessarily better with regard to NGO participation in global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hyeran Jo, Thomson Catarina P.

Legitimacy and Compliance with International Law: Access to Detainees in Civil Conflicts, 1991–2006 in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 2, april , 323-355

ABSTRACT: Existing compliance research has focused on states' adherence to international rules. This article reports on state and also non-state actors' adherence to international norms. The analysis of warring parties' behaviour in granting the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) access to detention centres between 1991 and 2006 shows that both governments and rebel groups adhere to the norm of accepting the ICRC in order to advance their pursuit of legitimacy. National governments are more likely to grant access when they are democracies and rely on foreign aid. Insurgent groups are more likely to grant access when they exhibit legitimacy-seeking characteristics, such as having a legal political wing, relying on domestic support, controlling territory and receiving transnational support.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

ALICIA GONZÁLEZ

Los BRICS y la gobernanza económica mundial



in *Política Exterior*, n.164

La arquitectura financiera internacional sigue dominada por EE UU y Europa. Mientras las instituciones de Bretton Woods muestran su incapacidad para adaptarse a la nueva realidad, los países emergentes buscan alternativas para la gobernanza económica mundial.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Raymond Leigh, Weldon S. Laurel, Kelly Daniel, Arriaga Ximena B., Clark Ann Marie

Making Change Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems

in *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 67, n. 1, march , 197-211

ABSTRACT: This paper identifies and describes two new norm-based strategies for institutional change to address intractable social problems. In both strategies, advocates “foreground” and criticize norms supporting the institutional status quo before either promoting an alternative existing norm via normative reframing of the issue, or creating and promoting an entirely new norm via normative innovation to build support for new institutional arrangements. Drawing on examples of institutional change addressing the problems of climate change and violence against women, the analysis illustrates how these strategies are especially effective in the face of opposition from vested interests or problematic existing norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zainol Zinatul A., Nordin Rohaida, Akpoviri Frank I.

Mandatory labelling of genetically modified (GM) foods

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 199-216

This article seeks to determine whether a mandatory labelling system of genetically modified (GM) food is justified or misconceived and therefore whether legal transformations are necessary. Although numerous benefits have been attributed to GM foods, they pose serious hazards to humans, animals, plants, and the environment. Much of the argument made in favour of GM foods and against their mandatory labelling proves to be economically oriented and fails to engage objectively with the threatened hazards from such foods. The article illustrates our argument with reference to Malaysia, the European Union, the United States, and Canada

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hall Nina

Money or Mandate?: Why International Organizations Engage with the Climate Change Regime

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 79-97

Inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) engage with other regimes, particularly in climate change, where an increasing number of IGOs participate in the annual negotiations. None of the three dominant explanations for this behavior—statist, substantive issue linkage, and resource-dependency theory—adequately accounts for variation in the



nature of IGO engagement. This article proposes that variation is best captured by organizational type. Normative organizations have a legal mandate to supervise a body of international law, are strongly wedded to their core mandate, and are less likely to engage with new issues. Functional organizations are project-oriented, seek to maximize resources, and are more likely to engage with new issues. A comparative case study of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) illustrates how organization type explains variation in their rhetoric, structure, and policy. UNHCR, a normative organization, was more reluctant than IOM, a functional organization, to engage with climate change displacement and migration debates. This article calls for international relations scholars to investigate how differences in IGO design lead to differences in organizational behavior.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sarah M.H. Nouwen and Wouter G. Werner

Monopolizing Global Justice International Criminal Law as Challenge to Human Diversity

in Journal of International Criminal Justice, vol. 13, no. 1 , 157-176

Over the past two decades, international criminal law has been increasingly institutionalized and has become one of the dominant frames for defining issues of justice and conflict resolution. Indeed, international criminal law is often presented as the road towards global justice. But the rise of international criminal law and its equation with global justice come with a profound risk: alternative conceptions of justice can be marginalized. Based on field work in Uganda and Sudan, we present five examples of alternative conceptions of justice that in fact have been side-lined: the restoration of relationships, putting an end to on-going violence, redistribution, non-criminal law forms of punishment and equality. International criminal law's monopolization of discourses of justice threatens not only alternative conceptions of justice, but also international criminal law itself. It frustrates one of its main aims: the protection of diversity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Thompson Alexander, Verdier Daniel

Multilateralism, Bilateralism, and Regime Design

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 58, issue 1, march , 15-28

ABSTRACT: Different international regimes are built from legal instruments that vary in terms of whether they are multilateral, bilateral, or a combination thereof. We investigate the reasons for such variation. The choice between multilateralism and bilateralism is a function of the tradeoff between each instrument's relative flaw. Multilateralism is wasteful in incentives, as the same agreement is offered to all states regardless of their compliance costs. Bilateralism mitigates this problem by allowing for more tailored agreements but in the process multiplies transaction costs by requiring many of them. We use a formal model to generate propositions on the design of "lateralism" and the related issue of membership size and offer illustrations in the context of four regimes: foreign direct investment, human rights, climate change, and international trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Valentini Laura

No Global Demos, No Global Democracy? A Systematization and Critique
in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 12, issue 4, december , 789-807

ABSTRACT: A globalized world, some argue, needs a global democracy. But there is considerable disagreement about whether global democracy is an ideal worth pursuing. One of the main grounds for scepticism is captured by the slogan: "No global demos, no global democracy." The fact that a key precondition of democracy—a demos—is absent at the global level, some argue, speaks against the pursuit of global democracy. I discuss four interpretations of the skeptical slogan—each based on a specific account of the notion of "the demos"—and conclude that none of them establishes that the global democratic ideal must be abandoned. In so doing, I systematize different types of objections against global democracy, thus bringing some clarity to an otherwise intricate debate, and offer a robust but qualified defense of the global democratic ideal.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anne Wetzel, Jan Orbie & Fabienne Bossuyt

One of what kind? Comparative perspectives on the substance of EU democracy promotion
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 28, Issue 1 , 21-34

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Garrod Matthew

Piracy, the Protection of Vital State Interests and the False Foundations of Universal Jurisdiction in International Law

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 25, n. 2 , 195-213

ABSTRACT: It is widely asserted by courts and in legal scholarship that for hundreds of years universal jurisdiction has applied to the crime of piracy. However, the alleged historical legal foundations of universality need challenge. The central argument of this analysis is that jurisdiction over "piracy" is better understood under the protective principle, which arose out of the necessity of maritime Powers roughly between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to protect certain of their vital interests, not least their overseas trade routes and colonial trade and settlements. It follows that there is a need to re-conceptualise jurisdiction over piracy as the protection of vital State interests shared by the international community, a concept misinterpreted as universal jurisdiction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nussbaum Martha C.

Political liberalism and global justice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 68-79



Abstract

This article argues that political liberalism, of the type formulated by John Rawls and Charles Larmore and further developed in Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's capabilities approach, is superior to more comprehensive political views both in domestic and in global affairs. Perfectionist liberalism as advocated by John Stuart Mill and Joseph Raz attempts to erase existing religions and replace them with the religion of utility or autonomy. This is wrong, because in the ethico-religious environment of reasonable disagreement that we inhabit all comprehensive forms of political morality pose a threat to people's liberty and equality. Only thin and narrow conceptions of value like the ones suggested by Rawls, Larmore, Sen, and Nussbaum can guarantee the respect for diversity that is needed in a pluralistic world. Although Rawls famously failed to extend this idea from domestic to transnational matters, the argument of the article is that not only do the principles of political liberalism apply to global matters, but that the reasons why they apply to global affairs are even more compelling transnationally than they are domestically.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fukuda-Parr Sakiko, McNeill Desmond

Post 2015: a new era of accountability?

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 10-17

Abstract

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were criticised for failing to address the issue of governance, and the associated notions of responsibility and accountability. The Sustainable Development Goals, we argue, need to recognise the structural constraints facing poor countries – the power imbalances in the global economic system that limit their ability to promote the prosperity and well-being of their people, as was clearly brought out by the Commission on Global Governance for Health, of which we were both members [Ottersen, O. P., J. Dasgupta, C. Blouin, Paulo Buss, Virasakdi Chongsuvivatwong, Julio Frenk, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, et al. 2014. "The Political Origins of Health Inequality: Prospects for Change." *Lancet* 383: 630–667]. This article is divided into three parts. We begin by making the case for a global justice perspective which emphasises the responsibility – and hence also accountability – of international organisations and rule-making bodies. We next demonstrate the limitations of accountability mechanisms of the type adopted in the MDGs. We conclude by arguing for a new approach to accountability that may be better suited to the post-2015 era.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Idler Annette, Mouly Cécile, Miranda Lenin

Power Unpacked: Domination, Empowerment and Participation in Local Guatemalan Peace Forums

in Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 21, March , 2-40

This article focuses on the various manifestations of power at play in a local peace initiative, the Guatemalan peace initiative, the Guatemalan mesas de concertación – forums for consultation and follow-up of the peace agreements in English, or mesas in short. With this we hope to fill a void in the field of peace and conflict studies: the lack of a framework to systematically analyse different dimensions of power in local peace



the harmonization of telecommunication technology to pesticide regulation, many regulatory treaties create new product markets, so the argument applies to a variety of regulatory issues. This hypothesis is tested against data on the ratification of two major multilateral treaties for pesticide control: the 1998 Rotterdam Convention and the 2001 Stockholm Convention. Countries that are capable of biotechnology innovation are found to be more likely to ratify each treaty. The findings suggest that (1) technology innovation is key to regulatory treaty ratification and (2) constituency preferences for regulatory treaties are contingent upon expected profits from innovation. More broadly, the article emphasizes the importance of technological factors for international co-operation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gilmore Jonathan

Protecting the Other: Considering the process and practice of cosmopolitanism

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 20, n. 3, september , 694-719

ABSTRACT: The War on Terror has posed a difficult challenge for proponents of cosmopolitanism, through its invocation of cosmopolitan-like discourse, focused on emancipation, democracy promotion and the protection of human rights, in support of the controversial practices of warfighting and counterinsurgency, which sit uneasily with a cosmopolitan ethical position. More recently, the 2011 intervention in Libya has again highlighted the persistence of this militarized form of cosmopolitan practice with very limited reflection on the congruence between rhetoric and appropriate practice.

This article argues that these contradictions should not necessitate a rejection of cosmopolitanism, but rather a critical rethinking of how cosmopolitan-informed policies are played out in practice. Proponents of cosmopolitanism must be aware that they do not have a monopoly on the use of cosmopolitan discourse and that it can be, and has been, used to legitimate practices which have not reflected what cosmopolitan scholars may have envisaged in theory. To address this, the article advances an idea of practical cosmopolitanism, one which is self-reflective, critically attuned to the practice of cosmopolitanism and focused on the experience of cosmopolitan-informed policies by the intended beneficiaries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ernesto Roessing Neto

REDD+ as a Tool of Global Forest Governance

in International Spectator (The), Volume 50, Issue 1 , 60-73

Given the lack of a multilateral convention on forests, global deforestation is being addressed through various initiatives, public and private, local and global. Since 2005, the creation of a mechanism for addressing deforestation (among other things) has been moving forward within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) regime. Known as REDD+, it is meant to provide incentives to developing countries in return for forest conservation, with the goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions. REDD+ could lead to lower levels of deforestation and forest degradation, and to the incorporation of customary governance arrangements in national policy instruments, albeit with some risk of centralisation of forest governance. It could also have a negative social and environmental impact if too much emphasis is put on carbon without adopting the proper social and environmental safeguards.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cooper Andrew F., Momani Bessman

Re-balancing the G-20 from Efficiency to Legitimacy: The 3G Coalition and the Practice of Global Governance in Global Governance, vol. 20, n. 2, april-june , 213-232

ABSTRACT: This article contributes to the literature on global governance, legitimacy, and small states through a detailed analysis of the Global Governance Group. It examines in particular the operational impact and wider conceptual implications of the 3G's collective diplomatic efforts on the Group of 20. By engaging in a reconfigured form of informal multilateralism, the article finds that the 3G has been and is capable of shaping the global agenda with respect to the G-20 in a way that is both more inclusive and connected with existing institutions, especially the United Nations. Through this initiative, this group has effectively recalibrated the existing narrative about small states, the G-20, and global governance—shifting it from the paradigm of efficiency to one of legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Scholte Jan Aart

Reinventing global democracy

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 20, n. 1, march , 3-28

ABSTRACT: How can democracy be suitably formulated in face of the more global character of contemporary society? Modern ideas and practices of 'people's rule' (whether in a statist or a cosmopolitan mode) fall short as frameworks for global democracy. Statist approaches to global democracy have a host of behavioural, institutional, historical and cultural problems. Modern cosmopolitan approaches do better in addressing contemporary social changes, but are deficient in terms of their globalist tendencies, often oversimplified notions of political identity, limited cultural reflexivity, usually tame responses to resource inequalities and anthropocentrism. To address these shortcomings one might explore an alternative of 'postmodern global democracies' built around principles of transscalarity, plural solidarities, transculturality, egalitarian distribution and more ecologically framed ideas of political rights and duties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kristina Daugirdas

Reputation and the Responsibility of International Organizations

in European Journal of International Law, vol. 25, no. 4 , 991-1018

The International Law Commission's Draft Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations have met a sceptical response from many states, international organizations (IOs), and academics. This article explains why those Articles can nevertheless have significant practical effect. In the course of doing so, this article fills a crucial gap in the IO literature, and provides a theoretical account of why IOs comply with international law. The IO Responsibility Articles may spur IOs and their member states to prevent violations and to address violations promptly if they do occur. The key mechanism for realizing these effects is transnational discourse among both state and non-state actors in a range of



national and international forums. IOs have reason to be especially sensitive to the effects of this discourse on their reputations. A reputation for complying with international law is an important facet of an IO's legitimacy. The perception that an IO is legitimate is, in turn, crucial to the organization's ability to secure cooperation and support from its member states. This article argues that IOs and their member states will take action to prevent and address violations of international law in order to deflect threats to IOs' reputations – and to preserve their effectiveness.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nielsen Richard A., Simmons Beth A.

Rewards for Ratification: Payoffs for Participating in the International Human Rights Regime?

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 59, issue 2, June, 197-208

ABSTRACT: Among the explanations for state ratification of human rights treaties, few are more common and widely accepted than the conjecture that states are rewarded for ratification by other states. These rewards are expected to come in the form of tangible benefits—foreign aid, trade, and investment—and intangible benefits such as praise, acceptance, and legitimacy. Surprisingly, these explanations for ratification have never been tested empirically. We summarize and clarify the theoretical underpinnings of “reward-for-ratification” theories and test these propositions empirically by looking for increased international aid, economic agreements, and public praise and recognition following ratification of four prominent human rights treaties. We find almost no evidence that states can expect increased tangible or intangible rewards after ratification. Given the lack of empirical support, alternative explanations seem more appealing for understanding human rights treaty ratification.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Debarbieux Bernard, Balsiger Jörg, Djordjevic Dusan, Gaberell Simon, Rudaz Gilles

Scientific collectives in region-building processes (Reprint)

in Environmental Science & Policy, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 21-31

During the last 30 years, growing demand for science-based policy making has contributed to the mobilization of scientific cooperation alongside transnational political arrangements for addressing environmental issues. Following the contemporary trend toward regionalizing environmental policy and practice, many of these scientific joint efforts have focused on a regional scale. This article examines regional scientific cooperation in the context of the institutionalization of mountain regions in Europe. Such cooperation can be observed from the Pyrenees to Central Asia, albeit with a degree of variation that largely remains unexplored in scientific research. Sometimes scientific cooperation served to lay the groundwork of a mountain policy initiative, other times it appeared in its wake; some examples appear as loose networks of individual scientists, others are set up as formalized monitoring and observation centers; finally, some scientific joint efforts are formally linked to, or incorporated in a mountain policy initiative, while others are largely independent. The article proposes a new typology for understanding the interactions between regional scientific mobilization and regional policy making and provides up-to-date portraits of six main cases.

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Helmut Philipp Aust

Shining Cities on the Hill? The Global City, Climate Change, and International Law

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 1, 255-278

Cities are beginning to assert themselves as internationally relevant actors. This is particularly noticeable in the climate change context. This development has so far not been accorded a great deal of attention by international lawyers. The review essay discusses four new books by political scientists which offer us a closer look at the political dimension of 'global cities', a term originally coined by sociologist Saskia Sassen. The four books under review as well as this essay pay particular attention to the C40 association – a movement of self-styled city leaders in climate change governance. This group of cities has developed numerous ties with international organizations and private corporations. The review essay analyses how cooperative endeavours such as C40 challenge our understanding of the relationship between the city and the state and assesses how international law as a discipline could come to terms with these developments. It is argued that international law should fulfil two functions in this regard: recognition and contestation. Whereas cities may not yet be recognized subjects of international law, they are moving closer to this illustrious circle. In any case, their law-making processes are beginning to have a significant impact on processes of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Balsiger Jörg, Debarbieux Bernard

Should mountains (really) matter in science and policy?

in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 1-7

This preface to the special issue "Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas" has the following aims. First, it introduces governance in mountain regions as a special and instructive case of regional environmental governance in terms of territorial scaling, policy integration, and actor diversity. Second, the preface elaborates three themes that resonate throughout the articles in this special issue, namely the important role of global agenda setting, the status of mountains as a category of regional knowledge and action, and the dynamics and consequences of policy diffusion. The third aim is to provide an overview of the nine articles. Finally, the preface summarizes what can be gained from examining mountain governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Donnelly Jack

State Sovereignty and International Human Rights

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 28, n. 2, summer, 225-238

ABSTRACT: I am skeptical of our ability to predict, or even forecast, the future—of human rights or any other important social practice. Nonetheless, an understanding of the paths that have brought us to where we are today can facilitate thinking about the future. Thus, I approach the topic by examining the reshaping of international ideas and practices of state sovereignty and human rights since the end of World War II. I argue that in the initial decades after the war, international society constructed an absolutist conception of exclusive territorial jurisdiction that was fundamentally



antagonistic to international human rights. At the same time, though, human rights were for the first time included among the fundamental norms of international society. And over the past two decades, dominant understandings of sovereignty have become less absolutist and more human rights–friendly, a trend that I suggest is likely to continue to develop, modestly, in the coming years.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Camacho Luis

Sustainable Development Goals: kinds, connections and expectations

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 18-23

Abstract

We point out the need to clarify some of the ideas related to the connection between development and sustainability in the Report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development. In particular, the meaning of ‘sustainable’ is not clear when applied to specific areas of human activity. A more detailed explanation of the kind of equality sought for in the proposal is also needed. Because of potential conflicts between goals, we miss some considerations on the impact of population increase both on development and on sustainability. A distinction is made here between two kinds of goals included in the Report. Some of the proposed 17 goals can then be seen as ends in themselves, whereas others seem to be means for the first set. The two sets thereby established should be seen in theory and dealt with in practice in a differentiated manner.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Volland Maja

TTIP: Politik gegen den Bürger

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2015 , 25-27

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/maerz/ttip-politik-gegen-den-buerger>

Wenn „wir“ keine Spielregeln für die Globalisierung setzen, tun es andere, lautet ein beliebtes Argument der Befürworter des geplanten Freihandelsabkommens zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und der Europäischen Union (TTIP). Sie argumentieren, mit dem Abkommen ließen sich „Nachhaltigkeit“ und hohe Standards in der globalisierten Wirtschaft garantieren. Und in der Tat: In Anbetracht der kombinierten Wirtschaftsmacht der EU und der USA würde ein gemeinsamer Freihandelsvertrag globale Standards setzen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sung Eun Kim, Urpelainen Johannes

Technology Competition and International Co-operation: Friends or Foes?



in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 3, July, 545-574

ABSTRACT: Is technology competition between commercial rivals an impediment to international co-operation? Or could it instead help states collaborate? Our game-theoretic model suggests that technology competition impedes international co-operation when states hold 'techno-nationalist' preferences but have starkly asymmetric abilities to capture new markets. States that expect to lose refuse to co-operate, so treaty formation fails. However, technology competition may also facilitate co-operation. While states invest in new technologies out of self-interest, doing so also reduces consumer prices for other states. Comparative case studies of environmental co-operation demonstrate the model's utility. For example, European co-operation on climate policy was easier to achieve because forerunner countries, such as Denmark and Germany, implemented industrial policies that enhanced the competitiveness of their renewable energy industries. This technology competition reduced the cost of renewable energy for other European countries, and thus lowered the economic costs of their emissions reductions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Clavin Patricia

The Austrian hunger crisis and the genesis of international organization after the First World War
in *International Affairs*, vol. 90, issue 2, March, 265-278

ABSTRACT: From its foundation in 1918, the new Austrian republic was gripped by famine and a crisis of confidence in its currency that threatened to tip the new state into hyperinflation and revolution. This article shows how western efforts to aid Austria combat famine and its financial crisis were linked, and how they had a profound impact on the new League of Nations, the world's first multi-purpose intergovernmental organization. It also demonstrates the importance of the incipient wartime international bureaucracy for League agency. Contrary to the expectations of its architects, member governments, international financiers, businessmen and economists began to see the League as a useful tool to meet common needs that today would be called the search for human security. The article demonstrates how the Austrian food and financial crisis was the founding moment in the institutionalization of international economic and financial coordination, cooperation and oversight. It established the Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations, whose work would later inform its successors, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Union. The study speaks to the ways in which the notion of security has broadened in the past two decades to embrace economic, social, political and environmental concerns. But the notion of 'human security' is not new; it was written into the body of the League.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Renckens Stefan

The Basel Convention, US politics, and the emergence of non-state e-waste recycling certification
in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May, 141-158

While many authors have argued that domestic regulatory gaps as well as a lack of international cooperation can at least partly explain the emergence of non-state regulation, this article will focus on an underexplored pathway of emergence linking international, domestic, and non-state regulation. I will argue that even in the presence of a widely supported international agreement, a non-ratifying country can provide the setting for the emergence of non-state



certification programs. This will happen when significant domestic legislation on the topics covered by the agreement is absent, and non-state actors are able to act as institutional entrepreneurs with an interest in implementing key elements of this agreement. By tracing the development of certification programs for the electronic waste (e-waste) recycling industry, I will show why the US, more than other countries, provided an enabling environment for the emergence of non-state e-waste recycling certification. The US's failure to ratify the Basel Convention on transboundary movements of hazardous wastes and an overall lack of domestic legislation on e-waste exports created regulatory gaps that non-state actors were able to fill. The main global watchdog of the Convention—the US-based Basel Action Network—used certification as a forum-shifting strategy to implement key parts of the Convention in the US. Finally, the article will also show that conflicting interests and divergent perspectives on the legitimacy of the Convention and its rules have led to the development of a competing industry-supported certification program.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sujitha Subramanian

The Changing Dynamics of the Global Intellectual Property Legal Order: Emergence of a 'Network Agenda'?
in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 64, issue 1 , 103-139

The Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) had sought to augment intellectual property (IP) enforcement practices, to counter the proliferation of counterfeit and pirate goods and to regulate digital infringements. This paper examines the collapse of ACTA and challenges the traditional orientation of the debate concerning the tension between the 'enforcement' and 'development' agendas. The ACTA negotiating partners, mainly developed states, created a forum outside the aegis of international IP norm-making bodies to avoid the distractions posed by developing countries whilst promoting an alternative 'enforcement agenda'. Despite this effort, ACTA collapsed from 'within'. The paper argues that ACTA failed due to the extemporaneous emergence of a random configuration of civil society groups, academics, 'netizens' and legislators within ACTA negotiating countries independently pursuing an agenda that can be called the 'network agenda'. This new agenda aimed to protect the right to privacy, data protection and freedom of speech within the digital medium. While current debates on the global IP legal order are generally limited to, and characterised by the Global North-South considerations, the 'network agenda' cuts longitudinally through territorial configurations and squarely places the interests of the IP owner against those of the public. Consequently, the paper highlights the potential of the network agenda to dilute the existing polarities in the IP debate and impact on the dynamics of international intellectual property law by creating an inclusive platform within IP discourse that attempts to integrate colliding rationalities present within the world society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Xinyuan Dai

The Conditional Effects of International Human Rights Institutions
in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 36, number 3, august , 569-589

ABSTRACT: Much research on the effects of international human rights institutions (IHRIs) is fixated on whether IHRIs have—"on balance" or "systematically"—generated domestic effect. This essay highlights the path-dependent and conditional nature of domestic effects of IHRIs that the current scholarship has either willfully ignored or proven unable to take seriously. It focuses on causal mechanisms by which IHRIs, as codification of rights and as treaty organizations,



impact domestic human rights practice by empowering domestic human rights stakeholders and thereby indirectly influencing states' human rights practice. The essay sheds further light on the conditions under which IHRLs empower domestic stakeholders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jan Klabbers

The EJIL Foreword: The Transformations of International Organizations Law in European Journal of International Law, vol. 26, no. 1 , 9-82

This article discusses the ongoing transformation of international organizations law. It first provides an overview (an anatomy) of the paradigmatic theory concerning the law of international organizations: the theory of functionalism. Subsequently, it investigates how functionalism came about and how, from the 1960s onwards, its flaws increasingly became visible. The argument, in a nutshell, is that functionalism, as a theory concerned with relations between international organizations and their member states, has little or nothing to say about the effects of international organizations on third parties – non-member states, individuals and others. Moreover, it is often applied to entities that can hardly be deemed 'functional' in accordance with the theory. All of this is increasingly viewed as problematic and forces functionalism to adapt. Whether it can do so is questionable, though, since some of its problems are structural rather than contingent. Things are illustrated by the invocation of the United Nations's possible responsibility for causing (or failing to prevent) the outbreak of cholera in Haiti.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lorand Bartels

The EU's Human Rights Obligations in Relation to Policies with Extraterritorial Effects in European Journal of International Law, vol. 25, no. 4 , 1071-1091

In principle, there are two ways in which states and international organizations can violate the human rights of persons outside their territorial jurisdiction. The first is by extraterritorial conduct; the second is by domestic conduct, in the form of policies with extraterritorial effect. This article considers the second of these scenarios, taking as its case study the EU's obligations under EU law. To this end, it analyses Articles 3(5) and 21(3)(1) of the EU Treaty, EU fundamental rights, and the EU's international obligations, which are also binding under EU law. It concludes by looking at the enforcement of any such obligations by individuals, the EU institutions, and EU Member States.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Enzo Cannizzaro

The EU's Human Rights Obligations in Relation to Policies with Extraterritorial Effects: A Reply to Lorand Bartels in European Journal of International Law, vol. 25, no. 4 , 1093-1099

The scope of human rights is undergoing a paradigm shift, from a territory-based conception to a functional conception,



which tends to protect human rights against the extraterritorial exercise of public authority. In the EU domestic system, this is upheld by Articles 3(5) and 21 TUE, which establish the promotion and protection of human rights as a foreign policy directive. However, the normative effect of these provisions is limited. Due to restraints deriving from the EU Treaties, these two provisions do not seem capable of providing a sufficient legal basis for EU action aimed at promoting and protecting human rights. To endow the Union with the means of action necessary to discharge the engaging function of global protector of human rights, a further development of the European constitutional framework seems to be indispensable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Milewicz Karolina M., Elsig Manfred

The Hidden World of Multilateralism: Treaty Commitments of Newly Democratized States in Europe
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, issue 2, June, 322-335

ABSTRACT: Why do new EU democracies engage in multilateralism? The dominant explanation proposes that new democracies use international treaties to lock in domestic reforms. This article offers a novel explanation as to why new EU democracies participate in multilateral treaties. We argue that ratifying a treaty serves three external signaling purposes (recognition concerns, increasing strategic autonomy, and pleasing the European Union). We test our argument through a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. First, we apply event history analysis. Drawing on a new ratification data set comprising 76 multilateral treaties, we illustrate the prominent role of new EU democracies in multilateralism as compared to other new democracies. Second, to assess the importance of external signaling in the decision to ratify multilateral treaties, we examine parliamentary ratification debates in selected Central and Eastern European countries. Third, we compare parliamentary discussions across European and non-European new democracies to demonstrate the different motives driving their approaches toward multilateralism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Urpelainen Johannes, Van de Graaf Thijs

The International Renewable Energy Agency: a success story in institutional innovation?

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May, 159-177

This article interprets the role and significance of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) in global environmental and energy governance. First, we conduct a comparative analysis of IRENA and other recent innovations in global governance, showing that IRENA stands out with regard to the timing of creation, speed of ratification, and focus of the mandate. Second, we identify three mechanisms through which IRENA can promote the global diffusion of renewable energy: (1) by offering valuable epistemic services to its member states, (2) by serving as a focal point for renewable energy in a scattered global institutional environment, and (3) by mobilizing other international institutions to promote renewable energy. Finally, we reflect on the conditions that could make IRENA's policies a continued success and on the lessons that the experience with IRENA holds for other attempts at innovation in global governance.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Thakur Ramesh, Job Brian, Serrano Monica, Tussie Diana

The Next Phase in the Consolidation and Expansion of Global Governance
in *Global Governance*, vol. 20, n. 1, january-march , 1-4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pogge Thomas, Sengupta Mitu

The Sustainable Development Goals: a plan for building a better world?
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 56-64

Abstract

Despite some clear positives, the draft text of the Sustainable Development Goals does not fulfill its self-proclaimed purpose of inspiring and guiding a concerted international effort to eradicate severe poverty everywhere in all of its forms. We offer some critical comments on the proposed agreement and suggest 10 ways to embolden the goals and amplify their appeal and moral power. While it may well be true that the world's poor are better off today than their predecessors were decades or centuries ago, to judge whether this is moral progress, we must bring into view what was possible then and what is possible now. We may well find that there have never been so many people avoidably subjected to life-threatening deprivations as there are today, and if this is the case, we should insist that our governments end this oppression immediately through appropriate institutional reforms to be prominently outlined in their post-2015 agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Shi Longyu, Ma Weichen, Shao Guofan, Tang Lina, Wang Yangyang, Wang Haowei

The US and China need to turn ongoing bilateral dialogue into immediate joint mitigation
in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 22, Issue 1 , 25-29

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China are responsible for over 40% of the world's CO₂ emissions annually and they will be able to effectively reduce global emissions if they fulfil their commitments jointly in climate change mitigation. Here we briefly summarize past climate collaborations between the two countries and compare their national climate policies. The major problems are the mutual distrust between the two countries and the priority of economic development over climate change mitigation within each of them. As atmospheric CO₂ levels are still increasing at an accelerating rate, it is essential for the largest two emitters to turn ongoing bilateral dialogue into prompt mitigation action and maintain long-term joint efforts in reducing emissions. We suggest that the two countries should recognize and take advantage of their differences in socioeconomic, political, and technological conditions. Furthermore, the two countries need to share their experiences and technologies for safely utilizing relatively clean energy resources, especially shale gas. The success in climate cooperation between the USA and China is critical to sustainable development around the world.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zannakis Mathias

The blending of discourses in Sweden's "urge to go ahead" in climate politics

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 217-236

This paper investigates what made possible Sweden's "urge to go ahead" in climate policy, an issue particularly interesting given the problem with non-compliance in the climate regime. The material reveals that there was tension regarding how great burden Sweden should shoulder and to what extent emissions reductions should be made domestically. Despite this tension, Sweden decided to have a more ambitious national target (4 %) than required by the EU burden sharing agreement (+4 %), which allocated the EU's Kyoto Protocol targets within EU-15. It was also decided that emissions reductions should not account for the flexible mechanisms or carbon sinks. Importantly, the national 4 % target was over-implemented (16 % in 1990–2011). These decisions were institutionalized until the center-right government in 2009 formulated the 2020 targets. Using argumentative discourse analysis, I conclude that what made possible Sweden's comparatively ambitious climate policy was the discourse coalitions (although different in character) formed around primarily two story lines that were blended: Opportunity (in line with the discourse on ecological modernization) and Ecological Justice (in line with the discourse on civic environmentalism). However, the latter was de-emphasized by the center-right government that came to power in 2006, reflecting the influence of a Sacrifice story line and the increased importance of the norm of cost-efficiency. Convincing others about the truthfulness of the Opportunity story line would possibly be effective for making others willing to commit to obligations and actually implement them. However, the diminishing importance of the Ecological Justice story line may affect negatively how Sweden is viewed internationally. If the overarching aim is to get as many countries as possible to commit to and comply with quantitative commitments within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, then it might not only be of importance whether Sweden can "deliver" but possibly also how one delivers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McLaughlin Mitchell Sara, Zawahri Neda A

The effectiveness of treaty design in addressing water disputes

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 52, Number 2, March , 187-200

We examine the design features of treaties governing international rivers and empirically test their effectiveness in managing water disputes. We expect peaceful conflict management to be more successful and militarized conflict to be less likely in dyadic river claims when riparians share membership in treaties with mechanisms for river basin organizations, information exchange, monitoring, enforcement, and conflict resolution. To test our expectation we analyze a set of diplomatic disagreements over cross-border rivers coded by the Issue Correlates of War project. We combine this database with treaty content data from the Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database. Empirical analyses suggest that information exchange and enforcement provisions in river treaties are most effective for preventing militarization of river claims and increase the chances that negotiations over river claims successfully resolve the issues at stake. Enforcement provisions also promote third-party dispute settlement attempts and increase the likelihood of compliance with agreements reached. States that share membership in river basin organizations are more likely to experience militarized disputes and less likely to be amenable to third-party dispute settlement. However, the latter states are more likely to reach agreements in peaceful negotiations over their river claims. These findings



demonstrate that institutional design influences riparian states' ability to address water disputes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Henriksen Lasse Folke

The global network of biofuel sustainability standards-setters

in Environmental Politics, Volume 24, Issue 1, February , 115-137

The role of network structure in shaping the regulatory scope and content of sustainability standards for biofuels is examined. A critical review of the literature on hybrid governance networks suggests the need to bring in network theory. Through a specific network analysis of the standards-setters, it is shown that not only does the institutional hybridity of the standards boards influence the regulatory scope of the standards, but the network centrality and specific topology in which standards-setters are embedded are equally important structural features of hybrid governance. These findings foreground the relevance of incorporating in the current attributional conception of hybridity a network element, taking seriously the role of network structure in shaping regulatory fields. Social Network Analysis as an analytical tool holds great potential for further research into the structural features of hybrid governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Daniel Mügge and Bart Stellinga

The unstable core of global finance: Contingent valuation and governance of international accounting standards

in Regulation & Governance, Volume 9, Issue 1 , 47–62

Accounting standards are the foundations of the financial regulatory edifice, and global financial governance is no more stable than the asset valuations that feed it. Yet for two decades and up to this day, no international accounting rule for financial instruments – the bulk of banks' balance sheets – has emerged that was more than a temporary fix, to be succeeded by further reforms. We show how banking regulators have been central to this dynamic and how their support for applying fair value accounting to financial instruments, the cornerstone of regulatory debate, has oscillated throughout the whole period. The two common international political economy approaches to global financial governance, which analyze it either as interest-based bargaining or as ideas-driven expert governance, fail to account for this pattern. In contrast, we show how the contingency of financial valuations itself has made it impossible for regulators to embrace or reject a stable set of accounting rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gallemore Caled, Di Gregorio Monica, Moeliono Moira, Brockhaus Maria, Dini Prasti H. Rut

Transaction costs, power, and multi-level forest governance in Indonesia

in Ecological Economics, Volume 114, June , 168-179

Since 2005, there has been considerable international interest in Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD +), a program intended to finance protection of tropical forests through the sale of carbon offsets or



from donor funding. Requiring the collaboration of local and international civil society stakeholders, firms, and donor and host governments, REDD + is inherently a multi-level governance project, but to date participation in REDD + and coordination across governmental levels have been weak. Combining literature on multi-level and polycentric governance of socioecological systems with transaction-cost economics, we argue that transaction costs structure cross-level information-sharing and collaboration relationships among organizations engaged in REDD + policy development at the national and provincial levels in Indonesia. Using an exponential random graph modelling approach with data collected from interviews with over 80 organizations between 2010 and 2012, we find that powerful organizations tend to dominate cross-level connections, though this effect is somewhat mediated by organizational similarity, which reduces transaction costs. We suggest that explicit efforts to help local organizations overcome the transaction costs of building cross-level relationships will be a central component of building an effective and equitable multi-level governance system for REDD + in Indonesia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hanegraaff Marcel

Transnational Advocacy over Time: Business and NGO Mobilization at UN Climate Summits

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 1, February , 83-104

Currently two contrasting perspectives dominate the literature on interest group community development. The collective action perspective presumes that interest group communities tend to be dominated by groups with few obstacles for political mobilization. The neo-pluralist perspective instead stresses that many interest group communities have inherent balancing mechanisms, assuring that over time these communities become increasingly diverse. Both perspectives, however, have primarily been developed and used in domestic settings. I argue that these traditional perspectives also are highly useful in studying transnational interest group communities. I analyze the mobilization patterns of 6,655 interest groups active at UN climate summits between 1995 and 2011. While the results mostly confirm a neo-pluralist perspective, which entails more diverse mobilization patterns, business and highly specialized interests did have a clear, and possibly crucial, advantage in the early stages of development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Price Martin F.

Transnational governance in mountain regions: Progress and prospects

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May , 95-105

The number of transnational governance mechanisms specifically relating to mountains is limited. Using the three axes of the framework developed by Balsiger and VanDeveer (2012) – agency, substance, and territoriality – this paper reviews progress in this domain and looks forward. It introduces themes for transnational governance of mountains in the context of the Rio conferences of 1992 and 2012 and then presents progress with regard to governance arrangements in different regions of the world, first, for biodiversity and related issues and, second, for sustainable (mountain) development. As well as state actors, many nonstate actors are involved in these arrangements; these actors are discussed. The paper concludes with conclusions regarding transnational governance in mountain areas to date and identifies future actions in the realms of monitoring, research and policy.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Eichner Thomas, Pethig Rüdiger

**Unilateral Climate Policy with Production-Based and Consumption-Based Carbon Emission Taxes
in Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 61, Issue 2, June , 141-163

This paper characterizes a sub-global climate coalition's unilateral policy of reaching a given climate damage reduction goal at minimum costs. Following Eichner and Pethig (J Environ Econ Manag, 2013) we set up a two-country two-period model in which one of the countries represents a climate coalition that implements a binding ceiling on the world's first-period emissions. The other country is the rest of the world and refrains from taking action. The coalition can make use of production-based carbon emission taxes in both periods, as in Eichner and Pethig (J Environ Econ Manag, 2013), but here we consider consumption-based carbon emission taxes as an additional instrument. The central question is whether and how the coalition employs the consumption-based taxes along with the production-based taxes in its unilateral cost-effective ceiling policy. All cost-effective policies identified analytically and numerically consist of a mix of both types of taxes implying that there is a tax mix which is less expensive for the coalition than stand-alone consumption-based or stand-alone production-based taxes. With full cooperation both taxes are perfect substitutes (in our model), but in case of unilateral action they are imperfect substitutes, because coalition's total welfare loss from two different but moderate distortions is smaller than that from a single but severe distortion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brandi Clara, Messner Dirk

Was folgt auf die Millenniums-Entwicklungsziele?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 4, 2014 , 513-524

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pogge Thomas

Weltarmut und Menschenrechte – Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 7-9, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/200376/weltarmut-und-menschenrechte?p=all>

Trotz eines hohen und wachsenden globalen Durchschnittseinkommens leben nach wie vor sehr viele Menschen in extremer Armut. Bei einer Weltbevölkerung von gegenwärtig rund 7,25 Milliarden Menschen sind nach offiziellen Angaben 805 Millionen Menschen unterernährt, haben mehr als eine Milliarde keine geeignete Unterkunft, etwa 748 Millionen kein sauberes Trinkwasser, rund 1,8 Milliarden keine ausreichenden sanitären Einrichtungen und 1,2



Milliarden keinen elektrischen Strom. Mehr als ein Drittel der Weltbevölkerung hat keinen verlässlichen Zugang zu lebenswichtigen Medikamenten und 781 Millionen Menschen über 14 Jahre sind Analphabeten. 168 Millionen Kinder zwischen fünf und 17 Jahren leisten Lohnarbeit, oft unter sklavenähnlichen und gefährlichen Bedingungen: als Soldaten, Prostituierte oder Haushaltshilfen, in der Landwirtschaft, im Bauwesen oder in der Textil- und Teppichwirtschaft. Mindestens ein Drittel aller menschlichen Todesfälle, 18 Millionen pro Jahr, geht auf armutsbedingte Ursachen zurück. Das summiert sich auf etwa 450 Millionen vorzeitige Todesfälle seit Ende des Kalten Krieges – viel mehr in 25 Jahren, als durch staatliche Gewalteinwirkung im 20. Jahrhundert ums Leben kamen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frédéric Mégret

What Sort of Global Justice is 'International Criminal Justice'?

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 13, no. 1 , 77-96

International criminal justice is more often thought of as a form of criminal rather than global justice. Yet, criminal law on its own cannot provide a comprehensive theory of the justice of international criminal justice because of its predominant focus on fairness assessed on a case-by-case basis. Understanding the distributive effects of international criminal justice between different cases is where theories of global justice can prove useful. What international criminal tribunals 'distribute' are forms of stigma. This may be sought out or shunned by states. Allocating too much or too little stigma to crimes will result in injustice. The question then is among whom will this allocation take place. The influential cosmopolitan view of international criminal justice posits that it should be between bare individual members of a world community; the international view suggests instead that individuals are always, at least partly, figureheads for communities and nations and that it is among them that attention should be distributed. The article argues in favour of a view of international criminal justice seen as a fairly classical form of international justice, and suggests that failure to take this dimension into account will weaken the International Criminal Court's claim to being a just institution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chaudoin Stephen, Urpelainen Johannes

When is Good News About Pro-Co-operation Lobbies Good News About Co-operation?

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, issue 2, april , 411-433

ABSTRACT: Lobbies are active participants in international co-operation. In a repeated game, this article allows domestic lobbies to offer contingent rewards to influence their government to make pro-co-operation policy adjustments. The effect of lobbies depends on the type and intensity of their preferences. If the lobbies are 'internationally benefiting' – that is, they are interested in whether the foreign government reciprocates with adjustments of its own, they unambiguously improve co-operation. However, if the lobbies are 'domestically benefiting' – that is, they are interested in their own government's policy, they are less beneficial for co-operation. A domestically benefiting lobby that is willing to compensate its government even without foreign reciprocity undermines the credibility of punishing free riders. This article demonstrates this argument in the context of trade and environmental co-operation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grieve Dominic

Why Human Rights Should Matter to Conservatives

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 1, January–March 2015 , 62–71

Abstract

In a speech given to the University of London's Constitution Unit and Judicial Institute on 3 December 2014, the Rt Hon Dominic Grieve QC MP challenged Conservatives to think carefully about the party's proposal to break the link between British courts and the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. Grieve recalled why the United Kingdom signed the Convention in the first place and, although recognising that the Court's approach has been on occasion properly criticised and may present difficulties, argued that the reforms embodied in the Brighton Declaration 2012 are bearing fruit. He provided a critical exposition of the Conservative paper 'Protecting Human Rights in the UK: the Conservatives' Proposals for changing Britain's Human Rights Laws' (October 2014) and concluded that Conservatives should want to remain within the jurisdiction of the ECHR to maintain and ensure the Court's effectiveness and continued viability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baccini Leonardo, Koenig-Archibugi Mathias

Why do States Commit to International Labor Standards? Interdependent Ratification of Core ILO Conventions, 1948–2009

in *World Politics*, vol. 66, n. 3, July , 446-490

ABSTRACT: Ratifying core conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization (ILO) creates legal obligations to improve labor standards in the domestic economy, notably with regard to union rights, minimum age and discrimination in employment, and forced labor. Why and when do states choose to ratify them? Two influential theoretical approaches lead to the expectation that states are influenced by the ratification behavior of other states. Drawing on rationalist institutionalism, the authors expect states to use institutions such as the ILO to improve or consolidate their preferred standards domestically while reducing the risk of suffering competitive disadvantages in world markets. In this view, ILO conventions are devices for the prevention and mitigation of regulatory races to the bottom among trade rivals. Drawing on sociological institutionalism, they expect states to ratify ILO conventions if doing so conforms to a norm of appropriate behavior that is prevalent in a state's peer groups. This article develops observable implications of these hypotheses and tests them by applying spatial regression models to seven core ILO conventions and 187 countries between 1948 and 2009. The analysis yields strong evidence in support of both hypotheses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Graham Erin

International organizations as collective agents: Fragmentation and the limits of principal control at the World Health Organization

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 2, June , 366-390

ABSTRACT: What factors influence the faithfulness of international organizations (IOs) to mandates assigned to them



by member states? Although recent literature treats international organization agents as autonomous actors in global politics, most work continues to treat the bureaucracy of an international organization as a unitary actor. I argue that the unitary actor assumption limits our ability to assess how internal factors such as fragmentation influence agent faithfulness. When we conceive of international organization bureaucracies as collective agents — those including more than one bureaucratic actor and subject to internal fragmentation — international organization faithfulness can be more fully explained. Specifically, fragmentation limits faithfulness by inhibiting the effectiveness of principals' control mechanisms (i.e. oversight and agent screening and sanctioning). These arguments are illustrated using a case study of the World Health Organization and its efforts to improve health systems between 1982 and 2008.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Evans Chris, Saunders Olivia

A world of copper: globalizing the Industrial Revolution, 1830–70

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 10 - Issue 1 - March , pp. 3-26

For most of human history the smelting of metallic ores has been performed immediately adjacent to the ore body. In the 1830s the copper industry that was centred on Swansea in the UK departed abruptly from that ancient pattern: Swansea smelters shipped in ores from very distant locations, including sites in Australasia, Latin America, and southern Africa. Swansea became the hub of a globally integrated heavy industry, one that deployed capital on a very large scale, implanted British industrial technologies in some very diverse settings, and mobilized a transnational workforce that included British-born 'labour aristocrats', Chinese indentured servants, and African slaves. This paper explores the World of Copper between its inception c.1830 and its demise in the aftermath of the American Civil War. It asks what the experience of this precociously globalized industry can contribute to some current concerns in global history.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kuyper Jonathan W.

Against Global Parliament

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 21, Issue 1, March 2015 , 158–179

Abstract

Experimentation is often thought to be a key quality of any legitimate democratic system. Employing global parliamentary proposals as a heuristic, this article suggests that top-down models for global democratization – proffered by liberal cosmopolitans and world government scholars – may create path-dependencies which foreclose options for experimenting with alternative institutional designs in the future. Drawing upon historical institutionalism, the structure, sequence, and setting of top-down proposals are outlined to show how experimentation with other forms of democracy may be constrained in problematic ways. Following this assessment, the article suggests that striving for democratic values under a pluralist arrangement of global governance may facilitate incremental institutional development and promote experimentation over time.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Synhaeve Marijke

Aid Effectiveness 2.0: International Cooperation and the Role of the Netherlands

in **Peace, Conflict and Development**, Issue 21, March , 41-84

The purpose of this study is threefold: to provide an overview of the current international debate on aid effectiveness (AE), to assess the Dutch development cooperation (DDC) policies, and to position the current DDC policies within the debate on AE.

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/ssis/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/Aid-effectiveness.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Eugeni Sara

An OLG model of global imbalances

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 95, Issue 1, January 2015 , 83-97

In this paper, we investigate the relationship between East Asian countries' high propensity to save and global imbalances in a two-country OLG model with production. The saving behavior of emerging economies and capital outflows to the United States can be attributed to their poor pay-as-you-go systems. The model predicts that emerging countries run a trade surplus only as long as the long-run growth rate of the economy is higher than the real interest rate (capital overaccumulation case). The low real interest rate in the US is therefore evidence in favor of the hypothesis that there is a "global saving glut" in the world economy. The model can explain why the US current account deteriorated gradually and only in the late 1990s, although the net foreign asset position had already turned negative in the early 1980s. Finally, the analysis also implies that an improvement of the pay-as-you-go system in China would have the effect of reducing the imbalances. In accordance with the theory, we find that the higher is the percentage of the working population covered by the pay-as-you-go system the lower are savings and the current account balance in a cross-section of countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sharmistha Bhattacharjee

An Overview of Labor Welfare Measures in India in Response to Globalization

in **Journal of Developing Societies**, 31 (1) , 66-76

Globalization refers to complex economic networks of international competition, resource suppliers, and product markets. Most organizations achieve high performance within a complex and competitive global environment. Hence we can see it as a trend in which the economic, political, and cultural activities of people in different countries increasingly influence each other and become interdependent. With the change in the global labor market as a result of globalization, welfare measures are considered as a necessary investment that may save money in the long run and provide employers with a stable labor force. Labor welfare is part of social welfare both conceptually and operationally. It encompasses the state of well-being, happiness, satisfaction, conservation, and development of human resources. This



article provides an overview of labor welfare in India.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gagliardi Luisa, Percoco Marco

Built to last: population aging and long run development in metropolitan Europe

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 14, No. 1-2, Special Issue on Cities as Engines for Sustainable Development , 113-131

The paper examines the role of demography on the growth perspectives of European metropolitan areas. Our findings are in support of the key role played by the demographic structure of the population in determining the economic prospects of European cities. Regions and cities with higher levels of dependency ratios are found to show lower growth rates, in the long run. This evidence supports earlier findings on the relevance of population age on both aggregate productivity changes and the human capital stock of the local labour force.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cheong Juyoung, Kwak Do Won, Tang Kam Ki

Can Trade Agreements Curtail Trade Creation and Prevent Trade Diversion?

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 23, Issue 2, May 2015 , 221-238

This paper investigates how pre-existing preferential trade agreements (PTAs) dilute the trade creation effect and shield the trade diversion effect of new PTAs. Countries having pre-existing PTAs enjoy smaller gains in intra-bloc trade because of the dilution effect and experience smaller losses or even gains in extra-bloc trade because of the shielding effect. The findings support the proposition that PTAs could be used to fend off future trade diversion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kourtit Karima, Nijkamp Peter, De Noronha Vaz Teresa

Cities in a shrinking globe

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 14, No. 1-2, Special Issue on Cities as Engines for Sustainable Development , 6-16

Our world is turning into an urban world. This New Urban World prompts a great variety of research and policy challenges. The present paper seeks to map out such challenges and to explore new roads for a strategically-based urban planning for the future of our planet. An exploratory tool employed here is formed by 'urban images'. The urban-rural divide is also discussed, as well as future strategic options for cities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nordhaus William

Climate Clubs: Overcoming Free-Riding in International Climate Policy

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 105 No. 4, April 2015 , 1339-70

Notwithstanding great progress in scientific and economic understanding of climate change, it has proven difficult to forge international agreements because of free-riding, as seen in the defunct Kyoto Protocol. This study examines the club as a model for international climate policy. Based on economic theory and empirical modeling, it finds that without sanctions against non-participants there are no stable coalitions other than those with minimal abatement. By contrast, a regime with small trade penalties on non-participants, a Climate Club, can induce a large stable coalition with high levels of abatement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hestres Luis E.

Climate change advocacy online: theories of change, target audiences, and online strategy

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 193-211

Widespread adoption of the Internet has transformed how most US political advocacy organizations operate, but perhaps more important has been the formation of new types of advocacy organizations. These 'Internet-mediated advocacy organizations' tend to have smaller, geographically dispersed and networked staffs, behave as hybrids of traditional political organizations, and emphasize the use of online tools for offline action. The climate change debate has spurred formation of many such organizations – including 350.org – that now advocate for climate action alongside legacy/environmental organizations. How do these organizations differ from their legacy/environmental counterparts? What does their rise mean for climate change political advocacy? I explore these and other questions through in-depth interviews with top online strategists and other staffers at Environmental Defense Fund, Natural Resources Defense Council, Sierra Club, Greenpeace USA, Energy Action Coalition, 1Sky, and 350.org. Interviews revealed broad agreement among Internet-mediated/climate groups regarding core strategic assumptions about climate advocacy, but some divergence among legacy/environmental organizations. They also revealed connections between these assumptions, audience segment targeting, and strategic use of the Internet for advocacy. I discuss implications for the future of US climate advocacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marshall John, Fisher Stephen D.

Compensation or Constraint? How Different Dimensions of Economic Globalization Affect Government Spending and Electoral Turnout

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, issue 2, april , 353-389

ABSTRACT: This article extends theoretical arguments regarding the impact of economic globalization on policy making to electoral turnout and considers how distinct dimensions of globalization may produce different effects. It theorizes that constraints on government policy that reduce incentives to vote are more likely to be induced by foreign ownership of capital, while compensation through increased government spending is more likely (if at all) to be the product of



structural shifts in production associated with international trade. Using data from twenty-three OECD countries from 1970–2007, the study finds strong support for the ownership-constraint hypothesis in which foreign ownership reduces turnout, both directly and – in strict opposition to the compensation hypothesis – indirectly by reducing government spending (and thus the importance of politics). The results suggest that increased foreign ownership, especially the most mobile capital flows, can explain up to two-thirds of the large declines in turnout over recent decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Middell Matthias

Der Wiener Kongress aus globalhistorischer Perspektive

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 22-24, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/206925/der-wiener-kongress-aus-globalhistorischer-perspektive

Der Wiener Kongress hat immer wieder Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen – vor allem, wenn schwere Erschütterungen durch Kriege und Krisen Rufe nach einer neuen (Welt-)Ordnung laut werden ließen. Dabei wurde der Blick jedoch lange Zeit allein auf Europa gerichtet und vernachlässigt, dass der Wiener Kongress gegen Ende einer weltweiten revolutionären Krise und eines globalen Wettstreits um Präsenz und Einfluss ausgerichtet wurde. Dies spiegelte sich auf dem Kongress in vielfältiger Weise wider, wobei man zwischen zweierlei Debatten unterscheiden kann: einerseits jene, die zunächst mit Blick auf europäische Problemlagen geführt wurden, mittel- und langfristig aber zum Ursprung oder Vorbild globaler Regelungen wurden; andererseits jene, die vorrangig außereuropäischer Natur schienen, sich aber schnell als direkt mit Europas Neuordnung verflochten erwiesen. Im 18. Jahrhundert war die Welt viel enger zusammengerückt, ohne dabei jedoch homogener zu werden: Regionale Lösungen waren nicht sofort globale; beide Ebenen beeinflussten sich fortan jedoch stärker gegenseitig als im Jahrhundert zuvor...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Klein Naomi

Die Entscheidung: Kapital vs. Klima

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2015, 43-57

Am 22. März 2015 hielt die kanadische Autorin Naomi Klein die diesjährige Democracy Lecture der »Blätter«. Zentrales Thema war der Klimawandel, der sowohl eine existenzielle Krise für die menschliche Spezies als auch – gerade mit Blick auf die Weltklimakonferenz von Paris am Ende dieses Jahres – eine globale politische Herausforderung darstellt. Wie bereits die erste Lecture mit Thomas Piketty im vergangenen November (vgl. »Blätter«, 12/2014) stieß auch die zweite auf enormes Interesse: Etwa 1500 Menschen folgten Kleins Vortrag und den anschließenden Beiträgen der Aktivistin Luise Neumann-Cosel und Tazio Müller im »Haus der Kulturen der Welt« in Berlin.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Pinheiro Diogo, Chwieroth Jeffrey M., Hicks Alexander

Do international non-governmental organizations inhibit globalization? The case of capital account liberalization in developing countries

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 1, march , 146-170

ABSTRACT: Why do countries liberalize capital controls? The literature identifies a range of possible reasons. Yet, despite considerable advances, the impact of international non-governmental organizations has yet to be considered. In fact, surprisingly, systematic analysis of the role of international non-governmental organizations in the diffusion of economic openness, financial or otherwise, has not been pursued previously. We offer the first such analysis by advancing the idea of 'climatic mimesis,' which refers to the cultural climate for policymaking that results from country ties to international non-governmental organizations. International non-governmental organizations shape capital account regulation by altering the cultural climate in a country such that liberalization becomes a more problematic policy choice. Our statistical analysis of data from developing countries reveals that international non-governmental organization ties inhibited liberalization, as did relatively high public debt and concentrated domestic banking sectors. The presence of an International Monetary Fund program and liberalization by economic competitors encouraged it. We suggest that these findings have important implications for understanding the potential for convergence and divergence in an era of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Çarkoğlu Ali, Kentmen-Çin Çiğdem

Economic development, environmental justice, and pro-environmental behavior

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 4, Special Issue: Environmental concerns during a time of duress , 575-597

Are a country's environmental attitudes linked to its level of economic development? In recent decades, rapid industrialization and the use of cheaper but older production technologies have reduced environmental quality in less developed countries (LDCs). Moreover, these countries have been disproportionately affected by global pollution in that they suffer the effects while having emitted less than industrialized countries. To what extent are people in LDCs ready to make sacrifices to improve environmental conditions? International Social Survey Program 2010 data reveal that people in LDCs are less supportive of international agreements forcing their country to take necessary environmental measures than are citizens in the developed world. Moreover, they are more likely to think that wealthier countries should make more effort to protect the environment, and are less willing to make personal economic sacrifices or change their consumption behavior to accommodate environmental concerns. These results hold even after controlling for post-materialist values, political ideology, personal income, and several other demographic variables.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dalton Russell, Rohrschneider Robert

Environmental concerns during a time of duress: an introduction

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 4, Special Issue: Environmental concerns during a time of duress , 523-529

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09644016.2015.1023577>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hellsten Sirkku K.

Ethics: universal or global? The trends in studies of ethics in the context of globalization
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 80-89

Abstract

The article discusses how theory and practice in global ethics affect each other. First, the author explores how the study of ethics has changed in the era of globalization and ponders what the role of the field of study of global ethics is in this context. Second, she wants to show how the logical fallacies in widening study field of ethics produce false polarizations between facts and value judgements in social ethics made in various cultural contexts. She further elaborates how these false polarizations prevent constructive cross-cultural and transnational discussions on ethical guidelines and principles that are needed to produce joint action (plans) to deal with serious ethical issues globally and nationally. Finally, the paper argues that in order to find a way to solve our shared complex ethical problems in global context, we need to get back to basics by focusing on the method of ethics, that is, self-critical and logical analysis of sound argumentation and justification of our values and moral principles.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Müller Franziska, Ziai Aram

Eurozentrismus in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 7-9, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/200363/eurozentrismus-in-der-entwicklungszusammenarbeit?p=all

Spätestens seit der postkolonialen und Post-Development-Kritik ist die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (EZ) mit dem Vorwurf des Eurozentrismus konfrontiert worden. Doch was genau ist darunter zu verstehen? Ist EZ per se eurozentrisch? Wie könnte eine nicht eurozentrische Entwicklungspolitik aussehen? Lösen "neue" Geber derlei Problematiken – oder wiederholen sich kontroverse Geberpraktiken etwa in Form einer "sinozentrischen" EZ? Diese Fragen sollen im vorliegenden Artikel erörtert werden. Zunächst betrachten wir das Phänomen des Eurozentrismus und seine Verknüpfung mit den Grundannahmen der EZ. Anschließend widmen wir uns der Frage, inwiefern die Herausbildung einer zusehends polyzentrischen Weltordnung und die zunehmende Relevanz der neuen Geber Auswirkungen auf das Rollenverhalten der beteiligten Akteure und das Phänomen des Eurozentrismus haben. Im letzten Abschnitt diskutieren wir Alternativen in Form eines anderen, nicht eurozentrischen EZ-Bezugsrahmens und entsprechender politischer Arenen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Eckert Andreas

Geschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 7-9, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/200361/geschichte-der-entwicklungszusammenarbeit

Es ist eine Besonderheit unserer Zeit, konstatiert der Ethnologe James Ferguson, dass das Konzept "Entwicklung" so zentral für das Nachdenken über so viele Gebiete unserer Erde ist. Wie "Zivilisation" im 19. Jahrhundert steht nun seit geraumer Zeit "Entwicklung" für ein dominantes Raster der Interpretation, durch welches uns die ärmeren Regionen der Welt vertraut sind und in dessen Rahmen alltägliche Beobachtungen verständlich werden. Arme Länder sind demnach per definitionem "unterentwickelt", und die Armut und Machtlosigkeit der dort lebenden Menschen sind gleichsam nur die äußeren Anzeichen dieser zugrunde liegenden Bedingung...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hendrix Cullen S, Haggard Stephan

Global food prices, regime type, and urban unrest in the developing world
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 52, Number 2, March , 143-157

The 2014 IPCC report concludes that changes in precipitation and temperature could cause global food prices to nearly double by 2050. Anecdotal evidence of riots during the global food price spikes of 2007–08 and 2010–11 raises the more general question of whether global food prices affect patterns of contentious politics in developing countries. Drawing on a dataset of urban unrest in 55 major cities in 49 Asian and African countries for the period 1961–2010, we find the effect of global food prices on protests and rioting is contingent on regime type: democracies are more prone to urban unrest during periods of high food prices than autocracies. We show that this is due both to the more permissive political opportunity structure in democratic systems and to systematic differences in food policy across regimes of different types. Relative to autocracies, democracies pursue policies that are more favorable to the rural sector and less favorable to the cities. The findings have longer-run implications. To the extent that climate change will make many developing countries more dependent on food imports, and that prices could rise and be more volatile, we suggest another vector by which climate change may affect political unrest. Our findings highlight the importance of both political institutions and policy choices in mediating global shocks

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cotton Simon

Globalisation and distributive justice: Evaluating the moral implications of coercion and cooperation in world trade
in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 49, n. 2 , 363-375

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Siong Hook Law, Hui Boon Tan and W. N. W. Azman-Saini

**Globalisation, Institutional Reforms and Financial Development in East Asian Economies
in World Economy**, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 379–398

This study investigates the dynamic effects of globalisation on institutions and financial development in East Asian economies using panel data tests. Our empirical results demonstrate that globalisation has a significant influence on institutional quality, and that institutional reforms in turn facilitate and support financial development, in particular the development of the banking sector in East Asia. Globalisation is also found to have a favourable direct impact on stock market development without passing through an institutional quality channel.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Iizuka Michiko, Katz Jorge

**Globalisation, Sustainability and the Role of Institutions: The Case of the Chilean Salmon Industry
in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 106,
Issue 2, Special Issue: Globalisation, knowledge and institutional change: towards an evolutionary perspective to economic
development, April , 140-153

The importance of aquaculture in the fishery sector is increasing. The growth of aquaculture complements the stagnant growth of extractive fisheries. Many countries are now entering this emerging economic activity. This positive feature has some serious drawbacks when the country has no local institutions to ensure the environmental sustainability of aquaculture. The Chilean salmon farming industry has grown dramatically since the mid-1980s to become the leading exporter of farmed salmon after Norway. The sector, however, suffered decline due to the sanitary crisis in 2007. It is said that this crisis was caused by overexploitation and overconcentration of fish farms. This paper tries to explain the mechanisms of the sanitary crisis – a ‘tragedy of the commons’ – by paying attention to the role of endogenous factors such as local knowledge, capacity building, local ecological conditions and the emergence of local institutions, focusing on the case of salmon farming in Chile.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Julia Guenther and Eswarappa Kasi

**Globalization and People at the Margins: Experiences from the Global South
in Journal of Developing Societies**, 31 (1) , 1-7

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Carsten Daugbjerg & Alan Swinbank

Globalization and new policy concerns: the WTO and the EU's sustainability criteria for biofuels
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 3 , 429-446

The transfer of some decision-making authority from the domestic to the supranational arena as a result of the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 potentially changed domestic policy dynamics. The WTO agreements reflect the trade policy concerns addressed in the Uruguay Round in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This article applies and adapts historical institutionalism to explain how international organizations may constrain and facilitate certain domestic policy options. It demonstrates that, while the WTO legal framework has become more receptive of environmental sustainability concerns, the social sustainability concerns that were increasingly entering the debate over biofuel policies were not easily accommodated, and this was seen as a constraint on the content of the European Union's (EU) policy adopted in 2009. Only the environmental dimension of a broader concept of sustainability was included in the policy design.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Björn Kauder, Niklas Potrafke

Globalization and social justice in OECD countries

in *Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)*, Volume 151, Issue 2 , 353-376

Social justice is a topic of importance to social scientists and also political decision makers. We examine the relationship between globalization and social justice as measured by a new indicator for 31 OECD countries. The results show that countries that experienced rapid globalization enjoy social justice. When the KOF index of globalization increases by one standard deviation, the social justice indicator increases by about 0.4 points (on a scale from 1 to 10). The policy implication is that permitting a national economy to become globally integrated is consistent with and promotes social justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Siri Gamage

Globalization, Neoliberal Reforms and Inequality: A Review of Conceptual Tools, Competing Discourses, Responses, and Alternatives

in *Journal of Developing Societies*, 31 (1) , 8-27

In the relevant literature, there is an ongoing debate about the nature, merits, and outcomes of globalization as they apply to the Global South. The questions about the merits of neoliberal economic globalization as a vehicle for alleviating poverty is one of the most prominent in the literature on globalization. The shifting of power from the nation-state to international and regional centers with a controlling or hegemonic slant is an important discourse with regard to political globalization. There is another important discourse about the trends in cultural globalization, for example, homogenization (uniform culture) vs. heterogeneity (cultural diversity). This article primarily focuses on the discourse about neoliberal economic globalization and its effects on developing countries, especially in the context of poverty alleviation, social welfare provision, marginalization of intact communities, and inequality. The article centers on a critical review of the available literature, and a contribution to the substantive topics indicated in the title. Case studies



are used to support the arguments presented wherever possible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Hinnebusch Raymond

Globalization, democratization, and the Arab uprising: the international factor in MENA's failed democratization in Democratization, vol. 22, n. 2, Special Issue: From Arab Spring to Arab Winter: Explaining the limits of post-uprising democratisation - Guest Editor: Raymond Hinnebusch , 335-357

What explains the almost wholly negative impact of international factors on post-uprising democratization prospects? This article compares the utility of rival "diffusionist" and neo-Gramscian political economy frames to explain this. Multiple international factors deter democratization. The failure of Western democracy promotion is rooted in the contradiction between the dominance of global finance capital and the norm of democratic equality; in the periphery, neo-liberalism is most compatible with hybrid regimes and, at best, "low intensity democracy". In MENA, neo-liberalism generated crony capitalism incompatible with democratization; while this also sparked the uprisings, these have failed to address class inequalities. Moreover at the normative level, MENA hosts the most credible counter-hegemonic ideologies; the brief peaking of democratic ideology in the region during the early uprisings soon declined amidst regional discourse wars. Non-democrats – coercive regime remnants and radical charismatic movements – were empowered by the competitive interference of rival powers in uprising states. The collapse of many uprising states amidst a struggle for power over the region left an environment uncongenial to democratization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tedong Peter Aning, Grant Jill L., Wan Abd Aziz Wan Nor Azriyati

Governing Enclosure: The Role of Governance in Producing Gated Communities and Guarded Neighborhoods in Malaysia

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 112-128

Enclosed residential areas are proliferating in Malaysian cities, in common with many other parts of the world. The production of gated communities and guarded neighborhoods in Malaysia reveals the active role of the state in creating conditions that support enclosure and securitization of space. This article examines the role of governance in producing residential enclaves that reinforce segregation and fragment urban landscapes. Based on a study of gated communities in Malaysia, we argue that governments, corporations and citizen groups collaborate within a complex governance system that (re)produces enclosure. Neoliberal market principles fuse with ethnic politics, cultural predilections and economic imperatives to generate a socially and spatially fragmented urban landscape where security concerns dominate and where citizens culturally, physically and symbolically segregate themselves from others.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12204/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gebauer Thomas

Hoffen und Sterben. Flucht und Abschottung in Zeiten globaler Krisen



in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juni, 2015 , 41-50

Derzeit vergeht kaum eine Woche, in der nicht erneut hunderte Flüchtlinge von wackeligen Booten aus dem Mittelmeer gerettet werden. Für viele aber kommt jede Hilfe zu spät. Mit den verstörenden Nachrichten kehrt ein Problem zurück ins öffentliche Bewusstsein, das zumeist verdrängt wird: das millionenfache Elend von Menschen, die vor Krieg und Gewalt fliehen oder durch Klimaveränderungen und den Verlust ihrer Lebensgrundlagen zur Migration gezwungen werden.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Houston Christopher

How Globalization Really Happens: Remembering Activism in the Transformation of Istanbul

in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 46-61

Over the past 20 years it has become accepted wisdom that Istanbul has become a 'global city', transformed in tandem with a raft of neoliberal economic policies. What is the relevant history of this globalization? A muted local knowledge possessed by Istanbul's inhabitants is that the military coup in 1980 was the crucial event in the re-engineering of the city. Yet exactly here a contradiction emerges: despite this acknowledgement, there is apparently little public memory about what it was like to study, work and agitate in Istanbul in the 'crisis' years before the coup. Based on extensive interviews with people active in political fractions in the late 1970s, this article privileges a phenomenological approach to identify spatial practices, performances and perceptions of activists that generated and structured Istanbul's expanding urban environment in that period. Further, it shows how this history is relevant for comprehending both the 'micro-causes' of the coup as well as important dimensions of Turkish politics in the present, each of which cast illuminating light on Istanbul's experience of globalization.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12157/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Manzella Andrea

Il parlamentarismo europeo al tempo della globalizzazione

in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Morrison Andrea, Cusmano Lucia

Introduction to the Special Issue: Globalisation, Knowledge and Institutional Change: Towards an Evolutionary Perspective to Economic Development

in **Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 106, Issue 2, Special Issue: Globalisation, knowledge and institutional change: towards an evolutionary perspective to economic development, April , 133-139



This special issue aims at advancing the debate about the interpretative power of evolutionary perspectives on economic development and institutional change. In the introduction, we argue that the interpretative power of the current evolutionary approach can be improved by elaborating an 'augmented' perspective to economic development, which explicitly integrates the role of institutions and the dynamics of natural resource sectors (e.g. agro-food) into the analysis. We maintain that such a theoretical and empirical advancement can help to define a conceptual framework that is more suitable to analyse innovation-driven change, differentiated development patterns, opportunities and constraints for developing countries in the globalised knowledge economy. A collection of papers that adopt this perspective are discussed in order to prove the interpretative power of this approach in a variety of development contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Granness Anke

Is the debate on 'global justice' a global one? Some considerations in view of modern philosophy in Africa
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 126-140

The full text is free:

www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17449626.2015.1010014#abstract

Abstract

At present, the debate on global justice, a debate which is at the core of global ethics, is largely being conducted by European and American scholars from different disciplines without taking into account views and concepts from other regions of the world, particularly, from the Global South. The lack of a truly intercultural, interreligious, and international exchange of ideas provokes doubts whether the concepts of global justice introduced so far are able to transcend regional and cultural horizons. The article introduces concepts of justice from African scholars, whose voices have remained marginal until now, like the Kenyan philosopher Henry Odera Oruka, the Ethiopian philosopher Teodros Kiros, and the debate on ubuntu, one of the most controversial concepts in southern Africa today. These concepts focus on issues that are seldom considered in the debate on global justice, such as the importance of bodily needs as a prerequisite for human beings to act as moral beings and the importance of human relationships and solidarity. The last part of the article discusses factors which lead to exclusion from the academic discourse and the question how we as scholars can work for more academic justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Brühl Tanja

Konferenzdiplomatie in der Global Governance
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 22-24, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/206933/konferenzdiplomatie-in-der-global-governance



Da viele Politikfelder wie die Handels-, Entwicklungs- oder Umweltpolitik nicht nur zwei oder drei Staaten betreffen, sondern ganze Regionen oder gar die ganze Welt, kommen die Staats- und Regierungschefinnen und -chefs regelmäßig auf internationalen Konferenzen zusammen. Dort vereinbaren sie gemeinsame Normen und Regeln, um grenzüberschreitende Probleme zu lösen. Was simpel und naheliegend klingt, gestaltet sich in der Realität jedoch schwierig: Meinungen und Interessen liegen in der Staatengemeinschaft oft weit auseinander, sodass die Verhandlungen sich nicht selten um den kleinsten gemeinsamen Nenner drehen und deren Ergebnisse von außen betrachtet dürftig erscheinen. Dennoch reißt die Liste internationaler Konferenzen nicht ab. Allein in diesem Jahr stehen im Rahmen der Vereinten Nationen mehrere Konferenzen an, von denen der im September in New York stattfindende Millenniumsgipfel+15 und die für November geplante Klimakonferenz in Paris nur die bekanntesten sind. Welchen Stellenwert nimmt die Konferenzdiplomatie also im globalen Regieren, in der global governance ein?

Ich zeige in diesem Beitrag zwei Entwicklungen auf. Erstens sind internationale Konferenzen nicht als einzelne Phänomene zu sehen. Sie sind vielmehr Ausdruck einer umfassenderen Institutionalisierung der internationalen Politik. Zweitens ist die Blütezeit der Konferenzdiplomatie und damit der zwischenstaatlichen Institutionalisierung vorüber. Während seit den 1970er Jahren große Hoffnung mit diesem Governance-Element verbunden war, zeigt sich heute zunehmend, dass globales Regieren auch jenseits der Konferenzdiplomatie und damit jenseits internationaler Organisationen stattfindet...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Belke Ansgar, Pilbeam Keith

Macroeconomic and financial adjustment in globalised economies - The state-of-play in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 12, Issue 1, March 2015 , 1-4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Baker Tom, Ruming Kristian

Making 'Global Sydney': Spatial Imaginaries, Worlding and Strategic Plans

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 62-78

This article critically examines the expression of global spatial imaginaries in urban policy and planning. Following recent calls to understand how the global is 'made up' in and through cities, we argue for the usefulness of Roy and Ong's concept of 'worlding'. By analysing how strategic spatial plans envisage 'Global Sydney', the article reveals a constitutive spatial imaginary informed by the articulation of three interrelated elements: global city standards, comparative techniques and extra-local policy models. Unpacking how cities are selectively worlded through spatial imaginaries, the article advances an approach to urban globality as actively cultivated and differentially produced. Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12183/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Webb Adam K.

Not an Immigrant Country? Non-Western Racism and the Duties of Global Citizenship
in *Theoria*, Volume 62, Number 142, March 2015 , 1-25

Abstract

The rise of non-Western societies, especially in Asia, to greater global influence demands greater scrutiny of how they engage the rest of the world. To date, every society with high levels of immigration is in Europe or a product of the European empires. The erosion of ethnically and racially inflected understandings of citizenship has also gone much further in the modern West than in East Asia or the Gulf States. Notably, however, liberal political theorists who make the case for a cosmopolitan opening of borders remain silent on such non-Western patterns of racial exclusion. Non-Western societies often claim that, because they are 'not an immigrant country', they should not be held to the same standards of openness and non-discrimination. International law, a product of the postcolonial moment, also has a blind spot on these issues. This article challenges such double standards. It suggests that the implicit normative argument for greater Western openness – collective guilt over the colonial experience and resulting racial stratification – leads in unexpected directions, implicating Asian societies in ways that they do not yet recognise.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Roberta Capello and Giovanni Perucca

Openness to Globalization and Regional Growth Patterns in CEE Countries: From the EU Accession to the Economic Crisis

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 218–236

In the last decades a deep process of institutional reforms and economic reorganization took place in central and eastern EU countries (CEE). These changes occurred in a context of general economic integration. On the one hand, the European Union enlargement programme was launched and all CEE countries applied to become EU member between 1994 and 1996. On the other hand, the globalization of the world economy characterized this historical phase. This article explores to what extent openness to global markets mediated the impact of EU integration on the economic performance of CEE regions in different periods. The periods examined are defined by the main institutional changes that occurred on the road towards EU integration. Results show that globally open regions performed better than the others, at least in the first two periods analyzed.

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Stracca Livio

Our currency, your problem? The global effects of the euro debt crisis

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 74, February 2015 , 1-13

In this paper, I look at the global effects of the euro debt crisis, using an event study approach. After identifying a number of euro crisis events in the period that goes from 2010 to 2012, I analyse their impact on equity returns, exchange rates and government bond yields in 40 non-euro area countries. The main finding of this study is that euro



debt crisis events have contributed to a rise in global risk aversion accompanied by a fall in equity returns, mainly in the financial sector. Moreover, I find that the effect on bond yields is not statistically significant for the whole set of countries, but it has a significant - though small - impact on countries with a high risk rating. Finally, the paper also focuses on transmission channels by looking at how pre-determined country characteristics influence the strength and direction of the contagion effect. I find that the most consistent conduits of contagion are: (i) trade exposure to the euro area, (ii) EU membership, and (iii) whether a currency is pegged to the euro.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hentschel Christine

Postcolonializing Berlin and The Fabrication of The Urban

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 79-91

Postcolonializing Berlin is an experiment in rethinking (Western) cities from the South. It embraces conceptual innovations from thinkers in African, Latin American and Asian urban studies to complicate the stories we tell about contemporary Berlin. My argument proceeds in four steps. I begin by asking what makes the North–South division in urban studies so problematic, and what needs to happen to shake up those categories. Then I share some of my own trials and errors in looking at Berlin-Neukölln through the lens of 'the South', before offering an alternative frame, which I call 'urban fabricating', as a way of inquiring into and perceiving changing urban settings. In the final part, gambling parlours in Berlin-Neukölln move into focus, where different forms of fabrication are at work: the regeneration officials' vision for the future of the neighbourhood, the inspectors' improvisations on the casino law, and the casino owners' ways of muddling through at the edges of the law. Rather than searching for the one new theory to shake up urban studies, fabricating is, I suggest, an unagitated approach to the actual processes through which cities are made.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12193/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lockwood Matthew

Stern Review 2.0? The Report of the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 1, January–March 2015 , 146–151

Abstract

Eight years after the launch of the Stern Review of the economics of climate change, a new major report on economic growth and climate change (Better Growth, Better Climate) has been published by a Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, chaired by Nicholas Stern. While this comprehensive review of recent evidence has some overlap with the original Stern Review, it focuses more on the short-term costs and benefits of action needed to reduce carbon emissions in specific parts of the economy such as cities, energy and agriculture. Perhaps the most noted conclusion of the report is that policies which governments should be pursuing anyway, because they will reduce pollution, improve health, raise productivity and reduce congestion, will cut carbon emission by between 50 and 90 per cent of what is needed to get to a 2°C pathway. This is an important report that will have considerable influence, although it has had lower public visibility than the original Stern Review. However, it also points to the need for a better understanding of the politics of climate policy, and why the opportunities to adopt policies that have multiple long-term



public benefits do not get taken. While Better Growth, Better Climate does have a chapter on the political economy of change, the analysis is limited, and could be deepened by bringing in the growing literature on the politics of climate policy.

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Cicchelli Vincenzo, Octobre Sylvie

Sur le cosmopolitisme esthétique chez les jeunes

in *Debat (Le)*, n°183 , 101-109

Les messages les plus alarmistes sur la mondialisation circulent depuis des années concernant tant ses effets économiques (entre craintes de délocalisation des emplois et de perte de souveraineté politique) que ses effets sociaux, anthropologiques ou culturels (ce que résume bien le malaise entourant la sortie du film Mais qu'est-ce qu'on a fait au bon Dieu ?).

Plan de l'article

- Qu'est-ce que le cosmopolitisme esthétique ?
- Globalisation et (néo)-cosmopolitisme
- Défense de l'authenticité ou de l'imaginaire ?
- Vérité et vraisemblance culturelle
- Le cosmopolitisme, dernier avatar de l'omnivorisme ?

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Hilbig Sven

TTIP: Wohlstand für den Süden?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2015 , 33-35

Noch immer hält sich hartnäckig das Gerücht, die Transatlantische Handels- und Investitionspartnerschaft (TTIP) werde das Wirtschaftswachstum fördern – und zwar nicht nur in Europa und den USA, sondern auch in den sogenannten Entwicklungs- und Schwellenländern. Dem widerspricht Sven Hilbig, Welthandelsexperte bei »Brot für die Welt«.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Bell Sam R., Bhasin Tavishi, Clay K. Chad, Murdie Amanda

Taking the Fight to Them: Neighborhood Human Rights Organizations and Domestic Protest

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 4, october , 853-875

ABSTRACT: This article examines how human rights international non-governmental organizations (hereafter HROs) can increase the level of political protest in neighboring states. Previous research suggests local activities of HROs help to generate mobilization for protests against governments. This article shows that the presence of HROs in neighboring



states can be a substitute for domestic HROs; if domestic HROs are already flourishing, there will be less of a 'neighbor' effect. At sufficiently high levels of domestic HRO prevalence within a state, neighboring HROs help domestic HROs use institutionalized substitutes for protest mobilization strategies. Spatial econometric methods are used to test the implications of this theory. These results illuminate the role that non-governmental organizations play in these domestic political processes, and demonstrate the transnational nature of their activities.

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Giulianotti Richard

The Beijing 2008 Olympics: Examining the Interrelations of China, Globalization, and Soft Power
in *European Review*, Volume 23 - Issue 02 , 286 - 296

This article explores the national and global significance and impact of Beijing's hosting of the 2008 summer Olympic Games. The discussion is organized into four main parts. First, I locate the 2008 Beijing Olympics in the context of wider processes of globalization; in particular, I explore how China 'glocalized' the Olympics, by giving the event distinctive meanings that were then experienced by global television audiences. Second, I employ the concept of 'soft power' to explore how, in hosting the event, China sought to advance its international influence and appeal; I introduce the concept of 'soft disempowerment' to examine how there may have been some negative impacts for China in staging the Olympics. Third, I discuss issues of security surrounding the Beijing Olympics, given the growing focus on such questions for sport mega-events in general following the 9/11 attacks in 2001. Fourth, I outline some of the key issues regarding sporting legacies for China, following the 2008 Olympics, with particular reference to Chinese football.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

David Mayer-Foulkes

The Challenge of Market Power under Globalization
in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 244-264

The legacy of Adam Smith leads to a false confidence on the optimality of laissez faire policies for the global market economy. Instead, the polarized character of current globalization deeply affects both developed and underdeveloped economies. Current globalization is characterized by factor exchange between economies of persistently unequal development. This implies the existence of persistent extraordinary market power in transnational corporations, reflected in their disproportionate participation in income and policy. These are shown to be steady-state features of globalization in a convergence club model of development and underdevelopment including trade and foreign direct investment (FDI). Moreover, results in tax competition explain how the increased share of transnational profits under globalization leads to lower corporate taxes, more conservative policies, and weaker institutions for balancing market power. The increased level of market power under globalization poses a serious challenge for national and global governance that deeply impacts economic development, distribution, sustainability, and democracy everywhere.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Niklas Potrafke



The Evidence on Globalisation

in *World Economy*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 509–552

Globalisation is blamed for many socioeconomic shortcomings. I discuss the consequences of globalisation by surveying the empirical globalisation literature. My focus is on the KOF indices of globalisation that have been used in more than 100 studies. Early studies using the KOF index reported correlations between globalisation and several outcome variables. Studies published more recently identify causal effects. The evidence shows that globalisation has spurred economic growth, promoted gender equality and improved human rights. Moreover, globalisation did not erode welfare state activities, did not have any significant effect on labour market interaction and hardly influenced market deregulation. It increased, however, within-country income inequality. The consequences of globalisation thus turn out to be overall much more favourable than often conjectured in the public discourse.

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Scott Allen J., Storper Michael

The Nature of Cities: The Scope and Limits of Urban Theory

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 1-15

There has been a growing debate in recent decades about the range and substance of urban theory. The debate has been marked by many different claims about the nature of cities, including declarations that the urban is an incoherent concept, that urban society is nothing less than modern society as a whole, that the urban scale can no longer be separated from the global scale, and that urban theory hitherto has been deeply vitiated by its almost exclusive concentration on the cities of the global North. This article offers some points of clarification of claims like these. All cities can be understood in terms of a theoretical framework that combines two main processes, namely, the dynamics of agglomeration/polarization, and the unfolding of an associated nexus of locations, land uses and human interactions. This same framework can be used to identify many different varieties of cities, and to distinguish intrinsically urban phenomena from the rest of social reality. The discussion thus identifies the common dimensions of all cities without, on the one hand, exaggerating the scope of urban theory, or on the other hand, asserting that every individual city is an irreducible special case.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12134/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stiglitz Joseph

The Politics Of Economic Stupidity

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Issue 2, Winter/Spring 2015 , 14-15

The full text is free:

www.socialeurope.eu/pdf-editions/

In 2014, the world economy remained stuck in the same rut that it has been in since emerging from the 2008 global financial crisis. Despite seemingly strong government action



in Europe and the United States, both economies suffered deep and prolonged downturns. The gap between where they are and where they most likely would have been had the crisis not erupted is huge. In Europe, it increased over the course of the year...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Reinert Sophus A.

The Way to Wealth around the World: Benjamin Franklin and the Globalization of American Capitalism
in *American Historical Review*, Volume 120, Issue 1, February , 61-97

"Time," Benjamin Franklin professed poignantly in his 1748 Advice to a Young Tradesman, "is Money," an iconic statement that, by commodifying existence itself, helped articulate the emotive core of modern capitalism.¹ Indeed, few historical figures today enjoy a more prominent place in the cultural and intellectual constellation of capitalism than that most elusive of Founding Fathers.² His myth uniquely inspires and inflects economic life not only in America but across the world, from the impromptu exhortations of costumed impersonators in Boston to the musings of Bangladeshi bloggers.³ A seemingly timeless herald and savior of capitalism, hailed as "our global citizen to show the way to the next golden age," Franklin is frequently approached, caricatured, and interrogated in this ongoing period of economic turmoil for operational advice both personal and political.⁴ We can gain a richer and more nuanced sounding board for the preoccupations of our own time by examining how he became such a savant of capitalism in the first place and to what purpose; the extraordinary yet hitherto unknown extent to which his economic ethos was disseminated and acculturated internationally in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and ultimately what perhaps was lost of his wider political economy during the global apotheosis of his writings.

That Franklin's contribution to the development of capitalism has again attracted ...

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Ferguson Peter

The green economy agenda: business as usual or transformational discourse?
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, February , 17-37

This analysis of the emergence since 2008 of the green economy agenda and the related idea of 'green growth' focusses upon the articulation of these discourses within key international economic and environmental institutions and evaluates whether this implies the beginning of an institutional transformation towards an ecologically sustainable world economy. The green economy may have the capacity to help animate a transition away from current socially and ecologically unsustainable patterns of economic growth only if notions of green growth can be discursively separated from green economy, strong articulations of green economy become dominant, and alternative measures of progress to gross domestic product are widely adopted. The concept of 'rearticulation', found in post-structural discourse theory, is proposed to guide this transition. This offers a framework to reconstruct notions of prosperity, progress, and security whilst avoiding direct and disempowering discursive conflict with currently hegemonic pro-growth discourses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sen Partha

The impossible trinity and Krugman's balance of payments crisis model
in *Economie internationale*, n° 139, 2014/3

The "impossible trinity" refers to the impossibility of the simultaneous presence of a fixed exchange rate regime, uncovered interest parity and the Central Bank's control over the money supply. I apply this to Krugman's (1979) balance of payments crisis model, where he argued that there is a unique date on which a crisis occurs. I show that the crisis can occur on any date. The Central Bank may be left with reserves in excess of the level that they wish to defend, which seems consistent with the data. But for the attack to be successful the amount of foreign exchange reserves that the Central Bank will lose on any date is uniquely determined, and is the same as in Krugman (1979).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mandilaras Alex S.

The international policy trilemma in the post-Bretton Woods era
in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 44, June 2015 , 18-32

The international macroeconomic policy trilemma suggests that despite the appeal of exchange rate stability, financial account openness and monetary sovereignty, these cannot be achieved simultaneously. Using elements of Euclidean geometry, this paper proposes a new method for testing the trilemma and finds considerable evidence in support of it. Further tests indicate that, on average, policy configurations are not on the trilemma constraint, i.e. there is a degree of 'trilemma-ineffectiveness', which is costly for real output growth and price inflation. It is shown that these costs are associated with limited exchange rate stability and financial account openness.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Uitermark Justus

The particularities of territory
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 1-6

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2015.1002194>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Morelli Pierluigi, Pittaluga Giovanni B., Seghezza Elena

The role of the Federal Reserve as an international lender of last resort during the 2007–2008 financial crisis
in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 12, Issue 1, March 2015 , 93-106

During the 2007–2008 financial crisis several banking systems suffered shortages in U.S. dollars. The liquidity crisis of these banking systems was overcome thanks to the successful intervention of the Federal Reserve that granted swap lines to several central banks, acting as an international lender of last resort. In this paper we show that the Fed's



intervention was motivated principally by its desire to safeguard the stability of the U.S. banking system. For this reason the Fed's action was expected by the countries whose banking systems had met with a U.S. dollars shortage. In taking for granted the support of the Fed, the authorities of these countries were affected by forms of ex-ante moral hazard, such as the holding of low amounts of official reserves.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Antonelli Marta, Sartori Martina

Unfolding the potential of the virtual water concept. What is still under debate?

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 50, June , 240-251

The concept of virtual water refers to the volume of water used in the production of a commodity or a service. The concept was identified by the geographer Tony Allan in the early 1990s, to draw attention on the global economic processes that ameliorate local water deficits in the MENA region and elsewhere. Since its inception, the virtual water concept has inspired a flourishing literature on how to address global water resource scarcity vis-à-vis commodity production and consumption in a variety of disciplines, but also has been the object of a number of critiques. Against this backdrop, the aim of the study is, first, to conduct a thorough review of the conceptual definition of the concept, its critics and applications. Secondly, to analyze its theoretical underpinnings and, in particular, its relationship with economic theory. The study argues that, despite not being a policy tool itself, the virtual water concept can reveal aspects related to production, consumption and trade in goods which monetary indicators do not capture. Its potential as an indicator for informing decision-making in water management and policy, as well as commodity trade policy, still has to be fully unfolded.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Balehegn Mulubrhan

Unintended Consequences: The Ecological Repercussions of Land Grabbing in Sub-Saharan Africa

in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development , March/April

Full text online

<http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/2015/March-April%202015/unintended-full.html>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Angelo Hillary, Wachsmuth David

Urbanizing Urban Political Ecology: A Critique of Methodological Cityism

in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology , Volume 22, Issue 3 , 16-27

Urban political ecology (UPE), an offshoot of political ecology that emerged in the late 1990s, has had two major impacts on critical urban studies: it has introduced critical political ecology to urban settings, and it has provided a framework for retheorizing the city as a product of metabolic processes of socionatural transformation. However, there was another goal in early UPE programmatic statements that has largely fallen by the wayside: to mobilize a Lefebvrian theoretical



framework to trouble traditional distinctions between urban/rural and society/nature by exploring urbanization as a global process. Instead of following this potentially fruitful path, UPE has become bogged down in 'methodological cityism'—an overwhelming analytical and empirical focus on the traditional city to the exclusion of other aspects of contemporary urbanization processes. Thus UPE's Lefebvrian promise, of a research program that could work across traditional disciplinary divisions and provide insights into a new era of planetary urbanization, has remained unfulfilled. In this article we trace UPE's history to show how it arrived at its present predicament, and offer some thoughts on a research agenda for a political ecology not of the city but of urbanization.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12105/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Abbattista Guido , Rydell Robert W., Demeulenaere-Douye Christiane, Hoffenberg Peter H., Sanchez-Gomez Luis Angel, Pellegrino Anna, Chambers Iain

World Expositions. Tra Nation-Building e processi di globalizzazione.

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 115-156

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Klingebiel Stephan

Zukunft der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 7-9, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/200366/zukunft-der-entwicklungszusammenarbeit

Derzeit finden Debatten über die Zukunft der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (EZ) statt, die sich deutlich von früheren Diskussionen unterscheiden. EZ war von Beginn an mit der Herausforderung konfrontiert, Nutzen und Wirkung demonstrieren zu müssen. In politischen und wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen wurde die Sinnhaftigkeit von EZ vielfach infrage gestellt, während ihre Befürworterinnen und Befürworter einerseits die entwicklungspolitische Bedeutung für ärmere Länder und andererseits oft auch die Eigeninteressen der Geber betonten.

Neuere Debatten nehmen eine andere Perspektive ein: Angesichts tiefgreifender Veränderungen in den internationalen Beziehungen, weltweiter Machtverschiebungen und des sich verändernden Charakters globaler Herausforderungen bedarf es neuer Kooperationsansätze. Die damit verbundenen Herausforderungen für die EZ beziehen sich sowohl auf ihre Ziele als auch auf die Umsetzung der Kooperation. Sind beispielsweise die klassischen armutsbezogenen Ziele der EZ mittel- und langfristig noch eine ausreichende Begründung? Ist EZ angesichts von wirtschaftlich oftmals starken Entwicklungsländern noch ein sinnvoller Kooperationsansatz mit allen Entwicklungsregionen? Diese Fragen werden vor dem Hintergrund der derzeit laufenden Prozesse zur Vorbereitung einer neuen globalen Entwicklungsagenda, die den Millenniumsentwicklungszielen der Vereinten Nationen nach 2015 folgen soll, verstärkt diskutiert.



Der vorliegende Beitrag nähert sich dem Thema in drei Schritten. Zunächst wird skizzenhaft der Wandlungsprozess der Interessen in der Entwicklungspolitik diskutiert. Darauf aufbauend erfolgt aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven eine Analyse des Anpassungsdrucks, dem die EZ gegenwärtig ausgesetzt ist. Schließlich werden Reformoptionen für die EZ dargelegt...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Solon Solomon

Judicial Regionalism's Thwarting of UN Security Council Chapter VII Punitive Cosmopolitanism: Measuring the Effects on International Jurisdictional Constitutionalism

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 2, 261-283

Under Chapter VII the UN Security Council has the authority to legally condemn certain behaviors by enacting binding measures on both states and individuals. This has been interpreted through measures undertaken by the Security Council, such as the institution of international tribunals on an inter-state level, and the imposition of sanctions on a personal level. Focusing on Africa and Europe, this Article aspires to demonstrate how regional actors have acted in order to undermine the UN Security Chapter VII punitive cosmopolitanism, either through the institution of regional criminal courts meant to antagonize the International Criminal Court or through judicial decisions that clearly negate the Council's sanctions regime. In order to preserve international punitive cosmopolitanism, the Article will proceed to develop how regional jurisdictional initiatives can be integrated in the general international constitutional order, in both the criminal and the civil/administrative field.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Hwang Shu-Perng

Zur Aktualität des entmaterialisierten Monismus bei Hans Kelsen. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Entwicklung des Europäischen Verwaltungsverbundes

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts*, Volume 139, Number 4, October 2014, 573-595

Abstract:

Hans Kelsen's monistic view on international law is widely understood as a theory which speaks for a unitary legal system and even for a "world state." This is usually followed by the assumption that the Kelsenian monistic theory corresponds with the European integration and moreover with the development of the European administrative network, which has been promoted especially by the advocates for a fundamental reform of German administrative law since the last decade. This article argues that, while both the Kelsenian monism and the reformers' perspective on the European administrative network seem to share the idea of a unitary legal community, they are developed under totally different theoretical and methodological presuppositions. While the former believes Objectivism and Relativism to be the foundations for a peaceful international legal order and therefore insists that a leeway in the concretization of international legal norms must be left to the national organs, especially the national legislature, the latter emphasizes the importance of administrative cooperation at European level and in this sense advocates for a new hierarchy of norms with the primacy of European law, which, according to the reformers, inevitably results in the functional relativization of the national legislature. Viewed this way, the reformers' interpretation of the European administrative network can neither be understood as a fundamental challenge to the traditional idea of sovereignty or to the dualistic theory nor be



recognized as a modern realization of Kelsen's theory of international law. Rather, the critical analysis of this article shows that the Kelsenian monistic theory has not gained enough attention in modern discussions in the sense that its highly dematerialized and decentralized approach has long been overlooked, which is though key to a coherent understanding of Kelsen's monism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Murray Philomena, Warleigh-Lack Alex, Baogang He

Awkward states and regional organisations: The United Kingdom and Australia compared in Comparative European Politics, vol. 12, n. 3, may , 279-300

ABSTRACT: Both the United Kingdom and Australia have been studied by specialists in each region rather than by comparativists. This article seeks to fill this gap by examining the regional 'awkwardness' of the United Kingdom and Australia comparatively. Australia and Britain are 'awkward' states in their respective regions – Asia and Europe. This is clear in their approaches to institutions, economic policy, security and identity. We examine comparatively the role of power, institutions, economy, domestic politics and culture to see which mix best accounts for the awkward status of these two states. Through this comparison, this article demonstrates that the so-called 'uniqueness' of the United Kingdom in regionalism literature is in fact a nearly 'universal' phenomenon, insofar as many global regions include awkward states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Fokou Koutsing, Hervé Narcisse, Fokou Mbataku Emmanuel

Le Risk-sharing en CEMAC

in African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 30-59

Si la non corrélation des structures de production au sein de la Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC), pour de nombreux auteurs est une des sources principales de sa non optimalité, au vue de la théorie endogène des zones monétaires optimales, elle est plutôt favorable à son optimalité via le risk-sharing. Dans cette logique, cet article vise à montrer qu'à défaut de l'arme de change, les chocs asymétriques qui affectent cette sous-région sont compensés par des mécanismes issus de l'hétérogénéité de ses différents états membres, lesquels permettent d'assurer le lissage de leurs revenus et donc de leurs consommations.

Ainsi, les résultats indiquent que les conséquences négatives de ces derniers dans l'union monétaire d'Afrique centrale sont principalement amorties par l'épargne nette à travers les marchés sous régionaux de crédits (42,70%), et marginalement par les prix relatifs (3,83%).

If non correlation of the structures of production within the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (EMCCA), for many authors is one of the principal sources of its non-optimality, with the sight of the endogenous theory of the optimal monetary areas, it favours rather its optimality via the risk-sharing. In this logic, this article aims at showing that in the absence of the weapon of



exchange, the asymmetrical shocks which affect this under-area are compensated by mechanisms resulting from the heterogeneity of its various Member States, which make it possible to ensure the smoothing of their incomes and thus of their consumption. Thus, the results indicate the negative consequences of the latter within the monetary union of central Africa can mainly be deadened by the development of net saving through the under regional credit markets (42,70%), and marginally by the relative prices (3,83%).

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Y Mupangavanhu

African Union Rising to the Need for Continental IP Protection? The Establishment of the Pan-African Intellectual Property Organization

in *Journal of African Law*, vol. 59, issue 1 , 1-24

Intellectual property rights protection is at the forefront of some of the major controversies regarding the impact of globalization. African countries have in recent years participated to an unprecedented degree in both international and bilateral initiatives dealing with intellectual property. The negotiating positions have been varied and, from a regional perspective, have not been coherent at some levels, with different countries advancing different positions. African countries have adopted regional integration as a strategy to deal with the challenges of globalization. Regional integration is believed to increase negotiating capacities and competitiveness in global trade. It is also believed to improve access to foreign technology. The African Union is facilitating the establishment of a continental intellectual property body. Accordingly, the main aim of this article is to discuss the establishment of the Pan-African Intellectual Property Organization in line with the African Union's vision for regional integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Zoubir Yahia H.

Algeria's Roles in the OAU/African Union: From National Liberation Promoter to Leader in the Global War on Terrorism

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 55-75

Even prior to the country's independence, Africa has always been central to Algeria's foreign policy. Algerian nationalists not only found support on the African continent in their struggle for independence, but they also sought to contribute to the decolonization of Africa and to free it from all forms of neocolonialism. Algerian diplomacy became even more involved in African affairs after independence. Using the Role Approach, this article shows how Algerian policymakers exercised various roles within the structures of the Organization of African Unity and, to this day, in those of the African Union to serve the country's perceived national interests. While from the 1960s through the 1990s, Algerians played the roles of developer, mediator, and anti-imperialist, since the 1990s, they have played the role of antiterrorist in order partly to regain the credibility that the regime had lost during the domestic civil strife. The antiterrorist role has been relatively successful as the country succeeded in greatly improving its relations with the West, the United States in



particular. At the same time, though, this had led to a relative neglect of Algeria's bilateral relations with African states which allowed its regional rivals to fill the vacuum. However, since 2013, Algeria has shown some resolve in reclaiming its influence on the continent and to strengthen the role it has played in the structures of the African Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Makochekanwa Albert

COMESA - EAC - SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area (T - FTA): Implications on Welfare and Food Security in African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration e du Développement, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 1-29

The study employed the WITS-SMART User's Manual and investigated the impact of the implementation of the COMESA

-EAC-SADC Tripartite free trade area (T-FTA) on the 26 participating member countries, in terms of economic welfare and food security. The simulated welfare effects above 10% of the gain are enjoyed by only Angola, Botswana, and Burundi. There are, potentially, losses in tariff-revenue, although they are less than 10% for most countries. For food security, the substantial positive gap only appears in maize, for 11 countries. For rice and wheat, positive surpluses are only in 3 countries for each product.

The results, provide, an excellent "wake-up call" for the African policy makers to realize that the static effects of regional integration, up to the FTA level, are minimal and inequitably distributed.

L'étude s'appuie sur le WITS-SMART pour étudier l'impact de la participation de 26 pays à la mise en œuvre de la zone de libre-échange tripartite entre COMESA, EAC, SADC (T-ALE) sur le bien-être économique et la sécurité alimentaire. La simulation des effets de bien-être au-dessus de 10% du gain sont appréciés dans trois pays : Angola, le Botswana, le Burundi. Il y a, des pertes potentiellement, en termes de recettes de droits de douane, même si elles sont moins de 10% pour la plupart des pays. Pour ce qui concerne la sécurité alimentaire, un écart important et positif apparaît uniquement dans le cas du maïs, et pour 11 pays. Pour le riz et le blé, les excédents positifs n'apparaissent que dans trois pays pour chaque produit. Les résultats constituent une forte interpellation pour les décideurs politiques africains à réaliser que les effets statiques de l'intégration régionale, sont faible et inégalement réparties jusqu'au niveau de l'ALE.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Coulibaly Issiaka

Competitiveness and growth within the CFA franc zone: Does the switch to the Euro matter?
in *Economie internationale*, n° 139, 2014/3

In this paper, we seek to analyze the impacts exerted by the substitution of the French franc for the euro on real and nominal effective exchange rates, competitiveness and growth within the CFA zone. Our findings show that, since the



advent of the euro, the evolution of the real exchange rates and the competitiveness (measured by currency misalignments) have become increasingly dependent on nominal exchange rate movements and therefore on the evolution of the anchor currency. While the appreciation of the euro in the last decade did not translate into strong and generalized currency overvaluations—except in Central African Republic, Benin and Equatorial Guinea—it had however strongly reduced the extent of real undervaluations induced by the 1994 devaluation of the CFA franc. This has resulted in an increasingly negative effect exerted by real and nominal appreciations on growth rates of these countries since the switch to the euro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Cogneau Denis, Mesplé-Somps Sandrine, Spielvogel Gilles

Development at the Border: Policies and National Integration in Côte D'Ivoire and Its Neighbors
in **World Bank Economic Review (The)**, Volume 29 Issue 1 2015 , 41-71

By applying regression discontinuity designs to a set of household surveys from the 1980–90s, we examine whether Côte d'Ivoire's aggregate wealth was translated at the borders of neighboring countries. At the border of Ghana and at the end of the 1980s, large discontinuities are detected for consumption, child stunting, and access to electricity and safe water. Border discontinuities in consumption can be explained by differences in cash crop policies (cocoa and coffee). When these policies converged in the 1990s, the only differences that persisted were those in rural facilities. In the North, cash crop (cotton) income again made a difference for consumption and nutrition (the case of Mali). On the one hand, large differences in welfare can hold at the borders dividing African countries despite their assumed porosity. On the other hand, border discontinuities seem to reflect the impact of reversible public policies rather than intangible institutional traits.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Adamou Mamane Sani

Intégration régionale, dépendance et espace sahélo-saharien
in **Pensée (La)**, n° 381, 2015

Dans le contexte actuel de mondialisation, le régionalisme en Afrique est présenté comme une nouvelle piste de développement. à l'épreuve des faits, l'intégration régionale est souvent perçue par les institutions internationales comme un moyen de favoriser le démantèlement des barrières, d'ancrer les politiques et de se rapprocher du multilatéralisme. à l'opposé, de nombreux pays en développement, voulant sauvegarder leur souveraineté nationale, voient dans l'intégration une manière d'unir leurs forces et de modifier les rapports de force internationaux. Le caractère conflictuel des objectifs poursuivis par les deux types d'acteurs a rendu encore plus complexes les processus d'intégration et déterminé dans une large mesure la faiblesse des performances enregistrées.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mounsey Allister, Polius D. Tracy



Is It Time to Revisit the Savings Rate Floor in the ECCU?

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 35, Issue 1, February 2015 , 75-92

Member states of the Eastern Caribbean Currency Union (ECCU) experienced a secular decline in growth following the great recession circa 2008, resulting in increased unemployment and social dislocation. Given the ECCU's currency board arrangement and current fiscal challenges, policy options for resuscitating growth are limited to supply-side adjustments. This paper contends that the 3 per cent interest rate floor on savings deposits has contributed to higher lending rates and lower levels of capital formation. Ultimately it is a drag on growth and a threat to the banking sector's health as it has resulted in reduced risk compensation when default and other banking sector risks have risen. Revisiting the floor is advocated as an integral component of this structural adjustment policy response.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mandé Issiaka, Jackson Willy

L'unité africaine, vers une communauté politique?

in **Pensée (La)**, n° 381, 2015

Nous avons choisi d'aborder ce problème sous l'angle du projet politique. Il est nécessaire que les États sortent du carcan de la souveraineté et imaginent un lien politique nouveau, rassembleur, intégrateur, fédérateur. Les États-Unis d'Afrique continuent à marquer l'imaginaire des peuples africains. Ce rêve peut trouver une expression politique pour autant que les États entrent en communauté politique et en démocratie pour repenser le cadre théorique de gouvernement des sociétés humaines diversifiées. L'heure est donc venue de sortir de la voie chaotique de l'unité africaine et d'interroger la piste insuffisamment explorée de la communauté politique en tant qu'elle est « une association politique d'hommes libres ».

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Guy-Fleury Ntwari

La Cour africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples à la croisée des chemins - Bilan des cinq premières années d'activités judiciaires (2009-2014)

in **Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme**, no. 102 , 367-391

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights has an important and unique place in the African human rights system. Established in 2006, the African Court began its judicial activities three years later with a judgment delivered on 15 December 2009. Five years later, it is necessary to consider the lessons to be learned from its judicial activity marked by an exponential growth. From this evaluation exercise, it appears that the judicial activities of the African Court are characterized on a structural level, by a certain density not without some artificiality. On another level, their examination reveals an emerging jurisprudence whose material scope is ambivalent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East



Nguefack Tsafack Charly Delmas

Le citoyen communautaire africain et la sauvegarde des intérêts de sécurité de l'Union Africaine

in *African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement*, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 60-80

Cet article se penche sur la problématique du rôle du citoyen communautaire dans la consolidation des intérêts de sécurité de l'Union Africaine. Depuis l'accession à l'indépendance des États africains, l'intégration régionale est inscrite dans la ligne des priorités du continent. L'intégration politique et économique a été inscrite dans un agenda communautaire. Mais la notion de citoyenneté communautaire semble être oubliée. La citoyenneté communautaire est le meilleur moyen de l'intégration des peuples du continent. Elle est un vecteur des intérêts de sécurité de l'Union Africaine. Cette sécurité concerne tous les domaines d'intervention de l'Union Africaine.

This paper wish to show the role of the AU citizen in consolidating security interest of the organization. Since the independence of African States, regional integration is the priority of the continent. Political and economic integration is listed in a community agenda. But the concept of community citizenship has been forgotten by political leaders. Community citizenship is the best way to integrate African people. It is the medium of the AU security interest. This security interest concerns all the operating area of the AU.

Key Words:

regional integration, security interest, community citizen, African Union.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Weisfelder Richard F.

Lesotho's interactions with South Africa and regional organisations in Southern Africa

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 21, issue 1 , 109-129

ABSTRACT: Media reports alleged in late 2012 that South Africa was treating Lesotho 'worse than ... under apartheid'. To test that premise, this article contrasts Lesotho's regional and bilateral interactions during the colonial and apartheid eras with present relationships. It reviews bilateral and regional factors that impact Lesotho, emphasising Lesotho's roles in the Southern African Customs Union, the Common Monetary Area, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as well as diverse bilateral transactions with South Africa. Lesotho's experiences with SADC economic, political and security operations are evaluated. Whether a mutually beneficial relationship with South Africa is replacing the prior hegemonic pattern is questioned, especially after the peaceful transfer of power in 2012 to Lesotho's



opposition parties. Dual citizenship, open borders, an economic union and even the remote possibility of political fusion are discussed. Finally, the article addresses how Basotho view border issues, why they have reservations about regionalism and political amalgamation, and why commitment to separate Lesotho statehood persists.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Murray Rachel, Mottershaw Elizabeth

Mechanisms for the Implementation of Decisions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 36, number 2, may , 349-372

ABSTRACT: The African Commission on Human and Peoples' rights issued its first decision on an individual communication in 1994. It is self-evident, however, that the potential for improvement in human rights protection held by such judgments and decisions can only be realized with implementation. Yet, there is very little written either in academic literature or policy documents and little available information at national or regional levels about what happens to decisions of the African Commission or other regional human rights organs once they have been published. These challenges provide the backdrop against which this article examines the potential for strengthening implementation mechanisms at both national and regional levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Murray Rachel, Mottershaw Elizabeth

Mechanisms for the Implementation of Decisions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 36, number 2, may , 349-372

ABSTRACT: The African Commission on Human and Peoples' rights issued its first decision on an individual communication in 1994. It is self-evident, however, that the potential for improvement in human rights protection held by such judgments and decisions can only be realized with implementation. Yet, there is very little written either in academic literature or policy documents and little available information at national or regional levels about what happens to decisions of the African Commission or other regional human rights organs once they have been published. These challenges provide the backdrop against which this article examines the potential for strengthening implementation mechanisms at both national and regional levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Naldi Gino J.

Observations on the Rules of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 14, n. 2 , 367-392

ABSTRACT: The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was established by the 1998 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. On 2 June 2010, its Rules of Court came into force. Rules of procedure are designed to supplement and fill in any gaps in the parent treaty. They are an essential part of the workings of many international bodies, including judicial organs. These Rules, which have a bearing on important aspects of the Court's



functioning, are discussed in this article. The article does not undertake an exhaustive analysis of the whole set of Rules; it focuses on those Rules that may help to clarify or not, as the case may be, any obscurities or difficulties associated with the parent Protocol. The contribution covers the Rules pertaining to the composition of the African Human Rights Court; the Court's contentious procedure; and the Court's advisory opinions mandate. In the discussion, the Court's Rules are linked to those of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. The analysis concludes that the Rules of Court of the African Human Rights Court largely correspond to those of other regional courts. Although there are gaps and omissions, the Court has embarked on a process of addressing these issues through its jurisprudence, although at times raising questions of its own.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nkoa François Colin

Régionalisation, règles et crédibilité de la politique commune du commerce extérieur en zone CEMAC
in *African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement*, Volume 7,
n° 1, January/Janvier , 145-168

L'objet de ce travail est d'explorer les causes profondes du défaut apparent de crédibilité et d'efficacité de la politique commune du commerce extérieur de la zone CEMAC élaborée dans le cadre de la réforme fiscale et douanière de 1994. En nous appuyant sur les résultats établis par la «nouvelle économie institutionnelle» et la « nouvelle économie politique», nous montrons que l'abondance des ressources naturelles et la nature autocratique des régimes politiques dans cette sous-région en sont les causes principales en raison de l'inefficacité de la coordination par les règles dans un tel environnement. L'ancrage des politiques communautaires dans des accords plus larges impliquant des pays en dehors de la sous-région et la mise en œuvre des politiques qui accroissent l'interdépendance économique peuvent permettre d'atteindre le résultat attendu.

This paper investigate the main reasons behind the lack of credibility and efficiency of the common external trade policy of the CEMAC developed since 1994 as part of the tax and customs reform of this sub regional economic community. Building on the results recently established by the New institutional and new political economy we demonstrates that the abundance of natural resources and the non-democratic nature of political regimes in CEMAC are responsible of this result because of the inefficiency of coordination by common regional rules in such an environment. The anchorage of community policies in broader agreements involving countries out of the sub region and the implementation of policies which reinforce the economic interdependency can help achieve the goals set.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nwauche Enyinna S.

The ECOWAS Community Court of Justice and the horizontal application of human rights
in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 13, n. 1 , 30-54

ABSTRACT: In three cases, Peter David v Ambassador Ralph Uwechue, The Registered Trustees of the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) v The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Tandja v Djibo and Another, the ECOWAS Community Court of Justice (ECCJ) has ruled that only ECOWAS member states and community institutions may be sued before it. This article reviews the conclusions of the ECCJ against the background of its dual mandate as a court of integration and human rights as it pertains to the articulation of community freedoms and human rights, and argues for a more integrated approach in the elaboration of the dual mandate of the ECCJ, which should recognise the horizontal application of human rights in the protection of community freedoms such as the free movement of goods, services, persons and capital.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Guzansky Yoel

The Foreign-Policy Tools of Small Powers: Strategic Hedging in the Persian Gulf
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 112-122

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dire Tladi

The Immunity Provision in the AU Amendment Protocol Separating the (Doctrinal) Wheat from the (Normative) Chaff

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 13, no. 1 , 3-17

In July 2014, the African Union adopted a new Protocol amending the Protocol on the African Court. In doing so it included a provision stating that certain state officials shall be immune from prosecution during their tenure of office. This article discusses whether the immunity provision is a reflection of customary international law or whether, on the contrary, it violates international law and undermines the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Bonolo Ramadi Dinokopila

The Pan-African Parliament and African Union human rights actors, civil society and national human rights



institutions: The importance of collaboration

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 302-323

ABSTRACT: This article looks at possible areas of collaboration between the Pan-African Parliament and other human rights bodies within the African human rights system, national human rights institutions and civil society. This is done with reference to the manner in which the Pan-African Parliament has and is likely to co-ordinate its human rights activities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Makochekanwa Albert

The potential impact of COMESA - EAC - SADC Tripartite FTA on food security

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 7, No. 2, July/Juillet , pp. 1-33

Abstract:

The paper investigated the potential impact of tripartite free trade area (T-FTA) arrangements among the Common Market for Easter and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) on food security. Two methodologies were used to achieve the objective. The analyses focused on trade in eight agrifood products, namely maize, rice, wheat, cassava, sorghum, millet, potatoes and soya between 2005 and 2010. Findings suggests that the T-FTA bloc is projected to have surplus in three products namely maize, potatoes and soybeans in 2016; while there will be expected deficits in the remaining five products

Résumé:

Le document a étudié l'impact potentiel des accords tripartites des zones de libre échange (ZLE-T) entre le Marché commun de l'Afrique Orientale et australe (COMESA), la Communauté d'Afrique de l'Est (EAC) et la Communauté de développement d'Afrique australe (SADC) sur la sécurité alimentaire. Deux méthodes ont été utilisées pour atteindre l'objectif. Les analyses ont porté sur le commerce des huit produits agroalimentaires, à savoir le maïs, le riz, le blé, le manioc, le sorgho, le millet, pommes de terre et soja entre 2005 et 2010. Les résultats suggèrent que le bloc (ZLE-T) est projeté d'avoir excédent de trois produits à savoir le maïs, pommes de terre et le soja en 2016; alors il y aura attendu déficits dans les cinq produits restants.

http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/12611-wd-african_integration_development_review_vol7_no2.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Makochekanwa Albert

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Makochekanwa Albert

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Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Bekker Gina

The protection of asylum seekers and refugees within the African regional human rights system
in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 13, n. 1 , 1-29

ABSTRACT: The first treaty with a human rights focus adopted under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity (now the African Union) was the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa adopted in 1969. Seventeen years later, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, which elaborated on the rights of asylum seekers and refugees in Africa, came into force. The next two decades would see two further instruments adopted under the auspices of the OAU/AU in which the rights of asylum-seeking women and children would be spelt out further. This article considers not only the legal framework providing for the promotion and protection of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees within the African regional human rights system, but also the manner in which the institutions charged with supervising the implementation of these treaties have interpreted the rights afforded to asylum seekers and refugees within the African regional human rights system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

García Zamora Rodolfo

Crisis, NAFTA, and International Migration. From Massive Migration to Growing Repatriation
in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2014 , pages 27-46

This article argues that the change of the economic model, accompanied by the economic and financial reforms, were the impetus for a transformation in the structure of employment and in particular of a new phase in migratory patterns. In the first part we offer a brief overview of the key debates from those years regarding migratory and productive tendencies that resulted from the NAFTA agreement. Then it analyzes the specific explanations given for the massive migration of Mexicans during the first years of NAFTA. To conclude, it examines the principal migratory tendencies in this century that relate directly to the regional economic dynamic, the economic crisis and the trends in the massive return of Mexican migrants. The economic crisis in the USA, from 2007 to 2013, brought that effect to an end, and the resulting rise in unemployment coupled with greater border militarization — including mass deportations — in this period resulted in greater numbers of forced and voluntary returns of Mexican migrants in the absence of any government support program for the economic reintegration of those migrants and their families, a context in which —coupled with the issue of un/employment— represented one of the most significant short- and long-term challenges for the nation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Alvarez Béjar Alejandro

Economic Integration and Energy in Mexico, Before and After NAFTA
in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2014 , pages 82-99

The dynamics of economic integration in North America revolves around the U.S. economy, which powerfully projects its national security interests, especially in the sphere of energy. As a country with relatively abundant nonrenewable natural resources, Mexico continues to experience the negative effects of NAFTA. The promises of prosperity resulting from free trade seem more remote by the day, and the country has witnessed the exhaustion of its resources,



environmental problems, and loss of sovereignty, together with a setback for its energy companies, specifically PEMEX. The administration of President Enrique Peña Nieto is currently pursuing a program of hyperprivatization and deregulation, with the aim of opening up to private investment in strategic areas such as energy. This sector was constitutionally reserved for the nation, meaning that this is a backward step historically, which threatens both the Mexican and the U.S. population.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Galbraith James K.

Inequality After NAFTA. Notes on the Evidence

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2014 , pages 61-81

This note presents a summary of the academic evidence on the evolution of economic inequalities at the national level in Canada, Mexico, and the United States, especially during the twenty years since the coming into force of NAFTA. The paper compares estimates for market, gross household, and disposable incomes from a wide range of studies and sources, including the Estimated Household Income Inequality (EHII) series of the University of Texas Inequality Project (UTIP).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Correa Eugenia

Mexico's Financial Reforms. Bank Credit Without a Single Currency

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2014 , pages 47-60

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is not only an agreement covering tradable commodities; it includes important chapters on services, especially financial services. In addition, NAFTA is also a foundational agreement for investment protection. The free movement of capital and the safeguarding of ownership rights are essential features. This article argues that Mexico's financial reform in 1989–92 was a precondition for trade and financial liberalization under NAFTA. Thus, the content of this reform is analyzed and compared with the one carried out during the 1970s, which also opened up the financial market. Subsequently, the establishment of financial subsidiaries, and the global financial business model and its consequences on financing, are examined. Although it is not a monetary union, NAFTA does set up a form of financial junction. For Mexico, this junction signifies a global/national funding determination. It is argued that the regionalization of credit is fanciful, since credit regionalization pretends to set a constraint on the credit capacity of the central bank vis-à-vis the government and to transfer this capacity to the market. The idea of replacing the central bank's role as a lender of last resort, in the context of the current financial climate of "too-big-to-fail," through legislated changes cannot rely upon the support of a globalized financial system dealing in national or regional currencies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Sikina Jinnah and Abby Lindsay

Secretariat Influence on Overlap Management Politics in North America: NAFTA and the Commission for



Environmental Cooperation

in Review of Policy Research , Volume 32, Issue 1 , 124–145

This paper examines how overlap between trade and environmental issues are managed under the North American Free Trade Agreement, and specifically the role that the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC) Secretariat plays in this process. We demonstrate how the CEC Secretariat has influenced trade–environment politics, primarily through knowledge brokering in ways that build state capacity to collaborate across borders on trade–environment issues. Specifically, we demonstrate how the Secretariat has influenced decisions related to budget allocations, cooperative activities between member states, the creation of new institutions, and evaluating allegations of parties' failures to enforce environmental laws. Moreover, we argue that this case raises important questions concerning the appropriate role of secretariats in international politics and has important policy implications with several new secretariats currently being set up under the burgeoning number of regional trade agreements under negotiation by the United States and many others.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Blecker Robert A.

The Mexican and U.S. Economies After Twenty Years of NAFTA

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2014 , pages 5-26

Contrary to the promises of the leaders who promoted it, NAFTA did not make Mexico converge to the United States in per capita income, nor did it solve Mexico's employment problems or stem the flow of migration. NAFTA did foster greater U.S.-Mexican integration and helped transform Mexico into a major exporter of manufactured goods. The benefits for the Mexican economy were attenuated, however, by heavy dependence on imported intermediate inputs in export production, as well as by Chinese competition in the U.S. market and domestically. The long-run increase in manufacturing employment in Mexico (about 400,000 jobs) was small and disappointing, while U.S. manufacturing employment plummeted by 5 million—but more because of Chinese imports than imports from Mexico. In both Mexico and the United States, real wages have stagnated while productivity has continued to increase, leading to higher profit shares and a tendency toward greater inequality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

McBride Stephen, Muñoz Martinez Hepzibah

The “Depoliticization” of Trade Disputes in the North American Region

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2014 , pages 100-115

Using an analysis of cement and sugar/sweeter trade disputes between Mexico and the U.S. within the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), the article argues that retention of trade remedies sanctions in these agreements attempts to mediate and externalize conflicting interests between those economic actors that seek to reproduce their existing economic power position within a nation-state and those that are more integrated with the global economy via trade and investment. At the same time, dispute settlement mechanisms within NAFTA and the WTO allow nation-states to appear to defend the national economic interest even as they lock-in market discipline and favor the interests of large corporations across state boundaries.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Chester Charles C.

Yellowstone to Yukon: Transborder conservation across a vast international landscape

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May , 75-84

During the mid-1990s, conservationists in the Rocky Mountains of the United States and Canada encountered the assonant composite of two nationally iconic words: “Yellowstone to Yukon.” Y2Y attracted a significant audience within the conservation world, not least—but not only—because each word connoted touchstone beliefs about wildness, wilderness, and wildlife. Today Y2Y is widely recognized as one of the earliest transboundary “large landscape” conservation initiatives, and the Y2Y label applies to a landscape vision, a geographic region, a conservation mission, a network, and an organization. More indefinite is the degree to which Y2Y has served as a form of mountain governance. Y2Y has helped to establish an interconnected community of conservation practitioners and conservation supporters, has channeled sizeable scientific attention toward the needs of far-ranging wildlife and, via norm entrepreneurialism and discursive shift, has brought about significant coherence within the conservation community on the need for landscape connectivity. Yet while some decision makers have formally recognized Y2Y, the influence on higher-level governance has been mostly indirect. And although Y2Y has been held up as a model for mountain biodiversity conservation, that model is more reflective of conservation biology than of governance theory. Nonetheless, in its multiple forms, Y2Y does influence and enhance conservation activities in the region. Most recently, the Y2Y Conservation Initiative, a non-profit organization registered in both Canada and the US, has focused on key “priority areas” within the larger region. Looking forward, even as Y2Y has achieved tangible success on a number of fronts, it faces myriad challenges that will require an increasingly responsive, open-minded, and adaptive approach to conservation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Caballero Santos Sergio

Identity in Mercosur: Regionalism and Nationalism

in *Global Governance*, vol. 21, n. 1, january-march , 43-59

ABSTRACT: Two trends have historically competed in the Latin American region: a strong nationalist vision that originates in the nineteenth century with the construction of the nation-state, and the idea of a unifying project in the face of an “external enemy.” This article first provides an overview of these two notions by addressing the performance of the Southern Common Market in the past decade and highlighting the emergence of Mercosur's collective identity. Then, the role of ideas and identity is examined to analyze how it configures and constrains the decisionmaking process and how this role conditions the regional identity. Finally, a reflection on the collective identity as it relates to Mercosur is offered.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Gómez-Mera Laura

International Regime Complexity and Regional Governance: Evidence from the Americas

in *Global Governance*, vol. 21, n. 1, january-march , 19-42



ABSTRACT: In recent years, the Americas have witnessed an unprecedented surge in the number and scope of regional integration agreements, resulting in a complex “spaghetti bowl” of trade and economic relations. What are the consequences of this proliferation of overlapping and parallel institutional commitments among countries in the region? How has this increasing regime complexity affected the dynamics of cooperation among Latin American countries? And what does the case of overlapping regional agreements in the Americas tell us about the effects of regime complexity on regional governance? Drawing on the literature on international regime complexity, I identify three mechanisms through which the proliferation of regional agreements have undermined the effectiveness of cooperation in the Americas: by introducing legal fragmentation and rule ambiguity; by facilitating cross-institutional political strategies that allow countries to behave in opportunistic ways; and through competition and other feedback effects that work to erode regional unity. The article has implications for two broader literatures in international relations: work on international regime complexity and scholarship on regionalism and regional trade agreements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Armando Salas Cruz

La Carta Democrática Interamericana y la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos in Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional, no. 31 , 185-235

This article after analyzing the origins and fundamental characteristics of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, explores its use in the judgments (contentious cases) of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. It concludes that despite the political origin of this regional instrument and having as primary end the collective defense of democracy, this Court has established itself as an important document in the interpretation of the political rights recognized in the American Convention on Human Rights. In this sense, a friendly relationship exists between the IDC and the ACHR that has contributed to a broader understanding of these rights, encouraging new developments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Gomez-Mera Laura, Molinari Andrea

Overlapping Institutions, Learning, and Dispute Initiation in Regional Trade Agreements: Evidence from South America

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 58, issue 2, June , 269-281

ABSTRACT: This article studies the functioning of dispute settlement mechanisms in regional trade agreements (RTAs) and their interaction with multilateral trade institutions. We examine the determinants of formal dispute initiation in RTAs among South American countries. Using an original data set of RTA disputes, we investigate the impact of economic power disparities, domestic political factors, and previous experience on the decision of South American countries to initiate a dispute against a regional trade partner. Our analysis indicates that both power asymmetries and domestic political factors influence the likelihood of dispute initiation at the regional level. We also find strong support for our hypothesis that previous experience in dispute settlement increases the probability that a country will file a complaint against a regional trade partner using regional mechanisms. Perhaps more interestingly, our empirical analysis also uncovers important cross-institutional effects. Prior participation in WTO disputes increases the propensity of states to file complaints at the regional level.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Carlos Malamud

Regional Integration and Cooperation in Latin America: Diagnosis and Proposals

in Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies, 7 (2) , 92-120

Initiatives built around what is known as “political concertation,” whose theoretical basis is the so-called “post-neoliberal integration,” have pushed the integration process into a permanent headlong rush forwards. This analysis aims to present a general diagnosis of the integration process and describe the short- and long-term options for interregional cooperation. Cooperation in different spheres could be a useful option until a solution is found to the current issues among the various players involved—the Andean Community (CAN) and Mercosur within Unsur, and Mercosur and the Alliance of the Pacific. From this perspective, this article analyses the emergence of the Alliance in relation to its capacity to be, or to come to be, a catalyst for the future of integration. Its capacity to influence will largely depend on its possibilities of perpetuating itself in the future or of making some of its main objectives materialize. The article also discusses the future role of extra-regional players—traditional ones, such as the United States and the EU, and new ones, primarily China. From this perspective, the ongoing regional free-trade mega-negotiations of the TransPacific Partnership (TTP) and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) introduce a new range of challenges to the region as a whole and to each of its constituent countries. The Latin American economies’ presence in the global value chains and the weight of interregional trade will be heavily affected. Finally, this article analyses the role of infrastructure in the integration process. In this regard, as in others, it is important to bear in mind national interests, far more than any political affinities between the various governments, in the search for increased bilateral relations and regional cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Sean W Burges

Revisiting consensual hegemony: Brazilian regional leadership in question

in International Politics , Volume 52, Issue 2 , 193-207

A central challenge confronting Brazilian foreign policy is its reluctance to accept measures that might restrict national autonomy. This limits the extent to which Brazil can lead and leverage the region, particularly in the face of competing visions such as ALBA and the Pacific Alliance. The issues is Brazil’s continued reliance on a consensual hegemony approach to regional relations after neighbouring countries opened space for a more assertive leadership closer to Pedersen’s model of cooperative hegemony. Although consensual hegemony allowed Brazil to establish its project in South America, by the end of Lula’s first presidential term more was being demanded and the failure to provide leadership goods weakened Brazil’s regional position. Current questioning of Brazilian leadership on the continent is found in an almost contradictory approach that sees Brazilian diplomats pushing away suggestions of assertive leadership while more concrete action is quietly taken by other regionally engaged sections of the Brazilian state.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area



Lasse Schuldt

Southeast Asian Hesitation: ASEAN Countries and the International Criminal Court
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 75-104

In one of his final press releases, the former United Nations Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar, Tomás Ojea Quintana, urged that greater attention be given to the further deterioration of the human rights situation in Rakhine State. He submitted that the discrimination and persecution against the Rohingya community in Rakhine could amount to crimes against humanity. In his final report, prior to the end of his six-year mandate, Quintana states that “extrajudicial killing, rape, and other forms of sexual violence, arbitrary detention, torture, and ill-treatment in detention, denial of due process and fair trial rights, and the forcible transfer and severe deprivation of liberty of populations has taken place on a large scale and has been directed against” the Rohingya Muslim population in Rakhine State. However, there is no sign that any of the alleged crimes are being adequately investigated by the competent domestic authorities. Furthermore, the ICC does not have jurisdiction as Myanmar is not a State Party to the Rome Statute.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bisley Nick, Taylor Brendan

China’s Engagement with Regional Security Multilateralism: The Case of the Shangri-La Dialogue
in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 37, Number 1, April 2015 , 29-48

Using a case study of Beijing’s participation in the Shangri-La Dialogue, a prominent annual security gathering in Singapore, this article analyses China’s approach to Asian security multilateralism. It does so by developing and employing a typology consisting of four characterizations of multilateral engagement: China as “blocker”; China as “socialized participant”; China as “shaper”; and China as “opportunistic participant”. The article shows that in its approach to the Shangri-La Dialogue, China displays all four of these traits, while noting that some are more prevalent and compelling at certain points in time. It uses this finding to draw conclusions about Beijing’s future engagement with the Shangri-La Dialogue and its broader approach to security multilateralism. It also contributes to the larger debate over whether China is a “revisionist” or a “status quo” rising power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kai He

Contested regional orders and institutional balancing in the Asia Pacific
in *International Politics* , Volume 52, Issue 2 , 208–222

The rise of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) is gradually transforming the international system from a unipolar world toward multipolarity. China’s ascent not only challenges US domination, but also intensifies the institutionalization of security in the Asia Pacific. On the basis of institutional balancing theory, I argue that (i) China’s rise has led to a competition among different regional orders, that is, the US-led bilateralism versus ASEAN-centered and China-supported multilateralism. However, conflicts or wars are not inevitable since the contested regional orders



can coexist in the Asia Pacific. (ii) The deepening economic interdependence has encouraged regional powers, including the United States, China and ASEAN, to rely on different institutional balancing strategies to pursue security after the Cold War.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Grimes William W.

East Asian financial regionalism: why economic enhancements undermine political sustainability in Contemporary Politics, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2015 , 145-160

East Asian financial regionalism was born in response to the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997–1998. The centrepiece of financial regionalism was the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI), an emergency liquidity mechanism created by the ASEAN+3. It embodied both a clear interpretation of what had gone wrong in 1997–1998 and an understanding of the need for institutions that would be politically viable despite Sino-Japanese rivalry. Enforcement under CMI relied on the 'IMF link' – release of funds would be predicated on crisis countries' initiating negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as a means of reducing moral hazard, enforcing conditionality and diverting blame from the leading creditors, Japan and China. The global financial crisis of 2008–2010 and the eurozone crisis that followed have inspired important changes meant to address CMI's economic gaps, including accelerated adoption of 'CMI Multilateralization' (CMIM), the creation of a new surveillance unit (ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Organization, or AMRO), and the establishment of a new precautionary line. Many observers have remarked that these developments weaken the IMF link, which had effectively subordinated CMI to the IMF. While the moves appear to demonstrate a more confident, autonomous regionalism and a relative devaluation of the US-dominated global financial institutions, this paper argues that in fact, the ASEAN+3 states have again unearthed the underlying politics of divided leadership and mutual suspicion. CMIM is now threatened by the renewed potential for internal divisions. Further complicating the picture, both China and Japan have recently established large bilateral swap lines outside of the CMIM framework with several of their ASEAN+3 partners, raising the question of whether CMIM is moving towards political irrelevance even as it has arrived at a high water mark in its institutional development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kelly Gerard

Explaining ASEAN's Engagement of Civil Society in Policy-making: Smoke and Mirrors in Globalizations , Volume 12, Issue 3 , 365-382

Since the late 1990s, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has widened policy-making to include civil society organisations (CSOs), paralleling developments in other regional and global governance institutions where the inclusion of CSOs in policy-making is considered necessary to address these institutions' 'democracy deficit'. A rich empirical literature documents this trend, highlighting the range of participatory mechanisms and their challenges. However, theoretical explanations for why governance institutions engage CSOs and the limitations of these processes are lacking. This paper harnesses political economy analysis to explain this trend. Examining the form and function of civil society engagement in ASEAN, this article demonstrates that ASEAN's inclusion of civil society functions in legitimating its market-building reform programme, while its participatory mechanisms are structured to include amenable interests and marginalise non-compatible groups. Thus, ASEAN's engagement of CSOs and the broader



trend of participatory policy-making should be considered as creating sites for contestation, rather than being implicitly democratising.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rid Saeed Ahmed

Getting to Yes in the India-Pakistan Conflict: Addressing Indian concerns on a possible compromise with Pakistan

in Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 21, March , 146-166

Even after 65 years of their independence, India and Pakistan are locked in a deadly territorial conflict over Kashmir. Despite several mediation attempts and many rounds of bilateral negotiations, Kashmir still defies a solution. Fisher and Ury's win-win solution in *Getting to Yes* is applied on India-Pakistan conflict to understand the nature of conflict and see how their four suggested methods can help addressing the deadlock in the peace process between India and Pakistan. In the second part of the paper Fisher and Ury's method, "focus on interests not positions" is used to understand the Indian fears and concerns behind India's declared policy of calling Kashmir as their "integral part". It is despite the fact that the first Indian Prime Minister, Nehru had made solid pledges in UN and on other forums of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. An attempt is made to look at Indian concerns more deeply and find out the possible ways of addressing them.

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/ssis/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/getting-to-yes-in-india-pakistan-conflict.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Arsyad Nuruzzaman

Integration between East and Southeast Asian equity markets

in Journal of Financial Economic Policy, Volume 7 Issue 2 , 104 - 121

Purpose

– This paper aims to seek to find answers to three questions. First, is there any possibility of long-term cointegration between East and Southeast Asian equity markets? If so, how many cointegrating equations are there? Second, what are the short-term causal relationships between equity markets in East and Southeast Asia? Third, what is the East Asia's most influential equity market toward their Southeast counterparts, and vice versa?

Design/methodology/approach

– This study uses Johansen's (1988) cointegration method to test long-run relationships among East and Southeast Asian equity markets. With regards to short-run causal relationships, this study uses Granger-causality test as well as the forecast variance decomposition method.

Findings

– Johansen test proves that there is cointegration between East and Southeast Asian equity markets, but the integration process is not complete. Cointegrating vector also provides evidence that member countries of ASEAN+3 respond differently to external shocks. With regards to short-run causal direction, this study finds that Japan Granger-causes all equity markets in Southeast Asia, while Singapore and Vietnam Granger-cause all equity markets in East Asia. These results imply that Japan is the market with most linkages in Southeast Asia, while Singapore and Vietnam are the



markets with most linkages to East Asia. Furthermore, forecast variance decomposition reveals that Japan is the East Asia's most influential equity markets, while Singapore is the most influential equity market in Southeast Asia. This study suggests that policymakers in East and Southeast Asian countries to synchronize the capital market standards and regulations as well as to reduce the barriers for capital mobility to spur the regional equity market integration.

Research limitations/implications

– Increasing integration of East and Southeast Asian capital markets forces policymakers in ASEAN+3 countries to synchronize monetary policies, as it has been found that regionally integrated capital markets reduce the degree of independent monetary policy (Logue et al., 1976). It is therefore important for policymakers in East and Southeast Asian countries to assess the possibility of stock market integration within this region to anticipate the future risks associated with economic integration as well as to build collective regional institutions (Wang, 2004). Click and Plummer (2005) also argued that integrated stock markets is more efficient than nationally segmented equity markets, and the efficiency of Asian capital markets has been questioned in particular after the 1997 Asian financial crises. Yet, the empirical evidence on the extent of financial integration among ASEAN+3 member countries has been limited and inconclusive. This study is therefore an attempt to investigate the recent development of ASEAN+3 equity markets integration.

Practical implications

– This study focuses its attention on the existence and the extent of financial integration in East and Southeast Asia region, and it provides evidence that equity market integration in ASEAN+3 is far from complete, and for that reason, there is a need for policymakers in ASEAN+3 member countries to synchronize their standards and regulations. Furthermore, the policymakers in East and Southeast Asia can gain benefit from this study, as it provides the evidence that ASEAN+3 member countries respond differently to policy shocks, which may hinder the development of regional financial integration as well as the policy effectiveness of region-wide authority in ASEAN+3.

Originality/value

– This research is different from previous studies, as it puts the regional financial integration within the context of ASEAN+3 frameworks. Unlike previous research that considers East and Southeast Asian countries as an individual entity, this research considers East and Southeast Asia into two different blocks, following Tourk (2004) who documented that negotiation process for ASEAN+3 financial integration is conducted in sub-regional level (ASEAN vs East Asia), rather than national level (country per country basis). Second, this study covers the period after the 1997 Asian financial crisis. As suggested in Wang (2014), that the degree of stock market integration tends to change around the periods marked by financial crises, the updated study on Asian financial integration in the aftermath of 1997 financial crises is important to document the development of regional financial integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Pasha L. Hsieh

Liberalizing Trade in Legal Services under Asia-Pacific FTAs: The ASEAN Case

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 153-185

The article examines the liberalization of trade in legal services in the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its reform prospects to meet the challenges of multi-jurisdictional practice. It argues that while the ten-country bloc pledges to progressively liberalize the legal sector, ASEAN commitments under free trade agreements (FTAs) constitute merely 'paper commitments'. To achieve the goal of the ASEAN Economic Community to form a single market and production base, a feasible, incremental roadmap is imperative to integrate the legal services market. The article first analyzes the economic impact of foreign law firms on ASEAN's legal capacity building and the evolution of



emerging ASEAN law. By assessing legal services negotiations under the World Trade Organization, the European Union, and Asia-Pacific FTAs, the article identifies issues of complexity in international arenas. The Singapore experiment further explores the effectiveness of FTAs with Australia and the USA and self-initiated FTA-plus measures such as Joint Law Ventures and Qualifying Foreign Law Practices. These case studies, along with law firms' operations vis-à-vis regulatory changes, demonstrate the best practices. Finally, the article provides reform proposals that will accelerate the integration of ASEAN's legal services market and enhance its competitiveness under the multilateral trading system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chang Felix K.

Limits to the 'ASEAN Way': Economic and Security Interests in Southeast Asia

in Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs, vol. 58, n. 3, summer

ABSTRACT: Despite worries that ASEAN is becoming weak, the organization remains as strong as it ever was, given the parameters of its design. Its member countries still tightly embrace the organization's principles, the "ASEAN way." But simple adherence to those principles can be problematic. ASEAN countries, whose national economic and political interests collide, often appeal to the same principles to back their positions. That tends to pull ASEAN in different directions. Great power policies, particularly those of China and the United States, now exacerbate the situation. At the same time, ASEAN's reliance on multilateral consensus has made it difficult to reconcile real differences among its member countries or develop unified regional responses. That can be seen in issues from the Xayaburi dam on the Mekong River to the South China Sea. The ease with which ASEAN's principles can come into conflict and its consensus-driven decision-making can become deadlocked clearly marks the limits of the "ASEAN way."

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tiwari Prakash C., Joshi Bhagwati

Local and regional institutions and environmental governance in Hindu Kush Himalaya

in Environmental Science & Policy, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 66-74

This paper examines the role of local and regional institutions in environmental governance in Hindu Kush Himalaya (HKH). These institutions have been playing a significant role in regional environmental governance, particularly through generating and disseminating critical knowledge, mobilizing resources and addressing marginality, and regional environmental fragility. However, local and regional institutions have not yet comprehensively addressed the issues of poverty, livelihood, food security, gender inequality, education and social marginalization that affect the entire process of environmental governance. Community access to and involvement in critical socio-economic sectors such as infrastructure and health and education systems, including their governance processes, did not improve due to a lack of inter-linkages within and between local and regional institutions. This underlines the need for capacity building and the development of partnerships and horizontal and vertical linkages among local, regional and national institutions. These practical advances would facilitate improved access to new knowledge, technology and critical information and encourage the movement of financial resources to local levels.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Gonzalo Villalta Puig, Lee Tsun Tat

Problems with the ASEAN Free Trade Area Dispute Settlement Mechanism and Solutions for the ASEAN Economic Community'

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.49, Issue 2 , 277–308

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is pushing for closer economic integration to maintain its competitiveness as a free trade area in the world economy. The push is to transform, by 2015, the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) into the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). The AEC would create a single market for goods, services, and investments and a single production base for the region. Closer economic integration, however, requires an effective system for the settlement of the kind of disputes that inevitably arise from the further liberalization of trade and investment. To this end, in 2004, ASEAN adopted the Protocol on Enhanced Dispute Settlement Mechanism, which establishes a near rule-based Dispute Settlement Mechanism for the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA DSM). In the decade since its establishment, the AFTA DSM has never been invoked. This article explores the limitations and constraints of the AFTA DSM and proposes an arbitration model as the ideal method of conflict resolution for ASEAN and the eventual AEC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jeffrey D. Wilson

Regionalising resource security in the Asia-Pacific: the challenge of economic nationalism

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 69, Issue 2 , 224-245

In recent years, efforts to institutionalise resource security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region have intensified. Soaring world prices for minerals and energy have seen a range of resource security strategies launched—through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), ASEAN Plus Three, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and the East Asia Summit—all of which aim to promote intergovernmental dialogue, policy coordination and the integration of regional resource markets. However, the practical achievements of these regional efforts have been limited, as none have advanced beyond dialogue activities to more formalised types of resource security cooperation. This article examines the dynamics of these abortive attempts to regionalise resource cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, arguing that economic nationalist resource policy preferences held by governments have acted as a major obstacle to cooperation. Through an analysis of national resource policy regimes and the outputs of recent cooperative efforts, it demonstrates how economic nationalism has encouraged inward-looking and sovereignty-conscious actions on the part of major resource players in the Asia-Pacific. As a result, intergovernmental resource cooperation has been limited to informal and voluntary 'soft-law' initiatives, which have not made a substantive contribution to the resource security of economies in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Shahar Hameiri & Lee Jones

Regulatory regionalism and anti-money-laundering governance in Asia

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 69, Issue 2 , 144-163



With the intensification of the Financial Action Task Force's (FATF's) worldwide campaign to promote anti-money-laundering regulation since the late 1990s, all Asian states except North Korea have signed up to its rules and have established a regional institution—the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering—to promote and oversee the implementation of FATF's 40 Recommendations in the region. This article analyses the FATF regime, making two key claims. First, anti-money-laundering governance in Asia reflects a broader shift to regulatory regionalism, particularly in economic matters, in that its implementation and functioning depend upon the rescaling of ostensibly domestic agencies to function within a regional governance regime. Second, although this form of regulatory regionalism is established in order to bypass the perceived constraints of national sovereignty and political will, it nevertheless inevitably becomes entangled within the socio-political conflicts that shape the exercise of state power more broadly. Consequently, understanding the outcomes of regulatory regionalism involves identifying how these conflicts shape how far and in what manner global regulations are adopted and implemented within specific territories. This argument is demonstrated by a case study of Myanmar.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Guesmi Khaled, Teulon & Frédéric

The determinants of regional stock market integration in middle east: A conditional ICAPM approach in *Economie internationale*, n° 137, 2014/1

Over recent years, several emerging market regions have actively taken part in globalisation movements and world market integration. However, the financial integration processes appear to vary over time, and differ considerably from one region to another. This paper investigates intra-regional integration in the Middle East region during the period 1996–2008 using an international conditional Capital Asset Pricing Model (ICAPM) version that allows for dynamic changes in the degree of regional market integration, global risk premium, currency risk premium and local market risk premium. Our findings show that inflation, exchange rate volatility, variations in interest rate spread and global market dividend yields are key intra-regional integration variables in the Middle East context. Moreover, despite the complex economic and political situation that characterises the Middle East, our results indicate that stock markets in this area are well integrated in the regional market.

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Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rüland Jürgen

The limits of democratizing interest representation: ASEAN's regional corporatism and normative challenges in *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 20, n. 1, march, 237-261

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the problem of interest representation in regional organizations. Departing from a theory-guided four-dimensional typology, the study explores how the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) responded to normative challenges of its system of interest representation. The findings suggest that ASEAN has skilfully countered external democracy promotion and domestic pressures for democratizing regional governance through variable strategies including rejection, isomorphic adaptation and localization. The multiple strategies employed by the grouping have largely kept intact its 'cognitive prior' which rests on a blending of imported European and older local organicist ideas. Given the resilience of this cognitive prior, the prospects for a wholesale liberal-pluralist transformation of ASEAN's system of interest representation appear dim.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Oh Chaewoon, Matsuoka Shunji

The position of the Low Carbon Growth Partnership (LCGP): at the end of Japan's navigation between the Kyoto Protocol and the APP

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 125-140

A new climate change institutional package, the East Asia Low Carbon Growth Partnership (LCGP), has been recently developed. The LCGP has significant implications because it was initiated by Japan, which has navigated between the Kyoto Protocol (KP) and the Asia–Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP) but ended the navigation by announcing its intention not to participate in the second commitment period of the KP. This paper investigates the position of the LCGP on the spectrum drawn by the KP and the APP using the theoretical ground of normative contestation. Results show that the normative stance of the LCGP is skewed toward the APP; however, the LCGP differentiates itself from the APP by its own functional properties and through its institutional fit with another regional institution, the East Asia Summit. The LCGP puts another complexion on global climate change governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tri Thanh Vo

Vietnam's Perspectives on Regional Economic Integration

in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 32, Number 1, April 2015 , 106-124

This paper revisits Vietnamese perspectives on regional economic integration. Proactive economic integration has been an important pillar of Vietnam's economic reforms. The country's current economic integration process involves preparation for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the negotiation of ambitious free trade agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreements. As the umbrella organization for Vietnam's economic integration, ASEAN continues to forge the country's trade and investment linkages with the region. The AEC is making progress, but certain challenges remain with the overall management of regional cooperation, improvements to ASEAN centrality and connectivity, and issues related to contemporary regional and non-traditional security. RCEP and TPP represent recent ambitious efforts to promote economic integration. Notwithstanding their potential benefits, RCEP and TPP may produce different outcomes, including trade diversion, for major economies. These two trade agreements have various similarities and differences, but they exhibit potential consistency with the concept of a Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific. Vietnam's economy may benefit immensely from ongoing integration efforts. Still, such benefits are conditional on relevant and timely domestic reforms, particularly of economic institutions, state-owned enterprises and public investment. The harmonization of commitments under various economic integration tracks and improvements to market confidence is also critical.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Emptaz Bruno

Opérations militaires européennes : bilan contrasté ou ambitions perdues ?



in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 781, juin

Opérations militaires européennes : bilan contrasté ou Onze ans après le premier engagement de troupes sous sa bannière, l'Union européenne reste incapable malgré son statut de puissance mondiale d'assumer certaines responsabilités. Une décennie d'oppositions stériles, d'intérêts contradictoires et de crises économiques a eu raison de belles déclarations d'intention et d'ambitieuses réformes institutionnelles dans le domaine de la défense européenne.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gianni Lo Schiavo

A Judicial Re-Thinking on the Delegation of Powers to European Agencies under EU Law? Comment on Case C-270/12 UK v. Council and Parliament

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 2 , 315-335

The case C-270/12 UK v. Council and Parliament is a much-awaited judgment addressing the problem of the delegation of powers to European agencies in the financial markets. By distancing itself from the Advocate General's conclusions, the Court of Justice upheld the legitimacy of the use of Article 114 TFEU to allow the European and Securities Market Authority to prohibit or restrict certain financial products on the market. The Court also gave greater flexibility to the Meroni doctrine and superseded the Romano doctrine. The Court's decision is welcome, especially in light of the increasingly extensive use of European agencies to regulate and supervise the internal market.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piga Gustavo

Atene e la sua battaglia per l'anima dell'Europa

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

E. Herlin-Karnell

Constructing Europe's Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice through the Framework of "Regulation": A Cascade of Market-Based Challenges in the EU's Fight against Financial Crime

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 49-73

This article builds upon the idea that the EU's regulatory efforts in the EU Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice (AFSJ) are embedded with difficulties. The article argues that the current strains in the EU-AFSJ policy-making regime are caused by two things in particular. First, the EU's tactic in the AFSJ appears to depart from the classic internal market-based formula of the removal of obstacles for market creation and thereby ventures into the EU criminal law domain with all of its inherent complexities, without an adequately matured legal framework to endorse its policies from



within. Second, to the extent that the EU adopts the market theory template in the AFSJ, there are global elements to the EU's sanction policies. These features confirm a hybridity in which legal sources are interacting within the AFSJ field. There is a clear complexity to the EU's fight against financial crimes and its interaction with the multiple sources of EU law where the meanings of "regulatory" and "risk assessment" need to be clarified. This article suggests that the current approach by EU's institutions to push forward the market theory model is a mistake, and that the AFSJ needs to be analyzed within the context of "regulatory powers," which would lead to a better understanding of the AFSJ framework. This article aims to do so by using the political science concept of "regulatory" to critique the EU's current strategy and thereby argue that the legal debate on the development of the AFSJ could benefit from a more nuanced reading of the definition of "regulatory," and thereby help to construct the AFSJ and increase its effectiveness.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scharpf Fritz W.

Deliberative Demokratie in der europäischen Mehrebenenpolitik – eine zweite Replik

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Volume 43 (2015), Issue 2, 155-165

In spite of Habermas' clarifying response, differences remain regarding the legitimacy of majority rule in the present European Union, in particular to institutional protections for the institutional, cultural and socio-economic diversity of EU member states and to the preconditions of deliberative democracy in the European context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frangakis Marica

Diseguaglianze sociali e politiche di welfare In tempo di crisi

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gozzini Giovanni

Fine del blocco sovietico e storiografia occidentale

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900*, n. 1, gennaio-marzo, 175-188

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carretta David

I rischi della Grexit

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 3



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mark Bevir, Oliver Daddow and Pauline Schnapper

Interpreting British European Policy

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 1–17

Britain has had particular problems reconciling itself to the idea of being a 'European' actor and a wholehearted member of the EEC/EU since 1973. Now, potentially, the 'awkward partner' is edging towards the exit door of the EU because a membership referendum gauging the opinion of a sullenly Eurosceptical UK public is a likely prospect in the coming years. The aim of this special issue of JCMS is to consider how one can account for the present state of affairs by adopting an interpretivist perspective on British European policy over the past four decades. The article begins with a comprehensive review of the extant literature on Britain and Europe and an elaboration of the 'traditions and dilemmas' framework within which the contributors have studied the empirical material in their articles. It then explains the major themes that connect the articles and suggests how future research might build on the agenda proposed in this special issue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pourcel Éric

La France, leader européen pour la création d'une force aérospatiale stratégique hypersonique ?

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 776 Janvier

La propulsion hypersonique constitue une avancée décisive comme outil de la surprise stratégique. À l'instar des États-Unis, leader incontesté, la France pourrait développer une capacité de dimension stratégique utilisable face aux menaces proliférantes.

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Pourcel Éric

La France, leader européen pour la création d'une force aérospatiale stratégique hypersonique ?

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 776 Janvier

La propulsion hypersonique constitue une avancée décisive comme outil de la surprise stratégique. À l'instar des États-Unis, leader incontesté, la France pourrait développer une capacité de dimension stratégique utilisable face aux menaces proliférantes.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dedinger Béatrice

L'Allemagne et l'Euro: les enseignements de la balance des paiements allemande
in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 46 (2014), 2 , 483–496

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Syngellakis Teodoro Andreadis

SYRIZA sfida l'Europa
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaban Natalia, Magdalina Ana-Maria

'External Perceptions of the EU during the Eurozone Sovereign Debt Crisis
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 195-220

ABSTRACT: Despite its growing popularity, research on EU external perceptions has yet to explore in detail how the sovereign Euro-debt crisis has affected the outsiders' views on integrating Europe and its global importance and what factors shape those perceptions. The question as to whether the crisis has impacted the visions of the core features of EU international identity, including the image of the EU as a global 'economic giant' and a 'soft' and 'normative' power', remains unexplored. Conceptualizing EU external perceptions as a link between theories explaining EU foreign policy actions, goals and capabilities and EU international identity, this article addresses these scholarly deficits and proposes analytical framework of global, location-specific and EU-specific factors shaping EU external perceptions. The article uses a 'mixed' method of analysis and applies it to 322 elite interviews from nine Asia-Pacific countries (2011-2012).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alessandro Antimiani, Luca Salvatici

'Regionalism versus Multilateralism: The Case of the European Union Trade Policy
in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.49, Issue 2 , 253–275

In 2006, the EU decided to abandon its moratorium on negotiating new FTAs. Since then, numerous negotiations have been started. In particular, the EU joined the scramble for preferential market access by launching bilateral negotiations with both individual countries and regional sub-groupings. The discriminatory character of these agreements is controversial in economics, not simply because of the classic 'Vinerian' view that they can divert rather than create trade, but also because of the unresolved disagreements on when a regional trade agreement is likely to precede, rather than preclude, more global agreements. In this article, we use a CGE model to assess the effects of possible



agreements between the EU and different partners, namely India, Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), and the USA. We evaluate the impact of the FTAs by themselves, assess their mutual compatibility, and compare them with a scenario including all bilateral agreements as well as a benchmark global free trade scenario. This allows us to provide a quantitative comparison of the most important arguments asserting that bilateral agreements advance or hinder multilateral trade relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ziller Jacques

'Social Market Economy' as an Objective According to Article 3 of the Treaty on the European Union
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 2 , 77-110

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwarz Michael

A Memorandum of Misunderstanding – The doomed road of the European Stability Mechanism and a possible way out: Enhanced cooperation
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 2 , 389-423

ABSTRACT: The European Stability Mechanism (ESM) stands pars pro toto for how the EU and the Member States have confronted what allegedly started out as a sovereign debt crisis and has turned into an existential crisis of the EU. Attempts to get Europe back on track rely too heavily on technocratic governance and abandon some of the EU's core values. This paper proposes an alternative, more legitimate route. It argues that ESM-like financial assistance should be integrated into the framework of the EU's legal order, by using the legal instrument of enhanced cooperation under Article 20 TEU. A critical analysis is given of economic governance under the ESM, addressing and assessing its shortcomings in terms of human rights protection, the rule of law ideal and lack of input legitimacy. The feasibility of using enhanced cooperation for the ESM is examined.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Preziosa Pasquale

A New European Policy for Development: the Defense Piece
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 1 , 81-89

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pöttering Hans-Gert



A Stable Economic System in Europe

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 0 , 19-22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurie Beaudonnet

A Threatening Horizon: The Impact of the Welfare State on Support for Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 457–475

From the cradle to the grave, social protection is the major bond between citizen and national authority. European integration challenges the social boundaries of nation-states and this phenomenon is not without consequences for individual attitudes. Within public debate, there are many discussions about the impact of European integration on the welfare state, but conclusive analysis of the consequences on individual support for Europe is still lacking. This article provides an empirical test of the relationship between support for Europe and attitudes towards the welfare state. The findings show that both welfare regimes and welfare issues have a strong impact on individual support for Europe. When it comes to social protection, the European Union works like a distant, albeit strong, threat for individuals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kvist Jon

A framework for social investment strategies: Integrating generational, life course and gender perspectives in the EU social investment strategy

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 13, n. 1, january , 131-149

ABSTRACT: From 2013 the European Union has promoted social investments as a national reform strategy to increase individuals' capacities and national economic growth. However, to take full advantage of social investments, the strategy needs a more coherent framework that takes into account the dynamic and multidimensional nature of social issues and social investments. Theoretically, this article establishes such a framework consisting of generational, life course and gender perspectives on social investments. The generational perspective brings out that social investments involve horizontal redistribution, underpin the productive and reproductive social contract between generations, and the increased diversity within generations. The life course perspective demonstrates how social issues and social investments in one life stage depend on the situation in prior life stages and affect the situation in later life stages and, possibly, in multiple dimensions. The gender perspective shows how social investments can improve economic and social returns when gender and ageing over the life course are taken into consideration. Empirically, cross-national patterns indicate a positive relation between social investment policies and returns.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Smeets Dieter

A free trade agreement between the EU and Japan—what is to be expected?



in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 13, n. 1, March , 57-73

On their summit in May 2011, Japan and the EU decided to negotiate on a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA). Against this background, the study at hand analyzes PTAs between the EU and third countries by estimating gravity equations on a sector basis consisting of 1-digit SITC groups. On the one hand, it concludes that—except for trade in agricultural goods—PTAs increase bilateral trade above its normal level. On the other hand, that trade between the EU and Japan is undoubtedly too low with regard to distance and size. Therefore, a free trade agreement between the EU and Japan should have a considerable potential to prompt trade-creating effects that increase welfare in both countries. A necessary condition to exploit these gains is, however, not only to abolish tariffs but, more importantly, to reduce nontariff measures to trade.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gragl Paul

A giant leap for European Human Rights? The Final Agreement on the European Union's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 1 , 13-58

ABSTRACT: After the EU's accession to the ECHR has been discussed for more than thirty years, an Accession Agreement has been finalized in 2013. By subjecting EU law to the supervision of the ECtHR and by enabling individuals to submit complaints against the EU institutions to Strasbourg, one of the last gaps in European human rights protection will be overcome. But accession may not take place as swiftly as some may hope for, as many legal problems remain unsolved. This article examines the most urgent legal issues in the context of accession, such as its scope and legal effects; its procedural aspects (the co-respondent mechanism, inter-Party cases, and the prior involvement procedure) and their relation to the Union's legal autonomy; and the institutional interlacing of the EU and the Council of Europe and the former's future involvement in the Parliamentary Assembly and in the Committee of Ministers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Amy Verdun

A historical institutionalist explanation of the EU's responses to the euro area financial crisis

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 2 , 219-237

How can we understand the European Union's responses to the euro area financial crisis? This contribution examines this question through a historical institutionalist (HI) lens. First it reviews the design of existing institutions. With the help of HI it examines what challenges the institutional design posed on the European Union (EU) when the crisis hit. Next, the responses to the crisis by member state leaders and by EU-level actors are reviewed. An analysis is made of selected new EU institutions created to address the crisis: the European Financial Stability Facility; the European Stability Mechanism; the Six-Pack and Two-Pack; the European Semester; and the Fiscal Compact. Four ideal types – 'displacement', 'layering', 'drift' and 'conversion' – are examined and found not to fit well. In some cases institutions were 'layered' on top of existing institutions. Perhaps an amendment could be made by offering the ideal type 'copying' in those cases where new institutions that borrow from earlier institutions. Although no complex problem can be truly understood by looking at it through one single theoretical lens, this contribution argues that a large part of the



problems that emerged, and the solutions adopted, can be understood by examining it through an HI lens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amy Verdun

A historical institutionalist explanation of the EU's responses to the euro area financial crisis
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 2 , 219-237

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kyris George

A model of 'contested' Europeanization: The European Union and the Turkish-Cypriot administration
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 2, march , 160-183

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the European Union's (EU) relevance to the Turkish-Cypriot (TC) administration, pegged to the Europeanization debate. The study contributes to the discussion on Europeanization and the EU's international role, especially in cases of contested states, which constitute an important element of the EU's current global agenda but remain an under-researched topic. The argument advanced is that the Europeanization of the TC administration, although similar to previous cases of EU Enlargement, is importantly mediated by the conditions of contested statehood that exist in northern Cyprus. In this respect, the TC example holds strong comparative value for the study of Europeanization of contested states and the wider debate on international role of the EU, in variety of contexts and in relation to a diverse range of actors, beyond conventional states that dominate discourse.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Theocharis Yannis, van Deth Jan W.

A modern Tragedy? Institutional Causes and democratic Consequences of the greek Crisis
in *Representation*, Volume 51, Issue 1 , 63-79

Economic and political developments in Greece have been at the forefront of the international mass media coverage of



the European financial and economic crises. Contrary to fashionable interpretations of the malaise, our findings suggest that the main causes of the many 'crises' hitting the country are social and political, rather than economic or financial. Employing the 'institutional theory of generalised trust', we examine the roots of the current crises in political corruption, confidence in institutions and interpersonal trust. Data show that, for nearly two decades, Greece has consistently ranked last in Europe on almost all indicators for trust, confidence and corruption. The analysis pinpoints civic pathologies that require immediate action. We suggest a number of policy measures that provide a starting point for further developing more concrete public policy solutions on how citizens' trust and Greek civil society can be strengthened in order to obtain lasting societal, political and economic improvements.

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David Harrison

A new European capital market

in **Law and Financial Markets Review**, vol. 8, no. 4, 318-321

The Strategic Agenda for the European Union for the next five years, agreed at the European Council of June 2014, has as a priority "to invest and prepare our economies for the future". This includes "by mobilising the right mix of private and public funding and facilitating longterm investments", and "providing the right regulatory framework for long-term investments". This article considers how the creation of a new European capital market, which improves on existing capital markets by channelling savings into productive investment, could support this priority.

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De la Porte Caroline, Heins Elke

A new era of European Integration? Governance of labour market and social policy since the sovereign debt crisis

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 13, n. 1, january, 8-28

ABSTRACT: In this article we develop a typology of European Union (EU) integration to capture how, to what extent and according to which policy aims EU involvement in Member States has altered with respect to labour market and social policy and what it signifies in terms of institutional change. On this basis, we show first that new instruments – the Six-Pack, Fiscal Compact and Two-Pack – have been layered onto the existing institutional framework governing the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Furthermore, we show that the instruments strengthening budgetary discipline to improve the functioning of European Monetary Union have become more explicit in terms of policy objectives, particularly specifying new benchmarks to obtain fiscal discipline. They are also stricter in terms of surveillance and enforcement. Second, we show that there are initiatives to address and improve the social dimension of the EU – Europe 2020, the Social Investment Package and the Youth Guarantee – and that these have also emerged through a process of institutional layering. However, the aims around Europe 2020 and Social Investment continue to be based on the voluntary Open Method of Coordination, with comparatively weak surveillance and enforcement. In the current context, and in order to attain economic growth together with social cohesion and welfare, it is of utmost importance that EMU criteria should be altered to take account of social investments.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Avoški Aleksandra

A post-austerity European Commission: no role for environmental policy?

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 3, June , 501-505

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Botta Alberto

A proposito di Eurobond

in *Politico (II)*, n. 233, 2013 , 92-107

ABSTRACT: In this article, I first note that most eurobond proposals basically aim to cut debt service costs and favor the reduction of outstanding public debt stocks. While this perspective is consistent with the well-known “debt intolerance” theory and the idea that tough austerity is required to restore macroeconomic solidity, it totally neglects the Keynesian-type uncertainty that currently seems to affect the eurozone economy. In such a context, I argue expansionary fiscal policies instead of fiscal austerity are needed to end the crisis. Accordingly, eurobonds should be conceived as financing instruments of anti-cyclical fiscal policies carried out, hopefully, by a eurozone federal government. I also stress that the in-deep roots of the existing difficulties lie in the incompleteness and fragility of the eurozone institutional building with respect to monetarily sovereign countries, rather than in “bad” fundamentals in peripheral economies. Therefore, a decisive step out of the crisis would entail the reconciliation of monetary and fiscal policy through the creation of a definitive eurozone federal entity.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicola Chelotti

A ‘Diplomatic Republic of Europe’? Explaining role conceptions in EU foreign policy

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 50 (2) , 190-210

Using an original database of 138 questionnaires, the article explores how national officials perceive their role when participating in European Union (EU) foreign policy committees. It first shows that they systematically assume not only intergovernmental but also supranational role conceptions: a good number of diplomats understand EU foreign policy as a collective political project with the objective to craft a common European policy. The article then investigates some scope conditions. If the overall picture is complex and heterogeneous, it reveals that socializing activities occur in this policy field. More specifically, the number of years spent in Brussels is a relatively strong predictor of a supranational attitude. At the same time, diplomats’ conceptions are formed also outside EU contexts: the structure and the pro-European opinions of the national polity affect the formation of a diplomat’s orientation. Remarkably, member states’ military power is a weak and non-significant variable in all the models tested.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scharpf Fritz W.

After the Crash: A Perspective on Multilevel European Democracy
in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 384–405

From a social-market perspective, European integration has reduced the capacity of democratic politics to deal with the challenges of global capitalism, and it has contributed to rising social inequality. The article summarises the institutional asymmetries which have done most to constrain democratic political choices and to shift the balance between capital, labour and the state: the priority of negative over positive integration and of monetary integration over political and social integration. It will then explain why efforts to democratise European politics will not be able to overcome these asymmetries and why politically feasible reforms will not be able to remove them. On the speculative assumption that the aftermath of a deep crisis might indeed create the window of opportunity for a political re-foundation of European integration, the concluding section will outline institutional ground rules that might facilitate democratic political action at both European and national levels.

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Spoerer Mark

Agricultural protection and support in the European Economic Community, 1962–92: rent-seeking or welfare policy?

in *European Review of Economic History*, Volume 19 Issue 2 May 2015 , 195-214

The European Economic Community's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has found a lot of scholarly attention. While economists stress the irrationality of the CAP and explain its striking persistence by rent-seeking behavior, a prominent interpretation among historians is that the CAP should be interpreted as welfare policy for farm households. I subject the latter hypothesis for the period 1962–92 to an empirical test and find that the combined benefits from subsidies, import protection, and political prices gave much more benefits to European agriculture than any welfare policy could have achieved. If one still wants to find arguments legitimizing the political rents (or part of them) that agriculture received through the CAP one has to consider non-economic arguments (food security in the Cold War) or external effects (protection of the environment or landscape).

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Andries Alain, Azcárate Tomás García

Agriculture, PAC et droit de la concurrence: une vision historique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février , 83-92

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-41770.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Traci L. Wilson and Sara B. Hobolt



Allocating Responsibility in Multilevel Government Systems: Voter and Expert Attributions in the European Union

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Vol. 77, No. 1 , 102-113

Democratic accountability requires that citizens can assign responsibility for policy outcomes, yet multilevel structures of government complicate this task as they blur lines of accountability and leave voters uncertain about which level of government is responsible. This study examines the extent to which Europeans are able to navigate the complex and ever-changing divisions of responsibility between their national governments and the European Union (EU). Specifically, we compare citizen and expert responsibility attributions to evaluate if and how voters can competently assign policy responsibility to the European Union. Using multilevel modeling to analyze survey and media data from 27 EU member states, we demonstrate that extreme attitudes reduce citizen competence by motivating biased information processing. Yet at the contextual level, highly politicized environments result in more correct allocations of responsibility by creating an information-rich context.

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Mansuy Jean

Alternatives européennes et légitimité démocratique

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 380, 2014

Les élections au Parlement européen de juin 2014 donneront-elles naissance à de nouvelles coalitions permettant d'espérer un changement de direction dans la conduite de l'Union européenne ? Comment et avec quelles alliances – entre pays, entre partis – serait-il possible d'imaginer d'autres politiques pour l'Europe ? Et faut-il tout changer, et repartir de zéro ou existe-t-il des propositions concrètes et applicables dès maintenant ?

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Uilenreef Arjan

Alternatives to the Resident Embassy: Intra-EU Diplomatic Networks in the Twenty-first Century

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 25, n. 2 , 356-377

ABSTRACT: Increasingly integrated in a common political entity, the European Union's member states are exploring new avenues to shape and maintain their mutual relations. This analysis describes three alternatives to the traditional resident embassy by which ministries of foreign affairs within the EU attempt to maintain diplomatic networks. The models discussed are secondments within member states' capitals, visiting ambassadors, and co-location and co-operation. In other words, with regard to different modes of representation, member states can consider diving in, stepping back, or pooling and sharing. These developments shed light on the ways in which the diplomatic machineries of the member states are trying to adapt to the demands of a "post-Westphalian" environment such as that of the EU.

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Betzu Marco



Ancora a proposito della ripartizione dei seggi nelle elezioni europee

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 1 , 175-177

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Rossano Diego

Ancora in tema di crisi dell'euro. Il caso 'Grecia' e le sue implicazioni sulla moneta unica

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mezaguer Mehdi

Approche transactionnelle et garantie procédurales en droit antitrust de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 353-361

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zucca Fabio

Archivio. Per una storia della cittadinanza europea: i gemellaggi

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 139-160

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vandecasteele Bruno, Bossuyt Fabienne

Assessing EU council presidencies: (Conditions for) success and influence

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 2, march , 233-247

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McMenamin Iain, Breen Michael, Muñoz-Portillo Juan



Austerity and credibility in the Eurozone

in European Union Politics , vol. 16, n. 1, March , 45-66

During the euro crisis policy-makers tried to re-establish credibility with austere budgets. Studies of austerity have been plagued by measurement and endogeneity problems. We provide a direct test of the effect of austerity on confidence by calculating the immediate impact of austere budgets on government bonds. We build a unique database of budget dates and conduct event studies of 223 (future) Eurozone budgets. Since austere budgets are enacted in particular circumstances, we use a treatment effects design to measure markets' responses. Our findings are discouraging for the argument that austerity can provide a positive credibility shock. Markets do not welcome austerity. On the contrary, austere budgets are associated with substantial interest rate increases. These results underline how constrained governments are in debt crises.

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Ladi Stella

Austerity politics and administrative reform: The Eurozone crisis and its impact upon Greek public administration

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 12, n. 2, march , 184-208

ABSTRACT: Greece was the first European Monetary Union (EMU) country to sign a Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policies (MEFP) with the European Commission (EC) and the European Central Bank (ECB) in order to secure financial assistance and prevent a total collapse of its economy following the severe international economic crisis. The MEFP (2010) and the more detailed Memorandum of Understanding on Specific Economic Policy Conditionality (SEPC) (2010) offered elaborate steps of structural reforms that have affected all public services in Greece. The lack of major results and the stickiness of the 'Greek problem' have made Greece a unique case study for evaluating both the recipe of the international lenders and the domestic capacity for reform. A historical institutionalist approach and the concept of 'policy paradigm' are combined here in order to evaluate what the conditions for a major administrative reform in time of crisis are. The article focuses on the specific attempt to reform public administration during the Papandreou government in order to analyse the importance of both time and type of change in the success of a major reform programme.

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Wilkinson Michael A.

Authoritarian Liberalism in the European Constitutional Imagination: Second Time as Farce

in European law journal, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 313-339

The current crisis in Europe recalls the theory and practice of authoritarian liberalism, the idea that in order to protect economic liberalism and respect for fiscal discipline, representative democracy must be curtailed. This configuration was first identified by Hermann Heller in late Weimar as a response to the imperative to maintain the ideological separation of state and economy and presented by Karl Polanyi as conditioned by broader geo-political pressure to maintain the gold standard in the inter-war period. Authoritarian liberalism is now conditioned by conflicting imperatives to maintain the project of the single currency, respect ordo-liberal concerns of moral hazard, and protect 'militant democracy' but only in one country. Does this reflect a broader geo-political disequilibrium, due to tensions between market integration,



constitutionalism and democracy?

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Christoph Krenn

Autonomy and Effectiveness as Common Concerns: A Path to ECHR Accession After Opinion 2/13

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 147-168

Opinion 2/13 is a sweeping blow. After four years of negotiations, it took the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU or the Court) only a few paragraphs to pick to pieces the draft accession agreement on the EU's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), finding a conflict with the EU Treaties on ten grounds. The Court's message is clear: Accession, under the terms of the draft agreement, would risk undermining the very essence of the EU's constitutional system. Critics of the Court are abundant. To many, the Court did not only frustrate the prospects of enhancing the protection of human rights in Europe—it did so on highly dubious grounds, building a façade of spurious, if not bogus arguments, considering minor and immaterial threats to the autonomy and effectiveness of EU law as adversely affecting the constitutional basis of the Union. Behind this seems to be the CJEU's selfish concern for its own power and position in the European legal area—"judicial politics of the playground," as Steve Peers put it. These critical analyses come hand in hand with a grim outlook regarding the future of the EU's accession to the ECHR. It is unlikely, the argument goes, that the non-EU Member States of the Council of Europe will reopen discussions on the many substantial issues the Court raised.

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Gautier-Audebert Agnès, Guillard Christine, Monjal Pierre-Yves

Avant-propos. Les collectivités territoriales face au droit de l'Union européenne: quelle responsabilité?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février , 102-103

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-41770.htm#contents_01

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bolleyer Nicole, Börzel Tanja A.

Balancing integration and flexibility in the European Union: Constitutional dispositions and dynamics of coordination

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 4-5, july-september , 384-403

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) is a multilevel system with expanding boundaries. The composition of its constituent governments changes over time and with it the institutional architecture structuring their interactions. Despite the system's increasing complexity through enlargement, the EU is still dominated by multilateral institutions directed towards maintaining the equality of constituent units both in day-to-day decision-making as in matters of competence allocation. It has made increasing usage of more flexible mechanisms (for example, opt-out, mutual recognition and the open method of coordination (OMC)). Nonetheless, we do not find a uniform movement from 'hard' EU-wide regulation



to 'soft' modes of coordination or from multilevel interaction involving all member states to diversified arrangements which reflects the equality of the member states as the constituent units in this confederal system. Party-political incongruence, in contrast, does not play a crucial role. Although member states are governed by different parties, this does not translate into patterns of conflict, as parties are disconnected and do not compete directly across the various arenas of the European multilevel system.

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Baldocci Pasquale

Banca Centrale e integrazione europea

in *Nuova Antologia*, fasc. 2273, gennaio-marzo

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Giddens Anthony

Britain teeters closer to the brink of Brexit

in *Europe's World*, n. 29, Spring

No one can foresee the political developments in the UK that will determine whether it stays in the EU or leaves. Anthony Giddens assesses the factors in play

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Kornprobst Markus

Building agreements upon agreements: The European Union and grand strategy

in *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 21, n. 2, June, 267-292

ABSTRACT: What explains the European Union's successes and failures in producing a grand strategy? Conceptualizing grand strategy as a composite commonplace linking together understandings of scene, agent, purpose and means (tetrad), I contend that the European Union has a grand strategy. In the early 1990s, advocates succeeded in institutionalizing the diffusion strategy. A decade later, however, the advocates of the European Security Strategy failed to do so. My explanation of this descriptive finding focuses on the constellation of prior agreements on the components of the tetrad. In both cases, widely taken-for-granted agreements on a recently shifted scene (security environment) provided openings for the advocates. But only the advocates of diffusion had the opportunity to work with equally widely taken-for-granted agreements on agent (identity), purpose (interest) and means (power). The advocates for the European Security Strategy, by contrast, were lacking such a favourable social context. Borrowing from rhetorical studies, this study makes a threefold contribution to the study of grand strategy. It moves beyond the literature's statism; shows that grand strategy is constituted by interpretations not just of power and interest, but also of the security environment and identity; and clarifies that explanations of the making of grand strategy need to inquire into the making of agreements rather than merely the interplay of material forces. My findings that the European Union has a grand



strategy and came to adopt it by building a new agreement upon already-existing ones also have implications for the study of European Union foreign policy and International Relations Theory.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moore Anna

CSDP Police Missions: Comparing Bottom-up and Top-down Approaches

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 283-305

ABSTRACT: Insufficient rule of law is a major cause of instability in Europe's near abroad. Europe, home to some of the world's best national police forces, should be an effective advisor on police reform in the continent's periphery and beyond. The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) police missions to date, however, have produced underwhelming results. These missions have largely followed a 'top-down' approach, co-locating senior EU police officials with their counterparts at national institutions. In contrast to current EU policy, the literature on police reform in post-conflict societies argues for a 'bottom-up' approach, in which trainers and advisors co-locate at regional and local levels and foster trust-building and civilian oversight. While the EU may find bottom-up missions difficult to conduct, such missions would better contribute to lasting security sector reform in host countries than top-down operations. Revising unsuccessful policies and achieving demonstrable results is especially important in the context of mounting doubt over the value of CSDP.

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Jamal Ibrahim Haidar

Can the Euro Survive?

in *World Economy*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 553-567

One of the fascinating aspects of the European debt crisis has been the resilience of the euro. For much of 2011, the euro was a key reserve currency, oblivious to the chaos ravaging European economies. Now, however, the gravity of the crisis is finally dragging down the euro. As the Euro zone debt crisis enters its third uncertain year, the question about whether the euro can survive rises. This paper argues that the euro can survive given policymakers still have in hand various tools. These tools include creating exit rules, implementing new stabilisation rules and instruments, adopting new fiscal policy, introducing conditional Eurobonds, using inflation differentials and providing more independence to the European Central Bank.

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Turk Žiga

Central and Eastern Europe in transition: an unfinished process?

in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 2, December, Special Issue: Europe's Defining Challenges , 199-208

Since 1989 the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe have been undergoing a transition from a more or less totalitarian political regime, planned economy and socialism towards a democratic regime, market economy and



capitalism. This article examines the indicators that are used to measure the success or failure of a transition and compares them to the outcomes of democratic processes and economic performance. Five Central and Eastern European countries are studied: Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Poland. The article concludes that the countries that opted for a 'big-bang' approach to transition are either completing this process (the Czech Republic and Poland) or are well on track to concluding it (Slovakia), while the countries that missed the moment and opted for a gradualist approach (Hungary and Slovenia) lag behind and may even find stability in a form of deficient democracy.

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Nina Merethe Vestlund

Changing policy focus through organizational reform? The case of the pharmaceutical unit in the European Commission

in Public Policy and Administration, 30 (1) , 92-112

This article contributes to the debate on the significance of organizational structure for administrative decision behaviour by exploring the effects of a reorganization in the European Commission. It is shown that the move of the pharmaceutical unit from DG Enterprise to DG SANCO impacted on the process of developing a regulatory framework on information to patients. After the reorganization, the focus of the policy process changed from industry to public health and other action alternatives became salient, which eventually led to changes in the policy outcome. The article demonstrates how horizontal specialization systematically tips the scales in the direction of certain actors, solutions, interests and concerns in decision processes, eventually resulting in a change of policy focus. The gap between organizational structure and administrative decision behaviour is thus not as large as is often assumed in the literature.

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Trstenjak Verica

Civis Europaeus Sum – Union Citizenship and the Influence of the Court of Justice of the European Union in European Review, Volume 23 - Issue 01 , 71-80

Since its formation in 1950s as the economic community, the EU has created the monetary union and is increasingly evolving also into a political union – part of which is also a union of Europe of citizens. This article explores the development and the existing EU legislation and case law of the Court of Justice of the EU (CJEU) on Union citizenship. The article emphasises the importance of the case law of the CJEU for the development of this concept, focusing especially on the case law pertaining to access to social security benefits in another Member State, the rights of students, tax relief, and personal rights such as the right to write a name in a certain way and the right to family life. Case law of the CJEU has, inter alia, confirmed that even economically inactive Union citizens lawfully residing in another Member State have a right to access to social benefits under the same conditions as the Member State's own nationals. The concept of the Union citizenship is of key importance in the development of EU law, as it expands the scope of the applicability of the provisions on free movement of persons and other fundamental freedoms. New challenges and questions linked to Union citizenship are arising over time, which should also be regulated at the EU level in the future. Therefore, further development of this concept can still be expected in the EU.



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Amandine Crespy and Georg Menz

Commission Entrepreneurship and the Debasing of Social Europe Before and After the Eurocrisis
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 753–768

The bulk of the literature on 'social Europe' has suggested that social policy at the level of the EU remains to be characterized by the interplay of courts and markets. While we do not disagree with this argument, our objective is to shed light on the European Commission's entrepreneurship, an element which appears to be somewhat bereft of scholarly attention. We show how, by displaying social acuity, defining problems and building teams, the Commission has actively promoted a policy agenda focused on liberal market building at the expense of socially minded regulation. This was however only made possible by a new constellation among the Member States after 2004. We substantiate this claim by documenting the activity of the Commission in two crucial policy domains of the post-Lisbon era: the liberalization of service provision, and the impact of the new macro-economic governance on social policy after the financial and debt crisis.

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Carević Melita

Commission v. Italy: Managing Waste Management in Italy
in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 103-106

In the recently decided case C-196/13 (Commission v. Italy), the Court of Justice of the European Union has imposed upon Italy record financial sanctions for its breach of European Union environmental law. The judgment, reached through the enforcement proceedings under Article 260.2 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, followed a 2007 infringement ruling establishing that Italy had generally and persistently failed to fulfill its waste management obligations. The present case raises several interesting questions, such as how much progress does a Member State need to make to remedy a general and persistent failure of its obligations, and how to determine the appropriate amount of financial sanctions for such a breach. This case note analyzes the factual and legal background to the case and argues that, given all the circumstances, the Court's judgment can hardly be seen to be surprising.

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Rauh Christian

Communicating supranational governance? The salience of EU affairs in the German Bundestag, 1991–2013
in **European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 1, March , 116-138

Against democratic deficits of European Union (EU) governance, recent literature emphasizes the communicative function of national parliaments. Yet, arguments from the broader EU politicization literature have been only rarely applied to public parliamentary debates. This article integrates arguments about supranational authority and partisan competition as key drivers of debates on the EU and tests respective implications by an automated text analysis that



retrieves EU references in all 1,393 plenary debates of the German Bundestag during 1991–2013. A panel analysis identifies authority transfers as the strongest predictor for EU salience in the plenary. EU references furthermore increase with supranational policy output, public EU visibility, and a differentiating public opinion. With regard to partisan emphasis, mainstream and particularly governing parties push European issues in the German Bundestag.

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Juraev Shairbek

**Comparing the EU and Russia engagements in Central Asia
in Europe en formation (L'), n° 374, 2014/4 , 77-93**

The paper reviews the engagement of the European Union and the Russian Federation in Central Asia. Both are among major external actors in the region, joined by the USA and China, engaged in sustained political, economic and security relations with Central Asian states. Given the current dynamics of the EU-Russian relations over the conflict in Ukraine, the paper attempted to examine how Brussels and Moscow formulate their interests in this part of the former Soviet Union, and to what extent their the goals and policies in Central Asia can be seen as competitive. The paper concludes that the EU and Russia assign different level of priority to Central Asia in their foreign policies, and despite promoting opposing political values and having competing energy interests, these two actors do not have critical confrontation on matters sensitive to any of them.

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Anne Skorkjær Binderkrantz & Anne Rasmussen

**Comparing the domestic and the EU lobbying context: perceived agenda-setting influence in the multi-level
system of the European Union
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 22, Issue 4 , 552-569**

The contribution analyses whether the factors affecting perceived interest group influence on political agendas differ depending on whether groups lobby in their own domestic context or seek influence at the European Union (EU) level. Findings from a multinomial logistic regression analysis based on survey responses from 1,723 domestic interest groups in the United Kingdom, Denmark and the Netherlands do not indicate that differences in the national setting are important for perceived group influence at the two levels. However, they underline how the decision-making level acts as a contextual factor, which conditions the explanatory potential of other crucial variables: Embeddedness into domestic decision-making is primarily an asset for securing perceived influence on the national rather than the EU agenda, whereas group resources matter more at the EU than the national level. In this way our multi-level design underlines how the state-of-play for securing perceived influence varies across lobbying contexts.

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Keukeleire Stephan, Delreux Tom

**Competing structural powers and challenges for the EU's structural foreign policy
in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 43-50**



This article contends that, in order to understand global affairs, not only crises and conflicts need to be examined, but also long-term processes which result from the competition between structural powers. These structural powers have the potential to set or influence the organizing principles and the rules of the game in other countries and regions as well as the international system in general. The article focuses on the European Union's potential as a structural power. Examining where the EU has succeeded and where it has failed to behave as a structural power, it argues that the EU is losing the structural power game against competing structural powers in its neighbourhood, specifically Russia in the EU's eastern neighbourhood and the multifarious phenomenon of "Islamism" in the EU's southern neighbourhood. Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.983730>

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Pavlov Nikolay

Conceptualizing EU Crisis Management

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 1 , 23-42

ABSTRACT: The main purpose of this article is to contribute to the conceptual framework of EU crisis management. As an evolving and politically sensitive concept EU crisis management still lacks a solid conceptual and theoretical basis which undermines its credibility and performance. The research hypothesis is that the conceptual deficit in EU crisis management is first and foremost an ideological issue. EU crisis management has no adequate ideological basis and, subsequently, no adequate conceptual and strategic framework. The theoretical approach to define EU crisis management within the liberal school of international relations is examined and critically assessed. The main conclusion is that strengthening the ideological basis is a must for more effective conceptual, strategic and institutional development of EU crisis management. Finally, a Methodology for the validation of novel crisis management concepts is proposed. By testing alternative conceptual and governance models the innovative Methodology for strategic-level Concept Development and Experimentation (CD&E) could provide scientific support for the establishment of the European Union's crisis management system.

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Saime Ozcurumez and Julinda Hoxha

Conditional Deliberation: The Case of Joint Parliamentary Committees in the EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 642–657

Deliberation, as a mode of interaction based on the logic of reason-giving argumentation, is a core feature of the European Union institutions. Yet only few studies have explored the conditions that make deliberation possible in practice. This study examines the institutional determinants of deliberation within joint parliamentary committees (JPCs) – longstanding instruments of EU enlargement policy. The empirical analysis reveals a dynamic relationship between 'deliberation' and 'debate' as extreme modes of interaction that co-exist within the same setting. It also suggests that deliberation is a product of participants' constant efforts to maintain equal power relations and low issue-area sensitivity. This study provides new evidence on deliberative politics at the EU level. In addition, it highlights the role of inter-parliamentary deliberation as a catalyst for political co-operation and policy co-ordination, at a time of intensifying enlargement fatigue and growing Euroscepticism both at home and abroad.



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Sacchi Stefano

Conditionality by other means: EU involvement in Italy's structural reforms in the sovereign debt crisis in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 1, January, 77-92

ABSTRACT: This article shows the relevance of implicit conditionality in the eurozone crisis, that is, conditionality based on an implicit understanding of the stakes and sanctions involved, underlain by some measure of power asymmetry. The concept of implicit conditionality is applied to the reconstruction of Italy's sovereign debt crisis, and the structural – pension and labour market – reforms introduced by the Monti government, following requests from the European Union (EU). Actual or potential access to EU financial support – carried out through purchase of Italy's bonds to alleviate market tensions on its debt – was the carrot. The threat of having to enter formalized, explicit conditional lending programmes with the International Monetary Fund in order to avoid default was the stick. Market discipline was the operating mechanism that made implicit conditionality effective, and the role of monitoring by the EU was pervasive. Developments described in this article seem to support a revitalization of the fusion hypothesis between EU and member states – at least in the eurozone.

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Maffeo Adriano

Consequences and Remedies for the Breach of the Reasonable Time (Délai Raisonnable) Requirement in Proceedings before EU Courts: Has the Court of Justice Spoken its Last Word?

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 3, settembre-dicembre, 585-602

The right to a trial within a reasonable time is a fundamental pillar of Western legal culture and it has been recognized as part of the EU legal order even before the attribution to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the same legal value as the Treaties. Moving from this premise, this article examines the consequences of a violation of that right by the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and focuses on the remedies available to the parties affected by the delay. The opportunity for this inquiry was provided by the ECJ's recent ruling(s) in the plastic industrial bags cartel case, where departing from earlier judgments such as *Baustahlgewebe* the ECJ ruled that the action for damages against the EU is the only remedy available for a breach of Article 47 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights. While this solution is acceptable for several reasons, a number of problematic issues still stand especially in view of the EU's possible accession to the ECHR.

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Lynch Philip

Conservative modernisation and European integration: From silence to salience and schism

in *British Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 2 (June 2015), 185-203

The re-emergence of European integration as a difficult issue for the Conservative Party exposed the limits of



Cameron's modernisation project. In opposition, Cameron had defused the EU issue by lowering its salience but this suppressed rather than effectively addressed the issue, allowing Eurosceptics who favour withdrawal or fundamental renegotiation to shape the agenda. In office, new and familiar challenges emerged. The Eurozone sovereign debt crisis changed the dynamics of the UK's relationship with the EU. Domestically, coalition with the Liberal Democrats and dissent from Eurosceptic Conservative MPs restricted Cameron's room for manoeuvre, while the rise of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) added a new dimension to the problems the EU issue poses for the Conservatives. Cameron responded by promising that if the Conservatives win the 2015 general election, he will negotiate a 'new settlement' in the EU and hold an 'in-out' referendum. This article assesses whether this position amounts to a belated modernisation of Conservative policy that might both resolve intra-party divisions and settle the question of the UK's place in the EU.

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Brack Nathalie

Construction européenne et légitimité démocratique. Les relations difficiles entre l'UE et les citoyens
in *Politique européenne*, n. 47, 2015/1, 146-154

Europe est à nouveau entrée en crise. Si l'intégration européenne a traversé plusieurs phases difficiles; la crise actuelle semble particulière en ce qu'elle touche non seulement le niveau supranational mais aussi les démocraties nationales. De plus, il semble que cette crise se démarque par sa nature multifacette : on peut parler de crise économique, budgétaire, de leadership, de crise institutionnelle et de crise démocratique. Sur la base de ce constat, certains estiment que la construction européenne est entrée dans une nouvelle phase de son existence, caractérisée par des oppositions de plus en plus vocales et diverses au projet européen, par une remise en cause croissante de l'autorité des institutions communautaires, en particulier dans la gouvernance économique et par une banalisation des discours critiques, tant parmi les médias qu'au sein des partis mainstream;. Dans ce contexte [...]

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Gros Daniel, Alcidia Cinzia

Country adjustment to a 'sudden stop': does the euro make a difference?

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 12, Issue 1, March 2015, 5-20

This paper starts from the observation that two groups of European countries, neither of which could use the exchange rate as an adjustment instrument, experienced a sudden stop after the outbreak of the global financial crisis. The first group comprises Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain, while four newer EU Member States with the exchange rate pegged to the euro, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, belong to the second group. The main finding is that the adjustment was quicker outside EMU than inside. The shock absorber provided by the Eurosystem reduced the pressure for a quick adjustment, while foreign ownership of banks in non-euro area countries favoured quick fiscal and external corrections but also averted the legacy of a banking crisis. A rudimentary welfare comparison of the two patterns over the whole period of adjustment suggests that the 'short and sharp' correction approach is preferable in terms of macroeconomic outcome.



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Papisca Antonio

Cuius Europa, Eius Civitas: Towards a Uniform European Law on Citizenship

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, n. 1, 2013, 7-16

ABSTRACT: La riflessione dell'autore parte dal provocatorio interrogativo, denso tanto di significato giuridico e politico quanto di buon senso comune: perché una moneta unica europea e non anche una legge uniforme europea sulla cittadinanza? Il riferimento è al sistema dell'Unione Europea, che in particolare con il Trattato di Lisbona ha reso giuridicamente vincolanti le norme contenute nella Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'Unione (c.d. Carta di Nizza).

La «cittadinanza UE», introdotta con il Trattato di Maastricht nel 1993, deve essere ridefinita alla luce di questa nuova situazione, poiché si fonda, non sul paradigma dei diritti umani, ma sul fatto di essere cittadini di questo o quello Stato membro dell'Unione. È una cittadinanza derivata, che ripete la logica ad alios excludendos, propria delle legislazioni nazionali in materia. Con la Carta il sistema dell'Unione è entrato nello stadio della pienezza del diritto (plenitudo iuris) che comporta la pienezza della cittadinanza (plenitudo civitatis) da realizzare secondo la logica dell'inclusione: ad omnes includendos.

L'operazione di ridefinizione sfida l'Unione Europea quale pioniere di cittadinanza plurale (duale): cittadinanza UE e cittadinanze nazionali, queste ultime molto differenti fra loro. Partendo dal diritto internazionale dei diritti umani, la cittadinanza della persona umana si configura come un albero di cittadinanze: universale (corrispondente allo statuto giuridico di «persona» internazionalmente riconosciuto), europea, nazionale, regionale, comunale. Il parametro di riferimento è lo *ius humanae dignitatis*, che esclude in radice il discriminatorio *ius sanguinis* e lo stesso *ius soli* nazionalisticamente inteso. Può invece invocarsi uno *ius soli* «europeo» tenuto conto del fatto che lo «spazio» dell'Unione Europea oltre che giuridico, è anche territoriale.

L'autore argomenta che le istituzioni di governo locale, all'insegna di «moneta unica, cittadinanza unica» e di «tutti i diritti umani per tutti», potrebbero porre in essere azioni dimostrative di alto impatto morale ed educativo, in particolare conferendo ai bambini, a cominciare dai figli degli immigrati, certificazioni di cittadinanza plurale.

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Scharpf Fritz W.

Das Dilemma der supranationalen Demokratie in Europa

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Volume 43 (2015), Issue 1, 11-28

In Habermas' view, the "screaming injustice" of present euro-rescuing measures must be overcome through a further transfer of sovereignty to the Union and a commitment to the solidaristic resolution of the present crisis. In economic terms, unfortunately, such policies may be counterproductive as long as the Monetary Union is maintained. In any case, however, Habermas assumes that they must depend on the legitimacy of a supranational European democracy which is effectively able to resolve fundamental political conflicts. Such legitimacy, he proposes, may be derived from the construct of a dual basis of European sovereignty, rooted in the totality of individual European citizens and of European peoples organized as democratic states. In terms of democratic theory, however, dual sovereignty also implies



supermajoritarian decision rules protecting the legitimate diversity of member polities - which would reproduce the institutional constraints of consensus politics which supranational democracy is supposed to overcome.

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di Paola Giampaolo

Defence as an Engine of European Political Integration

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 1 , 91-95

No abstract available

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Mert Topcu & Ilhan Aras

Defense spending and economic growth: Extended empirical analysis for the European Union

in *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 233-246

Previous empirical studies on the defense spending-economic growth nexus such as Kollias et al. (2007), Mylonidis (2008), Dunne and Nikolaidou (2012) analyzed this relationship in the case of the EU15. This study extends the analysis with the inclusion of more EU members and investigates the long run causal ordering between the two variables. Findings reported herein are not uniformed across all EU members. It is also found that end of Cold War has significant negative impact on defense expenditures of former east-European countries.

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D'Amico Domenico

Dei diversi usi degli eurobond

in *Politico (II)*, n. 233, 2013 , 64-91

ABSTRACT: The European sovereign debt crisis has exposed the institutional weaknesses in the design of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and brought to the fore the need for a greater economic and fiscal integration among the countries that compose the euro area. Some reforms have already been agreed upon and others are on the way, but the still looming risk of a break-up of the eurozone (EZ) has lead economists and politicians to press for the establishment of a fiscal union among participating countries, though resistance is admittedly far stronger than acquiescence, especially in the core member States which are generally credited with a better record on the management of their public finances. In this connection, eurobond of different sorts have been proposed by several quarters (economists, finance ministers of EZ countries, financial markets professionals etc.), partly as a way out of the sovereign debt crisis that has been hitting the periphery of the eurozone since 2010, partly as a possible first step towards the creation of a genuine fiscal union among the euro countries. The aim of this paper is to illustrate and comment on the major proposals, focusing on the different, and not always reconcilable, objectives they pursue. Some are intended to create a liquid and safe euro-denominated asset available in large supply to banks for regulatory purposes, so as to sever the vicious links between their balance sheets and their respective sovereign's finances and



help resume the smooth functioning of the monetary policy transmission mechanism; others instead are aimed at reducing the unsustainable burden of public debt for some EZ countries, gradually driving down the ratio of a country's public debt to its GDP to be more in line with the Maastricht ceiling of 60 per cent; still others are meant to institutionalize some ex post solidarity among EZ countries, while at the same time improving fiscal discipline and establishing more effective enforcement mechanisms, possibly with the aid of fiscal councils or independent supranational agencies. Our analysis highlights the wide variety of dimensions that have to be taken into account when dealing with the common issuance of public debt and testifies to the truth of the saying that the devil is often in the (institutional) details!

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Somek Alexander

Delegation and Authority: Authoritarian Liberalism Today

in **European law journal**, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 340–360

In light of the reforms undertaken for the sake of the Euro, the article revisits the concept authoritarian liberalism that was introduced in 1933 by the German public law scholar Hermann Heller. This notion seeks to capture the liaison between the 'strong state' and economic liberalism. The article suggests that this notion can be fruitfully used to designate the new governance of economic and monetary union. It argues, particularly, that it makes sense to speak of an authoritarian style of governance even if the latter does not wear vestiges of outright repression. Two different faces of authoritarian liberalism can be distinguished: one that looks more towards authoritarianism and another one that views authoritarian rule as a managerial strategy that is good for the economy. The article then speculates whether the EU has been, indeed, successful because it shifts between the two. Disturbingly, there may be something deeply as well as more accidentally authoritarian about European integration.

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John Erik Fossum

Democracy and differentiation in Europe

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 6 , 799-815

This contribution addresses two questions. First, what forms and shapes does European Union (EU) differentiation take in the realm of representative democracy in the multilevel constellation that makes up the EU? Second, what are the implications of differentiation for the theory and the practice of democracy? The question is whether citizens are capable of governing themselves in a political entity marked by patterns of authority and/or policy-making that vary in unprecedented ways along territorial and functional lines. Drawing on differentiation rather than the more commonly used term differentiated integration entails a somewhat different research focus and allows considering the democratic challenges of patterns of integration and disintegration actualized by the euro crisis. The contribution establishes a set of democratic standards and assesses the democratic implications of differentiation in the EU. Doing that requires paying explicit attention to the distinctive character of the multilevel EU's structure of democratic representation.

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Giuseppe Porro

Democrazia diretta e Unione Europea: il ruolo dell'iniziativa dei cittadini europei (ICE)

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 1585-1590

No abstract available

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Francis Cheneval, Sandra Lavenex & Frank Schimmelfennig

Demoi-cracy in the European Union: principles, institutions, policies

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 1 , 1-18

In a 'demoi-cracy', separate statespeoples enter into a political arrangement and jointly exercise political authority. Its proper domain is a polity of democratic states with hierarchical, majoritarian features of policy-making, especially in value-laden redistributive and coercive policy areas, but without a unified political community (demos). In its vertical dimension, demoi-cracy is based on the equality and interaction of citizens' and statespeoples' representatives in the making of common policies. Horizontally, it seeks to balance equal transnational rights of citizens with national policy-making autonomy. The EU belongs to the domain of demoi-cracy and has established many of its features. We argue that both vertical and horizontal demoi-cratization have been triggered by processes of supranational integration in the European Union (EU). They differ, however, in the origins and the outcomes. Vertical demoi-cratization has initially been a reaction of parliamentary institutional actors to majoritarian decision-making in regulatory policy-areas, resulting in the empowerment of the European Parliament (EP) and the strengthening of parliamentary oversight at the national level. By contrast, horizontal demoi-cratization has been promoted by governments as an alternative to majoritarian and legally binding policy-making in core areas of statehood, as well as coercive and redistributive policy-areas; it has resulted in soft, co-ordinative forms of policy-making, seeking to protect national autonomy. The extent to which these developments actually meet the normative standards of demoi-cracy in practice, however, is mixed.

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Achim Hurrelmann

Demoi-cratic citizenship in Europe: an impossible ideal?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 1 , 19-36

The idea of demoi-cracy, which proposes to base democratic institutions not on one demos but on multiple co-existing demoi, has gained increasing popularity in debates about the democratization of the European Union. Existing models of demoi-cracy have, however, paid relatively little attention to the qualities that Europeans would need to possess in order to effectively participate in European politics as demoi-cratic citizens. This contribution seeks to identify these qualities; it then looks at empirical evidence to assess whether it is realistic that Europeans will, at least in the medium term, be able to live up to these requirements. While there are some indications that Europeans adapt their patterns of political participation to demoi-cratic requirements, the danger remains that institutionalizing a system of demoi-cracy would further accentuate the existing participatory inequalities.



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Grözinger Gerd

Demokratisiert die EZB!

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2015 , 37-40

»Die EZB hält immer noch das Seil, das um unseren Hals liegt«, stellt der griechische Ministerpräsident Alexis Tsipras zu Recht fest (»Der Spiegel«, 11/2015). Wie aber kann eine demokratisch gewählte Regierung so vollständig abhängig sein von einer niemandem zur Rechenschaft verpflichteten, unabhängigen »Experteneinrichtung«? Und wie wäre dem auf demokratischem Wege Abhilfe zu schaffen? Diese Fragen beantwortet im Folgenden der Ökonom und Soziologe Gerd Grözinger.

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Bogain Ariane

Demons, Ants, Giants and Dwarves: The Construction of Germany's Handling of the Euro Crisis in French Political Discourse

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 22, issue 1 , 7-23

ABSTRACT: Since the beginning of the Euro crisis in 2009 a succession of one 'last chance' meeting after another has exposed deep rifts over the policies to implement in order to ensure the permanence of the Euro. From austerity measures to curb swelling public deficits put forward by Germany to European growth plans and solidarity mechanisms suggested by France, there have been serious disagreements and widespread infighting. The agreement of a new European Treaty creating a tight fiscal pact, at the European Summit on 7 December 2011, brought these tensions to the fore, leading to a barrage of criticisms in France against Germany imposing its austerity agenda on the whole Eurozone. This article seeks to analyse how Germany has been portrayed in the French political discourse by focusing on the vast array of reactions to this new treaty. It will show a discursive struggle between three discourse types representing Germany as an evil force intent on dominating Europe, a virtuous ant unwittingly dominating Europe and an economic giant but a political dwarf. These discourses will show how Germany is trapped into past representations and how these reveal far more about France's self-image in relation to its neighbour than about Germany itself.

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Steingaß Sebastian

Der Beitrag der EU zur Wirksamkeit der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 7-9, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/200359/entwicklungszusammenarbeit



Seit der Jahrtausendwende werden Bemühungen zur Verbesserung der Wirksamkeit der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (EZ) verstärkt auf internationaler Ebene verfolgt. Hintergrund ist der angesichts der im Jahr 2000 vereinbarten Millenniumsentwicklungsziele der Vereinten Nationen entstandene Druck, die Wirksamkeit der internationalen EZ zu erhöhen, um die Ziele bis 2015 zu erreichen. Seit 2010 arbeitet die internationale Gemeinschaft an einer Nachfolgevereinbarung, die neue Ziele für nachhaltige Entwicklung für die Zeit nach 2015 umfassen soll, die sogenannte Post-2015-Agenda. Allerdings lässt diese Diskussion bisher erhebliche Fragen zur Umsetzung der neuen Agenda offen. Die internationale Wirksamkeitsdebatte der vergangenen Jahre, die sich mit der Frage beschäftigt, wie EZ effektiv zum Erreichen von Entwicklungszielen beitragen kann, spielt dabei bisher kaum eine Rolle.

In genau diesem Bereich birgt die EU ein erhebliches Potenzial. Dies liegt zum einen an ihrem kollektiven Gewicht in der internationalen Zusammenarbeit als Geber von Entwicklungshilfe und bei der Formulierung internationaler Normen: Die EU und ihre nunmehr 28 Mitgliedstaaten unterhalten Vertretungen in den meisten Ländern der Welt und stellen über 50 Prozent der weltweit geleisteten öffentlichen EZ; zudem ist die EU kollektiv in internationalen Organisationen stark vertreten, etwa im Entwicklungsausschuss der Organisation für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (OECD). Zum anderen besitzt die EU ein eigenes Mandat zur Verbesserung der Wirksamkeit der EZ ihrer Institutionen und Mitgliedstaaten. Durch ihre supranationale Dimension spielt sie eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Koordinierung der EZ-Maßnahmen ihrer Mitgliedstaaten, da sie gemeinsame Leitlinien entwickeln und mögliche Lösungen für globale Entwicklungsprobleme formulieren kann. Der Europäischen Kommission kommt dabei eine Schlüsselrolle zu. Innerhalb der Kommission sind der Entwicklungskommissar, seit November 2014 der Kroatier Neven Mimica, und die entsprechende Generaldirektion (DG DEVCO) maßgeblich verantwortlich für die Formulierung und Ausarbeitung der gemeinschaftlichen EZ und die Abstimmung mit den Mitgliedstaaten und anderen für die Außenbeziehungen der EU zuständigen Diensten...

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Habermas Jürgen

Der Demos der Demokratie – eine Replik

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Volume 43 (2015), Issue 2, 145-154

Fritz Scharpf assumes that national economic cultures and lifestyles within the European Monetary Union are too heterogeneous to allow a common democratic legislation on the basis of informal generalizable interests. Even if this were feasible, a democratically constituted Euro-Union is not even desirable. This variant of the well-known no-demos thesis relies implicitly on a political theory that the acceptance of democratic majority decisions is always dependent on an intact socially-inclusive implicate consensus of the citizens. The criticism is directed against both the philosophical presuppositions of this theory as well as against the application of the principle of the indisputable legal protection of cultural identities of unique national economic cultures. The common elements in a civil society which define its identity change not only as part of social evolution processes, they are formed by democratic involvement in civil societal processes of self-understanding. An expansion of the monetary union to a political union could stop the undemocratic connection of apparent nation-state sovereignty with the actually enforced technocratic compliance to market imperatives „without alternatives“. A return to national currencies, on the other hand, would mean resigning the progressively political self-emasculatation of policy to the globalized financial markets.

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Höpner Martin

Der integrationistische Fehlschluss

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Volume 43 (2015), Issue 1, 29-42

Abstract

This contribution is a response to those who argue that more EU competencies and a stronger European Parliament would free Europe from the technocratic trap and establish a European-wide democracy. The respective position relies on an integrationist fallacy. The necessity for technocratic governance is built into the monetary union and would therefore not vanish if the EP became stronger. Also, more politicization of European conflicts may drive the EU further apart from the pre-constitutional conditions of transnational democratic processes. The integrationist fallacy relies on three shortcomings: the lack of analytical differentiation between integration dimensions, the absence of a political economic perspective, and too little attention on conflicts between countries as opposed to those between the left and the right.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goldhammer Michael

Die Achtung der nationalen Identität durch die Europäische Union. Theorie und Dogmatik des Art. 4 Abs. 2 EUV im Lichte der ersten Entscheidungen

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 63, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bernsdorff Norbert

Die Europäische Grundrechte-Charta nach fünf Jahren Rechtsverbindlichkeit. Werkstattbericht und Bestandsaufnahme

in *Recht und Politik*, 50. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 163-175

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hartlapp Miriam, Lorenz Yann

Die Europäische Kommission – ein (partei)politischer Akteur?

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Volume 43 (2015), Issue 1, 64-87

Despite its formal role as a neutral bureaucracy, the European Commission has tendencies of politicization. Presenting new empirical data on the professional background and party political affiliation of the commissioners, we analyze



temporal and sectoral differences in ideological orientation. The article ends with a short empirical account of the impact of politicization on specific processes of position formation within the EU Commission.

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Rousseau Dominique

Die Verfassungsidentität - Schutzschirm für die nationale Identität oder Teil des europäischen Sterns?
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 63, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Biebricher Thomas, Vogelmann Frieder

Die Zukunft Europas zwischen Demokratie und Kapitalismus
in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 1, 2014 , 1-17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krätke Michael R.

Die griechische Machtprobe
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2015 , 5-8

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/april/die-griechische-machtprobe

Wer an die Macht kommt, muss sich im Machtspiel behaupten; wer gegen eine Phalanx der übrigen Machthaber die Regeln des Spiels ändern will, hat es schwer. Darum geht es seit dem Amtsantritt der neuen Regierung in Athen. Die griechische wie die europäische Linke halten die Austeritätspolitik für gescheitert, die heutigen Verwalter der Eurokrise wollen dagegen Recht behalten und die Austeritätspolitik unverändert weitertreiben, ohne Rücksicht auf Verluste...

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Benjamin Leruth & Christopher Lord

Differentiated integration in the European Union: a concept, a process, a system or a theory?
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 6 , 754-763

Differentiation has been a feature of European integration for more than two decades. Nowadays, more than half of



European Union (EU) policies are now implemented in different ways. Recent debates over a potential British exit from the EU revived discussions on the future of European integration, offering a potential case for disintegration. Yet scholars and practitioners still find it difficult to define the notion. The introduction to this collection offers a survey of the literature on differentiated integration, its most recent developments and justifies why the study of differentiation needs to move up the research agenda of European integration. It suggests that studying differentiated integration as a concept, a process, a system and a theory is the minimum needed to understand it. Finally, it demonstrates the necessity to study differentiation as a permanent and 'normal' feature of European integration.

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Alex Warleigh-Lack

Differentiated integration in the European Union: towards a comparative regionalism perspective
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 6 , 871-887

In this contribution I examine three regions outside Europe, all of which have used forms of differentiated integration as a means to solve otherwise intractable problems and/or export their policy preferences, ideals and bargains to key external actors. I argue that if we examine the European Union (EU) as one case of regional integration/regionalism among many, rather than a unique entity, we can develop a more nuanced view of differentiated integration in the EU which accepts it as an enduring, and possibly permanent, feature of the EU.

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Atikcan Ece Özlem

Diffusion in Referendum Campaigns: The Case of EU Constitutional Referendums
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 4 , 451-470

-The problem of cross-case influences is crucial in the analysis of social phenomena. Is a referendum held in a state entirely a 'domestic' event? No work has applied diffusion theories to the study of referendum campaigns. In this paper, I show diffusion effects among the 2005 Constitutional Treaty referendums. Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg used the referendum method to ratify the European Constitution. Based on 85 interviews with campaigners in all four countries, I find that campaign arguments and strategies were not always homegrown. However, such diffusion is not automatic and depends on diffusion channels.

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Ferri Federico

Diritto dell'Unione europea e green economy: riflessioni su un rapporto ancora troppo "verde"
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 109-134

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Christopher Gandrud and Mark Hallerberg

Does Banking Union Worsen the EU's Democratic Deficit? The Need for Greater Supervisory Data Transparency
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 769–785

Does banking union exacerbate the European Union's democratic deficit? Using Scharpf's 'input' and 'output' legitimacy concepts, it is argued in this article that its design does worsen the democratic deficit. There are good reasons to limit 'input legitimacy' for politically independent institutions. 'Output legitimacy' is then even more relevant. Transparency is a key part of 'output legitimacy'. It enables actors to judge whether the regulator is acting in the public's interest and can improve their outputs. This article focuses on the banking data that the supervisors collect. Data available to the European public is evaluated and compared to America's banking union. European practices are not comparable in terms of availability or detail. An original survey of relevant officials is conducted, which results in the finding that only 11 of 28 Member States release any information on the banks they supervise. Both EU and national supervisors should provide publicly available, timely and consistent individual bank data.

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Dimiter Toshkov and Elitsa Kortenska

Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Integration in the European Union?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 910–925

It is well established that negative attitudes towards immigrants are strongly associated with lower public support for European integration. But the impact of actual immigration levels on immigration attitudes is still contested. As a result, the relationship between immigration levels and EU public support remains uncertain from a theoretical point of view. We offer an empirical study of the link between immigration from the new EU member states from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and EU support at the regional level in Spain, France, Ireland and The Netherlands. The results of the analyses suggest that in all four countries immigration from CEE had negative effects on support for European integration in the host societies. In short, immigration seems to undermine integration, although internal migration within the EU is necessary for the successful functioning of its economic union and the future of political integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wood Steve

Does the European Union Have Prestige?
in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 16, n. 2 , 301-320

Prestige is an elusive concept and a desirable asset. For political entities, it can assist routine tasks, the achieving of substantive goals, and the averting of hazards. Lack of prestige may have negative material, psychological, and operational effects. The European Union (EU) would benefit from prestige, yet a sui generis variety is difficult to identify. The main source from which the EU attempts to acquire prestige is 'Europe'. This article draws on Eurobarometer and other surveys, official documentation, media reportage, archives and interviews. It applies a range of criteria to propose a prestige quotient for the EU.



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Monjal Pierre-Yves

Droit de l'UE et niveau local: de quelques stratégies de contournement des risques

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 148-156

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bølstad Jørgen

Dynamics of European integration: Public opinion in the core and periphery

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 16, n. 1, March , 23-44

The relationship between public opinion and public policy provides a potential criterion for assessing the democratic quality of the European Union. The few existing time series analyses in this area assume that there exists a European-wide public mood towards integration. Analyzing West-European series of public opinion from 1974 to 2011, this article finds considerable support for this assumption. However, the analysis also points towards a 'periphery-trend', driven by the UK, Ireland and Denmark, in contrast to a 'core-trend', driven by the founders of the European Economic Community (EEC). The analysis further shows that both opinion trends are cointegrated with public policy in this area: European integration appears to be significantly influenced, or constrained, by public opinion both in the core and periphery.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guri Rosén

EU Confidential: The European Parliament's Involvement in EU Security and Defence Policy

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 383–398

In 2002, the European Parliament (EP) and the Council concluded an Interinstitutional Agreement that gave the EP privileged access to sensitive documents in the area of security and defence. It is argued that the Council let the EP become involved in this sensitive policy area because it accepted the legislature's argument for its right to access. In addition, the EP's bargaining strategy concretized the procedures and contributed to finalizing the deal after two years of negotiation. It is shown in this article that despite the EP's marginal powers in the area of security and defence and the traditional conception of this policy as an executive prerogative, it cannot be isolated from democratic principles. This article provides new evidence for previous claims that the EP's involvement in EU foreign policy is increasing due to legitimacy concerns. It also offers a theoretical account for why this is so.

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Bucăneanu Sergiu

EU Democracy Promotion in Eastern ENP Countries

in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 29, n. 1, February , 248-286

This study shows that the increased incentive structures from and the more intense socialization process with the European Union (EU) since the launch of European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) have not translated into a higher level of democratic development in Eastern ENP countries. However, on the long run (1991–2010), the EU democracy promotion in the region under consideration appears to be largely consistent. In addition, a content analysis of Progress Reports released by the European Commission on the implementation process of European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plans (ENPAPs) reveals that some Eastern neighbours of the EU have attempted to consider in their reform agendas the democracy-related objectives of these documents and that some have also sought to adopt international democratic instruments as required by the ENPAPs. Though the record is far from satisfactory on norm internalization, content analysis of Commission's Reports suggests that one should acknowledge a modest democratization role for the EU.

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Mugyenzi Joachim

EU External Governance: Regionalizing Multilevel Networks of Governance

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 3 , 353-370

European Union (EU) external governance is predisposed to strategic concerns of effectively strengthening security and maintaining stability in third countries. This is exemplified by a consequential use of a transgovernmental strategy leaning on connections for interdependent policy co-ordination in its inexorable good governance influence. This strategy reflects soft-partnership-based norms of horizontal cooperation that coordinate actors at various political levels in favour of regional security and national stability. Relying on multilevel governance, this article analyses the potentials of EU external governance in GLA region, which indicates that it is contingent on the domestic governance equilibrium. The analysis shows that EU considerations for regional stability and security ensue into horizontal multilevel governance networks. It is further evinced that this increases societal interactions incessantly allowing receptivity and implementation of good governance ideas. This appreciably, complements the salient hierarchical and bottom-up modes of governance conversely impelling robust EU leverage in the region.

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Kempin Ronja, Overhaus Marco

EU Foreign Policy in Times of the Financial and Debt Crisis

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 179-194

ABSTRACT: Since the financial and debt crisis in the Eurozone has become acute in 2010, political and academic attention first and foremost focused on its consequences for the single currency area and for the internal European integration process. In fact, the crisis has not only been a strain on the European integration process but also a central challenge for the EU as an international actor. It led to an erosion of the financial and budgetary basis of foreign policy - even if more pronounced on the national than the European level. It also accelerated a trend towards the economization



of political priorities resulting - among other things - in deepening conflicts among EU Member States. These developments have in turn eroded both the effectiveness and the soft power of EU foreign policy. In this difficult environment, reforms of EU foreign policy making are at the same time more urgent and harder to achieve than before the crisis.

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Bedock Camille, Vasilopoulos Pavlos

Economic hardship and extreme voting under the economic crisis. A comparison between Italy and Greece in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1 , 177-196

Une des implications principales de la crise économique en Europe est l'érosion des partis dominants. Ceci est particulièrement évident en Europe du Sud, où la crise vient ébranler des systèmes partisans qui avaient parfois été stables pendant des décennies. Cet article vise à explorer un aspect de la théorie économique du vote qui n'a pas fait l'objet d'enquêtes approfondies; l'impact de la perception d'une dégradation des conditions de vie sur la propension à voter pour un parti radical, en s'appuyant sur le cas des élections européennes de 2014 en Grèce et en Italie. Les résultats montrent que cet impact est fortement variable d'un système à l'autre. Dans le cas italien, la dégradation des conditions de vie n'a pas conduit les électeurs italiens à être plus prompts à soutenir des alternatives radicales à gauche ou à droite, puisque SEL et la Ligue du Nord n'ont pas modifié leurs orientations idéologiques traditionnelles après l'éclatement de la crise. Au contraire, en Grèce, SYRIZA et Aube dorée ont été à même d'attirer à eux beaucoup des électeurs ayant perdu le plus pendant la crise, soit par une rhétorique anti-austérité, soit en blâmant les immigrants pour l'ampleur de la crise économique.

One of the most important implications of the economic crisis in Europe is the withering away of mainstream parties. This is particularly evident in Southern Europe, where the current crisis challenges the stability of party systems that have lasted for decades. This article aims at exploring an aspect of economic voting that has not been investigated in depth: the impact of the perceived degradation of an individual's standard of living on the propensity to cast a vote for radical parties, using the case of the 2014 European election in Greece and Italy. The results show that this impact greatly varies across political systems. In the case of Italy, the degradation of the standard of living has not led Italian voters to be more prone to endorse far-left or far-right alternatives, as SEL and the Northern League have not switched their traditional ideological focus after the economic crisis unraveled. On the contrary, in Greece, both SYRIZA and Golden Dawn have managed to attract the voters who lost the most during the crisis, either through anti-austerity rhetoric or by blaming immigrants for the economic downturn.

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Moccia Luigi

Education to 'Inter-Cultural Citizenship:' A European Perspective to Global Citizenship in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 161-180

No abstract available



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Editorial

El largo adiós de Reino Unido

in *Política Exterior*, n.165

Lo que durante años fue un lamento permanente en Bruselas se ha convertido en aceptación: Reino Unido no está comprometido con el núcleo del proyecto europeo. O tiene otra idea sobre lo que debe ser ese núcleo: más comercio y apertura financiera; menos integración política y responsabilidades compartidas. En el fondo del recelo –para algunos desafección– está el temor a la pérdida de poder británico, un poder que, según el académico Walter Russell Mead, hoy ya solo reside en la City de Londres.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jonathan White

Emergency Europe

in *Political Studies*, Volume 63, Issue 2 , 300–318

At the level of general principle, representative democracy is appealed to by the EU institutions and member states alike. Yet in today's Europe it risks being marginalised amidst the actions and rhetoric of emergency – a norm to be waived in a state of exception, leaving decisions of lasting consequence shielded from public debate. A German constitutional theorist once famously defined as sovereign the one who has the power to declare the state of exception, and linked this power closely to executive suspensions of the law. The European setting invites a different understanding of an emergency regime: one that is manifest in the contravention of norms which may or may not be legally codified, and which is collectively produced by multiple actors. The persistence of politics in the emergency register indicates precisely the weakness of political authority. The article goes on to examine how exceptional this exceptionalism is. Is Europe's emergency politics a recent phenomenon, or has it been one of the currents of European integration from the beginning?

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Radice Hugo

Enforcing Austerity in Europe: The Structural Deficit as a Policy Target

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 3 , 318-328

ABSTRACT: In December 2011, the European Council proposed a Fiscal Pact for member states which would impose a binding limit on their structural deficits (SDs), as part of the wider set of measures intended to resolve the Eurozone's sovereign debt crisis. The proposal, adopted by 25 states in the course of 2012–2013, requires that this limit be imposed on each annual budget, with strict rules governing any breaches, subject to sanctions imposed by the Eurozone authorities. The paper examines the economic and political foundations of the measure. It is argued that the SD is meaningless as a policy target, since it is impossible to measure objectively, while politically it reinforces the depoliticisation of economic policy, under which technical experts replace elected governments in managing the national economy. The purpose of the Fiscal Pact is primarily to reassure business and financial élites that there will be no return



to the state interventionism and excessive public spending that supposedly characterised the Keynesian era.

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Marco Botta & Guido Schweltnus

Enforcing state aid rules in EU candidate countries: a qualitative comparative analysis of the direct and indirect effects of conditionality

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 3 , 335-352

The article analyses the effectiveness of EU conditionality regarding the enforcement of state aid rules in candidate countries during the pre-accession phase. Theoretically, conditionality should be able to overcome the reluctance of governments to implement control systems that restrict their ability to freely allocate subsidies. Effective conditionality can take two causal paths: first, it can directly influence the political decisions of governments in candidate countries regarding state aid, independent of any domestic institutional set-up; second, the reduction of state aid levels can be the indirect effect of the establishment of domestic monitoring authorities. To test these hypotheses, the article undertakes a multi-value qualitative comparative analysis (mvQCA) of the conditions for the reduction of annual state aid levels with regard to either the credibility of conditionality expressed by different stages in the accession negotiations, or domestic institutional factors such as the independence and operability of state aid monitoring authorities.

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Pistoia Emanuela

Enhanced cooperation as a tool to...enhance integration? Spain and Italy v. Council

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 1 , 247-260

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniela A. Kroll & Dirk Leuffen

Enhanced cooperation in practice. An analysis of differentiated integration in EU secondary law

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 3 , 353-373

The article offers a first comprehensive overview of the workings of enhanced cooperation in the European Union (EU). Although this form of secondary law differentiation exists since the Amsterdam Treaty, it has only rarely been used so far. In the article, we formulate a theory of when and why enhanced cooperation is used in EU decision-making. Our theory builds on rationalist institutionalism focussing on institutions, preference constellations and the externality structure of policies. We test the plausibility of our theoretical claims by combining comparative and within-case analyses of nine cases. The empirical findings underline that the usage of enhanced cooperation depends to large degrees on the externality structure of the goods under consideration. The article ends with a short normative evaluation of the enhanced cooperation procedure.



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Bieber Roland, Maiani Francesco

Enhancing centralized enforcement of EU law: Pandora's Toolbox?

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 51, issue 4 , 1057-1092

ABSTRACT: State compliance with EU Law is crucial to the very existence of the Union. Traditionally, it has been secured through a combination of strong "private" and of weak "centralized" enforcement. However, this arrangement is no longer perceived to be sufficient. By endowing the Union with new tools vis-à-vis its Member States - penalties, conditionality, and the like - current reforms try to complement symbolic sanctioning with real "consequences". The goal is to reinforce the authority of EU Law. In this article, we question whether the new toolbox is fit for the purpose, or whether it risks to produce adverse effects which might even go as far as upsetting the Union's constitutional template.

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Kalypso Nicolaïdis

Epilogue: the challenge of European demoi-cratization

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 1 , 145-153

The conclusion to the collection draws out some of the insights from the contributions on the various challenges facing European demoi-cratization.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Philippe Moreau Defarges

Et si l'Europe, libérée de la perfide Albion, perdait sa boussole ?

in **Politique Etrangère**, N.1 , 75 - 86

Les relations du Royaume-Uni avec la construction européenne ne peuvent être que complexes, du fait d'un long héritage historique, et de la référence à des systèmes de valeurs, politiques et de société, souvent divergents. Il reste que Londres est depuis 40 ans un élément important du destin européen. Si séparation il devait y avoir, elle affecterait profondément l'Union européenne, en particulier dans ses rapports avec le reste du monde.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Di Palma Francesco

Eurocommunism and the SED: a contradictory relationship

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bonse Eric

Europa tickt deutsch

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, März, 2015 , 5-8

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/maerz/europa-tickt-deutsch

Eine derartige Präsenz hat die Bundeskanzlerin in den bald zehn Jahren ihrer Regentschaft noch nicht erlebt: erst ihr engagierter Versuch der Beilegung der Ukraine Krise, dann der Poker mit der neugewählten Regierung von Alexis Tsipras um einen Schuldennachlass und den Verbleib Griechenlands in der Eurozone. Kein Zweifel: Angela Merkel ist die dominierende Figur der Europäischen Union. Umso mehr taucht bei vielen Bürgern, aber auch Staaten die argwöhnische Frage auf: Wer regiert heute die EU?

Eigentlich wollte Jean-Claude Juncker mit seiner neuen EU-Kommission Berlin ja die Führung streitig machen. Juncker konzipierte sie bewusst als „politische Kommission“, die vor allem in der Wirtschaftspolitik den Ton angeben soll. Mit der Ankündigung eines milliarden schweren Investitionsprogramms setzte er schon in den ersten hundert Tagen eine erste Marke gegen den Merkelschen Austeritätsskurs. Doch so sehr Juncker seinen politischen Gestaltungswillen betont, so sehr ist er sich auch der Grenzen seiner Macht bewusst...

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Nicolaidis Kalypso, Youngs Richard

Europe's democracy trilemma

in **International Affairs** , vol. 90, issue 6, november , 1403-1419

ABSTRACT: A truly democratic European Union seems to have become the graal of European politics, the project's redemptive promise and unreachable horizon. Much has been written about the gap between promise and performance and about the obstacles to EU democratization. Here, we suggest that one way to apprehend the 'democratic deficit' debate as it has evolved in the wake of the euro crisis is to think of it as a 'democratic trilemma'. We argue that European legitimacy requires responses in different realms: first, an acknowledgement of Europe's 'transnational democratic interdependence'; second, an anchoring of the functionalist European superstructure in 'national democratic legitimacy'; and third, a grounding of both European and national power in 'local democratic legitimacy'. While the very notion of trilemma points to the tensions that arise in trying to satisfy these requisites simultaneously, we nevertheless need to look for ways of alleviating the trilemma rather than coming up with democratic magic bullets in a single one of these realms. While our main goal is to reframe and open up the debate around the key concepts of empowerment, mutual recognition and flexibility, we also provide examples of what this may mean.

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De Beer Patrice

Europe: Flailing or Divided?

in *World Policy Journal*, vol. 31, n. 4, winter , 10-14

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agramunt Pedro

Europe: the worth of a values-based community

in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 2, December, Special Issue: Europe's Defining Challenges , 209-215

European values, based on human rights, democracy and the rule of law, have helped to foster democratisation in many states on the continent. Countries like Russia and Turkey are an indivisible part of the European continent but have been excluded from a widening Europe, mainly because they are seen as not sharing our common values when, in fact, their values are the same. The effects of this miscalculation are being seen in Europe today. If we treat Turkey and Russia differently, considering them more like intruders than partners, we will feed their distrust. We have to make a bigger effort to bind Russia and Turkey with Europe in a way that allows them to become part of a widening sphere of cooperation, based on shared values and democratic advances. Furthermore, the Council of Europe should extend its objectives so that, going beyond the defence of human rights, it becomes a consultative organisation that brings together all the countries on the continent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moloney Niamh

European Banking Union: Assessing its risks and resilience

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 6 , 1609-1670

ABSTRACT: On 4 November 2014 the EU's ambitious Banking Union (BU) project reached a major milestone when the Single Supervisory Mechanism became operational. After difficult negotiations, the legal regime supporting the Single Resolution Mechanism is now in place; BU is becoming a reality. This article charts how the EU, long a regulator of the EU banking market, has grappled with the operational elements of banking system governance in constructing BU. It suggests that BU's foundational regulatory technology is relatively robust, given the difficult political, institutional, and Treaty conditions which attended its construction; initial indications relating to the Single Supervisory Mechanism augur well. But the article also highlights the many uncertainties which attend BU, notably with respect to operational effectiveness, constitutional resilience, and the euro area/internal market asymmetry, and which may have far-reaching effects on EU banking market governance generally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mueller Wolfgang



European Communist Parties and Eurocommunism in the Cold War
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kovler Anatoly I.

European Convention on Human Rights in Russia
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 374, 2014/4 , 116-135

On 5 May 1998, the Russian Federation put into effect the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. However, there have been cases in the Russian Federation that signalize the existing misunderstanding that European Court judgments are binding and not recommendatory. This article reevaluates Russia's implementation of the Convention by revisiting cases from the last 15 years. The article reviews legislative amendments that should contribute to the implementation of the Convention's laws at a national level. Moreover, the article evaluates the legal structure of the Russian Federation in regards to the Convention, including the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Supreme Commercial Court, the Prosecutor General, and the Ministry of Justice. Some deficits in the Russian legal system include the failure to enforce court judgments and the length of proceedings. The paper concludes that, while there is a strong Russian-European human rights dialogue with seemingly results, Russia has room for improvement regarding its implementation of Convention laws.

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Knodt Michèle, Stoiber Michael

European Elections in Germany: Legitimacy for the European Union?

in *German Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 99-118

Turning out for elections can be treated as an indication of long-term support for a political system, if citizens perceive that system as legitimate. Applied to the level of the European Union this would suggest that levels of participation in elections to the European Parliament are crucial to the legitimacy of the EU's political system. Due to the multi-level character of these elections, however, causes for relatively low levels of turnout may be located at the national as well as the European level. We will use individual-level survey data to analyse the reasons for voter participation at European elections in Germany. Based on system-theoretic arguments we develop a model of voter participation including both European and national factors. The results of our binominal logistic regression models suggest that participation at European elections depends on individual characteristics like political interest on the one hand and perceptions of the performance of both the EU and the national government on the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Winand Pascaline, Kalfadellis Paul, Witzleb Normann

European and EU Studies and Research in Australia through Thick and Thin: Public Policy and Higher



Education Mismatch?

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 61, Issue 1, March , 67-81

Several Australian universities have research, publications, subjects, programmes of study, or even Centres focusing on Europe and the European Union (EU), but European and EU studies in Australia have also encountered significant challenges. This article analyses their evolution from 1987 to 2014 and the sometimes discordant EU and Australian policies which have shaped their development. It first examines the origins of European Studies Centres in Australia, as well as links with the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence and the creation of the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA). It then considers specific EU initiatives and funding in the twenty-first century, such as EU Centres and Jean Monnet Chairs, and the impact they have had on EU studies in Australia. It concludes with reflections about the factors that have encouraged or impeded teaching and research on Europe and the EU in Australia and ways to mitigate them.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arne Niemann & Demosthenes Ioannou

European economic integration in times of crisis: a case of neofunctionalism?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 2 , 196-218

This contribution analyses the relevance of neofunctionalist theory and the various spillover mechanisms for explaining the management of the crisis and the drive towards a more complete Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The management of the crisis resulted in integrative outcomes owing to significant functional dissonances that arose from the incomplete EMU architecture created at Maastricht. These functional rationales were reinforced by integrative pressures exercised by supranational institutions, transnational organized interests and markets. The contribution concludes that, despite shortcomings, neofunctionalism provides important insights for understanding the integrative steps taken during the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Demosthenes Ioannou, Patrick Leblond & Arne Niemann

European integration and the crisis: practice and theory

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 2 , 155-176

This is the introduction to a special collection of contributions that analyse the financial and economic crisis through various theoretical lenses. Accordingly, it does four things. First, it describes the EU's institutional response to the crisis in order to provide a reference point for the contributions. Second, it summarizes the contributions. Third, it compares them in order to develop a theoretical dialogue. Finally, it answers the fundamental question at the heart of the crisis and this special collection: why did Economic and Monetary Union become deeper and more integrated when many feared for its survival?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pabriks Artis

European security: stop sleeping and wake up

in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 2, December, Special Issue: Europe's Defining Challenges , 259-268

The twenty-first century has come with new security challenges, some of which are being played out very close to Europe's borders. One of the latest examples is Russia's growing aggression, which is challenging European political principles and core values. Russia appears to be testing the unity and strength of the Western world. For its part, Europe seems unable to wake up to the threat. But there is no time to lie back: our response must be immediate. Europe must acknowledge that it could face a military threat on its own territory—war is not a ghost of the past but a present reality. Our goals should be the withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukrainian territory and ensuring that Ukraine has full control over its borders. Serious efforts should also be made to bolster EU security through closer cooperation with NATO and increased defence budgets.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fink-Hafner Danica, Hafner-Fink Mitja, Novak Meta

Europeanisation as a Factor of National Interest Group Political-Cultural Change: The Case of Interest Groups in Slovenia

in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 29, n. 1, February , 287-305

Based on a social constructivist framing, this article seeks to address the gap in the literature on the impact of Europeanisation on the national interest group political culture in general and in the post-communist context in particular. The impacts of Europeanisation on interest group domestic policy behaviour, in terms of national interest groups networking with their European counterparts, their contacts with EU-level decision makers, and their access to EU funds, are tested based on the panel surveys that were conducted in 1996 and 2012 of the most influential interest groups in eleven policy fields in Slovenia. Our key findings are that Europeanisation does support changes in the national interest group political culture in the direction of a more pro-active approach in influencing national policy processes. However, Europeanisation explains only a small portion of the variability among the domestic policy behaviour of interest groups.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nancheva Nevena, Koneska Cvete

Europeanization Without Europe: The Curious Case of Bulgarian–Macedonian Relations

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 224-240

This article examines the literature on Europeanization in the context of enlargement to the Balkans. It was inspired by a puzzling empirical observation: more rather than less conflictuality in bilateral relations between two states engaged in the dynamics of Europeanization. The case study analyses foreign policy and bilateral relations between Bulgaria as a new member state and Macedonia as a candidate member. The different status of the two states in view of the integration project prompted the authors to link and compare the literature on Europeanization of candidate members to that on Europeanization of member states, and to highlight its conceptual bias. Applying a different definition of Europeanization to the external strand of the literature has led to entrenching theoretical accounts that omit from their



explanations a key element of the process of Europeanization of conflictual national identities: the struggle over the meaning of collective identity and political community at the supranational level. The analysis of the case study aims to outline the consequences of this omission. They include the normatively questionable utilization of the Europeanization agenda for advancing exclusively nationalist political agendas, as well as the diminished relevance of Europeanization as an agent of change in the European periphery.

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Henriksson Peteris Timofejevs

Europeanization of Foreign-Aid Policy in Central and East Europe: The Role of EU, External Incentives and Identification in Foreign-Aid Policy Adoption in Latvia and Slovenia 1998–2010

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 4 , 433-449

This article enters in dialogue with the findings of the ‘Europeanization East’ literature that the Central and Eastern European countries adjusted to the European Union (EU) policies due to the overwhelming effect of the EU pre-accession conditionality. It is examined here whether this conclusion also applies to the foreign-aid policy adoption in two candidate states: Slovenia and Latvia. Also, the post-accession performance is studied to draw conclusions about what factors can account for the continuation of the policy evolution from 2004 to 2010. It is argued here that EU conditionality was present also in the foreign-aid policy area, but it was vague and not the only factor that mattered. Moreover, it is claimed here that identification and social influence can explain why the countries adopted foreign-aid policy in the pre-accession period and why they continued the policy even after accession.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Storm Servaas, Naastepad C.W.M.

Europe’s Hunger Games: Income Distribution, Cost Competitiveness and Crisis

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 39 Issue 3 May 2015 , 959-986

The dominant view, both on the mainstream right and on the left, holds that the Eurozone crisis is a crisis of labour-cost competitiveness—with trade imbalances (and hence foreign indebtedness) being driven by divergences in relative unit labour costs (RULCs) between surplus and deficit countries. To re-balance Eurozone growth, the mainstream solution is a deflationary policy of ‘internal devaluation’ (i.e. cutting the wage share by as much as 30%) in the deficit countries. The ‘progressive’ view holds that the surplus countries should adjust by raising their wage shares. We argue that both sides of this debate are wrong and unhelpful. Europe’s trade imbalances are determined by domestic and world demand—whilst RULC divergences play only a negligible role. Eurozone growth can only be revived when Eurozone demand growth is restored, not by lowering wages here and/or raising them there. The current deflationary adjustment forced on the wage-led economies of Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain is self-destructive: it is a ‘confidence killer’, not only deepening the free fall of southern European incomes but also damaging their productive base and productivity growth. The outlook is depressing—further increases in already high unemployment rates, inequality measures and poverty rates inconceivable in prosperous Europe just a few years ago—and arguably dystopian.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dzurinda Mikuláš

Europe's defining challenges

in *European View*, vol. 13, n. 2, December, Special Issue: Europe's Defining Challenges, 187-188

Europe is currently facing challenges on many fronts: internally and externally, but also in the short and long term. The events in 2014 have reminded us that we are privileged to live in a European community of values that secures our peace and prosperity. The Russian aggression at the very borders of the EU has thrown Ukraine, a country that aspires to EU membership, into political turmoil. It is the forces that confront us now, such as Putin's Russia with its neo-imperial aspirations, and our political responses to them that will define the EU for years to come.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scheller Henrik

Europäische Identitätsbildung durch politische Kommunikation in der EU? (Review Article)

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 62, Heft 1, 2015, 103-108

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cook David, Xu Juanyi

Eurosclerosis and international business cycles

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 95, Issue 1, January 2015, 54-67

This paper incorporates search frictions with endogenous job creation and destruction into a two country dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model to explain two macroeconomic facts. First, since the 1980s, European unemployment rates have risen substantially above USA levels. Second, the European business cycle has lagged the USA business cycle during the period of the Great Moderation. In the model, more generous unemployment benefits and greater employment protection (manifested as firing costs) can endogenously generate higher unemployment. These same policies will also create labor market frictions which slow the response of the economy to business cycle conditions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Belke Ansgar, Verheyen Florian

Eurosystem Collateral Policy and Framework — Post-Lehman Time as a New Collateral Space

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2015, 82-90

Collateral plays a central role in monetary policy. In recent years, its importance has increased as uncollateralised inter-bank borrowing has gradually been replaced by collateralised central bank lending. This has in turn affected collateral availability and the need for high-quality assets. The European Central Bank has reacted to this development



by creating a series of different measures to broaden collateral availability, including changing the eligibility rules (e.g. reducing rating thresholds for certain asset classes) or extending the eligible assets (e.g. allowing national central banks to accept bank loans as collateral). In the context of these developments, this article assesses and comments on various aspects of the Eurosystem collateral policy and overall framework. In particular, it examines the economic implications of the current ECB collateral policy for asset allocation and relative asset price developments from a cross-country perspective.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Díez María-Angeles, Etxano Iker, Garmendia Eneko

Evaluating Participatory Processes in Conservation Policy and Governance: Lessons from a Natura 2000 pilot case study

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 25, Issue 2, March-April , 125-138

Participatory approaches have been incorporated in decision-making to strengthen the involvement of social actors in natural resource management and governance. This paradigm shift is permeating the development of Natura 2000 in Europe. However, the implementation of participatory approaches is at an early stage and still contested. To assess the scope of these participatory approaches, this article: (1) reviews the role of participatory approaches in Natura 2000, (2) develops a common framework to evaluate such participatory processes, (3) applies this framework to a pilot case study and (4) based on the lessons learned, provides guidance for future developments. Although the relatively small sample of participants signals caution, the study shows that ensuring an open dialogue among the social actors served to enhance understanding of the various interests and facilitated the identification of areas for compromise. While these findings are promising, we also identify various challenges to a better and more open dialogue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Georgiadis Georgios

Examining asymmetries in the transmission of monetary policy in the euro area: Evidence from a mixed cross-section global VAR model

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 75, April 2015 , 195-215

I estimate the transmission of a common euro area monetary policy shock across individual euro area economies. To do so, I develop a global VAR model in which all euro area economies are included individually while, at the same time, their common monetary policy is modelled as a function of euro area aggregate output growth and inflation. The results suggest that the transmission of monetary policy across euro area economies displays asymmetries, and that, in line with economic theory, these are driven by differences in economies' structural characteristics. In particular, euro area economies in which a higher share of aggregate output is accounted for by sectors servicing interest rate sensitive demand exhibit a stronger transmission of monetary policy to real activity. Similarly, even though the evidence is less conclusive, euro area economies which feature more real wage and/or fewer unemployment rigidities also appear to display a stronger transmission of monetary policy to real activity.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Exchange rate pass-through to import prices in the Euro-area: A multi-currency investigation
in *Economie internationale*, n° 138, 2014/2, de Bandt Olivier & Razafindrabe Tovonony

Using a new database of actual import price data rather than unit value indices, we analyze the impact of currency-invoicing decision of exporting firms on the extent of exchange rate pass-through (ERPT) for several Euro-area countries during the period of June 2005 to July 2013. Mainly, we use a multi-currency approach to distinguish between invoicing strategies across the most important currencies for Euro-area imports and make a distinction between bilateral and multilateral (or effective) ERPT. First, we show that the effective ERPT is primarily driven by the US Dollar bilateral ERPT. Second, in contrast to several papers in the empirical literature which argue that ERPT is low and incomplete, we find that short run effective ERPT is incomplete, while long run effective ERPT is complete. Third, estimating time-varying ERPT, we uncover that the 2008 global crisis triggered a temporary increase in the effective ERPT and find no evidence of declining value of the ERPT.

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Iulian Romanyshyn

Explaining EU Effectiveness in Multilateral Institutions: The Case of the Arms Trade Treaty Negotiations
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 4, 875–892

This article examines the EU's participation in multilateral institutions on the example of the UN Arms Trade Treaty. The central question of the study is to what extent and under what conditions the EU can be seen as an effective actor in multilateral security negotiations. It is argued that overall the EU was an effective player during the multilateral negotiations on the ATT, but the degree of its effectiveness varies along different dimensions. The EU was rather successful in the achievement of its goals and in maintaining external cohesion, but it scored relatively low in its efforts to commit the key stakeholders to sign up to the ATT. The EU's internal export control policy, together with the high level of institutional co-ordination and Member States' interest convergence, facilitated the EU's effectiveness in the ATT negotiations, whereas the international context proved to be the major constraining factor.

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Leventon Julia

Explaining implementation deficits through multi-level governance in the EU's new member states: EU limits for arsenic in drinking water in Hungary
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 58, Issue 7, 1137-1153

This paper uses a multi-level governance lens to explore a case of non-compliance with EU legislation in Hungary and expands historical institutionalist explanations of EU laggards. Despite adopting the European Union's (EU's) limit of 10 ppb arsenic in drinking water, parts of Hungary do not comply. To explain this deficit, the paper examines the match between discourse incorporated into policy and held by policy actors in Hungary. Multiple points of mismatch are found that influence implementation because of governance structures, adding specificity to explanations of 'goodness of fit' between EU and national policy.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kentmen-Cin Cigdem

Explaining willingness to use the European Citizens' Initiative: Political cynicism, anti-EU attitudes and voting weight of member states

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 3, may , 301-318

ABSTRACT: Drawing on insights from the literatures on direct democracy and the European Union's (EU) democratic deficit, this study is the first to analyze the likelihood of EU citizens' use of the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI). Using an ordered logistic regression analysis, it investigates whether EU citizens' degree of cynicism, attitudes toward EU membership and their country's vote share in the Council of the EU affect their willingness to use the ECI. The results show that European citizens who are more critical of the way the EU institutions work are less likely to intend to use the ECI. The results also indicate that attitudes toward EU membership and member states' voting shares in the Council do not have a significant impact on the likelihood of using the ECI, after controlling for social, political and economic factors. These findings imply that cynicism at the EU level translates into further alienation from European politics rather than willingness to use the ECI to bridge democratic gaps in the EU. Thus, it seems the ECI currently does not give citizens a sense of partnership and voice in EU governance.

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Van Esch

Exploring the Keynesian–Ordoliberal Divide. Flexibility and Convergence in French and German Leaders' Economic Ideas During the Euro-Crisis

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 3 , Femke A.W.J.

ABSTRACT: The Euro-crisis is the most severe crisis the European Union has ever faced. Despite its scale and urgency, political and financial leaders have struggled to find its solution. Several observers have traced this inability back to the divide between states adhering to Ordoliberal and those advocating Keynesian policies, Germany and France in particular. Preceding the question of whether and how leaders' policy ideas influenced decision-making, however, is the question to what extent such paradigmatic divide actually existed. To provide an in-depth and dynamic view of the French and German divide, this study uses the technique of Comparative Cognitive Mapping to explore the extent to which the views of Chancellor Merkel, President Sarkozy and the German and French central bank presidents, Weber and Noyer, may be characterised as Ordoliberal or Keynesian. Moreover, the article analyses how the crisis affected these ideas. The study finds that in paradigmatic terms, leaders' policy views are rather ambiguous and flexible. Moreover, it shows that the Euro-crisis actually fostered a convergence in views towards a more modest Ordoliberal view rather than a greater divide. Remarkably, this convergence moves the group consensus towards a more compromising position, away from the traditional position of the dominant partner, Germany.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dugoin-Clement Christine



Extensions et séparations : les frontières d'aujourd'hui et de demain de la Vieille Europe

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 779, avril

La question des frontières reste posée, y compris en Europe, avec de probables remises en cause des États en fonction de revendications nationalistes alimentées par des ressentiments et des frustrations. L'Union européenne pourrait connaître ainsi de nouvelles évolutions difficiles à imaginer aujourd'hui.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aglietta Michel, Espagne Étienne

Financer les investissements pour une croissance soutenable en Europe

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 353, Mar - 2015

Retrouver une croissance durable en Europe au-delà du rebond conjoncturel implique de relever le taux d'investissement et de l'orienter dans le sens de la qualité de la croissance. Nous pensons que les bases d'un programme ambitieux se trouvent dans les objectifs 2020 inscrits dans le paquet Climat-Énergie de l'Union européenne et dans l'opportunité offerte par la conférence de Paris sur le climat de décembre 2015. Nous évaluons l'ampleur des investissements à faire, les domaines prioritaires et insistons sur la nécessité d'instaurer une valeur sociale du carbone suffisamment élevée pour encourager les projets bas-carbone. La situation actuelle de l'Europe implique un financement transitoire original, faisant appel à la politique de bilan de la BCE.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Palea Vera

Financial Reporting for Varieties of Capitalism: Does a Single Set of Global Standards Fit for All?

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 2, Number 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blot Christophe, Cochard Marion, Creel Jérôme, Ducoudré Bruno, Schweisguth Danielle, Timbeau Xavier

Fiscal Consolidation, Public Debt and Output Dynamics in the Euro Area: lessons from a simple model with time-varying fiscal multipliers

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 124, 2014/6, Page 953 à 989

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Muravska Tatjana

Focus of Latvia's presidency is future of the EU's Eastern Partnerships
in *Europe's World*, n. 29, Spring

Latvia's first stint in the European Union's rotating presidency offers an opportunity to influence the EU agenda, and Latvia's priorities include reinforcing the Union's external role. The country's President, Andris Berziš, has underlined the importance of supporting economic development and good governance in all the Eastern Partnership countries. The Eastern Partnership has so far yielded somewhat mixed results, and at times has been a disappointment, however its next summit will take place in Riga in May, and that is expected to see in-depth discussions on the need to rethink it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jerôme Bruno, Jérôme-Speziari Véronique, Nadeau Richard, Lewis-Beck Michael S.

Forecasting partisan dynamics in France and in Euroland
in *French Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 1 (April 2015) , 103–109

Election forecasting has become a standard part of the tool kit for political scientists around the world. However, that focus is almost exclusively on forecasting national electoral contests. Here we offer another, unique, focus – the changing political color of the core nations of the European Union, the Fifteen. First, we offer a model that forecasts the fortune of classic right-wing rule for this region, labeled Euroland. Then, we examine those forecasts, as compared with France in particular. France holds special interest because, according to our forecasts for 2015, it could well swing right, while the rest of Euroland goes left. One suggestion, of course, is that the tradition of French exceptionalism will continue.

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Chrysogelos Angelos-Stylianos

Foreign policy change in a polarized two-party system: Greece and Turkey's EU candidacy
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 19-36

This article aims to theorize about how dynamics of party competition influence government decisions to engage in foreign policy change. It shows how a focus on the functioning of polarized two-party competition in Greece in the late 1990s sheds light on crucial questions concerning the content, timing and institutionalization of Greece's decision to allow the EU to grant Turkey candidate-member status. The article problematizes this foreign policy change as a decision influenced, among other factors, by the demands of party competition, and especially the strategy of the then ruling socialist party. More generally, this article shows how a focus on party politics complements in various interesting ways our understanding of foreign policy decisions and foreign policy change. Party system dynamics are shown to act as significant intervening factors between determinants of foreign policy usually analyzed in the literature and eventual foreign policy change.

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379–395

Free Movement for Whom, Where, When? Roma EU Citizens in France and Spain

in International Political Sociology, Volume 8, Issue 4, Owen Parker and Óscar López Catalán

EU citizenship is often regarded as the culmination of a process whereby the transnational mobility of “workers” has led to the granting of rights to “humans” qua citizens, with both legal scholars and ethnographers emphasizing its normative significance in this respect. Challenging such a narrative, this study sets out to highlight the contingent nature of a postnational EU citizenship, with reference to the lived experiences of migrant Roma. As a first step, we highlight the conditionality within EU law associated with the granting of rights to those enacting EU citizenship by residing within EU territory beyond their own member state. In a second step, we highlight the variable ways in which such conditionality is deployed in different national contexts, with reference to the frameworks in France and Spain. While the former has deployed these conditions in a manner that has excluded EU citizens, particularly migrant Roma, the latter—at least for a time—was more permissive in its granting of rights to EU citizens than EU law required. However, in a third step, we suggest that the lived experiences of migrant Roma in these two national contexts have not been as different as the legal differences suggest. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork on Romanian Roma in two municipalities near Barcelona, we demonstrate the ways in which a local politics of exclusion is legally possible, even within an ostensibly permissive juridical framework of citizenship. We highlight how the ambiguity of a multilevel citizenship not only opens up possibilities for multifaceted forms of exclusion, but also for various forms of resistance, both within and beyond a juridical citizenship framework.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pavolini Emmanuele, León Margarita, Guillén Ana M., Ascoli Ugo

From austerity to permanent strain? The EU and welfare state reform in Italy and Spain

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 1, January, 56-76

ABSTRACT: This article makes a comparative analysis of the trajectories of welfare change in Italy and Spain since the outbreak of the financial crisis. We look at the differences in the types of institutional design to study of welfare reform in these two countries and assess how recent changes have affected welfare state institutions. The article also assesses the level of EU involvement not only through formal instruments around the European Semester, but also by means of agreements with the Troika and the European Central Bank. For this part of the analysis three sets of documents have been used: Commission Recommendations and Council Decisions in relation to Excessive Deficit Procedures; Commission country-specific recommendations based on Stability or Convergence Programmes; and Policy Measures to boost growth and jobs (National Reform Programmes). These documents allow an analysis of the contents of formal adjustment pressures. Other documents and sources (including newspaper articles) have also been analysed in order to look at the role of conditionality and ‘backroom’ diplomacy.

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Vallée Shahin

From mutual insurance to fiscal federalism: Rebuilding the Economic and Monetary Union after the demise of the Maastricht architecture



in *Economie internationale*, n° 138, 2014/2

The policy response to the current European crisis has largely focused on its financial symptoms rather than on its deep economic and political causes. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the debate about the current architecture of the European Economic and Monetary Union. The crisis has cracked the intellectual consensus and the political compromise that underpins the architecture of the monetary union enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty. The inter-governmental insurance mechanism that has emerged in response to the crisis could offer a path to buttress the existing architecture, but it is economically limited and politically unsustainable. Indeed, the mutualisation of economic risks that has started tacitly through various mechanisms (European Stability Mechanism, interventions by the European Central Bank) cannot succeed without a more profound rebuilding of the monetary union that involves a move towards pooling of resources and a form of fiscal federalism.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

From the Crisis to the New Development of the European Unification

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 2 , 7-14

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krampf Arie

From the Maastricht Treaty to Post-crisis EMU: The ECB and Germany as Drivers of Change

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 3 , 303-317

ABSTRACT: The Eurozone crisis brought the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) to the brink of collapse; the prevention of this required the use of unconventional measures by the European Central Bank (ECB), the construction of new financial regulatory institutions, and an amendment of EMU laws. These changes culminated in the establishment of a banking union, though not a complete one. This article has two aims. First, it seeks to evaluate to what extent the European crisis management strategy led to a fundamental change in the EMU institutional design. Second, it seeks to identify the key drivers of change, with a focus on the interaction between ECB, the Commission, and Germany.

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Brescia Morra Concetta

From the Single Supervisory Mechanism to the Banking Union. The Role of the ECB and the EBA

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 465-484

The agreement on the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) is an important step to create an integrated banking system in Europe. In this article we look at the powers attributed to the ECB, from a legal perspective, in order to



evaluate the SSM in the broader European architecture of banking supervision. We focus on three issues: the coexistence of more authorities with the same functions on a different perimeter of intermediaries in Europe, due to the UK decision to remain outside the SSM; the creation of a supervisory authority with weak regulatory powers (since these remain in the hands of European institutions and national legislators); and ambiguity over the competence to carry out early intervention powers. These issues should be addressed to increase the effectiveness of supervision. To this end, first, we need an “umbrella authority” to coordinate supervision among all European countries (those that do and do not adhere to the SSM); this role could be played by the EBA. Second, it is crucial to strengthen the powers of the ECB, in the regulatory field as well as for dealing with an impending crisis.

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Young Brigitte

German Ordoliberalism as Agenda Setter for the Euro Crisis: Myth Trumps Reality
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 3 , 276-287

ABSTRACT: German political leaders have extolled the advantages of the rule-based ordoliberal doctrine as a panacea for the Eurozone countries to regain competitiveness. This legalistic doctrine has been used by the German Bundesbank as an important agenda setter to prevent alternative ideas from challenging the austerity discourse in the Eurozone. A closer look across German economic history tells a different story. At no time did perfect market competition work in practice as the ordoliberal doctrine postulates. In fact, it was the London Debt Agreement of 1953 with the Marshall Plan, and the combination of Ordnungspolitik with a more ethical and publicly provided social policy (what has become known as the Soziale Marktwirtschaft) which account for the German Wirtschaftswunder. But rather than rejecting Ordnungspolitik on the grounds that it is ‘a dangerous idea’, we should focus on institutional reforms based on an ethical and socially oriented economic model for the European Union (EU). In fact, this is what Germany has done since the 1950s, with the scales tipping sometimes in the direction of strengthening the ordoliberal side of competition policy, and at others shifting to more inclusive social measures. The question is whether Germany’s ‘real’ economic history can provide a more realistic model for a sustainable social EU.

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Mitsopoulos Michael, Pelagidis Theodore

Give Greece a Chance

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2015 , 91-97

The current complicated economic situation in Greece — and the rising political uncertainty that once again accompanies it — has important repercussions for growth, incomes, employment and the banking system in both the short and long term. The new Greek government is trying to perform a balancing act that will on the one hand satisfy its electorate and the more extreme fractions within the Syriza party and on the other hand offer a number of key concessions to the country’s European partners. It is thus imperative to carefully select which concessions the EU should make towards the new government.

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Khorana Sangeeta, Perdikis Nicholas, Kerr William A.

Global economies of scale in the EU-India trade agreement: are they the key to a return to economic growth?
in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 1, March , 41-55

Economies of scale are an alternative source of growth particularly at a time when countries are suffering from global economic malaise. The proposed EU-India free trade agreement holds substantial promise as this will create a combined market of over one and a half billion and generate economies of scale from intra-industry trade, which are likely to be concentrated in manufactured products such as chemicals, machinery and transport equipment. Bold action is needed on the part of politicians in both the EU and India to successfully negotiate the agreement given that this will enable both countries to reap the efficiency gains of global economies of scale, provide a significant competitive advantage over other major economies and deliver the necessary spur to shake both the EU and India out of their current economic stagnation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sangeeta Khorana, Kirsten Ferguson-Boucher and William A. Kerr

Governance Issues in the EU's e-Procurement Framework
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 292–310

Government procurement accounts for a considerable proportion of economic activity in the European Union (EU) yet resists integration and harmonization. The European Commission believes that the solution to integrating government procurement into the single market lies in e-procurement. While technology has the potential to improve the efficacy of procurement processes among EU Member States, its use raises governance issues that must be addressed as a co-requisite to adopting the technological solution. This article outlines the Commission's e-procurement policy, develops an analytical structure for assessing the framework and highlights governance issues that need addressing if e-procurement is to deliver on its promise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Editorial

Grecia-UE; Ucrania-Rusia; Estado Islámico

in **Política Exterior**, n.164

La negociación entre el nuevo gobierno griego y el Eurogrupo ha mostrado con crudeza que la crisis en el interior de la Unión Europea no se ha resuelto. Dentro de cuatro meses, veremos a los europeos librar otro pulso. Mientras tanto, lo que sucede en las fronteras de la UE no es un pulso, sino dos conflictos abiertos, de naturaleza distinta pero que cuestionan el papel estabilizador de los europeos en su entorno.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

IRENE MARTÍN



Grecia: la dificultad de un acuerdo al gusto de todos

in *Política Exterior*, n.164

El Eurogrupo se ha impuesto en la negociación y Grecia acepta la prórroga de un programa que deja algún margen de autonomía al gobierno de Tsipras para diseñar sus propias medidas de austeridad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vogel Steffen

Grexit: Das Scheitern der europäischen Idee

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2015 , 9-12

Um das vereinte Europa ist es schlecht bestellt. Fünf Jahre zermürbende Dauerkrise haben den Nationalismus erstarken lassen. Der Kontinent spaltet sich zunehmend in einen reichen Norden und einen verarmenden Süden. In dieser Situation gleicht die jüngste Debatte um das Ausscheiden Griechenlands aus der Eurozone, den sogenannten Grexit, einem Spiel mit dem Feuer.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stiglitz Joseph

Griechenland im Schuldfängnis

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2015 , 41-42

Es kommt nur selten vor, dass demokratische Wahlen eine derart klare Botschaft aussenden wie just in Griechenland. Wenn Europa die Forderungen griechischer Wähler nach einem Kurswechsel zurückweist, bringt es damit zum Ausdruck, dass Demokratie nicht von Bedeutung ist, zumindest, wenn es um die Wirtschaft geht. Warum der Demokratie nicht gleich das Aus erklären? ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Streeck Wolfgang

Heller, Schmitt and the Euro

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 361-370

Heller understood that Schmitt's 'authoritarian state' was in fact the liberal state in its pure form, weak in relation to the capitalist economy but strong in fending off democratic interventions in its operation. Had he lived, Heller would not have been surprised by the close affinities between Schmittian economic authoritarianism and postwar German ordoliberalism, as mediated by a figure like Alexander Rüstow. Neoliberalism as today we know it drew heavily on ordoliberal doctrine, in particular through Friedrich von Hayek who managed to merge it with Austrian economics into a powerful ideological force to replace Keynesianism after the 1970s. Today the European Union, especially in its incorporation as monetary union, closely follows the liberal-authoritarian template as devised by Schmitt and others in



the final years of the Weimar Republic. The paper shows this with reference to the five European-level institutions that today govern the European free market while protecting it from democratic interference: the Parliament, the Council, the Commission, the European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank.

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Ruiter Rik de

Houses of Abstention or Houses of Reflection? Upper Houses in EU Member States and the Ex ante Scrutiny of EU Legislation

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 3 , 391-407

Scholars interested in the role of national parliaments in the EU legislative process hardly paid attention to the differences in scrutiny between Upper Houses of EU member states. It is hypothesized in this article that structural differences between bicameral systems can explain differences between Upper Houses in scrutiny of EU legislative proposals. The hypotheses are assessed with a qualitative content analysis of parliamentary debates in the Dutch and British Upper Houses on the scrutiny of EU directives agreed upon through the ordinary legislative procedure in the period 2000–2010. The empirical findings indicate that differences in the set-up of bicameral systems can only in part explain the variation in ex ante scrutiny. Moreover, in both the British and Dutch bicameral systems, MPs of the Upper and Lower Houses most of the time do not contradict each other on substantive grounds when the same EU legislative acts are scrutinized. The results also show that the scrutiny by Upper Houses improves the output legitimacy of the EU legislative process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Webber Douglas

How likely is it that the European Union will disintegrate? A critical analysis of competing theoretical perspectives

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 2, june , 341-365

ABSTRACT: This article turns existing theories of European integration on their head, exploring the conditions under which they would predict that the European Union will disintegrate, and assessing to what extent these conditions currently exist. It argues that these theories, especially the most ‘optimistic’ ones, have an insufficiently comparative inter-spatial as well as inter-temporal focus. Combining insights from domestic politics approaches to international relations and hegemonic stability theories, it suggests that the future of European integration and the European Union is more contingent than most integration theories allow. First, they do not take sufficient account of the role of domestic politics in the member states, in many of which the last decade has witnessed a major upsurge of ‘anti-European’ political attitudes and movements. Second, they overlook the extent to which Europe’s uniquely high level of political integration depends on the engagement and support of the region’s economically most powerful ‘semi-hegemonic’ state, Germany. Even though a fundamental reorientation of German European policy at the present time seems unlikely, it is not inconceivable. The European Union has confronted and survived many crises in the past — but has never had to confront a crisis ‘made in Germany’. The European Union’s current crisis is symptomatic of a broader crisis or malaise of regional and international multilateralism.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Millet François-Xavier

How much lenience for how much cooperation? On the first preliminary reference of the French Constitutional Council to the Court of Justice

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 1 , 195-218

ABSTRACT: The French Conseil constitutionnel was by no means a likely candidate to refer a case to the Court of Justice under Article 267 TFEU. Such a bold move was highly unexpected in view of its limited jurisdiction, its usual emphasis on the supremacy of the French Constitution, and its constitutional identity narrative. Yet, the hardly thinkable became true in April 2013 in connection with the implementation of the European Arrest Warrant. In response to a cooperative Conseil, the ECJ displayed its willingness to accommodate the requirements deriving from domestic constitutional law. In doing so, it offered a positive illustration of Melloni and Akerberg Fransson by promoting the application of national standards of protection of human rights in cases falling within the scope of application of EU Law, yet not entirely determined by it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aldo Braccio

I rapporti fra Grecia e Turchia e il ruolo di Mosca

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXVII (1-2015), "L'Eurasia aggredita su più fronti"

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trupiano Gaetana

Il Quadro finanziario pluriennale europeo 2014-2020

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 93-109

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torino Raffaele

Il mercato unico e le (recenti e future) misure a tutela dei consumatori

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 45-68

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fois Paolo

Il principio di prossimità nel diritto dell'Unione e il suo controverso rapporto con quello di sussidiarietà
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 9-22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pisaneschi Andrea

Il programma OMT della BCE al vaglio della Corte di Giustizia: considerazioni sulle Conclusioni dell'Avvocato Generale

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carlo Curti Gialdino

Il raddoppio dei giudici del Tribunale dell'Unione: valutazioni di merito e di legittimità costituzionale europea
in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 9

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peroni Giulio

Il recesso dall'euro: una via percorribile, ma non auspicabile
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 85-108

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dario Elia Tosi

Il ricorso al referendum nel processo di integrazione europea
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 1591-1610



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cellamare Giovanni

In tema di controllo della Corte europea dei diritti dell'uomo sull'operare del sistema c.d. di Dublino

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 65-84

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zhang Chenchen, Lillie Nathan

Industrial citizenship, cosmopolitanism and European integration

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 18, No. 1, February 2015 , 93-111

Abstract

There has been an explosion of interest in the idea of European Union citizenship in recent years, as a defining example of postnational cosmopolitan citizenship potentially replacing or layered on top of national citizenship. We argue this form of EU citizenship undermines industrial citizenship, which is a crucial support for social solidarity on which other types of citizenship are based. Because industrial citizenship arises from collectivities based on class identities and national institutions, it depends on the national territorial order and the social closure inherent in it. EU citizenship in its 'postnational' form is realized through practices of mobility, placing it in tension with bounded class-based collectivities. Though practices of working-class cosmopolitanism may give rise to a working-class consciousness, the fragmented nature of this vision impedes the development of transnational class-based collectivities. Industrial and cosmopolitan citizenship must be re-imagined together if European integration is to be democratized.

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Garry John, Tilley James

Inequality, state ownership and the European Union: How economic context and economic ideology shape support for the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 16, n. 1, March , 139-154

This article investigates the extent to which economic ideology affects people's support for European Union integration and how this is conditioned by economic context. We argue that people on the economic left who live in a country with conditions of high income inequality and little state ownership will support European integration, because more integration would move public policy in a left-wing direction. By contrast, people on the left who live in a country with conditions of low income inequality and widespread public ownership are likely to be eurosceptic, as further integration would result in a more right-wing public policy. We empirically confirm our hypotheses and discuss the implications for



European Union democracy.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neliana Rodean

Iniziativa partecipativa in Europa: un passo verso la democrazia costituzionale

in Politica del diritto, n. 3 , 473-495

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bonamini, Giulia; D'Apice, Vincenzo; Forte, Antonio

Inside European Financial Instability: Main Causes and Possible Solutions

in Economic Notes, Volume 44, Number 1 , 123-149

Since 2010, some European countries have been going through a difficult period of economic and financial fragility. The aim of this paper is to review the main causes of European financial instability. Since the analysis reflects an important interconnection between public debt and banking stability, we empirically investigate this interaction through a Granger causality analysis. Testing the possible existence of Granger causal relationships between sovereign debt and banking stability allows us to identify countries in which a sovereign crisis caused a banking crisis and vice versa. Finally, we describe possible solutions in order to exit from the crisis and the economic policy implications.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbulescu Roxana

Inside Fortress Europe. The Europeanisation of immigrant integration and its impact on identity boundaries

in Politique européenne , n. 47, 2015/1 , 24-44

Immigrant integration has been historically the near monopoly of nation-states. Over the last decade, the EU has accrued a new set of competences in integration. This article argues that while it developed its role chiefly in technical areas, the emergence of the EU as a decision-maker transforms immigrant integration at its core. In a series of documents and regulations reviewed here, the EU defines immigrant integration exclusively in relation with third country nationals and it excludes the European citizens. This exclusion of the European citizens from programmes of integration bears positive symbolic value as they are thus, excluded from the "other" category. Following the nation-state logic, this exclusion is not justified because European citizens are not part of the nation. The article claims that such redefinition of integration is a means for constructing a cultural dimension and substantiating an identity for the European project. In doing so, it advances the process of European integration. Finally, the article discusses the challenges and characteristics of the "new" integration model consolidating at the EU level.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Joost Berkhout, Brendan J. Carroll, Caelesta Braun, Adam W. Chalmers, Tine Destrooper, David Lowery, Simon Otjes & Anne Rasmussen

Interest organizations across economic sectors: explaining interest group density in the European Union
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 4 , 462-480

The number of interest organizations (density) varies across policy domains, political issues and economic sectors. This shapes the nature and outcomes of interest representation. In this contribution, we explain the density of interest organizations per economic sector in the European Union on the basis of political and economic institutional factors. Focusing on business interest representation, we show that economic institutions structure the 'supply' of interest organizations by affecting the number of potential constituents, the resources available for lobbying and the geographical level of collective action of businesses. In contrast, we do not find consistent evidence that political institutions produce 'demand' for interest organizations by making laws, developing public policy or spending money. This is in contrast to the extensive evidence that such factors affect lobbying practices. The European Union interest system is (partially) shaped by economic factors, relatively independent from public policy or institutions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bonfiglio Salvatore

Interpretazione costituzionale e cittadinanza inclusiva
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 27-43

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bojar Abel

Intra-governmental bargaining and political budget cycles in the European Union
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 16, n. 1, March , 90-115

Political fragmentation has been widely recognized by political economists as an important cause for fiscal profligacy in democratic market economies because of the common pool nature of fiscal resources. These predictions, however, sit uneasily with the notion of governmental veto players' ability to block each other's spending plans for electoral purposes. Applying the logic of a bargaining-game between veto players in a political budget cycle framework, I first model that multiple players in the budget game are in fact likely to moderate pre-electoral budget outcomes. Empirical results from a cross-section time-series analysis in EU member states provide corroborative evidence that fiscal electioneering is indeed more prevalent among cohesive, single-party settings. The findings are robust to alternative identification of elections, fiscal changes and sample selection.

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Pollin Jean Paul, Villieu Patrick



Introduction. Financial and Fiscal Aspects of the EMU Crisis

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 124, 2014/6 , Page 859 à 865

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Geary Michael J.,

Ireland's EEC Enlargement Negotiations and the Common Fisheries Policy, 1970-1972: Challenging the Acquis

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hertner Isabelle

Is it always up to the leadership? European policy-making in the Labour Party, Parti Socialiste (PS) and Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 470-480

This article analyzes and compares the politics of European policy-making within the British Labour Party, the Parti Socialiste (PS) and the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) between 1997 and 2012. We know that party leaders have assumed much autonomy in the making of European policy, but, as with policy-making in any area, their autonomy is constrained and sometimes even questioned by other parts of the party. In order to establish how they are constrained, and what factors increase the level of constraint, this study explores the roles played by four party actors in the making of European policy: conferences, national executive committees, Members of Parliament and Members of the European Parliament. This article, which is based on over 35 interviews with EU experts from the three parties, confirms that European policy was generally made by the party leadership. Other party actors, however, were able to influence the leadership on a small number of occasions. The extent of their influence depended upon the polity, party, policy and politics.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmidt-Felzmann Anke

Is the EU's failed relationship with Russia the member states' fault?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 374, 2014/4 , 40-60

The year 2014 saw a rapid and serious deterioration of the EU-Russian relationship. This sudden breakdown of the 'strategic partnership' caught many observers by surprise. This article investigates the reasons for the EU's failure to develop mutually beneficial cooperative relations with Russia. It investigates the claim that the EU's internal divisions and special bilateral ties of EU member states with Russia are responsible for the EU's difficulties. The article demonstrates that the EU's disunity is a contributing factor, but does not fully explain the EU's weak performance



regarding Russia. A number of additional factors help explain the EU's shortcomings: a (misplaced) belief in the positive transformative power of cooperation; the deep-seated fear of a military confrontation with Russia; weaknesses that stem from the EU's special nature as an international actor and, finally, the limited credence given to the views of the smaller member states that are Russia's geographic neighbours.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aydin Umut

Issue framing in the European Commission: State aid policy and the single market
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 2, march , 141-159

ABSTRACT: State aid rules of the European Union regulate member states' subsidies to industry and grant the European Commission extensive powers to monitor compliance with these rules. Until the 1980s, the Commission was reluctant to use these powers and state aid control in the Community remained weak. Since then, its control over member state aid has increased gradually, resulting in more extensive investigative powers, and on average, lower levels of state aid in the EU. In this article, I argue that the European Commission's strategic framing of the state aid issue played a significant role in the transformation of the policy in the late 1980s and the 1990s. As a policy entrepreneur, the Commission framed the issue of state aids in relation to market integration in the 1980s and the Economic and Monetary Union in the 1990s, and thus helped shape the interests of the member states and economic actors and paved the way for the gradual tightening of state aid control.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alt James, Dreyer Lassen David, Wehner Joachim

It Isn't Just about Greece: Domestic Politics, Transparency and Fiscal Gimmickry in Europe
in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 4, october , 707-716

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the political origins of differences in adherence to the fiscal framework of the European Union (EU). It shows how incentives to use fiscal policy for electoral purposes and limited budget transparency at the national level, combined with the need to respond to fiscal rules at the supranational level, interact to systematically undermine the Economic and Monetary Union through the employment of fiscal gimmicks or creative accounting. It also explains in detail how national accounts were manipulated to produce electoral cycles that were under the radar of the EU budget surveillance system, and concludes with new perspectives on the changes to (and challenges for) euro area fiscal rules.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dumbrovský Tomáš, Petkova Bilyana, Van Der Sluis Marijn

Judicial appointments: The Article 255 TFEU Advisory Panel and selection procedures in the Member States
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 2 , 455-482

ABSTRACT: This article assesses recent reforms of the appointment procedure for members of the Court of Justice and



the General Court. We evaluate the effects of the establishment of the Article 255 TFEU Panel. Next to a discussion on the transparency of the Panel's opinions, the criteria set and the role it plays in reappointments, we present case studies of the selection procedure in fourteen Member States, representing new and old, and small and large Member States. Our analysis shows that far from being a paper tiger, the Article 255 TFEU Panel has proven to have a significant impact: it has had a chilling effect on a number of national nominations but also indirectly influenced the selection processes in some Member States, thus limiting arbitrariness. However, opening up judicial appointments to scrutiny at both the EU and the national level has resulted in a subtle move into the direction of judicial self-government.

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Vetter Angelika

Just a Matter of Timing? Local Electoral Turnout in Germany in the Context of National and European Parliamentary Elections

in **German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 67-84

This article looks at the impact of national and European elections on turnout in German local council elections. The focus is first on effects from the timing of local council elections in between two federal elections and second on turnout effects from the combination of local council elections and European parliamentary elections. Starting from considerations about the relationships between high- and low-stimulus elections the article analyses data from 111 German local council elections held between 1951 and 2008. The analyses show first that upcoming national elections do mobilise voters to cast their ballots in regions where local council turnout traditionally is low. Second, combining European and local elections tends to reinforce turnout as well.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Philip B. Whyman

Keynes and the International Clearing Union: A Possible Model for Eurozone Reform?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 399-415

Economic and monetary union in Europe, as currently constituted, has a number of structural weaknesses. Large, persistent international payments imbalances necessitate deficit nations to deflate their economies or squeeze social wages in order to restore competitiveness. Surplus nations accrue reserves, with little pressure to maintain related contribution to spending power in the real economy. The asymmetric treatment of credit and debit nations reduces aggregate demand in the eurozone. This article examines a solution, first proposed by John Maynard Keynes, whereby symmetrical treatment of balance of payments transactions may promote economic growth and higher levels of employment. It outlines the key features of the system and highlights the relevance of the solution to the issues faced by the eurozone.

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Zivier Ernst R.

Konzert oder Duell? Zum Vorlagebeschluss des Bundesverfassungsgerichts an den Europäischen Gerichtshof



vom 14. Januar 2014

in *Recht und Politik*, 50. Jahrgang, Heft 2 , 85-89

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'Islande retire sa candidature de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 587, avril , 197-198

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-43258.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'Union de nos valeurs

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février , 65-66

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elena Baracani

L'Unione Europea e la prevenzione dei conflitti. Quale europeizzazione?

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, numero 1 , 5-30

his article presents the main empirical findings of the analysis of the European Union's activity for conflict prevention in three case studies - Cyprus, Kosovo and Palestine. After having clarified the meaning of conflict 'resolution', 'prevention' and 'Europeanization', it is proposed a classification of the main foreign policy instruments at the disposal of the Union to intervene before the escalation of the conflicts, during and after it. Then the article focuses on the empirical findings of the Europeanization of the conflicts in the case studies, and therefore not only on the instruments used and on the norms promoted, but also on the mechanisms and the conditions that have enabled or not the Union to exert its leverage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Condinanze Massimo

L'Unione europea tra integrazione e differenziazione

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 5



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Platon Sébastien

L'adaptation du droit de l'Union européenne à la situation des collectivités territoriales

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 136-147

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Olivier De Schutter

L'adhésion de l'Union européenne à la Charte sociale européenne

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, no. 102 , 259-316

This article examines the political and legal questions raised by the accession of the European Union to the European Social Charter of the Council of Europe. It recalls the main arguments in favor of accession, and it examines whether the European Union has the required international competence to accede to the European Social Charter. It also considers the consequences that will follow from the accession of the European Union to the European Social Charter, relating those consequences to the objections addressed by the Court of Justice of the EU to the accession of the EU to the European Convention on Human Rights in its Opinion 2/13.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ritleng Dominique

L'effectivité du droit européen de la concurrence. Présentation

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 276-277

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ritleng Dominique

L'effectivité du droit européen de la concurrence. Quelques observations introductives

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 278-282

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moine André

L'imputation de la responsabilité engagée en cas de violation du droit de l'Union par une collectivité territoriale
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 587, avril , 200-208

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ronja Kempin, Ronja Scheler

L'intégration différenciée peut-elle débloquer la PSDC ?
in *Politique Etrangère*, N.1 , 25-35

L'intégration différenciée, qui réunit quelques États membres autour de stratégies et de moyens communs, peut être vue comme la seule voie possible pour contourner les blocages d'une Politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC) à 28. Elle est institutionnellement possible. Mais son effet d'entraînement politique, et sur le renforcement des moyens, reste peu convaincant. La réinsertion de ces intégrations partielles dans l'ensemble de la PSDC permettrait seule de dépasser les logiques juxtaposées des intérêts nationaux.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berrod Frédérique

L'utilisation de la soft law comme méthode de conception du droit européen de la concurrence
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 283-290

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Malis Christian

L'« Europe de la défense », alibi du déclin
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Mai

Au début de mars 2015, tandis que le président de la Commission européenne, le Luxembourgeois Jean-Claude Juncker, lançait un appel en faveur d'une « armée européenne », l'Italie de Matteo Renzi discutait très sérieusement de réduire encore ses dépenses de défense afin de financer de nouvelles prestations sociales. Cependant l'Allemagne d'Angela Merkel, tout en professant un soutien verbal à l'exhortation du chef de l'exécutif bruxellois, continuait de s'enliser dans l'opposition entre la ministre de la Défense Ursula Gertrud von der Leyen, qui plaide pour la relance des crédits militaires face à la renaissance de la menace russe, et le vice-chancelier Sigmar Gabriel.

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=73161&show=picture>,



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Triulzi Umberto

La Banca Centrale Europea motore dell'unificazione politica

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lasserre Isabelle

La France, l'europe, le monde...

in *Politique internationale*, n°146 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Valéry Giscard d'Estaing:

At 88, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has lost neither the depth of his analysis, nor his energy. Going against the ubiquitous trend of euro-skepticism, the former president of France (1974-1981) encourages EU countries to forge greater federalism. Otherwise, he explains, European states will have very little influence on a global scale. In an exclusive interview with *Politique Internationale*, this true connoisseur of the upheavals that have shaken the planet also touches on some of today's hot-button issues, again readily taking stances at odds with widely-held opinions. For instance, he clearly affirms that Crimea is destined to remain Russian, and that it would be irresponsible to dangle EU or NATO membership in front of Ukraine. He criticizes the haste with which the West supported the rebellion against Bashar el-Assad in Syria. And he concludes his frank assessment by inviting France's diplomats to avoid isolated interventions in far-flung conflicts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

La Grèce et la démocratie européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 133-134

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carof Solenn, Hartemann Aline, Unterreiner Anne

La construction de l'Autre Définir les « identités à la marge » dans l'espace européen

in *Politique européenne* , n. 47, 2015/1 , 8-23

Les évènements tragiques de janvier 2015 auxquels ont succédé des attaques islamophobes et antisémites ont révélé



que la définition de l'identité française, de ce que veut dire le « Nous » et l'« Autre », n'était ni évidente, ni acceptée par tous. Ces tensions identitaires ne sont cependant pas le propre du cas français. Parallèlement au conflit israélo-palestinien, l'emprise persistante...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Collin Mathilde

La formation des fonctionnaires français au droit de l'Union européenne: un déficit?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 157-166

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zanghì Claudio

La mancata adesione dell'Unione europea alla CEDU nel parere negativo della Corte di giustizia UE

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 33-64

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gil Inclàn Eduardo

La nueva Comisión Juncker: buenos propósitos, demasiados obstáculos

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, n. 45

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paterniti Francesco

La partecipazione delle Regioni alla formazione delle norme e alle procedure dell'ordinamento giuridico dell'Unione europea

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 8

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bouveresse Aude



La portée normative de la soft law

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 291-298

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mengozzi Paolo

La rilevanza giuridica e l'ambito di applicazione della Carta alla luce della giurisprudenza della Corte di giustizia

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 23-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eckert Gabriel

La récupération des aides d'État illicites et incompatibles et les transformations du droit public interne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 370-377

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krastev Ivan, Leonard Mark

La sfida russa e il nuovo disordine europeo

in *Aspenia*, n. 68, marzo

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kelemen R. Daniel, Teo Terence K.

Law, Focal Points, and Fiscal Discipline in the United States and the European Union

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 108, issue 2, may , 355-370

ABSTRACT: Many studies suggest that strict balanced budget rules can restrain sovereign debt and lower sovereign borrowing costs, even if those rules are never enforced in court. Why might public officials adhere to a rule that is practically never enforced in court? Existing literature points to a legal deterrence logic in which the threat of judicial enforcement deters sovereigns from violating the rules in the first place. By contrast, we argue that balanced budget rules work by coordinating decentralized punishment of sovereigns by bond markets, rather than by posing a credible threat of judicial enforcement. Therefore, the clarity of the focal point provided by the rule, rather than the strength of its



judicial enforcement mechanisms, determines its effectiveness. We develop a formal model that captures the logic of our argument, and we assess this model using data on U.S. states. We then consider implications of our argument for the impact of the balanced budget rules recently imposed on eurozone states in the Fiscal Compact Treaty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Major Claudia, Mölling Christian

Le concept allemand de nation-cadre pour une coopération de défense en Europe

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 779, avril

L'approche du concept de nation-cadre par l'Allemagne constituera un enjeu majeur illustrant la réalité de la volonté de Berlin à s'engager dans une opération, avec l'appui de ses partenaires de l'Otan ou de l'Union européenne.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Picaper Jean-Paul

Le gardien de l'Euro

in *Politique internationale*, n°146 - HIVER - 2015

Klaus Regling dirige, desde el 2010, el Mecanismo Europeo de Estabilidad (MEDE), es decir, el instrumento adoptado por la zona euro para ayudar a los Estados miembros en dificultades. El MEDE acordó préstamos muy cuantiosos y muy favorables a Grecia, Portugal, España e Irlanda, con la condición de que se llevaran a cabo las reformas indispensables. Cuatro años más tarde, estos países, con excepción de Grecia que se encuentra aún en una situación delicada, sanearon sus finanzas públicas y han vuelto a encontrar el camino del crecimiento. Pragmático y experimentado, este alto funcionario europeo admite sin rodeos los errores cometidos, enumera los éxitos logrados e indica lo que queda por hacer. Por la diversidad de los cargos que ha ocupado en el FMI o en el Ministerio alemán de Finanzas, así como por su conocimiento práctico de los actores y mercados financieros, Regling es un "hombre de terreno" cuya opinión es irremplazable. Nos complace sobremanera que haya elegido nuestra revista para expresarse.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mouzet Pierre

Le manquement européen, dépense obligatoire locale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 268-275

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ereseo Nicolas



Le recours à l'action en responsabilité civile et les transformations du droit privé

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 378-385

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Erik Jones

Leaving Europe: British Process, Greek Event

in *Survival*, Volume 57, Issue 3 , 79-85

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davies Gareth

Legislative control of the European Court of Justice

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 6 , 1579-1607

ABSTRACT: If the ECJ delivers politically unwelcome judgments, can the legislature override these by adopting new laws? The question goes to the balance of power between legislators and courts, and to which organs are capable of steering the integration process. The answer in the EU context is distinctive, because the Union is so highly constitutionalized: most important legal questions are reducible to Treaty interpretation, which apparently excludes the legislature from their resolution. Drawing on American scholarship which advocates co-interpretation of the constitution by both legal and political branches, and using actual and hypothetical examples of situations where the legislature and the ECJ have wished to take different directions (e.g. citizenship, general principles, non-discrimination) this article examines three Court techniques to avoid legislative constraints: annulment, emasculatory interpretation, and avoidance. It also considers the ways in which legislation can be drafted to maximize its influence upon the Court.

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Belot Céline, Van Ingelgom Virginie

Les attitudes européennes ont-elles enfin joué un rôle dans les élections au Parlement européen ?

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1 , 49-78

Longtemps les élections européennes ont été désignées comme des élections nationales de second ordre où partis et électeurs ne se positionnaient pas sur les questions européennes mais uniquement sur des enjeux nationaux. Ces dernières années, un certain nombre de travaux tendent à montrer que ce n'est plus le cas. Cet article teste l'hypothèse d'un choix électoral proprement « européen », dépendant des attitudes des citoyens à l'égard de l'intégration européenne, à partir de données collectées lors des élections européennes de 2014 dans cinq pays : l'Allemagne, l'Autriche, l'Espagne, la France et l'Italie. Plus précisément, il vise à faire ressortir les logiques plurielles à l'œuvre dans les liens opérant entre attitudes et vote en se focalisant sur deux dimensions particulières du scrutin de 2014 :



l'abstention électorale proprement européenne et le vote divergent – à savoir le vote pour un parti différent de celui pour lequel on déclare une proximité partisane.

European elections used to be considered as national second-order elections where parties and voters tended to position themselves on national rather than European issues. These last years, some researchers have claimed this is not true anymore. This article tests the hypothesis of a “European” electoral choice, directly influenced by citizens' attitudes towards European integration, using data collected at the time of the 2014 European elections in five countries : Austria, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. More specifically, it aims to highlight the plural logic at work operating between attitudes and voting behavior by focusing on two particular dimensions of the vote in 2014 : what we call a true European abstention, expressing discontent with the EU and the divergent vote understood as the vote for a different party than the one for which the respondent has declared a particular partisanship.

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Gautier-Audebert Agnès

Les collectivités territoriales face au droit de l'Union européenne: quelle responsabilité?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 587, avril , 209-215

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

M'Saïdié Thomas

Les droits conférés par la citoyenneté de l'Union: le cas de la population de Mayotte

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février , 68-82

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-41770.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brosset Estelle

Les enseignements de l'affaire Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami -- Bien-être animal, bien-être des populations inuits et bien-être des requérants individuels

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 173-188

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'UE - Onzième partie: Le budget de l'Union pour 2014. La



première année du nouveau cadre financier pluriannuel pour 2014-2020. III. La procédure de conciliation
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février , 124-142

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-41770.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne -- Onzième partie: Le budget de l'Union pour 2014 -- La première année du nouveau cadre financier pluriannuel pour 2014-2020 -- IV L'accord sur le budget pour 2014

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 189-195

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dezobry Guillaume

Les lignes directrices concernant les aides d'État à l'énergie: vers une évolution des modes de soutien aux EnR

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 299-306

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Boulet Mathilde

Les manquements des collectivités territoriales françaises au droit de l'UE

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février , 111-118

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-41770.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Calba Romain

Les pratiques contemporaines de l'identification nationale. L'exemple des cérémonies d'acquisition de la nationalité en France, en Allemagne et au Royaume-Uni

in *Politique européenne* , n. 47, 2015/1 , 46-71

Ceremonies for new citizens are organised in different European countries since the early 2000s. These new practices illustrate a political decision to solemnize admission in the "national community" and materialise a contemporary "imagined community". Comparing the legislative and administrative evolutions of integration and citizenship policy in



France, Germany and the United Kingdom, we observe contemporary representations and practices of national identification, and stress possible processes of convergence in the definition of identity and alterity which question the idea of national "models".

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Tomas Wyns

**Lessons from the EU's ETS for a New International Climate Agreement
in International Spectator (The),** Volume 50, Issue 1 , 46-59

Intended nationally determined contributions (INDCs) for mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions are expected to be an important part of a post-2020 climate agreement under the UNFCCC. However, it is not certain yet what these INDCs will contain and how they will be assessed. The EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) faced similar challenges in its first years (2005-12). Thus, the mechanisms and lessons learned under the EU ETS could be applied to the INDCs to create a governance and assessment system that increases transparency and builds trust among parties to the UNFCCC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hassel Anke

**Letter from Berlin
in Political Quarterly ,** Volume 86, Issue 1, January–March 2015 , 7-8

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12151/abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mayer Matthias

**Liberalising Labour Migration Policies at the European Level: Germany's Preferences on the Freedom of
Movement Provisions of the Ankara Agreement
in Journal of European Integration History,** vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Bernardin Sandro

**Lo stato d'attuazione della politica estera europea
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali,** Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 491-500



European foreign policy is not developed enough due to the lack of European political integration. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that a European foreign policy exists. Indeed, all European partners display a genuine interest in achieving convergence on how to handle international affairs. When they fail to do so, each of them feels that something went wrong for the common interest and should be repaired. Being based upon the so-called intergovernmental approach, European foreign policy is the common denominator of the view points of the 28, which often risks to be low. The role of the high representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (Cfsp) is to lead European partners to agree on targets that go beyond the 'natural' common denominator. Times are ripe for fine-tuning Cfsp operational tools (namely sanctions) and the geographical distribution of Eu missions on the ground. The Ukrainian crisis should call the attention on the need for a strategic reflexion on the Eu ultimate borders: to delay further such reflexion would maintain an element of confusion in European foreign policy. The dramatic developments which took place in the European neighbourhood in the latest four years demand an updating of the European Security Strategy. In the past, Cfsp 'leaps forward' were driven by the pressure of contingent international crises. Present crises may constitute the opportunity for further progress. The new high representative wears a special responsibility in making it to happen.

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CLAUDI PÉREZ

Londres, Bruselas, Brexit o la 'gran confusión'

in *Política Exterior*, n.165

El excepcionalismo británico se ha convertido en una especie de esquizofrenia: Reino Unido teme ser excluido del corazón de Europa, pero no está dispuesto a comprometerse con el proyecto europeo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ivelina Dimitrova

L'Europa divisa: Budapest e Atene

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici*, XXXVII (1-2015), "L'Eurasia aggredita su più fronti"

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ivaldi Gilles, Zaslove Andrej

L'Europe des populismes : confluences et diversité

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1, 121-155

Les élections européennes de mai 2014 ont été marquées par la poussée des partis populistes. À partir des données comparatives issues de l'enquête « Comparative Electoral Dynamics in the European Union in 2014 », cet article examine les motivations du vote en faveur des partis populistes de gauche et de droite, et de leur rapport avec le projet d'intégration européenne dans les États membres contributeurs et bénéficiaires de l'UE. Nous trouvons des niveaux



plus élevés de défiance politico-institutionnelle chez les supporters des partis populistes de gauche et de droite dans les deux groupes de pays, avec cependant des attitudes économiques et culturelles divergentes. Les supporters des populismes de gauche dans les pays bénéficiaires se révèlent plus eurosceptiques que leurs homologues des pays contributeurs. Dans les pays contributeurs, l'euro-scepticisme a un effet marginal sur le populisme de gauche mais il joue un rôle central dans la mobilisation par les partis populistes de droite, en lien avec le conservatisme culturel, l'opposition à la globalisation et le protectionnisme économique.

The European Elections of 2014 were characterized by the rise of populist parties. Using cross-national data from the "Comparative Electoral Dynamics in the European Union in 2014" survey, this paper looks at what motivates voters to vote for both left and right-wing populists, and the relation between populist voting and EU integration across contributor and recipient EU member states. We find that supporters of populist parties on the left and right demonstrate higher levels of mistrust towards political institutions in both groups of countries, while diverging in terms of their economic and sociocultural attitudes. Left populist supporters in receiving countries tend to be more skeptical regarding EU integration than the populist left in contributing countries. In the latter, euroscepticism has a marginal effect on support for left wing populist parties while it shows a strong impact on right wing populist voting, in relation to cultural conservatism, anti-globalization and economic protectionism.

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Di Stasi Angela

L'ambito di applicazione della Carta dei diritti fondamentali per gli Stati membri dell'Unione europea: ancora a proposito dell'interpretazione dell'articolo 51, paragrafo 1

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 3, settembre-dicembre, 445-464

The growing implementation of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights in the European national systems makes it useful to define the limits for the Member States' respect of the rights, observation of the principles and promotion of the application of the Charter, pursuant to Article 51(1).

The immediateness of the conventional phrase, almost peremptory, which limits, for Member States, the application of the Charter only to those situations "when they are implementing Union law" does indeed provoke some interpretative questions, somewhat complex.

Aware of the caducity of an action aimed at defining "borders" among systems, in the context of an "essentially fluid horizon", the present work intends to proceed to a logical and systematic interpretation of Article 51(1) of the Charter, on the basis of the interpretative principles developed by the Court of Justice both before and after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon.

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Nigoul Claude

L'énergie dans les relations Europe-Russie. Moteur de coopération ou arme de guerre

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 374, 2014/4, 94-115

The events taking place in Ukraine since the end of 2013 have enlightened the European energetic dependency towards Russia, its main supplier. Until then, Europeans were coping with it through a dynamic management, aiming at



stabilising relations with their huge Eastern neighbour through an ambitious partnership agreement and a structured dialog as regards to energy. After some first alerts temporarily solved, the Ukrainian crisis, revealing the clash between the will of Moscow to regain its power status and that of Washington to oppose it, the question of energy relations between Europe, engaged more or less ardently behind the United States and Russia, arises with enhanced sharpness. What alternatives do we have in Europe to reduce dependence? Can it claim to self-sufficiency? Can it find credible alternative suppliers? How can Russia use energy as a commercial and political weapon and forego traditional clients? Could Russia consider turning to Asia? What would be the political price? These issues cannot find answers without addressing a large geopolitical vision, which requires a fair solution to the Ukrainian dispute, opening a controlled cooperation at the continental scale, from Brest to Vladivostok.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Sarmiento

Making sense of constitutional pluralism: a review of Klemen Jaklic's "Constitutional Making sense of constitutional pluralism: a review of Klemen Jaklic's

in *European Law Review*, vol. 40, issue 1 , 110-117

Klemen Jaklic's book on constitutional pluralism is a comprehensive inquiry into an intellectual movement whose supporters have much less in common than could be expected. In his book, Jaklic makes an effort to systematise the movement and provide a normative dimension to it, something that leads him to defend a utopian model of democracy for the EU. I will argue that this book, with all its virtues, shows also all of the weaknesses of constitutional pluralism: its lack of common premises, an absence of common purpose and a tendency to mix descriptive with normative analyses. The review will thus propose an alternative to the one proposed by the author, but under the assumption that the promise of constitutional pluralism is yet to be achieved, if it ever will be.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andersen Svein S., Sitter Nick

Managing Heterogeneity in the EU: Using Gas Market Liberalisation to Explore the Changing Mechanisms of Intergovernmental Governance

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 3 , 319-334

-Since the Single European Act the EU has brought many 'public' policy sectors characterised by heterogeneity under the umbrella of the Single Market. Consequently, some of the tools employed to shelter these sectors from supranational governance — unanimous decision-making, limited Commission competence and 'ring fenced' national regimes — are no longer fully relevant. The member states and the Commission have therefore developed a series of additional measures to accommodate heterogeneity. The central questions here are: as integration proceeds, what can member states reasonably demand in order to safeguard their interests? And, how can the Commission offer the necessary flexibility? The literature on policy implementation and differentiated integration provides a point of departure for generalisations about changes to mechanisms of intergovernmental governance. The present paper uses developments in the EU gas sector to explore and elaborate how the adoption of new measures changes the mechanisms of intergovernmental governance.



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Perrier Benjamin, Levrat Nicholas

Melting law: Learning from practice in transboundary mountain regions

in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 32-44

Transboundary mountain regions in Europe emerge as normative spaces at the intersection of territorial and environmental governance. Constituting a meeting point of different national legal orders under the umbrella of international regimes, they have become natural laboratories for the development of cross-border law. The objective of this article is to examine the nature and normative dimension of such legal environments. To this end, we introduce the concept of ‘melting law’ as a means to assess the re-combination of different modes of conventional, national, international, supranational and/or interregional normativities. Hard (national) laws melt within the framework of transboundary mountain regions as a legal category, based on a mixture of national, international (or EU) and interregional norms, each combining with the other by softening their usual normative impact. Building on a review of legal approaches to mountains and cross-border cooperation practices, we trace the development of “melting law” and “melted law” through a discussion of the legal framework for and the impact of “working communities” and the “European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation” (EGTC). The discussion mobilizes a global approach with a view to generate new insights into the legal challenges facing transboundary mountain governance in Europe.

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Pantaleo Luca

Member States Prior Agreements and Newly EU Attributed Competence: What Lesson from Foreign Investment

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2, 307-324

ABSTRACT: Among the many changes introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon, one of the most significant ones is the introduction of a new EU exclusive competence concerning foreign investment, as part of the common commercial policy. The exercise of such competence has given rise to several controversial issues, in particular as regards the status and the future of Member States Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) concluded before the attribution of this new competence to the EU. This article considers whether Member States BITs can be safeguarded by an application by analogy of Article 351 TFEU, in the same manner as pre-accession agreements. The analysis will include but extend beyond Regulation No. 1219/2012, which attempts to provide a sound legal regime of a transitory period only.

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Edström Håkan, Gyllensporre Dennis

Minding the Gap between Words and Deeds: Towards a New EU Strategy on Security

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 1, 3-22

ABSTRACT: This article revisits the twenty-three Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)-missions launched before the economic crisis hit the EU and its Member States to generate conclusions that could assist in the strategy



process in Brussels. Six questions anchored in the field of Strategic Studies are operationalized in an analytical framework. Extant EU policies are utilized to identify plausible answers. The analysis suggests that the EU must close the gap between words and deeds to become a more credible actor. It would help the EU to operationalize its ambitions by exploiting its broad portfolio of policy options and to vanguard the post-modern society in crisis management.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefanie Bailer, Mikko Mattila and Gerald Schneider

Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 437–456

Many examinations of the dimensions of conflict in the European Union Council of Ministers focus on the ideological roots of contestation in the EU. This article examines the extent to which structural attributes of the Member States explain the conflict within the Council of Ministers in general as well as in selected policy domains (agriculture, fisheries, environment, economic affairs). Drawing on the political economy literature of legislative decision-making, a multilevel analysis shows that country-level redistributive interests shape the interactions considerably and in some of the policy domains that are examined in more detail. The impact of ideological variables like the left-right positioning of the Member State governments remains inconsistent and marginal in this analysis

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Alastair Stark

More micro than meta? Competing concepts of metagovernance in the European Union

in *Public Policy and Administration*, 30 (1) , 73-91

Interactive and state-centric relational governance scholars disagree about the concept of metagovernance. Contestation relates to who can metagovern, the processes that can steer policy networks and the extent of autonomy held by non-state actors. This article uses data generated from interviews with policy officials and document analysis to examine the validity of these competing claims in relation to a European crisis management network. The findings validate both conceptualisations in terms of the minutia of network governance but they also question their value as a proxy for understanding how the European Union has affected the policymaking authority of the nation-state.

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Nousiainen Marko, Mäkinen Katja

Multilevel Governance and Participation: Interpreting Democracy in EU-programmes

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 208-223

This article offers an ethnographically oriented, interpretive approach for the research into the democratic qualities of multilevel governance (MLG). The complex and networked MLG arrangements, such as the European Union's (EU) participatory policy practices, are changing the traditional roles of public administration and politics in ways we cannot yet fully foresee. Especially, the impact on democracy is subject to debate. With two case studies, this article seeks to



shift the focus of the discussion on the democratic possibilities of MLG from theoretical analysis to empirical research into local and mundane experiences concerning EU policy implementation. The cases studied are the rural development programme LEADER and the youth policy programme Youth in Action. The studies suggest that the participation of NGOs or individual citizens cannot automatically be seen as a counterbalance to administration since the participants seem capable of adopting technocratic or administrative identities and roles. In addition, participatory practices may be geared to impact on the participants instead of functioning as their democratic opportunity to impact on governance. Therefore, this article suggests that the assessments of democracy should not only concentrate on the formal status of the participants: a credible democratic legitimation requires both the possibility and the will to act politically.

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Lewandowski Janusz

My “warts and all” portrait of the EU budget process

in *Europe’s World*, n. 29, Spring

As the EU’s budget commissioner until mid-2014, Janusz Lewandowski wrestled for five years with the inconsistencies and political pressures that shape the Union’s spending policies

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dörr Nikolas

NATO and Eurocommunism. The Fear of a Weakening of the Southern Flank from the mid-1970s to mid-1980s

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christiansen Thomas, Högenauer Anna-Iena, Neuhold Christine

National Parliaments in the post-Lisbon European Union: Bureaucratization rather than Democratization?

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 2, march , 121-140

ABSTRACT: Much of the discussion about the provisions on national parliaments in the Lisbon Treaty has concerned the potential for increasing politicization and parliamentarization of European Union (EU) politics. However, a more immediate change can be expected at the domestic level, as national parliaments adapt to make effective use of these new powers. In order to approach this question systematically, this article develops a framework for the analysis of the Europeanization of national parliaments that starts from the recognition that the Lisbon changes involve an inherent dynamic towards increasing transnational interaction among parliaments as well as pressures to rely more on technical expertise and administrative support in their internal workings. The processes of transnationalization and bureaucratization are considered as key indicators that help us to identify different degrees of Europeanization of national parliaments in the EU. As a final step, the article develops a typology of national parliaments based on the assumption that the more Europeanized parliaments will tend to invest more into their administrative resources and will



engage to a greater extent with other national parliaments as well as with EU-level actors. The conceptual framework developed here is designed to facilitate systematic empirical research into the Europeanization of national parliaments.

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Theodoropoulou Sonia

National social and labour market policy reforms in the shadow of EU bail-out conditionality: The cases of Greece and Portugal

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 13, n. 1, January, 29-55

ABSTRACT: This paper asks whether the Memoranda of Understanding on specific economic policy conditionality (MoUs), signed between bailed-out member states and the EU, have changed the latter's potential to intrude in the reform of national social and labour market policies and, if so, how. What have been the effects of the measures and reforms taken under the MoUs on national social and labour market policies? The MoUs of Greece and Portugal are analysed with a focus on pension systems and labour market policies. It is argued that the MoUs have been unprecedentedly intrusive in national social and labour market policies. The level of intrusiveness has varied, depending on the difficulty of implementing the MoU reforms, the extent to which the macroeconomic adjustment has been seen to be stalling, and the degree to which a given policy area is directly relevant to the adjustment in question. The effects of the reforms induced by the MoUs have sometimes been intended as moves in the direction of a necessary modernisation. However, the pressing demand to cut public expenditure and substantially improve competitiveness, combined with the increase in demand for social and labour market support due to mounting unemployment rates, have weighed heavily on such attempts.

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Karen Del Biondo

Norms or Interests? Explaining Instrumental Variation in EU Democracy Promotion in Africa

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 2, 237-254

This article investigates the causes for instrumental variation in EU democracy promotion in Africa. Can instrumental variation better be explained from a realist or from an idealist perspective? Realism would predict that sanctions are more likely in the absence of historical, security or commercial interests. Idealism would suggest that sanctions are more likely in the case of grave violations of democracy and human rights, in countries that are unstable and economically underperforming, and when there is pressure from regional organizations and domestic actors. Empirically, the article compares two cases (Guinea and Niger) where the EU imposed sanctions and two non-cases (Ethiopia and Rwanda) where the EU was reluctant to do so. Contrary to the prevalent thesis in the literature, the article finds stronger evidence for idealism (which is confirmed in all the cases) than for realism (which is only confirmed in the cases of Guinea and Ethiopia).

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Fredriksen Halvard Haukeland, Franklin Christian N.K.



Of pragmatism and principles: The EEA Agreement 20 years on

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 3 , 629-684

ABSTRACT: For more than 20 years, the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) has extended the EU internal market to the participating Member States of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). However, recent reviews of the Agreement have revealed that its functioning is not as smooth as previously thought, particularly as far as the incorporation of novel EU legislation into the Agreement and its subsequent implementation into the legal orders of the EFTA States are concerned. Furthermore, the relationship between the EFTA Court and the national courts of the EFTA States has been exposed as rather uncooperative in nature. In addition, developments in EU law related for example to citizenship, the Charter of fundamental rights, the blurring of the lines between the internal market and other parts of EU law, and "agencification" within the EU, all add new challenges to the EEA. Sooner rather than later, a general overhaul of the Agreement is required.

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Jarle Trondal, Zuzana Murdoch and Benny Geys

On Trojan Horses and revolving doors: Assessing the autonomy of national officials in the European Commission

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 54, Issue 2 , 249–270

National officials working in international bureaucracies regularly invoke the fear that member states strategically use such officials for influencing decision making and agenda-setting to their advantage. This article theoretically analyses conditions under which the autonomy of national civil servants in international bureaucracies might become compromised. The ensuing predictions are then tested using a unique survey among seconded national experts (SNEs) in the European Commission (N = 400). Finally, evaluating the characteristics linked to reduced autonomy among SNEs in the Commission, the article illustrates that these officials are, in practice, likely to be relatively independent from member state influence.

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"Nothing Is Imposed in This Policy!": The Construction and Constriction of the European Neighbourhood

Ondřej Horký-Hluchá and Petr Kratochvíl

in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 39 (4) , 252-270

The article argues that postcolonial, postdevelopment, Balkanist and East–West slope theories, which reflect the asymmetric relations between "Europe" and its former colonies or other regions on the periphery of the continent, are most likely to give an accurate analysis of the mechanism of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). We offer a new conceptualization of the European Neighborhood and suggest that the European Union (EU) constructs its neighborhood as an ambiguous and transitional other while masking the asymmetric and dominant structure of the ENP through a liberal-democratic discourse. A critical discourse analysis of official documents and speeches confirms the ambiguity, transitiveness, and concealed dominance of the policy and the not-so-benign normative character of the EU. It also suggests that the neighborhood of Europe is not a fixed place and its continuous recreation helps the core of Europe to control the regions and make them comply with its normative as well as geographic expansion. In this respect,



the ENP shows striking similarities with policies of colonialism and neocolonialism.

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Alemanno Alberto, Stefan Oana

Openness at the Court of Justice of the European Union: Toppling a taboo

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 1 , 97-139

ABSTRACT: Despite the pervasive rhetoric of transparency in the EU, the openness of the Court of Justice has received little attention. Openness consists of various forms of active cooperation and communication between the EU institutions and the public. While the Court has consistently guaranteed the principles of transparency of judicial proceedings and publicity of trial vis-à-vis the parties (stemming from Art. 6 ECHR), it has not provided a similar level of "openness" beyond this. By establishing that openness applies essentially to the work of the executive and legislative, the Court emphasized the specificity of its judicial task. This article examines to what extent the public is informed or may obtain information concerning the activity of the Court, paying due regard to the distinction made in Article 15 TFEU between administrative and judicial tasks. It argues that Article 15(1) requires rendering all the activities of the Court more open.

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Zaretti Alessia

Osservatorio europeo. Politiche di asilo e trauma in una prospettiva europea

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 111-137

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Palomeros Jean-Paul

Otan-UE : vers une meilleure synergie

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 781, juin

L'Otan et l'UE jouent un rôle majeur dans leurs domaines de responsabilités. Face à un environnement de plus en plus instable, la démarche actuelle de rapprochement basé sur le pragmatisme doit s'accroître notamment en augmentant pour les partenaires européens leurs investissements de défense.

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Mayer Nonna, Rovny Allison, Rovny Jan, Sauger Nicolas

Outsidersness, Social Class, and Votes in the 2014 European Elections

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1 , 157-176



Les votes ont longtemps été considérés comme structurés par les conflits de classe. Toutefois, lors des élections européennes de 2014, le vote ne semble pas significativement structuré par les classes sociales. Les sociétés post-industrielles sont au contraire confrontées au déclin de la classe ouvrière traditionnelle et au dualisme croissant sur le marché du travail entre individus protégés (insiders) et individus exposés (outsiders). Comment ces changements socio-économiques se traduisent-ils dans le champ politique? À partir de la littérature émergente sur la précarité et des données d'un sondage conduit après les élections européennes de 2014, cet article montre que les clivages de classe traditionnels ont un impact limité sur les comportements électoraux et que la distinction entre insiders et outsiders a surtout des effets négatifs, accroissant l'abstention et diminuant le soutien aux grands partis de droite. Le meilleur facteur explicatif des votes est l'évaluation subjective par les répondants de leur position sociale et de sa trajectoire ascendante ou descendante.

Votes have for a long time been considered to be structured by class conflict. However, in the 2014 European elections, vote does not seem to be significantly structured by traditional class. Instead, contemporary European societies face the melting down of the traditional working class and an increasing dualism between labour market "insiders" and "outsiders". How do these socio-economic changes translate into politics? Building on the emerging literature on outsidersness and a survey conducted after the European elections of 2014, this article shows that traditional class divides have a limited electoral impact and that the insider-outsider divide tends to have only "negative" effects, decreasing voting turnout as well as support for the major right wing parties. The best predictor of voting behaviour is the subjective assessment by the respondents of their social position and its upward or downward trajectory.

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Johnson Richard, Johnston Ron, McLean Iain

Overrepresenting UKIP, underrepresenting the Greens and Lib Dems: the 2014 European Elections in Great Britain

in *Representation*, Volume 50, Issue 4, , 429-437

Revisiting a study conducted by McLean and Johnston in 2009, this article analyses the results of the 2014 European elections in Great Britain. Britain uses a regional list system to select its members of the European Parliament. The d'Hondt method, which is used to allocate votes to seats within each of the 11 regional constituencies in Britain, is shown to have allocated three more MEPs to the UK Independence Party (UKIP) than they would have received under the more proportional 'Sainte-Laguë' method. Additionally, under Sainte-Laguë, the Green Party and the Liberal Democrats would have doubled and tripled, respectively, their representation in the European Parliament.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00344893.2014.982694>

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Thomas Winzen, Christilla Roederer-Rynning & Frank Schimmelfennig

Parliamentary co-evolution: national parliamentary reactions to the empowerment of the European Parliament
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 22, Issue 1, 75-93

Existing research on the European Union's (EU) multilevel parliamentary system builds on the hypothesis of parallel



evolution, situating explanations for European Parliament (EP) empowerment at the EU level and explanations for national parliamentary powers in EU affairs at the national level. We propose the hypothesis of co-evolution, which specifies a connection between national and European arenas of parliamentarization. We study whether the EP's empowerment enhances or reduces pressure on national parliaments to strengthen their own EU-related competences. First, we argue that national parliamentary parties take conscious positions on the powers of the EP. Second, support for the EP among the party composition of national parliaments tells us whether parliaments regard the EP as a competitor or ally, feeling pressed, or relieved of the pressure, to strengthen their EU-related competences.

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Porrassv Ramírez José

Partidos y sistema de partidos a escala europea: de la frustración a la esperanza
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 5-25

No abstract available

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Savevska Maja

Polanyian Reading of the Socio-Economic Transformations of the European Union
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 4 , 395-410

ABSTRACT: In an attempt to analyse the socio-economic transformations of the European Union, an increasing number of scholars have resorted to Polanyi's double movement thesis. In doing so, some scholars, by looking at the evidence of intensified marketisation of social relations, consider the EU disembedded; whereas others identify a re-embedding tendency in the recent surge of socio-environmental protection. The paper follows Lacher, Burawoy, Dale and Streeck's readings of Polanyi and argues that the exiting socio-environmental provisions do not re-embed the economy. Socio-environmental protection does not eclipse the neoliberal accumulation strategy which continues to propagate the disembedding tendency, because it fails to decommodify fictitious commodities. The EU is characterised by a heightened intensification of both disembedding and protective tendencies, which Polanyi contends is disruptive in nature. What emerges out of the dialectics between neoliberalisation and socio-environmental provisions is a decelerated rate of change, which, although it temporarily secures the habitation of man, prevents the inception of a synthesis that is capable of sublating the contradictions of the marketisation/protection binary. Moreover, we have a paradoxical situation wherein the socio-environmental measures, despite their protective invocation, are predicated on deepened commodification.

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Edoardo Bressanelli

Political Parties in the EU: What's Next?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 3 , E187-E206



Political Parties at the European level (Europarties) have traditionally been regarded as weak actors in the EU political system. Yet, this assessment fails to correctly describe the role that the Europarties play in different arenas. The parliamentary parties are responsible to organize the workings of the European Parliament (EP) and have developed strong organizational structures over time. In contrast, the Europarties remain weak in the electoral arena, and in performing a linkage function connecting the EU citizens and institutions. Thus, this article presents the 'state of the art' on Europarties and discusses a number of reforms which could strengthen the role of the extra-parliamentary parties as 'representative' actors. It argues that the role that the Europarties play in the Union today would have been unimaginable only a decade ago. Yet, the average European citizen is still hardly aware of their existence. Some reforms or political actions – such as recognizing individual membership, or sponsoring Citizens' Initiatives – could strengthen their visibility and enhance their status in-between the rounds of EP elections.

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Richard Bellamy & Albert Weale

Political legitimacy and European monetary union: contracts, constitutionalism and the normative logic of two-level games

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 2 , 257-274

The crisis of the euro area has severely tested the political authority of the European Union (EU). The crisis raises questions of normative legitimacy both because the EU is a normative order and because the construction of economic and monetary union (EMU) rested upon a theory that stressed the normative value of the depoliticization of money. However, this theory neglected the normative logic of the two-level game implicit in EMU. It also neglected the need for an impartial and publically acceptable constitutional order to acknowledge reasonable disagreements. By contrast, we contend that any reconstruction of the EU's economic constitution has to pay attention to reconciling a European monetary order with the legitimacy of member state governance. The EU requires a two-level contract to meet this standard. Member states must treat each other as equals and be representative of and accountable to their citizens on an equitable basis. These criteria entail that the EU's political legitimacy requires a form of democracy that we call 'republican intergovernmentalism'. Only rules that could be acceptable as the product of a political constitution among the peoples of Europe can ultimately meet the required standards of political legitimacy. Such a political constitution could be brought about through empowering national parliaments in EU decision-making.

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Andrea Turi

Premesse e conseguenze del voto greco

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXVII (1-2015), "L'Eurasia aggredita su più fronti"

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kovar Robert



Propos conclusifs

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 386

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

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Benos Nikos, Karagiannis Stelios, Karkalakos Sotiris

Proximity and growth spillovers in European regions: The role of geographical, economic and technological linkages

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 43, March 2015 , 124-139

This study examines the role of proximity in regional growth using a multi-dimensional framework, for seven EU countries during 1990–2005. We incorporate geographical as well as economic and technological effects in two seminal growth models in order to test for the existence and magnitude of interregional externalities. Our findings show that spillovers are important for European regional growth, regardless of the measure of proximity; thus regions surrounded by dynamic entities are likely to grow faster than otherwise. Moreover, our results underline the need for coordinated EU policies aiming at higher physical and human capital accumulation, taking into account regional synergies.

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Menuet Maxime, Villieu Patrick

Public Debt Adjustment in a Simple Model of Stochastic Endogenous Growth

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 124, 2014/6 , Page 991 à 1012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sara B. Hobolt & Christopher Wratil

Public opinion and the crisis: the dynamics of support for the euro

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 2 , 238-256

Further integration in the European Union (EU) increasingly depends on public legitimacy. The global financial crisis and the subsequent euro area crisis have amplified both the salience and the redistributive consequences of decisions taken in Brussels, raising the question of how this has influenced public support for European integration. In this contribution, we examine how public opinion has responded to the crisis, focusing on support for monetary integration. Interestingly, our results show that support for the euro has remained high within the euro area; however, attitudes are increasingly driven by utilitarian considerations, whereas identity concerns have become less important. While the crisis has been seen to deepen divisions within Europe, our findings suggest that it has also encouraged citizens in the euro area to form opinions on the euro on the basis of a cost–benefit analysis of European economic governance, rather than relying primarily on national attachments.



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Di Meglio Gisela, Stare Metka, Maroto Andrés, Rubalcaba Luis

Public services performance: an extended framework and empirical assessment across the enlarged EU in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 2, April , 321-341

Performance of the public sector is at the core of long-term wealth creation and welfare improvement. Yet, its measurement remains inadequate and flawed with data deficiency. In this paper we propose an extended framework for the assessment of public services performance that accounts for long-term impacts on welfare and empirically evaluate it across twenty-five European countries on the basis of a wide set of proxy indicators. We relate the performance scores to input costs indices and propose a coherent typology of countries that corresponds to the patterns of economic effectiveness of public services. The empirical analysis reveals that, because of differences in input costs across the enlarged EU, the economic effectiveness of public services varies to a much larger extent than the performance, with some relatively large-sized governments (Sweden, Denmark, Austria) being the most effective ones.

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Gianmarco Daniele & Benny Geys

Public support for European fiscal integration in times of crisis in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 22, Issue 5 , 650-670

The current economic crisis has triggered fierce debates among policy-makers and the media across and within European countries about the need for a closer European fiscal union. Using a novel dataset derived from the Eurobarometer surveys, this article investigates European citizens' opinions towards such fiscal integration. We find that both country-level variables (such as expected country-level costs/benefits) and individual-level variables (such as distrust towards European Union institutions, ideology and altruism) have significant explanatory power. We also uncover a notable intra-generational divide across young citizens of euro creditor and euro debtor countries, and show that this reflects their varying expectations regarding the future costs and benefits of fiscal integration. This demonstrates that the same demographic groups in different countries may have widely varying positions towards fiscal integration.

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Torbjørn Jevnaker

Pushing administrative EU integration: the path towards European network codes for electricity in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 22, Issue 7 , 927-947

The expansion of the European Union's (EU's) administrative capacity could ultimately strengthen the influence of EU bodies at the expense of national governments. Recent scholarship has focused on the establishment of executive-administrative capacity beyond the European Commission, as in the form of EU agencies or networks. Previous research has identified interest constellations and existing transnational networks as important explanations,



showing how the interests of national- and EU-level organizations have tended to group along a national–supranational axis. In 2009, the EU adopted a procedure for making binding EU legislation (network codes), delegating substantial tasks to a new EU energy agency (ACER), a new private European association (ENTSO-E) and to the Commission. Prior to the procedure's adoption, however, 'intra-sectoral' divisions overshadowed national–supranational divergence. Enquiring into the causes, this article finds that complementary use of perspectives can deepen our understanding of why and how the 'European administrative space' emerges.

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Palladino Giovanni

Quantitative Easing or Qualitative Easing?

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 2, Number 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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De Voogt Josse

Redrawing Europe's Map

in *World Policy Journal*, vol. 31, n. 4, winter , 21-30

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Duke Simon

Reflections on the EEAS Review

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 1 , 23-44

ABSTRACT: The EEAS Review leaves plenty of questions open, not the least of which are what it implies for organizational changes, modifications to legal texts, budgets and personnel. The review makes it clear that there are a number of reasonably straight forward adaptations that can be made within the Service. These 'quick wins' are necessary to help the EEAS move beyond its difficult birth and to boost morale. Those recommendations that require more extensive reform and adaptation have yet to be faced, but at least the review makes it clear that there are limits to what can be accomplished by internal reorganization. The review marks the end of transitional phase and it is now up to the EU institutions and the Member States to respond and, in so doing, to decide what kind of Service they want.

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Fasone Cristina

Regional legislatures in the early warning mechanism. When the national (constitutional) identity affects the



cooperation among parliaments in EU affairs

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 2

Regional legislatures in the early warning mechanism. When the national (constitutional) identity affects the cooperation among parliaments in EU affairs

di Cristina Fasone

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Laura Frosina

Regiones y Unión Europea tras el Tratado de Lisboa. El Comité de las Regiones, los Parlamentos regionales y el desafío de la «Multilevel Governance»

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 22

This work aims to reconstruct the role of the Regions in the European multilevel governance in light of the reforms introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. It values the main regional reforms of this Treaty, which have promoted the involvement of subnational levels in the mechanisms of parliamentary and judicial control of the principle of subsidiarity. In particular, these innovations regard the participation of Regional Parliaments to the subsidiarity check system (so-called early warning) and the inclusion of the Committee of the Regions among the subjects entitled to bring an action before the Court of Justice in defense of this principle.

In this context the study focuses on two aspects: a) the new role and functioning of the Committee of the Regions; b) the mechanisms of inter-parliamentary cooperation and regional best practices adopted in the comparative law, with particular reference to the Italian and Spanish experiences. The essay concludes with an assessing on the contribution of the Regions to the European democratization process.

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Makholm Jeff. D.

Regulation of Natural Gas in the United States, Canada, and Europe: Prospects for a Low Carbon Fuel

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Volume 9, Issue 1, Winter , 107-127

The United States and Canada have seen a competitive and technological revolution in unconventional natural gas production in the 21st Century—dramatically lowering the price of gas and displacing high-carbon coal with low-carbon gas for power generation. This gas revolution came from an earlier revolution in the regulation of gas pipelines, which ended the obstruction of gas markets by pipeline interests. Neither revolution has spread to Europe, where increasingly protectionist EU legislation has effectively blocked competitive pipeline entry and related gas markets. As a result, unconventional gas is untapped, coal displaces gas for power generation, and oil-linked gas prices have cost EU consumers a staggering \$425 billion more than their US counterparts have paid since 2009 for about the same quantity of gas. Europe faces a serious institutional challenge to adopting the kind of pipeline regulation that facilitates the competitive flow of natural gas supplies and the accompanying lower carbon emissions.



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Nieto Solís José A.

Reinforcing Economy and Monetary Union and Welfare State Policies

in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 0 , 115-128

This paper raises three arguments to reinforce the economic and social aspects of the Economic and Monetary Union. First, the Welfare State is not responsible for the crisis and its effects on fiscal deficits and unemployment levels. Second, the reduction of public deficits cannot be based on more cutbacks in social policies. Third, if analysts and citizens would better perceive the incentives and costs of public policies, governmental actions should gain in efficiency, stability, equity and stimulus of economic growth. These arguments are developed from three perspectives: the Welfare State as a public expenditure, as a framework of social policies, and as a sustainable common investment. In conclusion, by opposition to the neo-liberal paradigm and its insistence on reducing the size of the State, academic debates should focus on theoretical, methodological and empirical aspects that would aid to analyze more rigorously the various effects of Social Market Economy as a model to reinforce the Economic and Monetary Union in Europe.

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Kornezov Alexander

Res judicata of national judgments incompatible with EU law: Time for a major rethink?

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 51, issue 3 , 809-842

ABSTRACT: There is currently much uncertainty about the extent to which EU law can affect national rules on res judicata. The reason for this is the mainly casuistic approach which has so far prevailed both in the case law and in the doctrine. This article puts forward a new framework for examining the matter. It argues, in essence, that EU law can - and should - impose, on the one hand, stricter limits on the authority of res judicata of national judgments incompatible with EU law and, on the other hand, allow retrial in certain circumstances for the purpose of remedying a violation of that law.

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Zbiral Robert

Restoring tasks from the European Union to Member States: A bumpy road to an unclear destination?

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 52, issue 1 , 51-84

ABSTRACT: For a long time, integration was viewed as a one-dimensional deepening process consisting of the transfer of Member States' competences to the EU, while the reverse procedure was treated as non-existent. But although re-nationalization might be considered controversial, it does not have to be destructive for the EU. This was openly accepted by the Lisbon Treaty, which specified conditions for exercising competences and introduced the return of EU competences to the Member States as a viable option. This article concentrates on the partial restoration of tasks (contrary to complete repatriation - i.e. withdrawal from the EU), which might be executed either as repatriation through the revision of primary law or as deactivation through repeal of secondary law. Attention is given not only to theoretical legal framework, but also to past empirical practice. As results indicate, very few restorations have taken place. The text



explores obstacles to re-nationalization and suggests potential solutions.

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Kristine Mitchell

Rethinking the 'Erasmus Effect' on European Identity

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 330–348

The Erasmus programme for university student exchange was developed, in part, to foster European identity among its participants, who complete a short-term sojourn studying in another European country. However, two previous panel studies of the impact of Erasmus participation on European identity find no significant 'Erasmus effect'. This article analyzes new survey data – a novel panel study of 1,729 students from 28 universities in six countries – and finds the opposite: participation in an Erasmus exchange is significantly and positively related to changes in both identification as European and identification with Europe. Furthermore, the data underscore the significance of cross-border interaction and cognitive mobilization for explaining identity change: transnational contact during the exchange is positively related to change in both dimensions of European identity, and increased knowledge of Europe and attention to European news over the course of the exchange is associated with enhanced identification with Europe.

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Makarychev Andrey

Russia and/versus the EU: From Post-political Consensus to Political Contestations

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 374, 2014/4 , 27-39

In this article I argue that the EU-Russia conflict over the Ukraine results from a political collision of EU's and Russia's foreign policy philosophies. With the end of the Cold War both Russia and the EU defined their foreign policies in similar terms, grounded mostly in the prevalence of managerial, administrative and legal—and thus post-political—aspects of governance over political and ideological issues. Yet paradoxically, the cumulative result of the two technocratic—and in many respects pragmatic—projects was the growing politicization of the entire spectrum of bilateral relations and the common neighborhood area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Perrott Danielle

Saint-Martin, collectivité d'outre-mer face à ses obligations de région ultrapériphérique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 344-352

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kovar Jean-Philippe

Sanction des pratiques anticoncurrentielles et personnalité des peines

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 362-369

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dawson Mark, De Witte Floris

Self-Determination in the Constitutional Future of the EU

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 371–383

This article analyses three prominent proposals for the functional and political transformation of the EU from a constitutional perspective. It argues that existing EU reform proposals, to varying degrees, entrench rather than reverse the challenges to individual and political self-determination brought about by the EU's response to its Euro crisis. As the article will conclude, challenging 'authoritarian liberalism' in an EU context may require the development of a constitutional structure for the Union able to contest, rather than set in stone, the EU's existing economic and political goals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elias Anwen

Simulating the European Union: Reflections on Module Design

in *International Studies Perspectives* , vol. 15, issue 4, november , 407-422

ABSTRACT: Getting undergraduate students to understand the complex institutional workings and policies of the European Union (EU) can be extremely challenging. For this reason, many academics have turned to simulations as a way of bringing EU politics to life for students. This article describes and evaluates the design of a new undergraduate module simulating the Czech Presidency of the European Union. Emphasis is placed on the process of defining learning objectives, designing appropriate assessment methods, and putting teaching strategies to support student learning in place. This design process is too often overlooked in the simulation literature, although it is key to maximizing student learning. As such, the module offers a template of how to organize a simulation and can reduce some of the set-up costs involved in such an exercise. Evaluation of the simulation module finds evidence of student learning on the module, with support for both the innovative forms of assessment devised and the support strategy put in place to help students succeed in meeting the assessment criteria.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jorge Alguacil González-Aurioles

Sobre la articulación de ordenamientos en la unión europea. A propósito del libro transposición de directivas y autogobierno coordinado por Xabier Arzoz Santisteban

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 34 , 413-424



The work subject of comment is directed by Arzoz Santisteban and focuses on analyzing the potential that has the directive to articulate ordinal pluralism generated by the process of European integration in our territorial order. But the theory has to be contrasted with the practical reality. It is very interesting to read this book because it affects precisely in this legal standard and analysis the development that has in practice: is really their practice friendly with this ordinal pluralism? The truth is that as it is revealed in the book on the theory we start from the known principle of institutional autonomy, the practice may attached to produce a domain of the central State in the transposition of the EU law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wohlgemuth Michael

Social Market Economy and the European Union. Ordnungspolitik during the Crisis in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 0 , 63-75

Although the notion Ordnungspolitik still remains foreign to many Europeans, it could be seen as a leitmotiv of Social Market Economy. The history of European integration has not followed Röpke's ideal of "bottom-up integration", of liberalism and charity that begins "at home". However, European integration has to some extent been successful in terms of Ordnungspolitik. This is mainly thanks to the handover of responsibilities such as open markets and the protection of competition to largely independent bodies (such as the European Commission and the ECJ). However, in the area of fiscal and monetary policy, self-commitment via Treaties (the Stability and Growth Pact) and delegation (ECB) has proven itself to be inadequate and lacking in credibility. Thereby, the current crisis of confidence can be resolved only through more credible selfcommitment to the principles of Ordnungspolitik. Today we face the danger of confuse integration with standardisation and a politically correct view held during top-level discussions on European policy. But we should not forget Röpke's warning that interventionist centralisation could turn into "an explosive tool for disintegration".

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Velo Dario

Social Market Economy and the Future of European Unification in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 0 , 23-52

Europe and the world are now facing one another with two opposing visions containing a series of forces and ideas. A first perspective asserted itself in the last part of the XX century and resulted in globalisation, radical liberism (market without institutions) and relativism. A second perspective is appearing now as a convergence of new ideals, and includes a new humanism, a Social Market Economy, neo-liberalism (orderly relations between State and markets), human rights, federalism and subsidiarity. Europe can develop a new economic, social and institutional order, in this second perspective. Rules are called upon to guarantee the orderly development of this new Europe. Monetary Union has already approved rules aimed at guaranteeing the management of inflation and State deficits while respecting subsidiarity. Economic Union will be called upon to develop this approach extending it to sovereign debt and means for development.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Freire Paula Vaz

**Social Services of General Interest (SSGI) and the Sustainability of European Social Model
in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)**, Volume 1, Number 1 , 27-50

This text analyses the features of SSIG within the broad category of SIG. Since no binding definition can be found either in primary or secondary EU law, social services have to be considered in accordance to the principles, aims and organization forms they are delivered. It is then analysed the legal framework and the role of SSGI in fulfilling territorial, social and economic cohesion, high level of employment, equality, social inclusion and economic growth. The social dimension of the EU integration process reinforced by the Treaty of Lisbon determines, in our view, an increasing relevance of SSIG and the adjustment of EU law to their specificity. As many European countries face serious financial constraints, reforming welfare state becomes imperative, but only reforms based on social investment policies and social consensus will create a trust environment necessary to guarantee the preservation and sustainability of Europe's social model.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moreira Teresa

**Social Services of General Interest and the Social Market Economy After the Treaty of Lisbon
in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)**, Volume 1, Number 2 , 111-142

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vuillemey Guillaume

**Sovereign Default and Bank CDS Payments in Europe
in Revue d'Economie Politique**, Volume 124, 2014/6 , Page 927 à 952

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Badarau Cristina, Huart Florence, Sangaré Ibrahima

**Sovereign Risk Premium and Divergent Fiscal Policies in a Monetary Union
in Revue d'Economie Politique**, Volume 124, 2014/6 , Page 867 à 898

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gonçalves Carlos Eduardo, Guimaraes Bernardo

Sovereign default risk and commitment for fiscal adjustment

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 95, Issue 1, January 2015 , 68-82

This paper studies fiscal policy in a model of sovereign debt and default. A time inconsistency problem arises: since the price of past debt cannot be affected by current fiscal policy and governments cannot credibly commit to a certain path of tax rates, debtor countries choose suboptimally low fiscal adjustments. An international organization, capable of designing a contract that coaxes debtors into a tougher fiscal stance via the provision of cheap senior lending in times of crisis, can work as a commitment device and improve social welfare.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Stabilité budgétaire et équilibre des ordres juridiques

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 588, mai , 265-266

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Miguel Otero-Iglesias

Stateless Euro: The Euro Crisis and the Revenge of the Chartalist Theory of Money

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 349–364

This article argues that contemporary optimum currency area (OCA) theory is limited in its capacity to understand the euro crisis because it emanates from the commodity-exchange theory of money and therefore under-estimates the necessity of a (sovereign) political authority to underpin any given monetary space. An alternative conception of money, based on the chartalist approach, is more useful for grasping the fundamental weaknesses in European monetary union (EMU). Overall, the argument is that EMU will remain a fragile edifice as long as the eurozone does not create a centralized and legitimate political authority capable of taxing eurozone citizens at the European level. In order for this to be achieved, France and Germany need to resolve the 'game of chicken' in which they are entangled and strengthen their co-operative efforts towards creating a European sovereign.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

James A. Caporaso, Min-hyung Kim, Warren N. Durrett & Richard B. Wesley

Still a regulatory state? The European Union and the financial crisis

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 7 , 889-907

The European Union (EU) has been conceptualized as a regulatory state, i.e., an emerging polity that differs from the classic Westphalian state. Unable to engage in redistribution and stabilization, the EU has specialized in a range of



regulatory functions related to market creation and management of externalities. We argue that the European financial crisis is pushing the EU to move beyond regulation. We explore the origins of and responses to the crisis, and examine the ways in which the crisis is creating pressures for stabilization and fiscal policy. Indeed, we argue that significant inroads into these areas have already been made and further changes in the direction of stabilization and fiscal policy are likely, though whether such competences are centralized or decentralized is an open question.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hassenteufel Patrick, Palier Bruno

Still the sound of silence? Towards a new phase in the Europeanisation of welfare state policies in France in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 1, January, 112-130

ABSTRACT: To what extent have the recent re-enforcement of the EU budgetary competences lead to a stronger capacity of the EU to prescribe welfare state reforms in France? To answer this question, we compare the situation before and after the regulatory changes at the EU level. We first analyse long-term trends in French welfare reform since the early 1990s until 2009. We underline a strong consistency between EU recommendations and French reforms, despite an absence of explicit reference to EU guidelines when French politicians are presenting the reforms. Governments were afraid that referring to Europe would reinforce opposition to already unpopular welfare reforms. Second, we focus on the reforms adopted when France has been subjected to Excessive Deficit Procedure (in 2009 and since 2013). French authorities have (re)-discovered that the EU has gained two means of pressure: first, the need for deficit reduction is now explicitly integrated into French political discourses and policies (thus having a strong impact on control over social spending) and, second, the EU is able to demand evidence of reform. Finally, we show that France has maintained some flexibility on the timing and content of the reforms. Because, on the one side, welfare state reforms need to be negotiated domestically and, on the other side, of growing market concern about public debt, it remains difficult to claim that Brussels is the main driver of welfare state reform.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Veit Paul

Stoppt den Europäischen Gerichtshof? Richterlicher Aktivismus als rechtskontextuelle Notwendigkeit in Recht und Politik, 50. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 90-94

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Genga Nicola

Sull'euroscetticismo: elementi di analisi per un percorso di ricerca in Democrazia e diritto, fascicolo 2

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dumbrava Costica

Super-foreigners and Sub-citizens: Mapping Ethno-national Hierarchies of Foreignness and Citizenship in Europe

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, 2015 , 296-310

From the viewpoint of the state, a person is either a citizen or a foreigner. National citizenship laws divide people into citizens and foreigners. But citizenship laws also differentiate between categories of citizens and foreigners by granting certain foreigners (super-foreigners) preferential admission to citizenship and by restricting citizenship rights and privileges to certain citizens (sub-citizens). This article analyses comparatively current legal rules on the acquisition and loss of citizenship and on the exercise of citizenship privileges in 38 European countries in order to map ethno-national hierarchies of foreignness and citizenship. It builds a typology of ethno-national rules of citizenship and challenges widely held theses about the liberalisation and de-ethnicisation of citizenship regimes in Europe.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Popescu Alexandra, Turcu Camélia

Systemic Sovereign Risk in Europe: an MES and CES Approach

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 124, 2014/6 , Page 899 à 925

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

von Bogdandy Armin, Ioannidis Michael

Systemic deficiency in the rule of law: What it is, what has been done, what can be done

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 1 , 59-96

ABSTRACT: There is currently a widespread view that the EU is in crisis. This crisis is not only financial, but, most importantly, it touches upon the founding principles of the Union as set out in Article 2 TEU. Among them, a principle that has served as the cornerstone of European integration already from its early stages seems particularly threatened: the rule of law. Due to endemic corruption, weak institutional capacities, or insufficient resources at the administrative or judicial levels, some EU Member States present so grave deficiencies in guaranteeing the rule of law that their conformity with basic EU standards is seriously questioned. Although it is obvious that the EU cannot stay inactive in the face of such grave deficiencies, it remains unclear how potential responses fit with the overall EU constitutional framework. This article aims at contributing to this discussion by developing the concept of systemic deficiency in the rule of law.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ter Kuile Gijsbert, Vissink Laura, Bovenschen Willem

Tailor-made accountability within the Single Supervisory Mechanism

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 52, issue 1 , 155-189

ABSTRACT: Banking supervision within the euro zone has been placed in the hands of the European Central Bank in order to restore financial stability and aid economic recovery. This "Single Supervisory Mechanism" is an important step in further integrating the financial markets and indeed the European Union itself. The SSM creates new legal realities within EU law. In bolstering EU integration, a key question concerns the democratic legitimacy of the SSM. The article argues that different modes of accountability can be identified in the creation and operation of the SSM, of a political, administrative and judicial nature. This great variety leads to tailor-made accountability which keeps power in check while respecting the independence of the banking supervisors.

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Vimercati Aurora

Teorie e prassi del dialogo sociale europeo

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno IX, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 485-502

This paper focuses on social dialogue at the level of the European Union and compares its theories and practices, from the very origin to the latest developments, with concepts and experiments of industrial democracy as developed in the seventies. This analysis aims at stressing some ambiguities still undermining the making of social regulation in the European Union and their implications on national legal and industrial relations systems.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maja Kluger Rasmussen

The Battle for Influence: The Politics of Business Lobbying in the European Parliament

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 365–382

The European Parliament (EP) has become an increasingly important lobbying venue for business due to the recent enhancement of its regulatory powers. Existing research, however, disagrees on the extent to which the intensified business lobbying has resulted in increased business influence on EP policy outcomes. Some studies find a 'business bias' in the EP, while others still perceive it to be a forceful promoter of diffuse interests (such as consumer and environmental groups). This article examines the conditions under which business groups shape policy outcomes in the EP. The article uses a comparative qualitative case study design of four recent legislative dossiers, and draws on process-tracing of EU documents and lobbying letters, and 145 interviews. It finds that the ability of business to leave its fingerprints on EP reports depends on a number of factors – most notably business unity, low issue salience and dossiers being dealt with by mainstream committees.

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Svensson Sara, Nordlund Carl

The Building Blocks of a Euroregion: novel Metrics to Measure Cross-border Integration
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 3 , 371-389

European Union (EU) external governance is predisposed to strategic concerns of effectively strengthening security and maintaining stability in third countries. This is exemplified by a consequential use of a transgovernmental strategy leaning on connections for interdependent policy co-ordination in its inexorable good governance influence. This strategy reflects soft-partnership-based norms of horizontal cooperation that coordinate actors at various political levels in favour of regional security and national stability. Relying on multilevel governance, this article analyses the potentials of EU external governance in GLA region, which indicates that it is contingent on the domestic governance equilibrium. The analysis shows that EU considerations for regional stability and security ensue into horizontal multilevel governance networks. It is further evinced that this increases societal interactions incessantly allowing receptivity and implementation of good governance ideas. This appreciably, complements the salient hierarchical and bottom-up modes of governance conversely impelling robust EU leverage in the region.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Severin Fischer & Oliver Geden

The Changing Role of International Negotiations in EU Climate Policy
in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 1 , 1-7

For many years, the EU pursued the strategy of 'leading by example' in international climate negotiations. Climate policy has generally been seen as one of the few policy fields in which the EU is able to develop coherent positions and speak with a single voice. Since the Copenhagen climate summit, however, frictions inside the EU and a paradigm shift have become increasingly evident. With the October 2014 compromise in the European Council on a new framework for 2030, the international climate negotiations have become less important and a more incremental domestic approach has prevailed.

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Lovec Marko, Erjavec Emil

The Co-decision Trap
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2015 , 52-58

Since the 1980s, the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy has undergone a series of reforms that were facilitated by the changes in decision-making rules such as the introduction of the qualified majority vote. This article argues that the introduction of the co-decision procedure under the Lisbon Treaty, which increased the European Parliament's legislative powers, has generated a "co-decision trap" that has hindered further reforms.

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Richard Bellamy



The Democratic Legitimacy of International Human Rights Conventions: Political Constitutionalism and the European Convention on Human Rights

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, no. 4 , 1019-1042

International Human Rights Courts (IHRCTs), such as the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), have come under increasing criticism as being incompatible with domestic judicial and legislative mechanisms for upholding rights. These domestic instruments are said to possess greater democratic legitimacy than international instruments do or could do. Within the UK this critique has led some prominent judges and politicians to propose withdrawing from the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). Legal cosmopolitans respond by denying the validity of this democratic critique. By contrast this article argues that such criticisms are defensible from a political constitutionalist perspective but that International Human Rights Conventions (IHRCTs) can nevertheless be understood in ways that meet them. To do so, IHRCT must be conceived as legislated for and controlled by an international association of democratic states, which authorizes IHRCTs and holds them accountable, limiting them to 'weak review'. The resulting model of IHRCT is that of a 'two level' political constitution. The ECHR is shown to largely accord with this model, which is argued to be both more plausible and desirable than a legal cosmopolitan model that sidelines democracy and advocates 'strong' review.

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Bach Tobias, Ruffing Eva, Yesilkagit Kutsal

The Differential Empowering Effects of Europeanization on the Autonomy of National Agencies

in *Governance*, Volume 28, Issue 3 , 285–304

This article examines the influence of Europeanization on the relationship between ministries and agencies at the national level. The core argument is that the differentiated nature of the international environment (with policy development often transferred to the international level and policy implementation left at the national level) transforms national agencies into policy-developing actors that shape policies without being directly influenced by their national political principals. The increasingly common involvement of national agencies in European policymaking processes thereby increases these agencies' policy-development autonomy but does not change their role in policy implementation. We examine this argument by testing an innovative hypothesis—the differentiation hypothesis—on a combined data set of German and Dutch national agencies. Our empirical findings support the hypothesis in both countries, suggesting that similar effects can be expected in other contexts in which semiautonomous agencies are involved in transnational policymaking.

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Johnsen Tom O., Rieker Pernille

The EEA and Norway Grants: A Source of Soft Power?

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 4 , 417-432

Much of the EU literature is concerned with power in one way or the other — voting power, negotiation power, normative power, etc. However, less attention has been accorded to the power of national financial contributions. While it is difficult to isolate the power potential linked to the size and the character of the contributions from the different member states it might be easier to investigate the power potential of the contributions of a close associated non-member, like Norway.



This is precisely what this article attempts to do. It investigates the EEA and Norway Grants and asks whether the contribution can be viewed as a source of Norwegian soft power.

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Battams Samantha, van Schaik Louise, Van de Pas Remco

The EU as a Global Health Actor: Policy Coherence, Health Diplomacy and WHO Reform
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 4 , 539-561

ABSTRACT: This article explores the European Union's (EU) role and position on global health, including its role in the World Health Organization (WHO), and the impact of the Lisbon Treaty. Struggles over the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty potentially undermine the EU's ability to speak with one voice and its effectiveness. EU influence is determined by the remit of the EU (defined by competences outlined in the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, TFEU), as well as the specific rules and procedures of international institutions. Based on empirical research, we considered the role of the EU in global health, via policy and policy coherence across the EU when it came to health matters (including the WHO reform) and through EU representation within multilateral fora. We conclude that the EU is a significant player in global health. It has established global health policy and played a leadership role in negotiating international health agreements. It has had a coordinated voice at the WHO, whilst being less cohesive in other multilateral health fora. Effectiveness of EU representation at the WHO was affected by a number of factors, including Member State's (MS) trust in EU representation and reluctance to cede competence on health matters, lack of EU flexibility in negotiations, lengthy EU coordination processes, MS vying for influence within the EU, and MS rather than EU engagement in behind the scenes and 'soft power' diplomacy. Vertical and horizontal integration within and across the EU also determined EU influence within international organizations. The Lisbon Treaty also had limited impact due to MS and others' concerns about the EU acting on institutional matters. The results are considered in light of the role that global health plays within foreign policy, the multitude of global health actors and prior theory and research on the EU's role in multilateral governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sicurelli Daniela

The EU as a norm promoter through trade. The perceptions of Vietnamese elites
in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 13, n. 1, March , 23-39

This paper investigates how the external images of the European Union (EU) shape its identity vis-à-vis the USA and focuses on how Vietnamese elites perceive EU-sponsored norms in the context of the ongoing bilateral trade negotiations. The EU emerges as an actor able to export regulatory standards, improve the status of its trade partner within multilateral forums and, at the same time, respect the local ownership of the development process. At the same time, it is criticized for the lack of coherence in its foreign policy, its internal divisions and intrusiveness in Vietnamese domestic politics. Moreover, differences emerge in the way government and non-governmental actors portray the EU, further challenging its univocal representation as a political leader. These perceptions have implications concerning the EU's ability to export its constitutive principles and values to Vietnam. More broadly, this case study provides insights into the prospects of a future interregional trade agreement with the ASEAN and carries out a critical assessment of the identity and role of the EU as a normative power.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gloria Regonini

The EU governmentality and its problems

in Stato e mercato, numero 1 , 85-96

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Park Sung-Hoon, Yoon Sung-Won

The EU in the views of Korean 'elites': new findings and some lessons

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 13, n. 1, March , 1-21

The last two decades have seen most significant developments, which led to incremental upgrading of the Korea-EU bilateral relationship, including the adoption by the European Commission in 1993 of a strategy paper toward Korea, the presidency role played by Korea in the third Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Summit in 2000 and the launch and entering into force of the bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) in 2007 and 2011, respectively, as well as the upgrading of the relationship to a strategic partnership in 2010. The imagery of the EU, however, does not seem to have improved substantially as these series of positive developments in bilateral relationship might suggest, as manifested in a few recent studies conducted on the EU perception in Asia and Korea. As an extension of the two previous interviews of Korean elites carried out in 2006 and 2009, a new round of elite interviews has been conducted to find out how the perception of the EU in the mindset of Korean elites has changed over the past years. The main findings of this paper are as follows. First, among a number of changes found in the comparative analysis of the three interviews, the bilateral FTA that appeared at the top as an immediate image of the EU in the two previous interviews lost its place substantially. Instead, the Eurozone crisis has become one of most influential EU images in the mid of Korean elites. Second, the global actorness of the EU has become substantively weakened in the eyes of the Korean elites over the past few years. As this was most strongly pronounced in the group of media representatives, the authors expect it to have lasting impacts on the images of the EU in the wider Korean public.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Radeljić, Branislav

The EU, European Identity and the Role of Citizens

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 16, n. 2 , 321-328

It is a bibliography on the topic.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steve Peers

The EU's Accession to the ECHR: The Dream Becomes a Nightmare
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 1, 213-222

Just before Christmas 2014, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU or the Court) gave its long-awaited ruling on the European Union's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). This ruling, Opinion 2/13, is a complex judgment that raises many legal questions. This case comment sets out: A summary of the ruling; an assessment of the consequences of the ruling; and an initial critique of the Court's reasoning. On the latter point, the Court's ruling is fundamentally flawed. In short, the Court is seeking to protect the basic elements of EU law by disregarding the fundamental values upon which the Union was founded.

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Delcour Laure, Wolczuk Katarzyna

The EU's Unexpected 'Ideal Neighbour'? The Perplexing Case of Armenia's Europeanisation
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 4, 491-507

The question of why some countries adopt external policy is particularly salient with regard to Armenia. All indicators suggest that Armenia would be unlikely to respond to EU stimuli for reform. And yet, in the early 2010s, Armenia vigorously adopted EU policy and institutional templates. This article seeks to explain this conundrum by exploring how EU policies (especially under the Eastern Partnership) feed into the domestic context and meet the agenda of national elites. The article deliberately departs from the mainstream explanations of 'Europeanisation beyond accession' and argues that closer scrutiny of the domestic context is a sine qua non for making sense of the baffling discrepancies in neighbouring states' responses to EU policies. The case of Armenia vividly demonstrates the imperative for re-assessing the approaches that have so far focused on EU-level factors and for bringing together EU variables with a detailed analysis of the domestic and regional contexts.

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Hubert Gabrisch and Karsten Staehr

The Euro Plus Pact: Competitiveness and External Capital Flows in the EU Countries
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3, 558-576

The Euro Plus Pact was approved by the European Union countries in March 2011. The pact stipulates various measures to strengthen competitiveness with the ultimate aim of preventing accumulation of unsustainable external imbalances. This article uses Granger causality tests to assess the short-term linkages between changes in relative unit labour costs and changes in the current account balance for the period 1995-2011. The main finding is that changes in the current account balance precede changes in relative unit labour costs, while there is no discernible effect in the opposite direction. This suggests that capital flows from the European core to the periphery contributed to the divergence in unit labour costs across Europe prior to the global financial crisis. The results also suggest that the measures to restrain unit labour costs may have only limited effect on the current account balance in the short term.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Combes Jean-Louis, Minea Alexandru, Mustea Lavinia, Ndoye Sow Mousse

The Euro and the Crisis: Evidence on Recent Fiscal Multipliers

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 124, 2014/6 , Page 1013 à 1038

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Fiott

The European Commission and the European Defence Agency: A Case of Rivalry?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 542–557

This article analyzes relations between the European Commission and the European Defence Agency (EDA) as they relate to European defence-industrial co-operation. To undertake the analysis, the article departs from a strictly intergovernmental-supranational study of institutional relations by building upon the concept of 'mandate overlap'. Additionally, the focus is on the constitutive policy approach of each institution. The EDA's approach is characterized as ad hoc and project-based in nature, and the European Commission's approach is structural and market-based. Once the two approaches are delineated, the article then investigates whether either of the bodies has deviated from their respective mandates over a period beginning in 1996 and ending in 2013. On this basis, the conclusion is that there is evidence of rivalry between the two bodies, especially when European Union Member States decide to use either entity to secure their interests.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Harrison Jackie, Pukallus Stefanie

The European Community's Public Communication Policy 1951-1967

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 24, n. 2, May , 233-251

From its inception the European Community had a civil aim: the need to stimulate a European civil consciousness. Viewed as a pre-condition for the popular acceptance of increased European integration, this provided the rationale for the Community's public communication policy of 1951–1967. The Community pursued this civil aim through two distinct public communication approaches: populist (1951–1962) and opinion leader led (1963–1967). We contend that the way the Community undertook its public communication policy cannot be understood without considering the Community's civil aim. This leads us to question some of the common views held concerning the significance of European public communication policy from 1951 to 1967.

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Keating Michael

The European Dimension to Scottish Constitutional Change

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 201-208

Abstract

Scottish self-government and European integration are linked. Europe has become an important framework for the independence project. Evidence for Scots being more pro-European is ambivalent, but there is a pro-European consensus in Scottish political parties and civil society. In the referendum campaign, the No side suggested that an independent Scotland might not gain admission to the European Union. If the United Kingdom as a whole should vote to withdraw from the EU in a future referendum but Scotland to stay in, the independence question would re-emerge. In the absence of independence, a number of issues arise as to how Scottish interests can best be represented in the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Austermann Frauke

The European External Action Service and its Delegations: a diplomatic service of different speeds

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 51-57

The EU Delegations are an integral part of the European External Action Service: since the Treaty of Lisbon they constitute the official diplomatic representation of the European Union abroad and are hence prototype “European embassies”. Despite these steps towards further political integration, the Treaty of Lisbon cannot streamline the differences across third states. The European External Action Service hence remains a diplomatic service of different speeds. But what third country characteristics accelerate or slow down the speed of creating a unified European voice towards a given country? This article summarizes the findings of the first comprehensive study of the EU's diplomatic representation. The results show that the EU can centralize diplomacy rather well in developing countries and – quite surprisingly – also in countries of strategic/security importance. Equally surprising is that the EU encounters difficulties centralizing diplomacy towards major economic partners. Finally, and counter-arguing the literature on Normative Power Europe, the EU cannot centralize diplomacy particularly well in countries where it (should be) inclined to diffuse its norms.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.986700>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mosconi Franco

The European Industrial Policy "Triangle"

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 2 , 37-76

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Cofelice Andrea, Stavridis Stelios

The European Parliament as an International Parliamentary Institution (IPI)

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 145-178

ABSTRACT: Interest in the role of International Parliamentary Institutions (IPIs) remains extremely limited, especially if one considers their growing numbers, functions, and importance in the international relations of a globalizing world. This article aims at contextualizing the European Parliament (EP)'s international role according to the IPIs literature, by asking whether the EP can be included in comparative studies on IPIs or, on the contrary, if it should rather be considered a 'sui generis' phenomenon - because of its role in European Union (EU) integration and the scope of its powers. Our argument is that the EP can (and should) be included in comparative studies on IPIs, at least for two different reasons: (i) by exploring conditions under which IPIs are established and empowered; (ii) by analysing the EP's external relations. As a result, both the literature on IPIs and that on the external dimension of the EP will be enriched and allow for more, including synergetic, work in areas where there still is a clear academic gap. Accordingly, there will be three different sections. The first section will offer the background empirical description of what IPIs are, what their historical evolution has been, as well what are the more relevant definitions and categorizations offered by the literature to date. In the following section, the main argument will be developed, through the operationalization of IPIs' different powers. After a brief presentation of the specific tools that the EP has been developing over the years in its external relations, the third section will focus on its inter-parliamentary assemblies. Finally, the conclusions will sum up some general findings, as well as identify a number of possible avenues for future research on the role of IPIs in world affairs.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dannreuchter Charles

The European Social Model after the crisis: the end of a functionalist fantasy?

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 3 , 329-341

ABSTRACT: What is the European Social Model (ESM) for? This paper argues that it is best seen as an ideal type that facilitates the selection of values that sustains the political economy of the European Union. The ESM has facilitated integration in response to changing systemic requirements in the EU: to compensate for Economic and Monetary Union, to coordinate responses to globalisation under the Lisbon Agenda and to offer solace within the EU 2020 agenda after the sovereign debt crisis. As the systemic demands of the EU have changed, the ESM has not. It now has damaging effects on society which have harmed the political integration of the EU. In conclusion, it is argued that the ESM was a missed opportunity, and that while it remains an ideal type rather than a reality, it needs to present a more ambitious political agenda that would reconfirm the EU's commitment to its society over its markets.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pirozzi Nicoletta

The European Union and Civilian Crisis Management after Lisbon

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 287-306

ABSTRACT: This article aims at analysing the strengths and shortfalls of the European Union (EU) Civilian Crisis Management (CCM) system after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. The Treaty introduced a number of important



innovations at the strategic, institutional and operational level that have the potential to produce a significant impact on the way in which the EU addresses today's complex crises and defines its role in the international security environment. The article starts out with a review of the origin and evolution of the EU as a civilian crisis manager actor, with a view to point out the main steps, concrete achievements and remaining gaps on the eve of the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty. The second part focuses on the assessment of the Lisbon Treaty's innovations in the CCM system in terms of institutions, mechanisms and capabilities. The following section is dedicated to the evaluation of the experience on the ground, conducted through the identification of the main trends of CCM after Lisbon. The analysis relies on the study of the civilian missions launched by the EU since 2012: EUCAP Sahel Niger, EUCAP Nestor, EUAVSEC South Sudan and, more recently, EUBAM Libya, EUCAP Sahel Mali and EUAM Ukraine. The last part offers some policy recommendations for the EU in order to improve its performance in the field of CCM through improved strategies, institutional set-up, operational planning and capability development.

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Brown Garrett Wallace

The European Union and Kant's idea of cosmopolitan right: Why the EU is not cosmopolitan
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 3, september , 671-693

ABSTRACT: When surveying the literature on cosmopolitan thought, it is common to see cosmopolitans allude to theoretical, historical and practical links between Immanuel Kant's idea for a cosmopolitan federation and the formulation of the European Union. However, this relationship between Kant and 'Kant's Europe' remains a rather underdeveloped assumption and there is compelling exegetical and practical evidence to suggest that this relationship is not as robust as is generally assumed. In response, this article explores the link between Kant's vision for a cosmopolitan federation and its consanguinity with the formation and practice of the European Union. By doing so, it will be argued that a link between Kant and the European Union can only be reasonably claimed to exist at the level of Kant's first two Definitive Articles and that the European Union remains rather impoverished with regard to Kant's more radical concept of cosmopolitan right.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Copeland Paul

The European Union and the "social Deficit"
in *Representation*, Volume 51, Issue 1 , 93-106

The aim of this article is to analyse democracy, legitimacy and interest representation within the European Union. Taking the recent rise of populist parties within the European Parliament and declining levels of public support for the European Union as a starting point, the article probes the relationship between levels of support for the European Union and the interests the European integration process represents. In doing so, it applies a political sociology approach to the EU's governance matrix to two periods: the revival of European integration from the mid-1980s up until the outbreak of the Eurozone crisis, and from 2008 onwards. It argues that the European Union has constitutionalised a system of economic governance that prioritises the objectives of liberalisation and deregulation and their actors. This sidelines more socially oriented actors and has resulted in the erosion of employment and social policy across the member states. As a result, European citizens do not believe that the European Union best serves their interests. In short, the European Union



suffers from a 'social deficit' with respect to both the interests it represents and the policies it produces. In responding to the Eurozone crisis, the EU's policies have amplified the 'social deficit', thereby further narrowing interest representation in the European Union.

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Frank Schimmelfennig, Dirk Leuffen & Berthold Rittberger

The European Union as a system of differentiated integration: interdependence, politicization and differentiation
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 22, Issue 6, 764-782

This contribution conceptualizes the European Union (EU) as a system of differentiated integration characterized by both variation in levels of centralization (vertical differentiation) and variation in territorial extension (horizontal differentiation) across policy areas. Differentiation has been a concomitant of deepening and widening and has increased and consolidated as the EU's powers, policy scope and membership have grown. Turning to explanation, the contribution attributes the pattern of differentiated integration in the EU to the interaction of interdependence and politicization. Differentiation among the member states (internal differentiation) results from supranational integration under conditions of high interdependence and politicization. By contrast, external differentiation (the selective policy integration of non-member states) occurs in highly interdependent but weakly politicized policy areas. These constellations are illustrated in case studies of differentiation in the internal market, monetary union and defence.

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Lidija Hristova & Aneta Cekik

The Europeanisation of interest groups: EU conditionality and adaptation of interest groups to the EU accession process in the Republic of Macedonia

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 31, Issue 1, 23-38

This article examines the effects of the EU accession process on the representation of interests in R. Macedonia. Based on interview data from several types of interest groups, we conclude that the EU accession process has contributed towards the greater inclusion of highly Europeanized sectors of civil society in national decision-making. However, these developments are not so substantial as to justify the conclusion that interest groups have become systematically involved in national politics as a result of EU pressure. Our findings also confirm several modes of participation of interest groups in EU-level interest representation, although with limited scope and effects.

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Visco Ignazio

The Exit from the Sovereign Debt Crisis: National Policies, European Reforms and Monetary Policy
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 1, 7-16



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vara Juan Santos

The External Activities of AFSJ Agencies: The Weakness of Democratic and Judicial Controls
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 1 , 118-136

ABSTRACT: The substantial autonomy enjoyed by Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) agencies in developing their external relations does not mean that they are immune to political nor judicial controls. Given the fact that from the perspective of fundamental rights AFSJ agencies are acting in a particularly sensitive area, it is essential that their activities are subject to democratic control and remain fully accountable. As a result of the vast diversity of EU agencies in place, analysing the legal nature of their external action can prove to be a particularly complex task. The aim of this article is to examine the legal and political framework of the external dimension of AFSJ agencies as a whole, on the basis of the external relations developed so far. In the light of the implications that the activities of AFSJ agencies may have for fundamental rights, it is submitted that the governance and control of this kind of agencies continue to raise many concerns. Unfortunately, in the new Strategic Guidelines for legislative and operational planning of AFSJ for the period between 2015 and 2019 no attention is paid to the legal and political framework of the external dimension of AFSJ agencies.

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Huber Peter M.

The Federal Constitutional Court and European Integration
in *European public Law*, Volume 21 (2015) / Issue 1 , 83–107

The Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) started to deal with European integration in the 1970s. Over the past forty years it has produced quite a long line of jurisprudence on different aspects of European integration and the Europeanization of the national legal order. Though the political, economic and institutional circumstances have shifted from the protection of human rights to the protection of the democratic institutions of the nation state and the maintenance of the Union's legal order, the cornerstones of the Court's approach to European integration have remained unaltered: national legislation as a basis of European integration, the principle of conferral as an emanation of national sovereignty and the maintenance of the national constitutional identity (constitutional law based approach).

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Guastafarro Barbara

The First Time of the President of the Commission 'Elected' by the European Parliament. Critical Reflections on Institutional Mimesis
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 527-540



After exploring the new procedure for the selection of the President of the Commission provided by the Treaty of Lisbon, which requires him/her to be 'elected' by the European Parliament upon a proposal by the European Council, this article criticizes the way in which the legal novelty has been for the first time implemented in practice. It is submitted that the European Parliament major political parties' choice to disclose in advance their respective candidates to the presidency of the Commission presents two problematic aspects. On the one hand, it might alter the institutional balance between the European Council and the European Parliament envisaged by Article 17 TEU. On the other hand, it might evocate the misleading idea that the parliamentary form of government which characterizes many domestic legal orders is emerging at the EU level.

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Andrea Fracasso, Nicola Grassano and Giuseppe Vittucci Marzetti

The Gravity of Foreign News Coverage in the EU: Does the Euro Matter?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 274–291

This article investigates the systemic factors behind cross-country variability in transnational media coverage of foreign news in the EU in 2010. Using a large data set on the transnational coverage of news by 148 EU national media, the article maps the network of EU transnational citations and performs a quantitative assessment of their systemic determinants via the estimation of a gravity model of news. Nine empirical hypotheses are tested. Size and economic development of the target (source) country are positively (negatively) associated with the probability of coverage. Historical, linguistic and economic ties increase this probability. The evidence on the effect of the countries' participation in the currency union is weak: once the historical levels of trade integration and the effects of the sovereign debt crisis are accounted for, there is no robust evidence of a higher integration of the media spheres within the eurozone.

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Rüdiger Wolfgang

The Greens in the 2014 European elections

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 1, February , 156-162

No abstract available

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Polly Pallister-Wilkins

The Humanitarian Politics of European Border Policing: Frontex and Border Police in Evros

in **International Political Sociology** , Volume 9, Issue 1 , 53–69

This paper explores humanitarianism in the practice of Frontex-assisted Greek border police in Evros and of Frontex at their headquarters in Warsaw. Building on the increase in humanitarian justifications for border policing practices as well as the charges of a lack of humanity, the paper analyzes the relations between humanitarian responses and border policing where humanitarianism is used for framing and giving meaning to institutional and operational practices. In



offering an interpretive view of border policing undertaken by people in their working lives across sites and scales, it builds on the critical literature addressing the multifaceted nature of border control in Europe today. At the same time, it speaks to wider debates about the double-sided nature of humanitarian governance concerned with care and control. It argues that while humanitarian motivations have implications for operations in the field and help to frame “good practice” at the policy level, humanitarianism should not be seen as additional or paradoxical to wider border policing operations within forms of governance developed to address the problems of population. Conflict arises in the paradox of protection between the subject of humanitarianism and policing, the population, and the object of border control, the territorially bounded state or regional unit.

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Henökl Thomas, Webersik Thomas

The Impact of Institutional Change on Foreign Policy-Making: The Case of the EU Horn of Africa Strategy in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 4, 519-537

ABSTRACT: The EU's post-Lisbon institutional setting not only opens the possibility for a more coherent and comprehensive response to crises, but also poses the problem of coordination and cooperation among a number of independent actors at the EU and at the EU Member State levels as well as from the international donor community. Actors involved in foreign policy, development and humanitarian work have different agendas. The 'Joint Humanitarian-Development Framework approach' used as an example in this article aims at addressing this challenge, whereby EU staff in delegations, headquarters, as well as Member States, international organizations, development and humanitarian agencies, and national counterparts need to understand each other's perceptions, objectives and motivations in order to agree on a common framework for action. Drawing on inside evidence from the European Commission (DG DEVCO and DG ECHO) as well as the European External Action Service, the study aims at analysing the institutional interplay between the different actors involved in designing and implementing the EU's comprehensive approach to foreign and development policies.

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Fägersten Björn

The Implications of the Euro Crisis for European Foreign Policy- Lessons from Crisis Management and International Trade

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 19, issue 4, 483-502

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the foreign policy consequences of the euro crisis. Two distinctive foreign policy areas are investigated: crisis management in North Africa and the negotiation of free trade agreements with the US and India. The article employs an analytical framework that focuses on three key aspects shaping EU policy: capabilities, cohesion and context. The results suggest considerable changes in each, but not only in one direction: there are mechanisms driving policy in different directions which suggest a nuanced conclusion is required. The overarching findings of the article, however, are that the foreign policy machinery of the EU has been rather resilient to the financial crisis but that great variation exists both between different foreign policy areas and between the different components that make up the EU as an international actor.



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Chamon Merijn

The Institutional Balance, an Ill-Fated Principle of EU Law?

in European public Law, Volume 21 (2015) / Issue 1 , 371–391

The institutional balance is a concept often used in EU legal doctrine as well as being regularly invoked by parties before the Court. In theory, it is a genuine self-standing principle of EU law as recognized by the Court of Justice, in practice however it is simply used as an easy shorthand for the (Treaty-defined) rules governing the relations between the institutions. An analysis of the Court's jurisprudence indeed shows that despite having qualified the institutional balance as a legal principle, the Court is unreceptive towards arguments based thereupon. In combination with recent developments, inter alia related to the political responses to the euro crisis, flouting the EU's institutional balance, it may be questioned whether the institutional balance really is an actionable principle of EU law. The Court should clarify the situation by actually enforcing the institutional balance or by reconsidering its qualification of that balance as a legal principle.

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Högenauer Anna-Lena

The Limits of Territorial Interest Representation in the European Union

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 3, Issue 2 , 147-166

According to the literature on lobbying, actors gain access to European policy-making in return for information and expertise. It is often assumed that territorial actors will be in a position to provide such information by virtue of being the implementing authorities. By contrast, this article argues that there is a need to examine further to what extent regions are able to use channels of interest representation and to supply information, what kind of channels they use and how they frame their message. For this purpose, it examines the strategies of seven legislative regions in two concrete policy cases. In particular, it argues that the seven regions rely predominantly on mediated channels of interest representation as their capacity and willingness to use unmediated channels of interest representation is limited. Secondly, it argues that regions tend to use technical language over politicised language in lobbying to avoid overt conflict, especially with national governments or other regions from the member state, but that their ability to produce extensive (technical) expertise is also very limited.

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Gil Robles José-Maria

The Need for a Social Market Economy

in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 0 , 13-18

No abstract available



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Christopher J. Bickerton, Dermot Hodson and Uwe Puetter

The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 703–722

The post-Maastricht period is marked by an integration paradox. While the basic constitutional features of the European Union have remained stable, EU activity has expanded to an unprecedented degree. This form of integration without supranationalism is no exception or temporary deviation from traditional forms of European integration. Rather, it is a distinct phase of European integration, what is called 'the new intergovernmentalism' in this article. This approach to post-Maastricht integration challenges theories that associate integration with transfers of competences from national capitals to supranational institutions and those that reduce integration to traditional socioeconomic or security-driven interests. This article explains the integration paradox in terms of transformations in Europe's political economy, changes in preference formation and the decline of the 'permissive consensus'. It presents a set of six hypotheses that develop further the main claims of the new intergovernmentalism and that can be used as a basis for future research.

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Anrò Ilaria

The Prior Involvement of the Court of Justice in the Context of the Co-respondent Mechanism in the Draft Agreement on the Accession of the European Union to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: Problems and Perspectives

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 541-564

After years of negotiations, the accession of the European Union to the European Convention of Human Rights seems to be an achievable goal, as the draft of the Accession Agreement was finalized on 5 April 2013. The European Commission has asked the Court of Justice an opinion according to Article 218 TFUE on the compatibility of such agreement with the Treaties. While this procedure is still pending, several issues need investigating. The article focuses on the prior involvement of the Court of Justice in the context of the co-respondent mechanism described in the Accession Agreement, envisaged in order to let the Court assess the compatibility of EU Law with the Convention before the intervention of the Strasbourg Court. Indeed, according to Article 3, para. 6, of the Accession Agreement, in proceedings to which the European Union is a co-respondent, if the Court of Justice has not yet assessed the compatibility with the rights at issue defined in the Convention or in the Protocols, sufficient time shall be afforded for the latter to make such an assessment. The bare wording of the norm raises several questions. In particular, the article considers the issues concerning the procedure to be used to enact such intervention and the need to reform EU treaties accordingly, as well as the impact of Luxembourg judgement on the Strasbourg's process.

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Stian Øby Johansen

The Reinterpretation of TFEU Article 344 in Opinion 2/13 and Its Potential Consequences



in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, issue 1 , 169-178

On 18 December 2014 the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) delivered Opinion 2/13 and stunned the legal world by declaring that the Draft Agreement on the Accession of the EU to the European Convention on Human Rights (the Accession Agreement) was incompatible with the constituent treaties of the Union. Although some experts, admittedly, had been skeptical about certain aspects of Draft Accession Agreement, no one seems to have expected an opinion so critical and uncompromising. The opinion has consequently received widespread disapproval in the EU legal blogosphere. While there are many threads in Opinion 2/13 that deserve critical analysis, I will focus here only on one: The CJEU's interpretation and application of Article 344 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)—one of the five separate grounds given for rejecting the Accession Agreement. Specifically, I will compare the approach taken in Opinion 2/13 with the approach of the CJEU in earlier case-law. I will argue that the reasoning and conclusion concerning TFEU Article 344 in Opinion 2/13 is clearly at odds with this earlier case law, notably the leading MOX Plant case. I will also demonstrate how the approach to the issue in Opinion 2/13—if it indeed reflects *lex lata*—seriously affects numerous treaties that the Union has already concluded.

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Margarete Scherer

The Religious Context in Explaining Public Support for the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 893–909

his article examines contextual explanations for public support for European integration. Apart from economic and identity-based theories, there may also be a religious dimension that could help to explain why some countries are principally pro-European while others are largely eurosceptic. It is argued that differences between nations are embedded in historical alliances between Catholic and Protestant denominations and political systems. Hierarchical linear model analyses of data from the European Social Survey (ESS) show that: (1) citizens from Catholic countries are more likely to support European unification than the inhabitants of Protestant countries; and (2) this effect conditions the individual-level effect of welfare attitudes. This suggests that in Protestant countries support for welfare redistribution is associated with low support for the EU, while in Catholic countries support for welfare redistribution is associated with high support for the EU.

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MacMillan Catherine

The Return of the Reich? A Gothic Tale of Germany and the Eurozone Crisis

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 22, issue 1 , 24-38

ABSTRACT: In the context of the current Eurozone crisis, this paper argues that the economic crisis has provoked a crisis of identity in the EU. This paper examines popular discourse on Germany and Angela Merkel in the Eurozone periphery, France and the UK according to which Europe is effectively being colonised by Germany—the so-called 'Fourth Reich'. Using theories of fear and disgust including Burke's Sublime, Kristeva's Abject and, especially, Freud's Uncanny, it is argued that this Discourse can be understood as an essentially Gothic narrative based around the fear of the 'return of the repressed'—in this case Nazi Germany.



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Graf Maximilian

The Rise and Fall of “Austro-Eurocommunism”. On the “Crisis” within the KPÖ and the Significance of East German Influence in the 1960s

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

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Halikiopoulou Daphne, Vlandas Tim

The Rise of the Far Right in Debtor and Creditor European Countries: The Case of European Parliament Elections

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 279–288

Abstract

While the 2014 European Parliament elections were marked by the rise of parties on the far right-wing, the different patterns of support that we observe across Europe and across time are not directly related to the economic crisis. Indeed, economic hardship seems neither sufficient nor necessary for the rise of such parties to occur. Using the cross-national results for the 2004, 2009 and 2014 EP elections in order to capture time and country variations, we posit that the economy affects the rise of far right-wing parties in more complex ways. Specifically, we compare the experience of high-debt countries (the ‘debtors’) and the others (the ‘creditors’) and explore the relationship between far right-wing party success on the one hand, and unemployment, inequality, immigration, globalisation and the welfare state on the other. Our discussion suggests there might be a trade-off between budgetary stability and far right-wing party support, but the choice between Charybdis and Scylla may be avoided if policy-makers carefully choose which policies should bear the brunt of the fiscal adjustment.

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Adelle Camilla, Jordan Andrew, Benson David

The Role of Policy Networks in the Coordination of the European Union’s Economic and Environmental Interests: The Case of EU Mercury Policy

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 4 , 471-489

Policy networks can help to coordinate different objectives. The vast literature on network governance often implies that the mere existence of networks will automatically lead to improved coordination. However, much empirical analysis so far has focused on networks within particular policy sectors, which may actually inhibit horizontal coordination across policy sectors. This focus has led to ambiguities regarding the use of networks in practice — which this article seeks to help address. By analysing the role of networks in the coordination of the EU’s economic and environmental objectives



in the development of its mercury policy, the article demonstrates that policy networks need to span several policy sectors if they are to help reconcile competing policy objectives. Furthermore, certain characteristics of the policy area which contributed to the formation of an inter-sector network in this case are discussed.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hubert Buch-Hansen and Clement Levallois

The Scale and Geography of Collusion in the European Market: A Longitudinal View
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 737–752

Europe has a long history of cartels, but the changes in the scale and geography of collusion in the European market from the post-war decades until the present have not been systematically investigated. Using network analysis methods and an original dataset based on decisions in EU cartel cases, this paper maps the developments in detected collusion in the European market from 1958 to 2008 and tentatively explains these developments. It appears that collusive activities increased during the 1960s and after the mid-1980s and that a long decline in the scale of collusion began in the mid-1990s. Moreover, the geographical spread of collusive activities in Europe increased considerably from 1969 to 1993. To facilitate an explanation of these and other findings, the paper presents a three-dimensional analytical framework that emphasises the importance of anti-cartel regulation, major changes in the business environment and the size of national economies.

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Glossner Christian L.

The Social Market Economy. Incipency and Topicality of an Economic and Social Policy for a European Community
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 0 , 53-62

This contribution on the economic reconstruction of post-war West Germany traces the development of ideas about economic and socio-political publicity, and their gradual absorption by mainstream politicians, officials and the general public during the period of transition between 1945 and 1949. In those years, several German think tanks, political parties and individuals gave impulse to and then shaped the development of a viable socio-political and economic model between the extremes of laissez-faire capitalism and the collectivist planned economy. In their endeavours to bring into effect their particular economic ideas - often diametrically opposed to one another - the parties of left and right stimulated not only academic and political but also public debate about the political and economic reconstruction of occupied post-war Germany. While all the various neoliberal approaches attached to the people sovereign and decisive status in the institutional economic order, and recognised the interdependence of politics, economics and the public, one particular school of economic thought outpaced the others in communicating a model of coordinated economic and social policy, namely the Social Market Economy.

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Kosicki Piotr H.



The Soviet Bloc's Answer to European Integration: Catholic Anti-Germanism and the Polish Project of a 'Catholic-Socialist' International
in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 24, n. 1, February , 1-36

This article explores an attempt by one Polish organisation – known until 1952 by the name of its weekly journal *Dziś i Jutro*, thereafter as PAX – to assemble a 'Catholic-socialist' international in the decade following the Second World War. This transnational project was predicated on co-operation across the Iron Curtain by Catholic thinkers and activists opposed to the rearmament and incorporation of (West) Germany into an integrated European community. The project's author Wojciech Kaczyński deployed a discourse of protecting the 'human person' based on the prioritisation of global peace. Polish encounters with francophone Catholic activists from across Western Europe – especially with the French journal *Esprit* – bred serious intellectual engagement across the Iron Curtain at the level of Catholic philosophy and theology. Paradoxically, however, these activists accepted that the dignity of the human person would be best served by transnational anti-Germanism, at the price of complicity with – or outright participation in – Stalinism. The self-styled Catholic-socialist project thus failed, yet, surprisingly, it failed neither immediately nor completely. It thus reveals that possibilities existed throughout the cold war – even at the height of Soviet-bloc Stalinism – for intellectual, cultural and political exchanges and partnerships across the Iron Curtain.

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Karagounis Konstantinos, Syrrakos Dimitrios, Simister John

The Stability and Growth Pact, and Balanced Budget Fiscal Stimulus: Evidence from Germany and Italy
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2015 , 32-39

This paper assesses the limitations that the Stability and Growth Pact has imposed on Italy's economic recovery and its debt reduction. By evaluating Germany's fiscal policy since 1997, the paper offers recommendations for the Italian authorities. Measures put forward by European Union institutions are hampering Italy's economic recovery, and evidence indicates that fiscal consolidation is ineffective in reducing the debt-to-GDP ratio. A balanced budget fiscal injection seems the only way for Italy to escape from its economic slump without further violations of the SGP. The paper concludes that the Pact either needs to be reformed or replaced by a central fiscal authority.

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Franz-Josef Meiers

The Stress Test of German Leadership
in *Survival*, Volume 57, Issue 2 , 47-55

The euro crisis has underscored an uncomfortable reality: German primacy.

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Racz Andras

The Visegrad Cooperation: Central Europe divided over Russia



in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 374, 2014/4 , 61-76

Regarding the relations with Russia, the four countries of Central Europe constituting the Visegrad Cooperation, namely Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary have shared interests in the field of hard security. However, they are deeply divided in terms of energy policy, foreign policy ambitions and also domestic politics. Though energy supply diversification projects are going on, it takes a long time to decrease the strategic dependency on Russia. Domestic politics is particularly relevant in case of Hungary, where Prime Minister Viktor Orbán perceives Russia also as an ideological model, which is a sharp contrast compared to the other three states.

However, these divisions are unlikely to do a lasting damage to the Visegrad cooperation itself, as the organization was actually never intended to solve intra-Visegrad differences, but to represent joint interests, when they are already present. Consequently, the Visegrad has a rich routine in handling internal disagreements.

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Hoffmann Reiner

The Way Forward For Greece And Europe

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Issue 2, Winter/Spring 2015 , 5-6

The full text is free:

<http://www.socialeurope.eu/pdf-editions/>

The new year started with a bang. The Greek election result has shaken the European political establishment to the core and created significant pressure to change the policy direction that Europe has pursued for half a decade. This is a good thing and long overdue! The social and economic hardship has become unbearable and the Greek people were crying out for an alternative. But we now need an alternative policy direction for Europe as a whole, not just for Greece. With this issue of *Social Europe Journal*, we would like to contribute to the ongoing soul-searching and present new ideas that could help define a new direction for Europe...

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Crombez Christophe, Høyland Bjoern

The budgetary procedure in the European Union and the implications of the Treaty of Lisbon

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 16, n. 1, March , 67-89

The Treaty of Lisbon reformed the budgetary process in the European Union. We present a game-theoretical analysis and an empirical evaluation of the new annual budgetary procedure. We find that the procedure operates much like the ordinary legislative procedure, and puts the European Parliament on an equal footing with the Council. Given the prevailing preference configuration, our empirical analysis shows that the European Parliament does not derive power from its veto right. Any voting coalition that commands a qualified majority in the Council includes a majority of the Members of the European Parliament. However, the European Parliament does derive power from its amendment and proposal rights. Furthermore, we conclude that the procedure is poorly designed and can lead to the breakdown of negotiations.



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Turnhout Esther, Behagel Jelle, Ferranti Francesca, Beunen Raoul

The construction of legitimacy in European nature policy: expertise and participation in the service of cost-effectiveness

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 3, June , 461-480

In environmental governance, the European Union draws on norms of effectiveness, decentralisation, and participation to ensure that its policies and regulations are considered legitimate. This article analyses how the construction of legitimacy in European nature policy has changed over time. Although the norms of participation and decentralisation are increasingly evoked to address the needs of stakeholders and member states in the implementation and financing of Natura 2000, the norm of effectiveness continues to dominate the construction of legitimacy. Effectiveness first acquired its meaning in the context of a science-based approach to Natura 2000 to emphasise the importance of achieving its conservation objectives. More recently, it has become increasingly re-articulated as cost-effectiveness, which reflects a growing influence of neoliberal discourse. The article concludes by discussing the implications of the findings for the legitimacy of European environmental governance.

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Philippidis George, Boulanger Pierre, Ferrari Emanuele, Michalek Jerzy, Resano Helena, Sanjuán Ana I., Vinyes Cristina

The costs of EU club membership: agri-food and economy-wide impact in Croatia

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 27, Issue 1, 2015 , 60-75

Over the last 25 years Croatia's transition from a war-torn region of the former Yugoslavia to a fully independent nation has left a lasting mark. In 2013 Croatia took another step toward peace and stability by becoming the 28th member of the European Union (EU). Employing a quantitative framework to examine the economic impact of Croatian accession, results show that agricultural transfer payments are a key component of the accession deal, whilst a 'deep integration' scenario yields significant Croatian real income gains. Finally, comparing EU market access via tariff and non-tariff shocks, in Croatian agro-food sectors the former has a greater impact on output.

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Sakwa Richard

The death of Europe? Continental fates after Ukraine

in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 3, may , 553-579

ABSTRACT: The unravelling of the post-Cold War security order in Europe was both cause and consequence of the crisis in Ukraine. The crisis was a symptom of the three-fold failure to achieve the aspirations to create a 'Europe whole and free' enunciated by the Charter of Paris in 1990, the drift in the European Union's behaviour from normative to geopolitical concerns, and the failure to institutionalize some form of pan-continental unity. The structural failure to create a framework for normative and geopolitical pluralism on the continent meant that Russia was excluded from the



new European order. No mode of reconciliation was found between the Brussels-centred wider Europe and various ideas for greater European continental unification. Russia's relations with the EU became increasingly tense in the context of the Eastern Partnership and the Association Agreement with Ukraine. The EU and the Atlantic alliance moved towards a more hermetic and universal form of Atlanticism. Although there remain profound differences between the EU and its trans-Atlantic partner and tensions between member states, the new Atlanticism threatens to subvert the EU's own normative principles. At the same time, Russia moved from a relatively complaisant approach to Atlanticism towards a more critical neo-revisionism, although it does not challenge the legal or normative intellectual foundations of international order. This raises the question of whether we can speak of the 'death of Europe' as a project intended to transcend the logic of conflict on the continent.

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Blais André, Kostelka Filip

The decision to vote or abstain in the 2014 European elections

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1 , 79-94

Le présent article interroge la décision individuelle de voter ou de s'abstenir aux élections européennes de 2014 dans sept pays membres de l'UE. Nous nous focalisons sur le rôle des caractéristiques démographiques et des attitudes. L'analyse empirique s'appuie sur les données du Comparative European Union Election Dataset qui comporte 22 000 observations. Nous démontrons que les facteurs qui expliquent la participation aux élections européennes diffèrent à peine de ceux qui expliquent la participation aux élections nationales. Une différence tient à l'existence d'un écart entre hommes et femmes dans la participation aux européennes. Nous trouvons également que l'affirmation d'une identité européenne favorise la participation tandis que la performance de l'UE, telle que perçue par les répondants, n'a pas d'impact. Enfin, il n'y a pas de différences dans les déterminants du vote entre le « Nord » et le « Sud » ou entre les pays membres fondateurs et ceux qui ont adhéré plus récemment.

The article examines the individual decision to vote or to abstain in the 2014 European elections in seven Member States of the EU. We focus on the role of socio-demographic characteristics and attitudinal factors. The empirical analysis draws upon the Comparative EU Election Dataset with 22 000 observations. The main finding is that the explanatory factors that account for participation in European elections hardly differ from those that explain participation in national electoral contests. One difference pertains to the existence of a slight gender gap in the European elections. We also find that European identity favours electoral participation while the perceived performance of the EU exerts no effect. Last but not least, there are no systematic cross-country differences in the determinants of individual turnout between the "North" and the "South", or the original and more recent EU Member States.

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Pierre Pescatore

The doctrine of "direct effect": an infant disease of Community law

in *European Law Review*, vol. 40, issue 2 , 135-153

Article originally published in (1983) 8 E.L. Rev. 155



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Thym Daniel

The elusive limits of solidarity: Residence rights of and social benefits for economically inactive Union citizens
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 1 , 17-50

ABSTRACT: The free movement of persons is central to the legal and political identity of the European project; it is the most important right attached to Union citizenship and defines the self-perception of those holding the status. Nevertheless, the precise legal standards for the delimitation of residence and equal treatment rights often remained elusive, in particular with regard to citizens with scarce resources. It will be demonstrated that Union law and corresponding Court judgments (most recently Brey and Dano) fluctuate between two visions of how to perceive EU citizenship and the limits of transnational solidarity: one conception based on territorial presence and another promoting social cohesion.

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Martin Brown , Helmut Stix

The euroization of bank deposits in Eastern Europe
in *Economic Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 81 , 95-139

In Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe a substantial share of bank deposits are denominated in foreign currency. Deposit euroization poses key challenges for monetary policy and financial sector supervision. On the one hand, it limits the effectiveness of monetary policy interventions. On the other hand, it increases financial sector fragility by exposing banks to currency risk or currency-induced credit risk. Policymakers disagree on whether countries in the region should tackle deposit euroization with 'dedollarization' policies or should rather strive to adopt the Euro as their legal tender. Assessing the potential effectiveness of 'dedollarization' policies requires a clear understanding of which households hold foreign currency deposits and why they do so. On the basis of survey data covering 16,375 households in ten countries in 2011 and 2012, we provide a comprehensive household-level analysis of deposit euroization in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. We examine how households' preferences for, and holding of, foreign currency deposits are related to individual expectations about monetary conditions and network effects. We also examine to what extent monetary expectations and deposit euroization are the legacy of past financial crises or the outflow of current policies and institutions in the region. Our findings suggest that deposit euroization in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe can be partly tackled by prudent monetary and economic decisions by today's policymakers. The preferences of households for Euro deposits are partly driven by their distrust in the stability of their domestic currency, which in turn is related to their assessment of current policies and institutions. However, our findings also suggest that a stable monetary policy may not be sufficient to deal with the hysteresis of deposit euroization across the region. First, we confirm that the holding of foreign currency deposits has become a 'habit' in the region. Second, we find that deposit euroization is still strongly influenced by households' experiences of financial crises in the 1990s. Our findings question the effectiveness of supply side interventions (e.g. bank regulation) or demand side interventions (e.g. local currency capital market development) in de-euroizing household savings. First, we show that deposit euroization is largely demand driven. Second, we show that households already have access to a broad range of savings products in local currency.



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Muir Elise

The fundamental rights implications of EU legislation: Some constitutional challenges

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 1, 219-245

ABSTRACT: The architecture of the EU system of protection of fundamental rights is uniquely complex. The web of Charter and Convention articles is closely interwoven with general principles of EU law, Treaty provisions as well as with rights enshrined in EU legislation. The latter have received limited attention to date. EU legislation increasingly directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly, sets fundamental rights standards or marks the presence of Union law - thereby allowing the European Court of Justice to do so. The variety of EU legislation with fundamental rights implications sheds light on the active dimension of EU fundamental rights policy and poses multiple challenges for the interaction between the European and domestic legal orders that are explored in this article).

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Fraschini Niccolò

The inter-institutional relations of the European External Action Service

in *Politico (II)*, n. 233, 2013, 108-123

ABSTRACT: Il Servizio Europeo per l'Azione Esterna (SEAE) è un organismo di recentissima formazione: anche per questo motivo ha dato finora origine a un numero contenuto di ricerche. Si tratta comunque di un argomento di rilevante interesse per almeno due ordini di motivi. In primo luogo il Servizio è ancora in piena fase evolutiva, ed è quindi analizzabile a partire dalle modifiche e rivisitazioni del quale è stato oggetto, e che erano già previste dalla Decisione istitutiva del 2010 per l'anno in corso (2013) e per il 2014. In secondo luogo è giustificato attendersi che il SEAE possa diventare, nei prossimi anni, uno strumento strategico a disposizione dell'Unione per fare sentire la propria voce nel mondo e per accrescere il proprio peso negoziale su tutti i fronti in cui l'Unione opera. Nel saggio vengono presentati i principali profili dei rapporti tra il SEAE e le singole istituzioni europee, corredati da un'analisi delle criticità incontrate nei primi due anni e mezzo di operatività.

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Decker Frank

The pitfalls of parliamentarisation: why the procedure of appointing the European Commission should be changed

in *European View*, vol. 13, n. 2, December, Special Issue: Europe's Defining Challenges, 319-326

After the European elections of 2014, the European Parliament managed to seize the power to select the Commission president from the EU heads of state and government. This democratic advance, however, is yet to find its counterpart in the subsequent process of selecting the other commissioners. For one thing, the entitlement to equal representation of all 28 member states hinders any reduction of the Commission to a more workable size. For another, because the



right to nominate commissioners rests solely with the national governments, the composition of the Commission primarily reflects the partisan majorities of the Council rather than those of the Parliament, leading to a limited reflection of the president's mandate in the composition of the Commission. The following article examines how these problems could be resolved. It proposes a moderate amendment to the parity principle to reduce the Commission's size, a larger pool of candidates from which to select commissioners and the election of candidates by European citizens. The last proposal could even be implemented without any change to the treaties.

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Laurent Brice

The politics of European agencements: constructing a market of sustainable biofuels
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, February , 138-155

The sustainability of biofuels has been the subject of heated debates in Europe. The 2009 Renewable Energy Directive (RED) introduced criteria meant to define whether biofuels are sustainable. These criteria, relating to the level of greenhouse gas emissions and the types of land used to produce biofuels, are expected to be implemented through certification schemes associating private companies and public bodies (whether national or European). Using recent works in the sociology of markets, I consider these sustainability schemes as agencements, a lens for the study of the construction of a market in sustainable biofuels and for the analysis of European integration. I focus on the mass balance system, which, meant to track the circulation of biofuels qualified as sustainable, is a compromise, implemented at the price of pervasive uncertainties and difficulties. The European political and economic organisation is at stake in discussions related to the extent of the control exercised through the sustainability schemes by virtue of the mass balance system, and a politics of subsidiarity and a politics of harmonisation are at the heart of the making of a European market for sustainable biofuels. The description of the agencements organising European markets in sustainable biofuels points to the importance of coexistence as an economic and political operation.

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Hillebrecht Courtney

The power of human rights tribunals: Compliance with the European Court of Human Rights and domestic policy change
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 4, december , 1100-1123

ABSTRACT: When international human rights tribunals like the European Court of Human Rights find states responsible for human rights abuses, they ask governments to pay reparation to the victims, engage in symbolic measures, and enact the policy changes necessary to ensure that the violations do not recur. This article considers the conditions under which states comply with these rulings, especially when the tribunals are unable and often unwilling to provide strict enforcement. This article extends current theories about the domestic politics of compliance with international human rights law to the case of the European Court of Human Rights. This article analyzes a new, hand-coded data set on states' compliance with over 1000 discrete obligations handed down by the European Court of Human Rights that ask states to change their human rights policies. The results of these analyses suggest that robust domestic institutions, particularly executive constraints, are the key to compliance with the European Court of Human Rights. When domestic institutions enforce the Court's rulings, the results can be significant changes in states' human rights policies and



practices.

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Semertzi Alik

The preclusion of direct effect in the recently concluded EU free trade agreements

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 51, issue 4 , 1125-1158

ABSTRACT: The EU's FTA network is steadily expanding. All recently concluded FTAs adopt a WTO-like dispute settlement mechanism, and incorporate to varying degrees WTO provisions. Even more remarkably, EU FTAs explicitly restrain the direct effect of their provisions. This comes in contrast to the case law of the ECJ so far, which invariably granted direct effect to provisions of EU's bilateral agreements. The article aims to analyse this shift, which is observed across the spectrum of EU's trade agreements, from development instruments and neighbourhood agreements to pure Global Europe FTAs. It employs their two common features, namely the WTO-like dispute settlement mechanism and WTO incorporation, in order to determine which of the two led decisively to the restriction of their domestic effects. It contends that it is the inextricable FTA/WTO intertwinement that hardly leaves any margin for the EU FTAs to have more far-reaching legal effects than those already accepted for the WTO agreements in the ECJ case law.

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Menz Georg

The promise of the principal-agent approach for studying EU migration policy: The case of external migration control

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 13, n. 3, may , 307-324

ABSTRACT: The creation of European Union (EU) common asylum and migration policy has entailed involving governments from neighbouring countries in control and detention functions. Much of the existing literature treats this phenomenon as a mere extension of the more general embrace of communitization. Such transfer of sovereignty in a highly politicized policy domain is remarkable, yet, as is demonstrated, cannot be understood through the lens of the two major schools of European integration studies. This article adopts the prism of the principal-agent approach to study the implications and dynamics of the extension of immigration control policy beyond the geographical remit of Europe. However, there is also evidence of principal slippage. Individual countries, frustrated with what they perceive as principal drift and slow and cumbersome communal action, have established bilateral relations with countries in the periphery of Europe to help detain immigration flows above and beyond the communal efforts. The externalization of migration control is thus best understood as a patchwork of bilateral government initiatives and EU endeavours. Adopting the principal-agent approach provides superior insights than existing accounts and can make sense of the ongoing transformative policy developments.

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Vojtíšková Vláďka

The prospect of a British exit from the EU



in **European View** , vol. 13, n. 2, December, Special Issue: Europe's Defining Challenges , 309-317

A referendum on whether the United Kingdom should remain a member of the EU is no longer science fiction. British Prime Minister David Cameron has committed to a referendum in 2017 if the Conservatives win the 2015 elections. Before that, Cameron wants to negotiate a 'better deal' with the EU. What is his understanding of this 'deal', and what would the prospects for Britain be if they fail to achieve this and vote for an exit from the Union? How should the EU react to this British challenge? Are there any areas that could be reformed in order to please the British, while avoiding a 'Europe à la carte'? The article describes the political background and history that has led to the current situation and British prospects outside the EU. It concludes with Britain's demands for EU reform and a possible EU response.

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Morten Egeberg, Jarle Trondal & Nina M. Vestlund

The quest for order: unravelling the relationship between the European Commission and European Union agencies

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 5 , 609-629

Over the past couple of decades a considerable number of European Union (EU) agencies have been established. Research has so far shown that they have become more than mere facilitators of transnational regulatory networks, arenas for the exchange of information on 'best practice', and vehicles for member state governments. Task expansion has taken place, e.g., by taking up (quasi-) regulatory tasks. However, the jury is still out regarding exactly where in the political-administrative landscape EU agencies are situated. Benefiting from novel data sources, this study sheds light on so far undocumented relationships between EU agencies and the European Commission. The study shows that EU agencies have become integral components in the policy-making and implementation activities of Commission departments. Secondly, this development is accounted for by an organizational approach that specifies a set of organizational factors. The study argues that such tight relationships between Commission departments and EU agencies signify a centralization of EU executive power.

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Mota Paulo, Costa Fernandes Abel, Nicolescu Ana-Cristina

The recent sovereign debt crisis in the Euro zone: A matter of fundamentals?

in **Acta Oeconomica**, Volume 65, Issue 1, March 2015 , 1-25

The idea that the Euro zone sovereign debt crisis was caused by structural weaknesses degenerating into fundamental macroeconomic imbalances in the peripheral countries prevails among international institutions such as the IMF, the ECB, and the European Commission. On the contrary, some economists believe that this crisis is the consequence of major deficiencies in the architecture of economic policy making in the Euro zone that did not allow a proper response to a global systemic crisis of the financial markets that started in the United States. The objective of this paper is to provide a better understanding of the public debt dynamics in the EU, differentiating the case of Euro zone peripheral countries. We used quarterly data from 2000 to 2011 to estimate a small-scale model that takes into account the interactions between key variables. Our results do not support entirely the official view. We conclude that the cause of the adverse debt dynamics unravelling after 2007 was a sharp GDP contraction, coupled with a substantial increase in the interest



cost of debt finance due to higher self-fulfilling solvency risks perceived by creditors, interacting with a higher sensitiveness of Euro zone peripheral countries to fundamentals.

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Syrpis Phil

The relationship between primary and secondary law in the EU
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 2 , 461-487

ABSTRACT: This article is concerned with the relationship between primary and secondary law in the EU, as it emerges from the case law of the Court of Justice. It examines the broad spectrum of ways in which the Court deals with secondary law, considering in particular the extent to which the Court allows the passage of secondary legislation to affect its reading of primary law. The case law of the Court is difficult to predict, and difficult to evaluate. The "proper" relationship between primary and secondary law depends on one's assessment of the "legal" or "political" nature of the EU's constitutional settlement, and on one's views about the relationship between, and legitimacy of, the judiciary and the legislature at EU level.

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Drulák Petr, Druláková Radka

The richness of the liberal tradition in international relations: Karl Deutsch on political community and the European integration
in *International Relations*, vol. 28, n. 3, september , 333-349

ABSTRACT: Karl Deutsch focused in his work on many social, political and technical aspects of building political community which can enrich our understanding of international cooperation and European integration. It is especially his concept of the political community that helps us to explain current problems of the European integration: namely, the current pre-occupation with the market and institutions leads to the neglect of the common redistribution and of the horizontal ties among the state institutions and among the peoples. This article also points to the tension between Deutsch's awareness that the study of political communities requires the examination of values, love and spirituality, and his positivist, quantitative methods which do not allow for such an examination. This tension invites to a re-reading of Deutsch, which can enrich the liberal tradition of international relations (IR).

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Heins Elke, De la Porte Caroline

The sovereign debt crisis, the EU and welfare state reform
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 13, n. 1, january , 1-7

ABSTRACT: This Special Issue examines the EU's monetary, fiscal, and social responses to the sovereign debt crisis and analyses how the European Union (EU) has affected welfare state reforms in the Member States most severely hit by the crisis. This editorial introduction presents the severe crisis context in which the EU altered existing tools and



developed new ones in the governance of the EMU and of social policy. The findings of the Special Issue show that the nature of EU intervention into domestic welfare states has changed, with an enhanced focus on fiscal consolidation, increased surveillance and enforcement of EU measures. Overall, this represents a radical alteration of EU integration, whereby the EU is involved in domestic affairs to an unprecedented degree, particularly with regard to national budgets, of which welfare state spending is an important component. Since these changes are highly institutionalized, particularly the requirement of balanced budgets, it is necessary that the EU encourages social investment much more than it does presently.

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Brigid Laffan

The state of our unsettled Union

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, no. 4 , 853-863

This is a time of transition for the European Union (EU), and 2014 is a year of renewal for European institutions, involving elections to the European Parliament and the beginning of a five-year legislative term under new leadership in the Commission, the European Council, and the External Action Service (EES). The EU has been tested—perhaps like never before—during the Eurozone crisis. The Union’s legal framework, its governance structures, its ability to respond to pressing societal needs and relations among the member states, have all been placed under severe strain since 2009. The Union managed to battle through the acute phase of the crisis albeit at a high social, political, and economic cost and is in mending mode. The address develops four analytic propositions about the state of the Union arising from observable trends in this crisis phase of European Union integration.

The four propositions are (i) that contestation and politicization in the Union are here to stay; (ii) that the euro area mark 2.0 implies “more Europe”; (iii) that “more Europe” in the euro area implies even more differentiation in the Union; and (iv) that the return of geopolitics puts the spotlight on the Union’s role in twenty-first-century world politics. The future of the EU will be shaped by the interaction of these four dynamics.

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Gáspár-Szilágyi Szilárd

The ‘Primacy’ and ‘Direct Effect’ of EU International Agreements

in *European public Law*, Volume 21 (2015) / Issue 1 , 343–370

The rules on invoking EU norms before the Court of Justice and Member State courts are at the core of EU constitutional law. International agreements binding on the EU form an integral part of EU law and have primacy over inconsistent secondary EU legislation. Moreover, they also have primacy over inconsistent Member State law. This article aims to investigate, whether such primacy is capable of having effects independent of direct effect or it needs to be triggered by some form of 'direct effect' of the international agreement.



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Natasja Reslow and Maarten Vink

Three-Level Games in EU External Migration Policy: Negotiating Mobility Partnerships in West Africa
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 857–874

In order to increase the effectiveness of migration management, the EU increasingly enters into agreements with third countries. Such co-operation aims to engage third countries in migration control mechanisms in exchange for enhanced legal migration opportunities, yet this externalization of migration policy is highly selective with regard to both participating Member States and third countries. In this paper we develop a three-level game perspective to explain why Member States and third countries participate in EU external migration policy initiatives. The three-level game links three sets of actors in two strategic interactions: Member States, EU institutions and third countries. We argue that two factors determine the outcome of negotiations: the cost of no agreement and the autonomy of central decision-makers. The model is illustrated by the successful and failed Mobility Partnership negotiations between EU Member States, the European Commission and, respectively, Cape Verde and Senegal.

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Bieringb Peter , Lehrer Susanne

To Hold a Referendum or Not?

in *European public Law*, Volume 21 (2015) / Issue 1 , 169–191

As European leaders were discussing the establishment of a European banking union, a groundbreaking case with potential implications for Denmark's membership of the European Union was decided by the Danish Supreme Court on 20 February 2013. The ruling of the Supreme Court did not receive a lot of attention at national or European level, most likely because the Supreme Court reaffirmed the Danish legislature's longstanding understanding of the Constitution (Grundloven) in relation to Denmark's membership of the EU. The Supreme Court did, however, point its finger at the Danish Parliament (Folketinget) and Government, implying that future developments in the EU legal framework will be subjected to a stricter judicial scrutiny by the Danish courts.

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Ruzicic-Kessler Karlo

Togliatti, Tito and the Shadow of Moscow 1944/45-1948: Post-War Territorial Disputes and the Communist World
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

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Gougou Florent, Tiberj Vincent

Tous les mêmes ? Les votes pour les partis de gouvernement en temps de crise



in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1 , 95-120

Les difficultés électorales persistantes des partis de gouvernement en Europe de l'Ouest (les sociaux-démocrates à gauche, les conservateurs et les démocrates-chrétiens à droite) sont un enjeu important pour la science politique. Alors qu'ils ont longtemps constitué des pôles de stabilité dans les systèmes partisans, ils font aujourd'hui face au défi de plus en plus pressant des écologistes et de la droite radicale anti-immigrés. Grâce aux données d'une enquête post-électorale sur les élections européennes de 2014 dans cinq pays, cet article démontre que les partis de gouvernement ont réussi à s'adapter à leur nouvel environnement et à retenir des électeurs que les valeurs et le contexte de crise auraient pu pousser vers les tiers partis.

The poor electoral performances of big mainstream parties in Western Europe (the Social-Democrats on the left, the Conservatives and the Christian-Democrats on the right) are a major question for political scientists. While these parties have long been the most stable forces within West European party systems, they now face the challenge of both the Greens and the anti-immigrants radical right. Using data from a post-election survey on the 2014 European elections in five countries, this article demonstrates that big mainstream parties have been able to adapt to their new environment and to attract voters that could have voted for third parties due to their values and the context of economic crisis.

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Jansen Thomas

Towards a European Party System

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 1 , 97-105

No abstract available

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Bianka Dettmer

Trade Effects of the European Union's Service Directive: Contrasting ex ante Estimates with Empirical Evidence

in *World Economy*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 445-478

One of the top priorities to improve the European Union's growth performance is the creation of a single market for services. The directive on services adopted by the Parliament and the Council by the end of 2006 aims at removing barriers to the free movement of service providers on the internal market. Previous studies quantified ex ante sizable effects of implementing the directive in its original form. This paper is a first attempt to evaluate ex post the trade effects induced by a directive – which excludes the country-of-origin principle – by performing a difference-in-difference-(in-differences) estimator on a sample of EU- and non-EU countries in the period 2004 to 10. We account for non-tariff trade barriers and the endogeneity of regional trade agreements and find that the service directive adds to a reallocation of business services trade within the EU. Accounting for the trade effect of past deregulations, the EU directive fosters a deeper integration of the new member states into the European service value-added-chain and promotes business service exports from third countries towards the EU significantly more than trade of country pairs in the control group. The reorientation of the EU-15 towards the new members is in turn associated with less intense



intra-EU-10 businesses, while business trade between EU-15 members is not significantly affected.

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J.-S. Pentecôte, J.-C. Poutineau, F. Rondeau

Trade Integration and Business Cycle Synchronization in the EMU: The Negative Effect of New Trade Flows in Open Economies *Review*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 61-79

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Xiaotong Zhang

Trading carefully in the minefield of the EU-China investment treaty in Europe's World, n. 29, Spring

There's much to be gained on both sides as Brussels and Beijing negotiate rules for encouraging and protecting investors. Zhang Xiaotong looks at the deal's pitfalls as well as its potential

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John A. Scherpereel and Lauren K. Perez

Turnover in the Council of the European Union: What It is and Why It Matters (in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 658–673

This article analyzes personnel turnover in the Council of the European Union. It draws upon analysis of an original monthly database of ministers in EU Member States from 2004 to 2012. After surveying the literature on the negative effects of high legislative turnover, descriptive statistics are presented that demonstrate high levels of turnover in the Council as a whole and high levels of turnover across all nine sectoral Council configurations. A statistical model is then proposed that tests whether variations in levels of Council turnover affect the institution's bargaining success vis-à-vis other EU institutions. The finding, consistent with the broader literature's predictions, is that high levels of turnover hurt the Council vis-à-vis the European Parliament and the European Commission. The article concludes with general remarks about the implications of turnover for the Council system and for the EU more broadly.

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Dergiades Theologos, Milas Costas, Panagiotidis Theodore

Tweets, Google trends, and sovereign spreads in the GIIPS in *Oxford Economic Papers*, Volume 67 Issue 2 April 2015 , 406-432

We examine whether the information contained in social media (Twitter, Facebook, and Google blogs) and web search



intensity (Google) influences financial markets. Using a multivariate system and focussing on Eurozone's peripheral countries, the GIIPS (Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain) as well as two of Eurozone's core countries (France and the Netherlands), we show that social media discussion and search-related queries for the Greek debt crisis provide significant short-run information primarily for the Greek-German and Irish-German government bond yield differential even when other financial control variables (international risk, Eurozone's risk, default risk, and liquidity risk) are accounted for, and to a much lesser extent for Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish sovereign yield differentials. Social media discussion and Google search-related queries for the Greek debt crisis do not affect spreads in France and the Netherlands.

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Vasco Pereira da Silva

Una reflexión desde Granada sobre la Constitución Europea
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 22

In this paper the author considers that there is already an European constitution in the material sense, and analyzes it stressing the importance of its study from a pluralistic point of view, without false hierarchies, adopting a "multilevel constitutionalism" methodology or the concept of "partial constitutions" which contributes to the making of an European constitutional law.

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Karampekios Nikolaos

Understanding Greece's policy in the European Defence Agency: between national interest and domestic politics
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 37-52

This paper tracks Greece's engagement with the European Defence Agency (EDA). Greece has been an EU member state involved in setting up EDA. Indeed, its pro-integration stance on defence matters, at large, and EDA, in particular, can be traced back to its set of external security threats, and its belief that EU institutions and mechanisms can provide a protection layer against these threats. The chairing of important European defence preparatory groups (POLARM) and the Presidency of the Council provided normative agenda-setting procedures to uphold this objective. Significantly, Greece's positions altered as EDA assumed operational status. Purely external security considerations were coupled with domestic, economic and political considerations, such as the protection of its defence industrial base, and disproving widely-held assumptions about political corruption in relation to defence procurement.

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Statham Paul, Trenz Hans-Jörg

Understanding the mechanisms of EU politicization: Lessons from the Eurozone crisis
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 13, n. 3, may , 287-306



ABSTRACT: The article critically evaluates existing theories and approaches on European Union (EU) politicization to understand how the EU's democratic politics can potentially work in an era of 'mediated politics'. Moving beyond questions of why politicization has occurred, and what kind of EU will it lead to, we outline a theoretical perspective on the mechanisms of how the EU's politicization is taking place. Against the backdrop of a post-functionalist theory of integration, the contours of which have been recently discussed within political science, we think that the dynamics of EU politicization can be better grasped from a public sphere perspective within the framework of what we will call a 'democratic functionalism' approach. The Eurozone debt crisis case is used as an example of deep and broad EU politicization to explicate the mechanisms at work.

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Jean-Victor Louis

Une Commission politique

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, vol. 50, issue 3 , 485-499

No abstract available

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Louis Jean Victor

Une Commission politique

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 3 , 485-499

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Vandenbroucke Frank

Unequal Europe: A more caring agenda for the new Commission

in *Europe's World*, n. 29, Spring

The EU's prized project of 'Social Europe' has been slipping steadily down its political agenda. Frank Vandenbroucke highlights the recommendations of the the Friends of Europe's high-level group he has chaired

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Rebecca Welge

Union citizenship as democratic institution: increasing the EU's subjective legitimacy through supranational citizenship?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 1 , 56-74



This study analyses the European Union's (EU's) citizenship regime as a democratic institution. It explores the effect of supranational citizenship on subjective legitimacy and focuses particularly on special access to the political system that is granted to moving EU citizens. The first section critically reviews the EU's citizenship regime as a model of gradual citizenship. Based on that, the second section examines the effects of EU citizenship status on subjective legitimacy, measured as political efficacy and satisfaction with democracy. It is argued that gradual political membership fosters political efficacy and satisfaction with democracy in national political systems. The empirical study examines perceptual differences at the most aggregate level and tests them against factors at the individual and contextual levels. The results provide evidence for the postulated effects on efficacy and point to the importance of domestic policies regulating access to the political system for the effects on efficacy and satisfaction with democracy.

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Pistoia Emanuela

Uniti nella.. diversificazione. Il modello di integrazione differenziata nel quadro di cooperazioni rafforzate secondo la Corte di giustizia

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2014 , 69-91

No abstract available

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Chatzopoulou Sevasti,

Unpacking the Mechanisms of the EU 'Throughput' Governance Legitimacy: The Case of EFSA

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 159-177

The proliferation of European Union (EU) agencies, referred to as agencification phenomenon, constitutes a significant EU institutional innovation. Agencification aimed to provide information, promote efficiency, decrease politicisation and generate standards based on specialised technical knowledge. However, the expanded role of EU agencies in regulatory policy-making has raised legitimacy questions, particularly in times of crisis and scandals. The legitimacy of agencies has been extensively studied with regard to input, and output (efficiency) legitimacy criteria. Instead, drawing on Schmidt's (2013) work this article claims that in order to assess the overall legitimacy of the EU regulatory governance through agencies, the 'throughput' criterion needs to be considered. Although important, the 'input' (politics) and 'output' (policy) criteria fail to capture what happens within the actual governance (process), between the decisions and the outcomes. Examples from the EU food regulatory governance through the European Food Safety Authority, a particularly technical and scientific policy area, illustrate how the 'throughput' mechanisms operate. While the absence of one of the throughput mechanisms delegitimises the regulatory governance of food, their simultaneous presence contributes to overall legitimacy of governance.

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Olga Burlyuk

Variation in EU External Policies as a Virtue: EU Rule of Law Promotion in the Neighbourhood



in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 509–523

The scholarship on European Union external relations ties good performance to enhanced coherence across EU policies, often understood as uniformity, and interprets any sign of variation as incoherence and double standards. This article challenges the virtuousness of such uniformity in the case of EU rule of law promotion in the neighbourhood and examines the parameters of the possible and the necessary. The findings reveal that variation in EU rule of law conceptions is inherent to the EU approach and inevitable due to the nature of the rule of law concept and the studied political context. Moreover, this variation in itself does not entail incoherence of EU rule of law promotion, as a shared understanding of the core meaning of the rule of law frames EU efforts across cases, and is even desirable for effective rule of law promotion, under law and development theory and practice.

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Jessop Bob

Variegated Capitalism, das Modell Deutschland, and the Eurozone Crisis

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 3 , 248-260

ABSTRACT: This article proposes the concept of variegated capitalism as an alternative to the mainstream study of comparative capitalism. It illustrates its plausibility and potential by analysing the halting development of the European Union's initial integration of six broadly complementary 'Rhenish' economies to today's relatively incoherent, crisis-prone variegated capitalist (dis)order. In particular, it focuses on the organization of European economic space in the shadow of das Modell Deutschland and its insertion into a world market that is organized in the shadow of neoliberalism. This is then related to the Eurozone crisis, the crisis in Eurozone crisis management and attempts to introduce a new 'union method' of economic governance.

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Walter Christian, Vordermayer Markus

Verfassungsidentität als Instrument richterlicher Selbstbeschränkung in transnationalen Integrationsprozessen. Vergleichende Überlegungen anhand der Rechtsprechung von EuGH und EGMR

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 63, 2015

No abstract available

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Saint-Ouen François

Vers la nécessité de repenser la « Grande Europe »

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 374, 2014/4 , 8-26

Relations between the EU and Russia, in the context of a changing globalized world giving more importance to the BRICS and reorienting economic flows to Asia, lead to a new reflection on the idea, forgotten today, of a "Wider



Europe". This idea is discussed not only in terms of global challenges, but also according to historical, cultural, institutional, economic, security and societal settings. The article shows the persistence, in some minds and in some institutions such as NATO, of a logic of confrontation. Such a situation is becoming more and more damaging today, both for the EU and Russia, but also for the EU Eastern partnership countries and even for the EU candidate countries. This is why it is suggested, on the contrary, that economic relations should be developed between the EU and the Eurasian Union, and a political and security dialogue completely redesigned, relying much more on the OSCE, with the aim of Europe gaining more autonomy from the United States and NATO.

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Mayeur-Carpentier Coralie

Vers la reconnaissance d'un statut institutionnel et contentieux des collectivités infra-étatiques dans l'Union européenne?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 589, juin , 336-343

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-44852.htm#contents_01

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Howorth Jolyon, Menon Anand

Wake up, Europe!

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 11-20

We live in a world of rapid transition. Yet while, in the United States, it is hard to escape discussions of the changing international system and its implications, such debates are largely absent in Europe. This is all the more serious in that Europe is both more vulnerable than the USA to the myriad new threats on the horizon and less well equipped to confront them. We outline the nature of the challenges confronting Europe, and suggest that the solution lies, first and foremost, in national capitals. Virtually all EU member states attach unwarranted importance to "sovereignty", while fully aware that, alone, they count for nothing as foreign policy and security actors. It is only if the EU member states understand the nature of the threats they face and consent to tackle them collaboratively that Europe will be in a position to defend its interests effectively.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.995346>

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Decker Frank

Warum das Bestellungsverfahren der EU-Kommission der Reform bedarf

in *Recht und Politik*, 50. Jahrgang, Heft 4 , 199-203

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wieboda Paweł;

What Will Populism Do To Europe?

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Issue 2, Winter/Spring 2015 , 11-13

The full text is free:

www.socialeurope.eu/pdf-editions/

There has been much wishful thinking in Europe that populism will vanish once growth rates pick up. Those who have believed in this unlikely miracle tended to assume that the populist upsurge is a natural reaction to economic misery brought about by the crisis. In this, they are only partly right. Populism is as much a systemic challenge, which reflects the breakdown of the political transmission mechanism in many European societies and at the EU level. Citizens have increasingly begun to question the responsiveness of their governments and their competence in the management of scarcity, the new discipline of politics brought about by structural change and aggravated by the crisis...

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Robert Kollmann , Marco Ratto , Werner Roeger , Jan in 't Veld , Lukas Vogel

What drives the German current account? And how does it affect other EU Member States?

in **Economic Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 81 , 47-93

We estimate a three-country model using 1995–2013 data for Germany, the Rest of the Euro Area (REA) and the Rest of the World (ROW) to analyse the determinants of Germany's current account (CA) surplus after the launch of the euro. Our results suggest that the German surplus reflects a succession of distinct shocks. Mono-causal explanations of the surplus are thus insufficient. The most important factors driving the German surplus were positive shocks to the German saving rate and to ROW demand for German exports, as well as German labour market reforms and other positive German aggregate supply shocks. The key shocks that drove the rise in the German CA tended to worsen the REA trade balance, but had a weak effect on REA real activity. Our analysis suggests these driving factors are likely to be slowly eroded, leading to a very gradual reduction of the German CA surplus. An expansion in German government consumption and investment would raise German GDP and reduce the CA surplus, but the effects on the surplus would be weak.

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Samuel Dahan, Olivier Fuchs, and Marie-Laure Layus

Whatever It Takes? Regarding the OMT Ruling of the German Federal Constitutional Court

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 137-151

On 14 January 2014, the Bundesverfassungsgericht (German Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe hereafter Karlsruhe) ruled



on the European Central Bank's (ECB) Outright Monetary Transaction (OMT) programme. This ruling has prompted fierce debate among lawyers and economists for a number of reasons. First of all, the OMT programme concerned the very short-term survival of the euro. Secondly, in an unprecedented move, the Court took a position on the current incompleteness and asymmetry of the Economic and Monetary Union as well as on its future course. Indeed, the German Court has made a referral to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) for a preliminary ruling on two matters: (i) had the ECB exceeded its mandate by infringing upon the competences of Member States in the field of economic policy, and (ii) had it violated the prohibition against sovereign debt monetization stipulated in Article 123 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union? While the content of the referral is critical, the decision to make a referral is in itself significant insofar as the Court has always refused to use this procedure even though such an abstention has been widely seen as a violation of European law. A third reason that the decision came under scrutiny is because the Constitutional Court added an unconventional twist to its preliminary ruling mechanism, ensuring it had the last word and reserving the option of not following the Court of Justice's ruling. In other words, the German decision implied that although the Bundesverfassungsgericht was extending its hand to the CJEU, it was doing so with a closed fist.

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Cornelisse Galina

What's wrong with Schengen? Border disputes and the nature of integration in the area without internal borders in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 51, issue 3 , 741-770

ABSTRACT: Border disputes thrived in the Schengen system over the last few years. There was litigation before the ECJ on differentiated integration; there were institutional skirmishes between Parliament and Council; and there were real border disputes between France and Italy in the wake of the Arab Spring. This article uses Schengen's crises in order to elaborate upon a number of flaws and inconsistencies in the acquis, most of which can be traced back to the way in which national and European competences have been delimited in this area. The demarcations in turn betray the contradictory driving forces for Schengen integration. The article concludes that integration in a field so riddled with national sensitivities and supranational symbolism cannot follow a linear, comprehensive and predictable path, which may be problematic in that the European judicial system currently lacks instruments that can contribute towards greater coherence and consistency. As such, Schengen's crises may also tell us something about the shortcomings of traditional legal theories on integration.

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Adam Lazowski & Ramses A. Wessel

When Caveats Turn into Locks: Opinion 2/13 on Accession of the European Union to the ECHR in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 179-212

The Court of Justice of the European Union (the Court of Justice) decided to strike again. On 18 December 2014, for the second time in history, the Court rejected the European Union's (EU) accession to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). Although the judges do not seem to negate the idea as a matter of principle, they made the renegotiation of the Draft Accession Treaty very difficult, to say the least. The message sent by the Court of Justice to the Member States may have surprised some, but for many it was a rather expected development. The Court of Justice



has always been a fierce defender and promoter of the autonomy of EU law. For that purpose, the procedure based on Article 218 (11) TFEU has been, among the others, the Court's greatest weapon. Over the years a clear pattern has emerged: Whenever there is a threat to the autonomy and to the Court's exclusive jurisdiction, the judges will not shy away from taking bold decisions going against the will of the Member States. For obvious reasons, the *raison d'être* behind the Court's decision is kept secret behind the doors of the deliberation rooms at Kirchberg in Luxembourg. Still, it cannot be denied that Opinion 2/13 shows that the Court of Justice will not give up its resistance to the ECHR accession so easily. In 1996, in Opinion 2/94, the Court held that the European Community, as the law stood then, had no competence to accede to ECHR. Now that Article 6(2) TEU provides for an obligation to accede, subject to conditions laid down in Protocol No 8 to the Founding Treaties, the Court has opted for strict interpretation of the latter, which, ultimately turns the caveats laid down therein...

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Lomellini Valentine

When Hopes Come to Naught. The Question of Italian Communists' Participation in Government and the Failure of a Particular Strategy, 1974-1978

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 2

No abstract available

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Ludvig Norman

When norms and rules collide: the social production of institutional conflict in the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 22, Issue 5, 630-649

This paper addresses the question of when and why institutional conflicts break out over decision-making competencies in the European Union. It argues there is untapped potential in constructivist approaches to explain the occurrence of such conflicts. Rationalist institutionalist (RI) models based on the idea of the Commission as a 'competence maximizer', while serving as shorthand for understanding institutional dynamics, risk producing simplistic accounts of institutional conflicts. Tensions between broad collective understandings of policy issues and formal institutional rules can help explain why the Commission initiates institutional conflict in specific instances. This general argument is formulated as a social mechanism termed the rupture mechanism, its potential demonstrated by evidence from an in-depth process tracing study of one of the most controversial institutional conflicts between the Council and the Commission in the 2000s.

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Carter Caitríona

Who Governs Europe? Public Versus Private Regulation of Sustainability of Fish Feeds

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 3, 335-352



Primary tensions within EU government are consistently shown as between public actors who compete with one another to set policy — the European Commission/Member States/European Parliament. Whilst important, such a wholehearted focus on these conflicts is obscuring other tensions increasingly defining its politics, namely between public vs. private regulation. These merit greater attention in European integration analysis. Private regulation is not totally disconnected from its public counterpart: through standardization, private actors can evoke and institutionalize EU norms and principles, like sustainability, thus governing in its name; the contents of private self-regulation can potentially undermine the effects of EU public policies. To better capture the causes of these emerging public–private interdependencies and their consequences for EU government, a key contribution of this article is to argue for the necessity to both localize and particularize the inquiry on private regulation. This we demonstrate through presenting the revealing case of fishfeeds and their sustainability.

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Bozkir Volkan

Why Ankara hasn't abandoned its European dream

in *Europe's World*, n. 29, Spring

Political leaders sometimes talk of the “vision thing” when urging more enlightened ideas. Turkey's European Affairs Minister Volkan Bozkir offers his vision of the potential impact of reviving the EU membership talks

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gianfranco Viesti

Why Europe is in a trap

in *Stato e mercato*, numero 1 , 53-84

This paper deals with the economic and social situation in Europe at the end of the year 2014, after the great international financial and economic crisis of 2008-2009 and the following European crisis. It deals mainly with the consequences of both crisis and of the economic policy enacted in the European Union (EU), on European society and economy. The goal of this paper is neither to investigate and discuss why the crisis started and continued, nor to present and suggest a possible way out. Its focus is in between the start and the possible end of the economic recession and of the social difficulties. Its key message is that the consequences of the crisis are such not to allow any easy or foreseeable end, with the current economic policy and with the current social and economic dynamics. Europe is in a trap. For three main reasons: a) because European macroeconomic policies are unable to put an end to present crisis, even in a longer run: worse, they basically transformed a deep international recession into a permanent state of depression of the European economy; b) austerity is producing a sharp reduction of public and private investment, and of R&D and education expenditures: exactly what is needed more to relaunch depressed economies and reinforce their competitiveness. Austerity is as well reducing those social expenditures and policies needed to keep European societies together; c) the extraordinary length of the depression is producing new fractures within Europe (and exacerbating older ones), creating a very unequal distribution of the adjustment cost. So, while some Europeans are hit, others benefit from the current situation and strongly support the continuation of the austerity measures. A radical change of the economic policies that are currently pursued is needed; with no change, Europe could continue to stay for years in a situation of social and economic depression, until a shock will dramatically change the course of its future.



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Behrend Hartmut

Why Europe should care more about environmental degradation triggering insecurity

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 67-79

Environmental degradation, caused by climate change and land degradation, is a threat multiplier because of its huge impact on human security. It increases the conflict potential which is based on three conflict constellations: water scarcity; loss of land; and food insecurity. These conflict constellations can cause an increase of migration and deteriorate the governance of states and regional authorities which both have the potential to trigger or even increase violent conflicts. The main background drivers of climate change and land degradation are population growth and the rising living standards of large parts of the population. This article describes four hot spot regions where environmental degradation has the largest impact on security: the Sahel; the Middle East; Central Asia; and the coastal zones of East, South and South-East Asia. It recommends that the European institutions and its member states should step up their support to these regions considerably by mitigating the environmental factors contributing to insecurity, notably land degradation and climate change.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.978713>

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Myant Martin

Why Juncker's Investment Plan Is A Good Try But Not Enough

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Issue 2, Winter/Spring 2015 , 22-24

The full text is free:

www.socialeurope.eu/pdf-editions/

Jean-Claude Juncker received approval for his long-awaited investment plan at the European Council meeting on 18 December 2014, giving more details and clarifying some of the open questions on 13 January 2015. Forecasting at least €315bn additional investment over the three years 2015-2017, it was billed as the central plank in his determined effort to spend five years saving Europe, alongside member states' 'commitment to intensifying structural reforms and to pursuing growth-friendly fiscal consolidation'...

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Zielonka Jan

Why The EU Should Focus On Realistic Social Policy Projects



in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Issue 2, Winter/Spring 2015 , 19-21

The full text is free:

www.socialeurope.eu/pdf-editions/

Inequality is back at the centre of the public discourse. Is this good or bad news for the European Union? Many commentators suggest the latter; namely, the observed rise of inequalities in Europe is driven by EU policies to a large extent. Some blame the EU for embracing the neo-liberal agenda of deregulation, marketization, privatization, and cuts to social services. According to this view, the EU became an agent of globalization or if you wish Americanization. Others blame the EU for acting as an agent of Europe's creditor states imposing policies on Europe's debtor states, amounting to slashing social services in the latter. The Fiscal Compact Treaty is a symbol of these policies...

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Glencross Andrew

Why a British referendum on EU membership will not solve the Europe question

in **International Affairs** , vol. 91, issue 2, march , 303-317

ABSTRACT: This article scrutinizes the merits of holding a referendum over UK membership of the EU. It queries the assumption that direct democracy can somehow resolve the longstanding Europe question in British politics. To do this, the analysis traces the existence of an exceptionalist approach to the EU within Britain, now associated with re-negotiating UK membership in the shadow of a referendum. The article argues that the prospects for a radical reconfiguration of the UK's treaty obligations are slim, thereby increasing the risk of a vote to withdraw. Yet withdrawal would be the opposite of a simple solution to the Europe question. Political and economic interests dictate lengthy politicking over a highly complex post-Brexit settlement revisiting free movement of goods, services, capital and people. Such negotiations undermine any mooted cathartic benefits of a popular vote, while Eurosceptics will remain dissatisfied in the event of a yes, a result likely to further destabilize the Conservative Party. Consequently, the simplicity and decisiveness that a referendum—particularly one that spurns the EU—promises is merely a mirage as relations with the EU necessarily form part of an enduring British political conversation.

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Cohen Benjamin J.

Why can't Europe save itself? A note on a structural failure

in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2015 , 220-230

Europe's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) has been struck by one financial crisis after another. Yes despite many bold new initiatives, instability and uncertainty persist. Why can't Europe save itself? The answer, this chapter argues, lies in a structural failure. EMU lacks a credible mechanism to cope with the threat of imbalances within the group – a



framework to manage the European region's internal payments problems. The challenge was foreseen from the beginning. How could a regional monetary union manage the risk of fiscal imbalances among its members? Europe might have turned to the USA for inspiration. For analytical purposes, the USA too can be considered as a regional monetary union comparable to EMU, facing the same fundamental challenge. America's solution was to create a permanent 'transfer union', featuring more or less automatic flows of funds through the federal budget at the centre. But European policy-makers chose otherwise, for reasons that go to the very heart of their ongoing integration project. EMU is a league of sovereign states, each determined to retain for itself as many rights and privileges as possible. In such a structure, a permanent transfer union never had a chance; and since no adequate substitute has yet been found, Europe is forced to pay a high price in terms of instability and lost growth.

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Hvidsten Andreas H., Hovi Jon

Why no twin-track Europe? Unity, discontent, and differentiation in European integration
in *European Union Politics*, vol. 16, n. 1, March, 3-22

European integration has grown increasingly differentiated. EU member countries now integrate at different speeds and frequently resort to opt-out clauses, while occasionally voicing deep discontent with the direction of the integration process. Nevertheless, European integration essentially remains a single-track enterprise, whereby member countries move in the same direction under the same set of EU institutions. Offering a novel perspective on EU integration, we argue that the real puzzle is not why integration has become differentiated but rather why it has not become more differentiated. Using a simple formal model to illustrate and deepen our argument, we throw new light on the bewildering coexistence of unity, discontent, and differentiation in the European project. We show that a twin-track Europe would likely leave more EU members discontented.

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Scheurman William E.

'Hermann Heller and the European Crisis: Authoritarian Liberalism Redux?'
in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 3, 302-312

This essay tentatively buttresses Alexander Somek's view that Hermann Heller's 1933 essay, 'Authoritarian Liberalism', provides a useful starting point for thinking about the ongoing European crisis, in which European authorities are favouring rigid austerity and pro-business policies while undermining basic liberal and democratic rights. Heller's unfortunate neglect, especially in Anglophone scholarship, is discussed. Nonetheless, Somek and other recent scholars who have turned to Heller to make sense of the European crisis downplay some of the tough questions raised by any attempt to apply Heller's analysis of the Weimar crisis to the contemporary setting. In particular, Heller's theory relied on a robust social democratic statism which has become increasingly unpopular even among theorists on the political left.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Puntscher Riekman Sonja, Wydra Doris



‘Obligations of good faith’: on the difficulties of building US-style EU federalism
in *Contemporary South Asia*, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 201-219

The sovereign debt crisis has exposed the weaknesses of the regulative and institutional arrangements of the European Monetary Union. A number of American scholars have highlighted that there are lessons on federalism for Europe to learn from the USA. But to what extent can the US model of fiscal federalism be transferred to the European context? Our general assumption is that besides the differences of the historically developed institutions, structures and economic concepts, it is the different logic that has and is driving the two integration processes that would impede such a transfer. Basing the argument on Oates’ theory of two generations of fiscal federalism, we see that the USA – building on a firm constitutional framework – provided for a crucial role of central government in macro-economic stabilization, whereas the European Union (EU) style of fiscal federalism remains contractual. Although transfers are inevitable, the EU shuns the logic of financial solidarity as economic divergencies cannot be harmoniously accommodated by a commitment to a common constitutional framework. As crisis management largely relies on an intergovernmental decision-making process, it enhances the power of creditor states vis-à-vis the debtor states and follows the logic of ‘surveillance and punishment’. The European emphasis is on controlling the moral hazard and the most likely outcome of the crisis will be differentiated integration.

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O’ Brennan John

‘On the Slow Train to Nowhere?’ The European Union, ‘Enlargement Fatigue’ and the Western Balkans
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 221-241

ABSTRACT: The EU is seeking to repeat the success of its eastern enlargement in the Western Balkans. The accession of Croatia on 1 July 2013 provides a template for other Western Balkan states to emulate as they seek to transpose and implement the EU *acquis communautaire* and advance their membership prospects. But the EU’s engagement with the Western Balkans is proving uneven and unsatisfactory: the enlargement process is now on ‘life support’ and ‘flat lining’ along a trajectory of ‘frozen negotiating chapters’ and mutual mistrust toward (despite the promise made at Thessaloniki a decade ago) an increasingly uncertain destination. The main reason for this is ‘enlargement fatigue’ amongst the Member States of the European Union. This article explores the underlying causes of this phenomenon and how it is impacting on the EU’s relationship with the Western Balkans. It demonstrates that there is a symbiotic link between enlargement fatigue on the EU side of the relationship and the deficit of implementation on the candidate state side. The extended economic crisis which has so damaged EU solidarity has also had a knock-on impact on enlargement: the previously successful ‘external incentives model’ has run aground on the rocks of growing mistrust and pervasive uncertainty about the endpoint of the process.

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Cary Fontana and Craig Parsons

‘One Woman’s Prejudice’: Did Margaret Thatcher Cause Britain’s Anti-Europeanism?
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 89–105

Were the British fated to clash with the European Union? Powerful traditions in British political culture certainly inclined



the UK to be an 'awkward partner' in Europe. Yet traditions are material from which politics is constructed, not fixed frameworks for destiny. This article argues that a careful historical reconstruction of the development and consolidation of today's British Euroscepticism – with its stronghold on the political right – passes substantially through the distinctive personal influence of Margaret Thatcher. The Iron Lady's individual action and legacy, magnified by a series of contingencies, generated the core dynamics that soured Britain's ties to Europe so bitterly. Had Thatcher not personally inspired this course, the traditions of British national identity and British Conservatism in particular could very plausibly have evolved in less anti-European directions.

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Dukelow Fiona

'Pushing against an open door': Reinforcing the neo-liberal policy paradigm in Ireland and the impact of EU intrusion

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 13, n. 1, January, 93-111

ABSTRACT: Neo-liberalism's resilience since the financial crisis has by now become a common-place observation. In the case of Ireland, however, it might be more apt to speak not just of neo-liberalism's resilience but its active reinforcement. By re-visiting Hall's essay on paradigm change and paying particular attention to the adaptive quality of what he calls first and second order paradigm change, and by reading his work against more recent scholarship on the relationship between ideas and power, this article details how Ireland's response to its crisis has reinforced its dominant neo-liberal policy paradigm. It demonstrates how neo-liberal ideas, despite provoking controversy, remained powerful in domestic debate in the aftermath of the crisis. Moreover it argues that by the time financial support was acquired, EU and IMF actors were, for the most part, 'pushing against an open door' with Irish political elites in relation to deficit reduction, how to achieve it and its role in economic recovery. Focusing upon changes to taxation and social protection in particular, the article analyses how the reinforcement of the neo-liberal paradigm is evident in efforts made to limit tax increases, whereas more radical retrenchment and reform of social protection is taking place to ensure its closer compatibility with the perceived needs of a globalised neo-liberal economic paradigm.

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Kenneth McDonagh

'Talking the Talk or Walking the Walk': Understanding the EU's Security Identity

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 3, 627-641

How do European Union security practices constitute the EU as an 'actor' in global politics? Debates about the EU's actorness are as old as the concept of European integration itself. Christopher J. Bickerton has argued that rather than debating the EU's role in global politics from the perspective of 'actorness', research should focus on the functions of EU policy practices and the role they play in defining and creating that 'actorness'. His approach leaves unquestioned the relationship between identity, interests and these practices. This article reorients these discussions towards the literature on security, identity and foreign policy. It argues that security practices are performative, that they play an active role in constructing the 'selves' they claim to protect and the 'others' deemed threatening or as targets for intervention. It proceeds by examining twenty-first-century European security practices in order to understand what, if any, security identity the EU is constructing.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kenneth McDonagh

'Talking the Talk or Walking the Walk': Understanding the EU's Security Identity

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 627–641

How do European Union security practices constitute the EU as an 'actor' in global politics? Debates about the EU's actorness are as old as the concept of European integration itself. Christopher J. Bickerton has argued that rather than debating the EU's role in global politics from the perspective of 'actorness', research should focus on the functions of EU policy practices and the role they play in defining and creating that 'actorness'. His approach leaves unquestioned the relationship between identity, interests and these practices. This article reorients these discussions towards the literature on security, identity and foreign policy. It argues that security practices are performative, that they play an active role in constructing the 'selves' they claim to protect and the 'others' deemed threatening or as targets for intervention. It proceeds by examining twenty-first-century European security practices in order to understand what, if any, security identity the EU is constructing.

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Daniel Halberstam

"It's the Autonomy, Stupid!" A Modest Defense of Opinion 2/13 on EU Accession to the ECHR, and the Way Forward

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, issue 1 , 105-146

The Court of Justice of the European Union has arrived! Gone are the days of hagiography, when in the eyes of the academy and informed observers the Court could do no wrong. The pendulum has finally swung the other way. The judicial darling, if there is one today, is Strasbourg, not Luxembourg. Not hours had passed before the Court's 258-paragraph long Opinion 2/13 on the Draft Agreement on EU Accession to the European Convention on Human Rights was condemned as "exceptionally poor." Critical voices have mounted steadily ever since, leading to nothing short of widespread "outrage."

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Vaughan-Williams Nick

"We are not animals!" Humanitarian border security and zoopolitical spaces in Europe

in **Political Geography**, Volume 45, March , 1-10

This article juxtaposes two prominent discourses accompanying the neoliberalisation of Europe's borders. The first is the emerging notion of humanitarian 'migrant-centredness' found in the policies of elites and security professionals in the field of European border security and migration management. The second is the use of animalised metaphors and imagery that pervade narratives of 'irregular' migrants' embodied experiences of detention across and beyond Europe. It argues that what is at stake in this juxtaposition is more than simply a discrepancy between the 'rhetoric' of neoliberal



bordering and the 'reality' of 'irregular' migrants' experiences. Such a view, which is commonly held among diverse critics of border violence, ultimately makes a problematic appeal back to the very humanitarian frame that has already been coopted by authorities associated with or even complicit in that violence. Seeking an alternative diagnosis and ground for critique beyond the 'rhetoric/reality' bind, the analysis draws on conceptual resources found in (post)biopolitical theory – particularly Jacques Derrida's concept of 'zoopolitics' – in order to identify and explore animalisation as a specific spatial technology of power. Understanding the work that the zoopolitical threshold does in shaping contemporary spaces of incarceration and producing animalised subjects offers new insights into both governmental logics of border security and the limits of humanitarian-based critiques.

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Yves Mény

«It's politics, stupid!»: The hollowing out of politics in Europe - and its return, with a vengeance
in *Stato e mercato*, numero 1 , 3-28

Most of the current analyses dealing with the post-2009 crisis tend to focus on its economic components. Its political and social dimensions are perceived as a consequence of this major earthquake and not as the potential cause of the crisis itself. There is an implicit belief that if the economic crisis is properly addressed, there will be a return to «business as usual». This benign neglect of politics offsets the fact that the roots of the issue are much deeper: the disconnection of policies from politics due to the farming out of the political functions to non elected bodies or private corporations has contributed to the hollowing out of democratic systems and to the present disenchantment with politics. The European Union's crisis is a vivid example of this de-coupling with the twin crucial influence of the Luxembourg Court and of the Frankfurt ECB on one hand and the emptiness of the political European scene. However, politics come back with a revenge under various clothes: electoral absenteeism, radical protest and in particular the emergence of variegated forms of populist movements whose main common feature is the rejection of traditional parties, of the economic and political elites, and of the institutions of mediation and representation. The possible return to growth and full employment will be a welcome factor but it will not be enough to deal properly with the growing contradiction between unregulated global economics and national democratic systems, emptied of their political and regulating capacities.

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Buzelay Alain

À propos des pratiques d'optimisation fiscale en Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 586, mars , 167-172

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-42426.htm

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Sauger Nicolas

Élections de second ordre et responsabilité électorale dans un système de gouvernance à niveaux multiples

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 53, n. 1 , 21-47



Dans le cadre de la littérature sur les élections européennes considérées comme des élections de second ordre, cet article interroge la relation entre évaluation des performances gouvernementales et vote. Conduit dans un cadre comparatif à partir de données de sondages dans sept pays européens menés à l'occasion des élections de 2014, cette étude met en miroir logiques nationales et logiques européennes dans le vote rétrospectif. Il conclut à la coexistence de ces deux logiques dans les décisions de vote, mettant ainsi en question le postulat d'une domination des logiques uniquement nationales dans les votes européens.

In the context of the literature about European elections viewed as second-order elections, this article studies the relation between voters' assessments of government performance and vote choice. Anchored in a comparative perspective and analysing data coming from a comparative opinion survey conducted after the 2014 European elections in seven countries, this study compares national and European logics in shaping retrospective voting. The article concludes that both national and European logics are significant and intertwined, thus questioning the assumption of the domination of national logics in choices for the European elections.

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William A. Kerr, Jill E. Hobbs,

'A Protectionist Bargain?: Agriculture in the European Union—Canada Trade Agreement'

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.49, Issue 3 , 437–456

The EU and Canada have been negotiating a preferential trade agreement - the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) - since 2009. The negotiations have been conducted in strict secrecy with an agreement only reached in late September 2014. This was the first time the text of the agreement was made public. This article examines those parts of the text of the agreement which pertain to agri-food trade. The facets of the agreement examined include those that directly affect agriculture - tariffs, TRQs, subsidies, safeguards and rules of origin - as well as other facets of the agreement that indirectly affect agriculture - pricing of wines, geographical indications, environment, sustainability, anti-dumping. The general conclusion is that little in the way of agricultural trade liberalization was achieved and protectionist interests were maintained.

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Reinhard Quick

'Why TTIP Should Have an Investment Chapter Including ISDS'

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.49, Issue 2 , 199–209

TTIP provides for a unique opportunity to introduce procedural and substantive reforms for Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS). The EU and the US can define a modern investment chapter protecting foreign direct investment against unjustifiable interferences by the host state whilst ensuring the sovereign right of the state to regulate. TTIP should create a system of binding international arbitration with a transparent system of adjudication made by impartial arbitrators and guaranteed by an appellate review conducted by independent 'judges'. Such an agreement would function as a catalyst to overcome the fragmented network of bilateral investment agreements. Not to include ISDS in TTIP would demonstrate that the two economic champions of the world are unable to lead by example.



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May Alex

A Crucial Election: The Next Commonwealth Secretary-General

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 2 , 221-222

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2015.1028177>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Prodi Romano

A Sea of Opportunities: The EU and China in the Mediterranean

in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 26, Number 1, March , pp. 1-4

Asia's new economic and political strength—particularly China's—and its increasing economic ties with Europe are giving the Mediterranean region an opportunity to once again be the place in the world where "things happen." This opportunity is amplified by rapid economic growth in Africa, the countries' of which, in the past decade, have exploited the discovery of new oil and gas fields and developed such sectors as mining, fishing, and agriculture. Now Africa is a key supplier to China and a growing market for Chinese and European goods.

However, this new Mediterranean centrality should not be taken for granted. New economic links, trade, and investments must be built, because the Mediterranean Sea is not the only way to link Europe and Asia. Mediterranean ports face tough competition from Northern European ports, and this could become even tougher with a potential permanent opening of a new sea route through the Arctic. Today this route is opened for a few weeks per year, but if expected climate changes continue, this route could become profitable. Another source of competition that could arise is from the new railways that are connecting and expected to connect China and Europe. Today the number of rail routes is still small, but that could increase in the near future thanks to new railway tracks and new agreements among the countries crossed by the railway networks. These routes will be a competitive threat to the economies of the Mediterranean region, especially for the transport of high-value-added goods that need a shorter time to market. How will Europe face these challenges?

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Baert Francis, Shaw Timothy M.

Are you willing to be made nothing? Is Commonwealth reform possible?

in International Affairs , vol. 90, issue 5, september , 1143-1160

ABSTRACT: A new round of Commonwealth reform proposals commenced at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting of 2009. An ensuing report, titled A Commonwealth of the people: time for urgent reform, contained a long list of proposals that eventually resulted in 2013 in the adoption of the Commonwealth Charter. Many classic international organizations are in need of reform, but this is, of course, challenging. This new Commonwealth



reform process will not lead to satisfying changes and will not make it a more relevant actor in global governance. The year 2015 marks the Commonwealth Secretariat's first half-century. We take this symbolic marker to push for a forward-looking exercise, arguing that because the true nature of the Commonwealth is often misunderstood, a better understanding of the organization is essential before embarking on any successful change-management project. In the article we identify four different kinds of Commonwealth: three of a 'formal' nature (the official, bureaucratic and the people's Commonwealth) and a fourth 'informal' one (Commonwealth Plus). By describing the potential of these four different kinds of Commonwealth, we can anticipate better the challenges with which the Commonwealth network is faced, both internal (including its mandate, its British imperial past and dominance, the organization's leadership and its membership) and external (other international organizations, other Commonwealths, rivalry with regional organizations and the rise of global policy networks). Consequently, this should lead to a better and more sustainable debate about the Commonwealth's future role in global governance.

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Torney Diarmuid

Bilateral Climate Cooperation: The EU's Relations with China and India

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 1, February , 105-122

Scholars of global climate governance have focused increasingly on alternative venues to the UN climate regime, with much attention focusing on the growth of transnational climate governance. This article considers the phenomenon of bilateral intergovernmental climate cooperation. It seeks to understand the development of EU–China and EU–India climate cooperation as possible instances of diffusion of ideas, policies, and institutions. While Chinese and Indian climate policies should be understood as primarily domestic developments, there is some limited evidence of diffusion from the EU to China. Domestic factors in China and India—particularly the degree of fit between externally promoted and pre-existing domestic ideas and frames and the underlying material conditions driving these frames—help to explain the variation between the two cases with respect to observed patterns of diffusion.

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Langan Mark

Budget support and Africa–European Union relations: Free market reform and neo-colonialism?

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 21, n. 1, march , 101-121

ABSTRACT: The European Commission has promised to provide African countries with budget support to facilitate poverty eradication and the broader achievement of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. Moreover, European Union officials state that modern 'poverty reduction' budget support aligns with Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development norms of country-ownership. In particular, they assure recipients that this aid modality will not be used to coerce African states to pursue second-generation liberalisation measures. Accordingly, European Union actors in the Post-Washington Consensus appear to have learned the lessons of structural adjustment reforms undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s, opting now to promote untied aid mechanisms. This article argues, however, that European Union budget support is still very much tied to premature trade opening and economic liberalisation in Africa. Examining the cases of Tunisia, Ghana and Uganda, it points to the strategic utilisation of budget aid as a means of donor leverage for free market reform detrimental to the needs of poorer citizens. In this context, the article argues that



Nkrumah's concept of 'neo-colonial' states bears much significance for a contemporary evaluation of European Union budget support to Africa.

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Larionova Marina

Can the Partnership for Modernisation Help Promote the EU–Russia Strategic Partnership?

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 16, n. 1, Special Issue: Modernisation in EU-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future , 62-79

The Partnership for Modernisation (P4M) launched by Russia and the European Union (EU) in 2010 was expected to promote reform and give renewed momentum to their relationship, develop cooperation on trade, economy and energy security, to support growth and contribute to the global economic recovery. Four years and seven summits after its birth the P4M is established as an institution with a capacity for coordination and governance of priorities and interests, a catalysing effect for advancing investment and a potential to contribute to building the Common Spaces (CSs). But the progress has been uneven. The P4M has not served to help transform the EU–Russia relations into a truly strategic partnership. This article explores different dimensions of the P4M genesis, development and impact on the partners' relations in several steps. First, it briefly introduces Russia's modernisation initiative. Second, it has a look at the expectations of the P4M at its launch. Third, it focuses on the progress the P4M has made so far and its relationship with the EU–Russia CSs by comparing the narratives of both. It explores in particular how the P4M has advanced by sectors and whether it has helped advance or has the potential to advance the EU–Russia CS dialogues. The article concludes with reflections on whether the P4M has had an impact on the EU–Russia strategic partnership.

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Locatelli Catherine

EU-Russia trading relations: the challenges of a new gas architecture

in European Journal of Law and Economics, Volume 39, Issue 2, April 2015 , 313-329

Gas security is a key factor in the European Union's energy policy. Contractual relations based on long-term contracts during the 1970s and 1980s led to relative stability in energy trade between the EU and its gas suppliers. But since the mid-1990s, the process of opening up the EU's gas industries to competition and the desire to create a single gas market has led to an in-depth reorganization of the sector. The EU now intends to redefine the way in which it manages its relations with its main suppliers, such as Russia, by attempting to impose a model based on competition, unbundling of network industries and privatization. Russia does not intend to implement this "EU model" in its gas sector, despite the big changes taking place in its domestic market. An approach based on the preferential use of state instruments conflicts with the multilateralism and principles of competition upheld by the EU. The EU's normative power is thus in contradiction with the institutional environment of the Russian energy sector. It is therefore unlikely that energy relations between the EU and Russia will be structured solely on standards stemming from international rules and institutions.

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Sadri Hومان A.

Eurasian Economic Union (EEU): a good idea or a Russian takeover?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 553-562

The Eurasian Economic Union has sparked a debate in the literature regarding who it benefits and what its consequences would be. This paper reviews the argument put forth by Michael Emerson that Europe and Asia should grow together to form a Greater Eurasia. I use this initial argument as a springboard to examine the American literature regarding the formation of the Eeu. I do this by examining four key components: benefits of the formation and expansion of the Eeu, difficulties and concerns regarding the formation and expansion of the Eeu, the local perspective, and the implications for the European Union and the United States. The paper concludes by stating that examining the Eeu and its relations are in the United States' interest and should be paid attention to in regards to foreign policy. With this conclusion we note that currently the American literature is limited and needs to be further researched.

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Krapohl Sebastian

Financial crises as catalysts for regional cooperation? Chances and obstacles for financial integration in ASEAN+3, MERCOSUR and the eurozone

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2015 , 161-178

This article compares and analyses the different answers from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations+3 (ASEAN+3), Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR) and the eurozone on financial crises in their respective regions. All three regions were hit by economic turmoil between 1997 and 2012, but whereas ASEAN+3 and the eurozone answered with establishing regional liquidity arrangements (RLAs) in order to fight future crises, financial cooperation did not take off in MERCOSUR. Thus, the paper asks why some regions establish RLAs in cases of crisis and others do not. It argues that the variance of regional financial integration in different world regions is due to different interests of regional powers in their respective regions. The regional powers of ASEAN+3 and the eurozone are institutionally and/or economically highly embedded within their respective regions, but this is not the case for Brazil in MERCOSUR. China and Japan suffered from negative externalities of the Asian crisis, and, consequently, have had an interest to stabilize their neighbours' economies after the crisis. In contrast, Brazil was able to follow a beggar-thy-neighbour strategy at the turn of the millennium, which externalized some of the costs of Brazil's own economic crisis towards Argentina. As a result, Brazil has had no interest in providing liquidity for its regional neighbours after the crisis. France and Germany are not only economically but also institutionally highly embedded in the eurozone because they share a common currency with their regional neighbours. Thus, the stability of the eurozone is a vital interest for Europe's regional powers, and they devote significant resources to stabilize the economies of the eurozone's periphery.

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Sheng Lu

Impact of the Trans-Pacific Partnership on China's Textiles and Apparel Exports: A Quantitative Analysis

in *International Trade Journal*, Volume 29, Issue 1 , 19-38



This study intends to quantify the potential effect of the implementation of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) on China's textiles and apparel exports. Results show that, first, China's apparel exports to the United States, Japan, and the NAFTA region will significantly decline after the TPP. Second, trade diversion effect caused by Japan will negatively offset the potential expansion of China's textile exports to Vietnam and other Asian TPP members after the TPP. Third, Japan's accession to the TPP will impose substantial negative impact on China's textile and apparel exports in the TPP era.

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Mahrukh Doctor

Interregionalism's impact on regional integration in developing countries: the case of Mercosur
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 22, Issue 7 , 967-984

This article examines the impact of interregionalism on deepening regional integration processes in non-European Union (EU) regions, specifically the Southern Common Market (Mercosur). It considers whether 'capacity-building' functions of interregionalism are present in EU-Mercosur relations. It argues that although negotiations for an association agreement might have helped Mercosur survive periods of severe crisis in the past, the terms of the agreement under negotiation were not sufficiently attractive to encourage deeper integration in Mercosur. Moreover, interregionalism cannot be expected to compensate for low institutionalization, nor substitute for weak political willingness to deepen integration. Ultimately, Mercosur alone can decide how far it wants to take its regional integration.

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Götz Elias

It's geopolitics, stupid: explaining Russia's Ukraine policy
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 3-10

What lies behind Russia's annexation of Crimea and its confrontational policies towards Ukraine? This article challenges the widely held perspective that President Putin's personality and his security-service background is the central driver of Russia's Ukraine policy. Instead, it puts forward a geopolitical explanation that emphasizes three factors: Ukraine's geographic location; the EU's increased activism in Eastern Europe; and the pro-western orientation of the new government in Kiev. Together, these three factors provide Russia with a strong incentive to pursue an assertive policy towards Ukraine. Moscow's main aim is to regain some control over Kiev's foreign policy orientation and, if that is not possible, to establish a belt of pro-Russian provinces in Ukraine's east. The findings of this article suggest, moreover, that the West's current policies towards Russia are ineffective and potentially counterproductive. A major readjustment is urgently needed.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.960184>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Rajendra K. Jain

Jawaharlal Nehru and the European Economic Community



in *India Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 1, 1-15

Based largely on speeches, statements and interviews of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru—who dominated the foreign policy-making processes and held the portfolio of foreign minister throughout the 17 years of his prime ministership—this article examines initial Indian concerns, perceptions and policy towards the European Economic Community. It evaluates the key elements which influenced his thinking and evaluates Indian attempts to secure a viable trade arrangement with the Community during the Nehru era.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schwok René, Najy Cenni

Le traité historique entre l'Union européenne et l'Ukraine: au-delà dese controverses, la réalité du texte

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 585, février, 93-101

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-41770.htm#contents_01

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Vapné Lisa

L'accueil des « migrants juifs » en Allemagne. Un exemple de politique publique de l'identité

in *Politique européenne*, n. 47, 2015/1, 72-92

Since January 1991, the Federal Republic of Germany has implemented a state policy allowing applicants living in former Soviet Union countries and categorized as Jewish to settle in Germany. Originally, this policy appeared in the political agenda as a way to host potential victims of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union; then it was maintained to rebuild Jewish life in Germany with the influx of post-Soviet Jews, labelled as an ethno religious group. Examining the categorizations that have turned positive representations of this group into negative ones, we explain why this policy persisted throughout the 2000s despite the fact that ethnicity was no longer the unique criterion for Germany to define its own nation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kaufmann Timo

L'engagement de l'UE au Sahel : stratégie cohérente ou rafistolage politique ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 780, mai

En mars 2011 dans la « Stratégie de l'UE pour la sécurité et le développement dans la région du Sahel », l'UE préconise une approche globale en vue de promouvoir la prospérité et la sécurité de la région du Sahel. Voici un aperçu de la stratégie et des possibilités d'extension à l'ensemble de la bande sahélo-saharienne.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zonova Tatiana, Reinhardt Roman

Main vectors of Russia's foreign policy (1991-2014)

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 501-516

The article casts light upon the evolution of Russia's approaches to foreign policy throughout the period of 1991-2014 conditioned by changes of the geopolitical situation, shifts on the world arena, as well as the transformation of the country's position thereon. It provides an acute insight into the major dimensions of Russian foreign policy, in particular relations with the Usa and Nato, the European Union (Eu) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (Cis). Alongside tracking the alterations of foreign policy doctrines and key concepts, the Authors also look into its causes and underpinning by analyzing internal political processes and conflicts of interests within Russia. A special emphasis is put not only on the contrast between Yeltsin's and Putin's/Medvedev's external policy courses, but also on the changes undergone by the latter within the last 14 years. As far as today's complicated situation involving the Ukrainian crisis is concerned, the outlined experience gives ground for a rather positive outlook about the possibility to overcome the current confrontation between Russia and Western countries provided both parties prove the willingness to do so.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

David Maxine, Romanova Tatiana

Modernisation in EU–Russian Relations: Past, Present, and Future

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 1, Special Issue: Modernisation in EU-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future , 1-10

The purpose of this editorial is to set the context for the special issue on modernisation in European Union (EU)–Russian relations. It therefore first locates the Partnership for Modernisation in the context of EU–Russian relations, identifying its place vis-à-vis the 1994 Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, 2005 Common Spaces and negotiations on a new EU–Russian agreement. The article then addresses the current context of these relations, which has been steadily deteriorating since the beginning of 2014 due to events in Ukraine. Third, the editorial identifies the importance of modernisation for Russia and describes how the processes of this millennium are different from Russia's previous attempts to modernise. Finally, the article explains why modernisation is still relevant for EU–Russian relations despite the current state of relations between Moscow and Brussels and introduces the contributions to this special issue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Völkel Jan Claudius

More for More, Less for Less – More or Less: A Critique of the EU's Arab Spring Response à la Cinderella

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 263-281



ABSTRACT: The EU quickly reacted on the Arab Spring with the elaboration of a new Mediterranean policy concept. Aiming at supporting the young democratization processes in the region, the idea of 'more for more, less for less' has been suggested as incentive for the good performers, and as deterrence for potential bad performers. While, the former can hope for increased funding, the latter are endangered of receiving less EU support. This article problematizes the consequences this concept might have if brought into reality and concludes that it is neither desirable nor expectable; instead, it calls for a more honest EU rhetoric: Rather than pretending that satisfying democratic standards could be realized soon in the Middle East and North Africa, it would be wiser to accept intermediate setbacks and continue the support, even if the political transition process might suffer negative developments. This would not only be in the interest of the affected societies which struggle about their economic and political future, but also for the EU itself, as otherwise it might further lose ground as prime partner of the countries in its Southern neighbourhood.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Shcherbak Igor

New horizons for a Greater Eurasia.

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 545-552

The present article was inspired by Michael Emerson research Towards a Greater Eurasia: who, why, what and how which raised a lot of far-reaching ideas concerning the future vision of a Greater Eurasian community on the crossroads of globalization and integration. The Author shares the pragmatic and evolutionary approach of Emerson towards modernization of Asem and transforming it into a coordination mechanism bridging European and Asian major regional players. The Author considers that the Ukrainian crisis over the Eu-Ukraine Association agreement (Free Trade deal) highlighted that the international community is confronted nowadays with totally new challenges to its security and stability not directly connected with traditional political and military factors. Non-traditional risks associated with trade, sanctions and tariffs wars, precipitated or imposed expansion or enlargement of geographical areas of regional organizations and arbitrary utilization of trade, financial and economic sanctions could be equally damaging for stability and security and finally for integration processes between Europe and Asia. The integration and harmonization of the Eurasian space should be supported by an adequate system and mechanisms for crisis prevention and crisis management. The central coordinating role in this respect should belong to Asem and major regional organizations (some of them, like Osce, could perform 'bridging' functions in integration processes). The article favours a new model of cooperation in Eurasia based on mutual openness of all regional organizations to each other, maximum transparency, adoption of universal rules and technical regulations, emphasis on accelerating harmonization of the Eurasian trade and economic space.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pal Maia

Old alliances, new struggles. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 190, Mar/Apr 2015 , 8-12



The full text is free:

www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/old-alliances-new-struggles

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) is a bilateral agreement between the European Union and the United States of America aimed at the liberalization and regulation of trade in goods and services. If adopted, it will supplant the EU, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the deal between China and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as the largest free-trade zone in the world. By reducing tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs), developing Investor-to-State-Dispute-Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms, and harmonizing cross-border regulatory convergence, the agreement claims to ensure economic growth, create jobs and, according to a US Chamber of Commerce brochure, 'promote regulatory cooperation to ensure high levels of health, safety, and environmental protection while cutting unnecessary costs'. The European Commission (EC) argues that the 'extra economic growth will benefit everyone; boosting trade is a good way of boosting our economies by creating increased demand and supply without having to increase public spending or borrowing'...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Stulberg Adam N.

Out of Gas?: Russia, Ukraine, Europe, and the Changing geopolitics of Natural Gas

in **Problems of Post-communism**, vol. 62, n. 2, Special Issue: Making Sense of Russian Foreign Policy , 112-130

Curiously, a gas war was averted at the apogee of the 2013/4 Ukrainian crisis. Russia, Ukraine, and European consumer states not only refrained from precipitous shut-offs that marred conflicts in 2006 and 2009, but deepened mutual energy ties as the crisis unfolded. This article highlights shortcomings with the contemporary debate over Russia's energy weapon made evident by the mixed diplomacy and outcomes in these successive gas crises. It then probes change to the roles, postures, and relationships among key stakeholders embodied by an emerging Europe-Eurasian gas network. The latter arguably upends classic realpolitik assumptions about pipeline politics, while illustrates how Russia is down but not out amid transformation in the regional gas landscape.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Keijzer Niels, Negre Mario

Outsourcing a partnership? Assessing ACP–EU cooperation under the Cotonou Partnership Agreement

in **South African Journal of International Affairs** , vol. 21, issue 2 , 279-296

ABSTRACT: Since 2000 the cooperation between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states has been governed through the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. This article complements existing research that focuses on Brussels-based stakeholders with an analysis drawing on the existing literature and on stakeholders' perceptions of ACP–EU cooperation and ACP institutions gathered via interviews in nine ACP countries. The findings presented observe a social disconnect between, on the one hand, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement's institutions and Brussels-based representatives, and, on the other hand, the broad-based and multistakeholder partnership they are tasked to promote. The article points to low levels of support in ACP countries, particularly in Africa, to continued ACP–EU cooperation in its present form, and stresses the need for an open and participatory process of



reviewing and reshaping ACP–EU relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Brianna Wodiske

Preventing the Melting of the Arctic Council: China as a Permanent Observer and What It Means for the Council and the Environment

in *International and Comparative Law Review Loyola of Los Angeles*, vol. 36, issue 2 , 305-330

On May 15, 2013, China sought and was granted permanent observer status to the Arctic Council, the "main intergovernmental forum for the five countries on the Arctic Ocean—America, Canada, Denmark, Norway and Russia—and three others in the Arctic Circle (Finland, Iceland and Sweden)."

This note will argue that China's acceptance to the Council will promote protection of the environment and provide a voice for other non-Arctic states. Section I will lay out the law governing the Arctic and China's interest in the region. Section II will analyze the ways the Arctic Council has looked at application in the past. Section III will look at China's legal right under the United Nations Convention of the Law of Seas (UNCLOS). Section IV will make the argument for the acceptance of China's application for permanent observer status and explain why it is important; and finally, section V will conclude by looking at the implications of China's acceptance and what role it will play in the Arctic Council's future decisions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Daniels Justus von

Recht im globalen Nebel. Investitionsschutz und demokratische Legitimation

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Volume 43 (2015), Issue 1 , 113-127

Investment protection has been regarded as part of the planned Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) agreement between the EU and the US. Some argue that this will improve the protection of property rights; others criticize that large corporations could gain even more leverage over government policies. This essay presents two aspects of democratic legitimacy which are at the core of the debate: the lack of democratic legitimacy of the arbitration panels, and the transfer of competence within the EU. The hybrid Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) system, which has its origin in the tradition of international trade arbitration, shows deficits of democratic legitimacy in several ways. Secondly, the inclusion of investment protection passed through the levels of European institutions without a public debate which shows another level of legitimacy deficit. The treaty parties need to consider new suggestions in the current debate. They should consider whether property rights are better served by improving existing national procedures rather than by establishing an unpredictable dispute settlement system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schumacher Tobias, Nitoiu Cristian

Russia's Foreign Policy Towards North Africa in the Wake of the Arab Spring

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 97-104



Since coming to power in 2000, Russian president Vladimir Putin has tried to construct a narrative of regaining Russia's status as a major global power. However, in practice the Kremlin has yet to create a coherent strategy or achieve a sense of a co-ordinated foreign policy. While North Africa has not been at the forefront of this narrative, recently Moscow has intensified its diplomatic links and cooperation with the regimes in the region. The Arab Spring presented Russian policy makers with a series of challenges regarding the uncertainty of the developments in the region, but also with renewed economic opportunities. This profile analyses Moscow's relationships with the countries in North Africa (Libya, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria) in the wake of the Arab Spring. In each case the Kremlin aimed to take advantage of the new opportunities without really being guided by an overarching strategy for the region. However, Russia increasingly seems to be keen to position itself in the region as an alternative to the EU or the US, not least in light of the current war in Ukraine.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Casula Philipp

Russia's and Europe's Borderlands. Between Sovereign Intervention and Security Management in Problems of Post-communism, vol. 61, n. 6, Special Issue: The Renewed Significance of Borders , 6-17

Russia and the European Union approach their shared borderlands differently. Making use of "sovereignty" and "security" as guiding concepts reveals commonalities and differences and highlights the connections among identities, borders, and power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Entina Ekaterina

Russia's return to the international arena. How the Eurasian Economic Union should be estimated? in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 527-544

For a long time countries that were once a part of the Ussr coexisted with Russia in a single economic system which was destroyed by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Commonwealth of Independent States (Cis) built instead of the Soviet Union fulfilled its tasks of a peaceful breakup and dialogue between the Republics. Nevertheless, the Cis has been ineffective in solving the problems of a deeper cooperation in relation to integration. By the end of last century in search of large markets Russia understood the need to restore the economic space in which it historically operated. The formation of the Eurasian Economic Union (Eeu) became one of its most ambitious projects and the integration potential of this geopolitical project is of course high. However, the way to its implementation is full of challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Osman Rehab O. M.

SADC Trade with the European Union from a Preferential to a Reciprocal Modality in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 83, Issue 1, March 2015 , 23-40



This study employs a global computable general equilibrium (CGE) model to examine the potential impacts of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the European Union (EU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The simulation results suggest that a comprehensive EPA scenario is welfare-improving for many SADC members. SADC preferential access to the EU markets is the key source for the prospective welfare and terms of trade gains. Overall, SADC production structures become more concentrated in export-oriented sectors. These structural changes are accompanied by a high degree of adjustment and substantial fiscal losses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gromyko Alexey

Smaller or Greater Europe?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 517-526

The Author states that the national interests of Russia with its vast territory, innumerable natural and mineral resources, a well-educated labour force and valuable human capital demand from Russia strategic relations with Europe, Asia and other regions and continents, in other words: a transregional foreign policy with global elements. He elaborates the idea that in recent decades the European Union (or Smaller Europe to be distinguished from Greater Europe, which includes Russia and other non-Eu countries) has turned into a significant player on the global scene. In parallel, he is analysing the idea of polycentricity, noting that it has been accelerated by the global crisis. After the period of deep rifts in the Euroatlantic community, caused by the Iraq intervention and other controversies, geopolitical disagreements have faded. From the Author's point of view, this does not mean that the divergence between the allies in 2003 was an aberration. On the contrary, those events demonstrated that in Smaller Europe there is a profound potential to establish its own vision of regional and global problems. In the concluding part of the paper the Author deliberates on the Ukrainian crisis, pointing out that it has created one more setback on the way of the Eu acquiring its autonomous foreign and security policy and strategic vision. The crisis has been used for the new round of the Euroatlantic consolidation, which in the beginning of the XXI century was getting more and more pluralistic. The Author deplores that this consolidation is based on the well-known and regrettable tune: the «threat from the East»

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Preziosa Pasquale

Strengthening Political Governance and Military Capabilities for Peace, Security and Stability in Africa

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 2, Number 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Karlsson Mikael

TTIP and the environment: the case of chemicals policy

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 21-31



Disputes over trade and environment are not seldom superficial and the ongoing debate on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) is not an exception. This article, however, seeks to provide an in-depth analysis in one of the areas being negotiated, namely chemicals management. It is shown that both policy and legislation in the area differ fundamentally between the EU and the USA, so neither harmonization of laws, nor harmonization of the implementation of laws is concluded to be plausible. Similarly, the prospects to harmonize the development of future chemicals legislation are concluded to be less than modest, and any institution for transatlantic regulatory collaboration in the area risks causing a regulatory chill effect at the expense of public health and the environment. The exception would be if US legislators would strengthen policy to the EU's higher level of precautionary protection, but such a policy change has for a long time proved impossible in the chemicals area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Seeberg Peter

The EU and the Syrian Crisis: The Use of Sanctions and the Regime's Strategy for Survival in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 18-35

The Syrian crisis has from May 2011 and onwards been met by the EU with rounds of tightening sanctions attempting to put pressure on the Syrian regime and the elites surrounding it. Based on a typology for the sanctions and a periodization showing how the measures have proceeded, the article discusses the EU sanctions and to what degree they have influenced the situation in Syria. Furthermore, the article sheds light on regional and international dimensions of EU policies towards Syria and demonstrates how the policies are met with the Syrian regime's ability to adapt to conditions related to changing internal and external challenges. The article concludes that what in the first phases of the EU sanctions against Syria represented a deviation from the traditional pragmatic EU policies vis-à-vis the Middle East, seems during the latest phase to be followed by a more cautious approach, which also takes security concerns into consideration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dossi Simone

The EU, China, and Nontraditional Security: Prospects for Cooperation in the Mediterranean Region in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 26, Number 1, March , pp. 77-96

As political instability challenges China's growing interests in the Mediterranean region, the European Union might prove to be the right partner for Beijing. This essay assesses the prospects for EU-Chinese security cooperation in the region. A shared doctrinal concern with nontraditional security provides a solid foundation, as proved by antipiracy efforts in the Gulf of Aden. This paves the way for nontraditional security cooperation in the Mediterranean region, for instance in the field of noncombatant evacuation. Yet a crucial precondition is that the EU behaves more coherently, in order to be perceived by China as a reliable partner.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dossi Simone



The EU, China, and Nontraditional Security: Prospects for Cooperation in the Mediterranean Region
in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 26, Number 1, March , pp. 77-96

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nielsen Kristian L., Vilson Maili

The Eastern Partnership: Soft Power Strategy or Policy Failure?
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 19, issue 2 , 243-262

ABSTRACT: When the EU launched the Eastern Partnership (EaP) in 2009, it did so with much rhetoric about projecting its soft power into Eastern Europe. Yet today, the EU's soft power project seems to have stalled, with developments in the region being less than favourable. This article argues that the EaP essentially replicated the main weaknesses of the European Neighbourhood Policy, by offering too little incentive and support to the partners, rendering both conditionality and soft power ineffective as tools for milieu shaping. In promoting the EaP as a policy of soft power, the EU has once again forgotten that soft power can never be separated from the 'harder' policies that would meet the expectations of those wishing to align with it. This failure of policy continues to largely negate the EU's actually considerable reservoir of potential soft power in Eastern Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Arana Arantza Gomez

The European Union and the Central American Common Market Signs an Association Agreement: Pragmatism versus Values?
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 1 , 43-63

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the association agreement between the European Union and Central America signed in 2010. The importance of this agreement is crucial in international relations since it is the first successful association agreement between two regional groups that include trade, political dialogue and development aid. The central argument of this article sustains that the agreement was possible thanks to the efforts of the Spanish diplomatic team. However, this was not sufficient and the efforts of Central American countries were absolutely essential. The main events that influenced the agreement are analysed in order to find the reasons behind the agreement: the Spanish presidency; the bananas conflict between the EU, the US and Central American countries; and the political conflict in Honduras.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nono Guy Marcel

The Future of the ACP Group of States in a Changing World: Challenges and Future Perspectives
in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 23.1

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Flenley Paul

The Partnership for Modernisation: Contradictions of the Russian Modernisation Agenda
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 1, Special Issue: Modernisation in EU-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future , 11-26

The Partnership for Modernisation was an attempt to re-set the EU–Russia relationship. This article discusses how far modernisation can be the basis for a more productive relationship. The article argues that rather than a shared approach with the EU there is a particular, historical Russian approach to modernisation. It discusses how far this constitutes a separate model and identifies a range of problems such as corruption and human rights which undermine this model even in its own terms. The article suggests that modernisation is indeed a basis for a continuing EU–Russia partnership, in spite of recent crises. However, it has to be a partnership which accepts the specificity of Russian development yet also helps deliver a more sustainable path of modernisation.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pavlova Elena

The Russian Federation and European Union against Corruption: A Slight Misunderstanding?
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 1, Special Issue: Modernisation in EU-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future , 111-125

It was hoped that the Partnership for Modernisation would improve the troubled relationship between the Russian Federation and the European Union (EU), but it has fallen far short of expectations. Moreover, the disagreement between the two parties has been evident not only on such predictably conflictual topics as human rights but also in the areas where mutual understanding would have seemed likely to have been achieved. This article analyses one of these topics, the fight against corruption, as it is defined in the Russian discourse. It is argued that the Russian discourse on corruption exists at three levels, which do not overlap at all. The first level is the official definition of corruption; the second is ‘home corruption’, which is interpreted only as an economic problem and frequently understood as a part of the socio-economic system and the third level – that of political opposition, where the fight against corruption, although being the axial line for the articulation of the protest agenda, has nothing to do with the anti-corruption fight as such. As a result, the Russian and the EU discourses have little in common, which presents some problems for future cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cuyvers Ludo

The Sustainable Development Clauses in Free Trade Agreements of the EU with Asian Countries: Perspectives for ASEAN?

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 4 , 427-449

ABSTRACT: The paper shows that the present EU GSP Plus arrangement is to be considered as showing the level of aspiration of the EU for future FTA partners regarding international rules of sustainability and good governance. Following its 2007 East Asia Policy Guidelines, the EU started negotiations on an interregional EU–ASEAN FTA and on the FTA with South Korea.

The EU–Korea FTA and the European Commission's reactions to the consultant's advice on sustainability provide evidence of the negotiation strategy regarding the sustainability chapter in such FTAs with Asia. We evaluate this chapter of the EU–Singapore FTA, concluded in December 2012 against this background and find that they are highly similar. We conclude that the EU–Singapore FTA sustainable development provisions can be considered as a benchmark for the on-going FTA negotiations with Malaysia, Vietnam and Thailand, and as a baseline for such provisions in a future EU–ASEAN FTA.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

-Ferreira-Pereira Laura C., Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira Alena

Ukraine in the European Union's Partnership Policy: A Case of Institutionalized Ambiguity

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 143-158

The relations between the European Union (EU) and Ukraine have been predominantly explained in the light of the European Neighbourhood Policy that ascribes a central role to political conditionality. This analytical approach, however, overlooks the fact that since the 1990s, the EU has been developing a partnership policy that needs to be taken into consideration. This partnership policy was enshrined in the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and the EU Common Strategy towards Ukraine in 1999, and with the advent of the twenty-first century came to incorporate differentiated elements, notably the growing politico-diplomatic alignment within the realm of Common Foreign and Security Policy and a tangible participation in Common Security and Defence Policy missions. While these features have ascribed the country a distinctive status, neither of the parties has hitherto engaged in formalizing a strategic partnership. Against this backdrop, this article attempts to explain this somewhat paradoxical situation by teasing out and discussing the evolution of the cooperation between the EU and Ukraine which is informed by a complex institutional and legal design. It argues that two decades of bilateral relationship have engendered an ambiguous partnership, given the necessity felt by the EU to give the upper hand to an intergovernmentally driven 'Russia-first policy', while accommodating Kiev's ambitions to become a EU full-fledged member.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Fritz Barbara, Mühlich Laurissa

Varieties of regional monetary cooperation: a tool for reducing volatility in developing economies?

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2015 , 127-144



Can regional monetary cooperation shield developing regions from global volatility? The article argues that the main contribution of regional monetary cooperation to enhancing the shock-buffering ability of its member countries is to provide short-term liquidity and to increase regional trade and financial links. In contrast, traditional optimum currency area (OCA) theories formulate the advantages of regional monetary cooperation in terms of allocative efficiency gains and aim at a full currency union as final stage. As such, traditional theory widely ignores the shock-buffering capacity of regional monetary cooperation as well as their varieties. In contrast, the article argues that intermediate stages of regional monetary cooperation have their own rationales related to such shock-buffering capacity. This paper systematically examines the variety of regional cooperation arrangements in the developing world that range from regional payments systems over the pooling of reserves to exchange rate coordination. We propose that the potential for shock buffering is dependent on the chosen form of cooperation. Furthermore, in contrast to full monetary integration, which is highly demanding in terms of policy coordination, the requirements for regional policy coordination are significantly lower, depending on the form and aim of the arrangement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Romanova Tatiana, Pavlova Elena

What Modernisation? The Case of Russian Partnerships for Modernisation with the European Union and Its Member States

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 22, issue 4 , 499-517

ABSTRACT: The article examines how the concept of modernisation manifests itself in partnerships for modernisation (Ps4M) between Russia, on the one hand, and the EU and 24 of its member states, on the other hand. It first identifies the conventional difference between the Russian economic interpretation of modernisation and the EU one based on political values. The article then demonstrates the ambiguity of the modernisation concept that EU member states promote to Russia, making it an empty signifier. To illustrate the difference among EU member states, the article makes use of discourse analysis to first design a scale of Russia's attitude to various political aspects of modernisation and to then posit member states on this scale on the basis of what they inserted in their Ps4M with Russia. It is argued that Russia in its dialogue with the EU faces ambiguity of the concept, which it is supposed to adopt. Furthermore, a new classification of EU member states emerges, based on the extent to which they are ready to defend political modernisation (and ultimately the EU's normative power) in their relations with Russia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

Why We Need a U.S.-China "Pacific Charter" for Global Stability

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Volume 32, Issue 1 , 25–27

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Nicholas Clark



The Federalist Perspective in Elections to the European Parliament

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 524–541

The literature on elections to the European Parliament establishes that both national and EU-relevant considerations influence the decision to participate in EP elections as well as the likelihood that EP voters will switch their support between different parties. However, there have been relatively few efforts to identify the conditions that prompt individuals to consider the EU when deciding to participate or when casting a ballot. This article theorizes that individuals from decentralized political systems are more keenly aware of the distribution of functional responsibilities within the EU and are thus more likely to vote on EU-relevant concerns in EP elections. The results from analyses of survey data from the 2009 European Election Study, together with contextual measures of decentralization, suggest that individuals from decentralized systems are more likely to participate in EP elections and that vote-switchers are more likely to be motivated by evaluations of the EU's performance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

JASON LIM

Popular Nationalism in the Wake of the 2011 National Elections in Singapore

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 16 - Special Issue 02 , 143 - 159

This article is about the contestation of two different forms of nationalism in Singapore during and after two elections in 2011. Manufactured nationalism is top-down, state-defined and economically driven, concerned mainly about accumulation of national wealth through globalization that would eventually 'trickle down' to the masses. This view is promoted by the ruling People's Action Party (PAP). The PAP projects Singapore as a state born out of the party's triumph over colonialism, racial violence, and communist insurgency. Popular nationalism, on the other hand, is bottom-up and people driven, concerned about local issues concerning national identity, social cohesion, and an appreciation (or at least an understanding) of local heritage. Proponents of popular nationalism emphasize a common beginning (birth of independent Singapore on 9 August 1965), shared historical memories (local heritage), several elements of a common culture (such as the use of Singlish), and an association with a specific 'homeland' (born and raised in Singapore and, for males, the completion of conscription). They view Singapore as a nation-state with a unique and evolving identity destabilized by a liberal immigration policy. The elections generated considerable attention due to the gains by the opposition parties and the public airing of frustrations against the PAP government. These frustrations are strongly driven by the influx of new migrants, especially those classified as 'foreign talent' by the PAP government. In this article, I argue that popular nationalism has emerged in twenty-first century Singapore and examine the debates over the future of Singapore during and after the elections.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dedering Tilman

Air Power in South Africa, 1914–1939

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 451-465

This article discusses three aspects of air power in South Africa during the period between the two world wars, each one intermeshing with debates about what kind of political and social space the Union could claim for itself beyond its



borders on the continent. First, during the First World War and in its immediate aftermath the advance of air power raised the question of how the tense relations between Afrikaners and English speakers would be influenced by this new technology. Second, aviation offered new methods of control of the African majority and other recalcitrant groups. Third, the progress in aviation technology, compounded by the international tensions in the 1930s and European armed intervention in East Africa, alerted white South Africans to the perils of their diminished geographical isolation at the southern tip of the continent.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

McKittrick Meredith

An Empire of Rivers: The Scheme to Flood the Kalahari, 1919–1945

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 485-504

In 1919, a geology professor named Ernest Schwarz argued that the diversion of the Chobe and Kunene Rivers into the Kalahari was necessary to avoid catastrophic desertification, which threatened to force South African whites from the land. Despite being deemed impractical by government scientists, his proposed 'Kalahari Redemption Scheme' was supported by a broad spectrum of white farmers, academics, parliamentarians, and even industrialists into the 1940s. The professor's contentions about meteorology, climate change, and geological history were subject to heated debate. But what was never at issue was the notion that white South Africans had the right to divert rivers and flood land that they did not formally possess, for the benefit of white South Africa itself. The discussions around Schwarz's scheme challenge the conventional notion that there was little popular support within South Africa for South African expansion. This paper explores the origins of popular support for 'Greater South Africa', contrasting the hopes and fears of white farmers with the better-known territorial ambitions of Smuts and other statesmen.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Higazi Adam, Lar Jimam

Articulations of belonging: The Politics of ethnic and religious pluralism in Bauchi and Gombe states, north-east Nigeria

in **Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute**, Volume 85, Number 1, February , 103-129

North-east Nigeria is an area of great ethno-linguistic diversity and religious pluralism, with Islam and Christianity both having a strong presence. The majority of the population is Muslim but there is also a substantial indigenous Christian minority, who form a majority in some local government areas. This paper draws on fieldwork by the authors in two north-eastern states, Bauchi and Gombe, to explore why, despite comparable religious demographics, there are marked differences in the levels of collective violence experienced in the two states. Although ethno-religious violence has increased across northern Nigeria since the 1980s, some areas have been more affected than others. To understand why this is, it is necessary to place ethnic and religious differences in their local historical and political contexts. This paper compares Gombe and Bauchi and argues that, although there are complaints of marginalization among different groups in both cases, Gombe State has developed a more inclusive system of government and local conflict management than Bauchi State. We explore what accounts for this difference in the articulation and management of belonging and whether the contrast is significant enough to explain differential levels of violence. In doing so, we consider how inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations have been shaped historically in the two cases and compare



current forms of collective mobilization, considering different social and political spaces within each state. The paper also briefly outlines the impacts of the radical insurgent group Jama'at ahl al-sunna li'l-da'wa wa'l-jihad, nicknamed Boko Haram, in Bauchi and Gombe states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Landau Loren B.

Becoming 'cosmo': Displacement, development and disguise in Ongata Rongai

in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 85, Number 1, February , 59-76

Ongata Rongai, a rapidly growing, ethnically heterogeneous community on Nairobi's urban periphery, has remained remarkably convivial in a country so frequently defined by conflicts over land and belonging. Bolstered by a distinct set of political logics and social practices, many of the site's multi-ethnic residents overtly reject the validity of ethnic violence and politics with reference to an explicitly articulated universalist inclusivity rarely seen in Kenya. Locally described as 'being cosmo', this distinct political rhetoric and emerging subjectivity has its roots in the mixed ethnic origins of its leaders, the history of land acquisition, and xenophobic persecution and displacements elsewhere in the country. More specifically, the evolution of this conviviality in the shadow of conflict has been driven by the interests of 'half-caste' political elites and increasingly established Kikuyu landowners. Together they draw on and reinforce a foundation myth of fair land transfers to promote peace and their own economic and electoral ambitions. The result is a vernacular and spatialized cosmopolitanism that fosters localized ethnic blindness. Its success depends on demonizing discourses of indigeneity while embracing ideas of ethnic homelands beyond the city. By acting as a foil to a growing literature on the ethnicization of land and space in Africa, this article demonstrates the need to understand spatially constructed subjectivities as responses to supra-local social and political practice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Isaacs Rico, Polese Abel

Between 'imagined' and 'real' nation-building: identities and nationhood in post-Soviet Central Asia

in Nationalities Papers, Volume 43, Issue 3, 2015 , 371-382

The full text is free:

www.tandfonline.com/toc/cnap20/43/3

Abstract

Much of the existing literature on nation-building in Central Asia offers a statist top-down approach which focuses on how the nation and nationhood is "imagined" by political elites. In this special issue the contributors provide an analysis which seeks to explore the process of nation-building in Central Asia by addressing the other side of the state-society relationship. The case studies in this collection examine the "grey zone" between "imagined" and "real" differences between state-led policies and discourses related to nationhood and identity and how they are received by different audiences at different levels (regional, national and international). The authors bring to the fore the contested nature of nation-building in Central Asia as well as focusing on new or less conventional analytical tools for the study of nation-building such as cinema, construction projects and elections. This article provides the introduction to the special issue and lays out the contribution the articles make to the existing literature on nation-building in Central Asia. It also



sets out the rationale and aims of the collection.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Gillespie Richard

Between Accommodation and Contestation: The Political Evolution of Basque and Catalan Nationalism in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2015 , 3-23

Abstract

The recent emphasis placed by several mainstream nationalist parties in Europe on sovereignty objectives invites analysis of the drivers behind this phenomenon. Their evolution is characterized by a complex set of dynamics that influences their options when faced with strategic decisions over participation in an existing state and/or challenging it by pressing for statehood. Spain constitutes a major laboratory for studying such dynamics owing to a diverse range of nationally- oriented parties. The experiences of the Basque Country and Catalonia show the continued relevance of center-periphery cleavages, especially when aggravated by European and global pressures and constraints, but party positioning between accommodation and sovereignty politics is influenced too by changing relationships between Basque and Catalan nationalist elites and civil societies and between mainstream nationalist parties and their direct competitors within party systems.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

First Anat, Sheffi Na'ama

Borders and banknotes: the national perspective in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 21, Issue 2, April 2015 , 330–347

Abstract

Replacing a banknotes series is meaningful for politicians and the general public even today, while most transactions are executed through virtual means. The choice of images carried on banknotes represents the limits of the State's sovereign border and becomes a means of banal nationalism. Moreover, by utilising scopic regimes, the hegemony portrays the cultural and political borders: historical figures from the country's past on one side, and an imagined or physical border, expressed through the illustrations on the back. This paper addresses the latter and examines the case of the State of Israel. The analysis of sites and landscapes that appear on national banknotes can decipher the construction process of a 'territorial identity' which, along with struggles for maintaining identity, provides the basis of the nation-state. Using Williams's typology of selective tradition, we argue that Israeli banknotes demonstrate a mixture of residual and new cultural content.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Moraski Bryon

Closed-list proportional representation in Russia



in **Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 381-392

This work considers how a ruling party in an increasingly authoritarian regime utilizes legislative electoral system changes. It argues that the placement of former district deputies on the list of Russia's ruling party after the move to a PR-only system reflected an interest in expanding its presence in the countryside as well as the attractiveness of the ruling party to the former district deputies themselves. It submits that both the party's willingness to place former district deputies on its list and the willingness of the deputies to accept positions should vary by previous party affiliations, yielding predictable patterns in the aggregate. In terms of list ranking, it finds that the ruling party's district deputies received significantly better placement than previously independent deputies, but not better placement than district deputies who made the list but had competed under a different party label in the previous election.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kożuchowski Adam

Contesting Conquests: Nineteenth-Century German and Polish Historiography of the Expansion of the Holy Roman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Union

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 3 , 404-418

The problem of conquests and territorial expansion, including their interpretation, evaluation, and legitimisation, has been crucial for European national historiographies. Consequently, attempts by the Holy Roman emperors, particularly of the Saxon and Hohenstaufen dynasties, to control Italy and Burgundy were hotly debated among nineteenth-century German historians, while Poland's union with Lithuania, and the annexation of the vast territories of the east which followed, was a central topic for Polish historians of the time. Modern historians of historiography in both countries have carefully analysed these narratives, emphasising their ideological and political contexts, such as their involvement in the Grossdeutsch versus Kleindeutsch controversy and the controversy between the so-called Cracow and Warsaw historical schools. In this paper I propose a comparative analysis of these two discourses which dealt with analogical issues and, as I demonstrate, developed with a parallel dynamic. Such an analysis, I argue, allows an escape from the paradigm of national exceptionalism, and the discovery of what was typical or, perhaps, constitutive of the discourse on territorial expansion of the time, instead of focusing on the uniqueness of the national context. This analysis embraces the conceptualisation, argumentation, and rhetoric of those nineteenth-century German and Polish historians discussing the expansion of the medieval Holy Empire and early-modern Poland. Moreover, it locates their interpretations within an international context of a broader Western historiographical tradition, involving issues of domination, cultural transfer, and colonialism. Finally, it examines the parallel mechanism of searching for, advocating, and perpetuating the idea of uniqueness of national history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dowd Caitriona

Cultural and religious demography and violent Islamist groups in Africa

in **Political Geography**, Volume 45, March , 11-21

This research explores the relationship between cultural demography and Islamist violence in Africa in a cross-national time series study. It argues that while religious demography can explain some aspects of Islamist violence, these



explanations have to date been privileged over analyses which take into account the way institutional and political relations of the state incentivize and de-incentivize the salience of particular identities in collective action. This paper uses disaggregated conflict event data from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Dataset (ACLED) to test the relationships between religious group size, diversity, ethnicity and Islamist violence. The results highlight that approaches to explaining Islamist violence emphasising the cultural specificity of Islam as particularly prone to violence, and those focusing on competition between diverse identity groups as explanations for the rise of Islamist violence are misguided. Rather, ethnic political power relations emerge as important interacting factors in religious identity conflict, with Islamist violence as an example. The article makes an original contribution both empirically, by testing existing theories of Islamist violence on previously unanalysed data; and theoretically, by highlighting the importance of political marginalisation and strategic identity construction as explanations for violent Islamist activity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gitte du Plessis

**Danish Demarcations: Welfare State, Middle-class Nationalism, and Xenophobia
in Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, 40 (1) , 15-30**

This article examines the population of the Danish welfare state as an affluent middle class that demarcates itself in relation to a foreign proletariat within a global, neoliberal division of labor. Drawing on Slavoj Žižek's psychoanalytical conceptualizations of nationalism, it traces relations between Danish nationalism and the xenophobic blaming of foreigners for structural threats to continued Danish affluence and the welfare state. The article then shifts to a discussion of the dialectical relationship between the nation-state and capitalism in securing the Danish middle-class status in a global, neoliberal world order, and suggests that the threat to the Danish welfare lies not in multicultural pressures but in the simultaneous desires to open Danish borders for surplus extraction and to close them for foreigners. This article ends with a discussion of new perspectives on cohabitation and equality beyond state borders.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Botti Alfonso

**Derechas nacionalistas e Iglesia en la Europa católica de entreguerras: el caso francés, italiano, español y portugués desde una perspectiva comparada
in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XXIII, n. 46 , 185-208**

After a preliminary survey on Catholic Church's attitude toward the issue of nation and in front of the rise of right-wing nationalists, the article deals with the Action Française, Italian nationalism until its confluence into the Partito Nazionale Fascista, Spanish National Catholicism until the birth of the periodical Acción Española and the Integralismo Lusitano movement, mainly in order to identify the aspects of Catholicism used by them in the construction of their political projects. Secondly, it deals with the permeability of different Catholicisms in respect to these projects. Thirdly, through a comparative approach, it tries to recognize existing analogies and differences among the cases in question, with particular attention to the religious factor. Finally, the article pretends to verify the adequacy of the concept of National Catholicism as broad historiographic category, able to explain and interpret some politico-ideological processes typical of some countries of the Catholic Europe between the two world wars.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lalu Premesh

Empire and Nation

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 437-450

In this article, I suggest that the idea of the South African empire may need further conceptual elaboration if it is to support and sustain the project of keeping alive a desire for a post-apartheid future as a possible horizon in Southern African historiography. A notion of the South African empire bound to the desire for a post-apartheid future will depend on our ability to distinguish between ideological racism and biopolitics. The biopolitics of apartheid was not merely a reaction to the setting sun of the British Empire, or the dissolution of liberal reason. It was, as I will show, a response to the very question of political subjectivity in liberal discourse. Biopolitics, in contrast to ideological racism, demands a reading of empire that advances and elaborates a concept of the post-apartheid. To this end, earlier critical models that were applied to readings of empire specifically locate empire's force in imperial war or the ravages of imperialism. Perhaps such critiques may be productively enlivened by a demand to keep the desire for the post-apartheid in sight. To the extent that empire always also reveals itself as the story of the postcolonial nation, might the intended critique of the South African empire afford us an opportunity to think our way out of the tragic scripts of the 19th and 20th centuries?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ben Wellings and Helen Baxendale

Euroscepticism and the Anglosphere: Traditions and Dilemmas in Contemporary English Nationalism

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 123–139

British participation in the historical process of European integration has been persistently framed as a policy dilemma of the highest order. This dilemma was itself coloured by the existence of policy traditions that oriented Britain away from Europe and towards political communities tied to a historical interpretation of British nationality. Euroscepticism is symptomatic of these traditions and dilemmas while at the same time sustaining them. But Eurosceptics face a dilemma of their own. What serious alternative do they propose? The notion of the 'Anglosphere' was adopted on the Eurosceptic right of British politics as an alternative to European integration. As a politics of disengagement by the Cameron government played out in Europe, a policy of re-engagement began with Britain's former Dominions. Here was a response to a political dilemma that not only used historical consciousness and political tradition as its point of departure, but as its place of destination too.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Noga Wolff

Exploiting nationalism in order to repudiate democracy: the case of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany

in **Journal of Political Ideologies** , Volume 20, Issue 1 , 86-108

The assumption at the basis of this article is that the chronicles of Italian Fascism and German Nazism reflect a common



trajectory in the history of two respective democracies in which a nationalist socialization overpowered the universal values of democratic civil society. This history underscores the persuasive authority and power of the nationalist narrative, running ever so blindly and counter to the humanistic principles that aspire to the welfare of all human beings. While fully acknowledging the singularity of German National Socialism during the first half of the 20th century, the conclusion of this article finds Nazism to be a highly applicable instance of the principles of fascism and an ultimate expression of the dangerous potential inherent to nationalism. By means of an analysis of the speeches and writings of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, the core principles of nationalism are demonstrated: a particularistic solidarity among individuals who are allegedly bonded by a historical definition (based on a cultural, religious or biological foundation), and the prioritization of the interests of the nation and of those who are seen to be part of it above everything else. These principles are provided as an alternative ethical core by Mussolini and Hitler, and are shown in this article to be no less significant motifs than the common racial ones strewn throughout the various argumentations in the two respective fascist ideologies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Isaacman Allen F., Isaacman Barbara S.

Extending South Africa's Tentacles of Empire: The Deterritorialisation of Cahora Bassa Dam

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 541-560

In 1969, Portugal and South Africa signed an agreement that enabled the apartheid regime effectively to extend its tentacles of empire over the proposed dam at Cahora Bassa. Located in the heart of central Mozambique, far from the South African frontier, the dam became a security project masked as a development initiative. Cahora Bassa, including the massive lake behind the dam, rather than becoming the multi-purpose dam originally envisaged by Portuguese planners, was transformed into a strategic security project designed to blunt the advance into southern Mozambique of the liberation movement the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo) and, by extension, its ally the African National Congress (ANC). In this way, the colonial regime and its apartheid ally hoped to prevent attacks against Mozambique's major colonial urban areas of Beira and Lourenço Marques. From Pretoria's perspective, it was preferable to fight the ANC in central Mozambique rather than along the Limpopo river – southern Mozambique's frontier with South Africa. The hydro-electric project at Cahora Bassa also ensured South Africa's energy security. The 1969 agreement guaranteed that 82 per cent of the electricity generated there would be exported to South Africa at well below the world price.

This article examines the vital role played by South African interests in financing, constructing, and defending the dam site at Songo, which resulted in the dam's deterritorialisation and allowed South Africa to incorporate Cahora Bassa as an outpost of empire. It also explores the ways in which Pretoria held the dam hostage after Mozambique became independent, as part of a broader process of destabilising its socialist neighbour to the north. Even after the dismantling of the apartheid regime in 1994, the new ANC-led government resisted efforts to abrogate the colonial agreement, and Songo remained a foreign enclave. Although Mozambique regained sovereignty over the dam site in 2007, even today, most of the electricity generated by Cahora Bassa is exported to South Africa, at a price that remains a state secret.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

N'Guessan Konstanze

Fathers and children of Ivorian independence: Metaphors of kinship and generation in the making of a national



time

in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 85, Number 2, May , 289-311

I look at the image of a generation of youth as the vanguard force of an ongoing struggle for independence and a new nation on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Ivorian independence. Drawing upon the theoretical framework of Reinhart Koselleck, I explore the making of national time as layered temporality, with generations not succeeding each other but rather coexisting. My analysis of expressions and performances of 'doing being youth' helps in understanding how the label 'youth' is used to mark membership in or exclusion from a collective. I examine the process of how 'youth' is made into a meaningful marker and how and why political actors engage in performances of 'being youth'. I embed this analysis in a genealogy of the nation as a metaphoric kin group and examine the ways in which Ivorians belong to and actively create 'generations', referring to independence as a lieu de mémoire. The paper explores the cultural expressions of contemporary Ivorian politics and analyses performances of the past in the present and the positions young people may take or are given in the nation's past, present and future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Silvester Jeremy

Forging the Fifth Province

in Journal of Southern African Studies, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 505-518

The period after the end of the Second World War was, literally, a defining moment in Namibian history. The future status of the territory was debated during some of the earliest meetings of the United Nations in 1945–1946. On the one hand, the South Africans argued that they had forged Namibia into a de facto fifth province of the South African nation, and that 'consultations' held with both black and white residents of the territory showed that the vast majority embraced absorption within the Union of South Africa. Critics argued that the 'consultations' had been an elaborate deception and that the claims of consensus were a forgery. Both these readings, however, reflect nationalist perspectives that oversimplify the conceptual contest. A closer look at four different contemporary interventions suggests a range of alternative perspectives, but also suggests that the notion of a liberation struggle was grounded in the failure to export South African identity and the persistence of perceptions of empire and foreign occupation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Stead Victoria

Homeland, territory, property: Contesting land, state, and nation in urban Timor-Leste

in Political Geography, Volume 45, March , 79-89

This article considers contestations over land, state and nation in Aitarak Laran, an urban settlement in post-independence Timor-Leste. Since 2010 the settlement has been resisting eviction by the East Timorese state, which wishes to use the land it occupies to build a National Library and Cultural Centre. In exploring the contestation, the purpose of this article is two-fold. Firstly, it explores the nature of social connection to land within postcolonial state- and nation-building. Here, the contestation at Aitarak Laran reveals counter-posed imaginings of land as homeland, territory and property. Secondly, the article draws out the implications of these counter-posed imaginings for thinking about the 'right to the city', a notion first theorised by Lefebvre (1996 [1968]) and subsequently developed to encompass



a range of modes of urban protest. In the settlement, the promises of independence—unity, equivalence, and inclusion within the sovereign nation-state—are at odds with residents' experiences of what independence has in fact brought. Land, in its multiple imaginings, becomes a crucible upon which this painful disjuncture plays out. Reading Aitarak Laran as an instance of 'right to the city' struggle, these tensions emerge as well not only in practice but also in theory, reflected particularly in the limitations and ambiguities of rights discourse.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ó Beacháin Donnacha, Kevlihan Rob

Imagined democracy? Nation-building and elections in Central Asia

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 43, Issue 3, 2015 , 495-513

The full text is free:

www.tandfonline.com/toc/cnap20/43/3

Abstract

Is an imagined democracy more important than actual democracy for nation-building purposes? After 20 years of independence, Central Asian countries present a mixed bag of strong and weak states, consolidated and fragmented nations. The equation of nation and state and the construction of genuine nation states remains an elusive goal in all of post-Soviet Central Asia. This paper examines the role that electoral politics has played in nation-state formation. We argue that electoral processes have been central to attempted nation-state building processes as part of efforts to legitimize authoritarian regimes; paradoxically in those few countries where (for brief periods) partial democratization actually occurred, elections contributed, at least in the short term, to nation-state fragmentation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Stullerova Kamila

In the footsteps of Karl Deutsch: On nationalism, self-determination and international relations

in **International Relations**, vol. 28, n. 3, september , 313-332

ABSTRACT: The article argues that Karl Deutsch's work on nationalism is not only a precursor to his 'security communities' but that it is central to his international relations (IR). Nationalism impacts what people expect from the state and influences the state's international behaviour. While these processes are mostly automatic and cannot be controlled, their trajectories are not fully determined. Deutsch is interested in theorising moments when automatic processes do not suffice or become harmful and intervention is needed. The article first introduces Deutsch as a theorist of nationalism, examining his contribution in the context of the field of nationalism studies and the reasons for his equivocal reception in this field. In its second part, the article makes sense of the legacy of Deutsch's work on nationalism for contemporary IR by focusing on his use of the notion of self-determination with which Deutsch transcends the normative imperatives of the narrower concept of national self-determination.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Garner Steve

Injured nations, racialising states and repressed histories: making whiteness visible in the Nordic countries
in **Social Identities**, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2014 , 407-422

Abstract

This paper sets out some parameters for the special issue, focusing on Nordic countries studied as 'injured nations', racialising states and repressed histories. The distinctiveness of using whiteness paradigms to accomplish this are specified, and then the individual contributions to the topic are outlined. The processes of racialisation identified and analysed link the past to the present. There are different pathways, from colonised to colonising, from subaltern to dominant racialised position. The specifics of each country's journey are noted, whilst links to contemporary discourse elsewhere are also established. Although there are populist nationalist parties active in the Nordic countries, the contributors argue that first, it is the mainstream political discourse that enables the more extreme versions: it is not a question of rupture but continuity. Secondly, racialising discourses that place people belonging to the nation in a privileged position vis-à-vis Others can be found outside the formal political arena, in development aid, national cuisine, and in national debates about violence, for example.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Roszko Edyta, Sutherland Claire

Introduction: nationalism in Southeast Asia
in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 2, April 2015 , 203–208

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Romano David

Iraqi Kurdistan and Turkey: Temporary Marriage?
in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 89-101

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Armando Pitassio

Irrédentisme et nationalisme en Italie. Un même projet ?
in **Les Cahiers Irice**, n° 13, 2015/1 , 37-48

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Holmes Carolyn E.

Marikana in translation: Print nationalism in South Africa's multilingual press

in African Affairs, Volume 114, Issue 455, April , 271-294

This article attempts to understand how print cultures servicing different language communities fuel nationalisms that are not coterminous with a nation state. In the tradition of scholars like Benedict Anderson, it examines the connections between nationalism and print culture, but with reference to a single important event: violence at the Marikana mine. These events constituted the largest act of lethal force against civilians in the post-apartheid era. The South African press in three languages – Afrikaans, isiZulu, and English – covered the violence that erupted at the Lonmin mine in Marikana in mid-August 2012. Using original translations of daily newspapers and quantitative content analysis, the article assesses the differences among the various print media outlets covering the event. It finds that news coverage varied significantly according to the language medium in three ways: attribution of action, portrayal of sympathy and blame, and inclusion of political and economic coverage in the aftermath of the violence. These variations in coverage coincided with differences between reading publics divided by race, class, and location. The article argues that the English-language bias of most media analysis misses key points of contestation that occur in different media, both within South Africa, and throughout the post-colonial world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gadjanova Elena

Measuring parties' ethnic appeals in democracies

in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 2, March , 309-327

Unlike existing approaches to the study of ethnic politics, this article argues that the political competition for ethnic votes in modern democracies is programmatic (i.e. distinguishable by its focus on issues and policies), much like the competition for voting blocs defined as based on class or gender. Analysing ethnic appeals in this manner makes them suitable for the type of quantification and comparative analyses now standard in the estimations of policy positions on a range of other issues. Once the policy concerns of ethnic communities are known, scaling and scoring them becomes possible, paving the way for quantification and rigorous comparative work. Drawing on content analysis of speeches and manifestos delivered in democracies over the past decades, the article identifies a list of political positions reflective of appeals made to ethnic communities. Further, it derives and validates two indices of ethnic campaigning using data from the Comparative Manifestos Project. The measures are shown to be more robust and sensitive to nuance than existing classifications and can be readily applied to testing various hypotheses regarding the political competition for ethnic votes in democracies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Strijbis Oliver, Kotnarowski Michal

Measuring the electoral mobilization of ethnic parties. Towards comparable indicators



in **Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 456-469

Measurement of the electoral mobilization of ethnic parties has posed a considerable challenge to those performing comparative research on the political mobilization of ethnic groups. To address this issue, we propose indicators that estimate the electoral mobilization of ethnic parties by combining administrative and survey data. Specifically, we propose two measures: an absolute one, fully isolable from context, and a relative one, which corrects for turnouts. Furthermore, we show that a particular indicator based entirely on more widely available administrative data is valid when a narrow definition of ethnic parties is applied. Our indicators for the electoral mobilization of ethnic parties allow for valid comparisons across ethnic parties in different countries and regions at different points in time. We expect these new indicators to trigger further comparative studies on ethnic parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Agnes Czajka

Migration in the Age of the Nation-state: Migrants, Refugees, and the National Order of Things

in **Alternatives: Global, Local, Political**, 39 (3) , 151-163,

This article attends to the historical and contemporary relationship between migration and the global international order. It takes as its point of departure the argument that comprehensive analyses of migration must not only transcend the traditional subjects, objects, and assumptions of international relations theory, but also interrogate and historicize that which conditions the possibility of the international order, namely, the nation-state. As such, it attends to the emergence and consolidation of the international order, to the role of migration in its production, and to the manner in which it continues to structure the field and practices of migration, and conditions the possibilities of migrant populations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Wimmer Andreas

Nation Building. A Long-Term Perspective and Global Analysis

in **European Sociological Review**, Volume 31, Issue 1, February 2015 , 30-47

Abstract

Why have some states been captured by specific ethnic elites and their clienteles, excluding all others from access to government power? Conversely, what explains political inclusion across ethnic divides or, in other words, successful 'nation building'? Assuming a relational theoretical perspective, I argue that high state capacity to deliver public goods, well developed voluntary organizations, and low levels of linguistic diversity enhance nation building because they make it easier to extend networks of political alliances across an entire territory. Contemporary state capacity and linguistic diversity are in turn related to levels of state formation achieved during the late 19th century. On average, such long-term factors of political development are more important for explaining contemporary nation building than political institutions (including democracy) or the legacies of imperial rule. This is demonstrated on the basis of a cross-national data set covering all countries of the world since 1945.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Henderson Ailsa, Jeffery Charlie, Liñeira Robert

National Identity or National Interest? Scottish, English and Welsh Attitudes to the Constitutional Debate in Political Quarterly, Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015, 265–274

Abstract

This article analyses political attitudes to the union in England, Scotland and Wales after the Scottish independence referendum. Using public opinion data, we explore constitutional preferences and perceptions of national grievance, before examining the role that national identity plays in structuring preferences. Our evidence shows that considerable demand exists for nationally demarcated forms of government within the UK, although these constitutional preferences do not translate in support for policy diversity across the UK. We also find evidence that these constitutional preferences relate closely to national identity, but relate also to appeals to national interest.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Robinson Amanda Lea

National Versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of territorial Nationalism

in *World Politics*, vol. 66, n. 4, october, 709-746

ABSTRACT: Communal conflicts, civil wars, and state collapse have led many to portray the notion of African nation-states as an oxymoron. Some scholars of African politics—often referred to as second-generation modernization theorists—have argued that strong ethnic attachments across the continent resulted from rapid economic and political modernization, the very forces credited with reducing parochial ties and consolidating European nations in classic modernization theory. Others have argued that national consolidation in Africa is particularly unlikely due to high degrees of ethnic diversity, colonial rule that exacerbated that diversity, and the partition of cultural groups. Despite the ubiquity of these arguments, there has been very little comparative empirical research on territorial nationalism in Africa. Using individual-level data from sixteen countries, combined with a novel compilation of ethnic group and state characteristics, the author evaluates the observable implications of these long-respected theoretical traditions within a multilevel framework. She finds that attachment to the nation, relative to one's ethnic group, increases with education, urbanization, and formal employment at the individual level, and with economic development at the state level—patterns more consistent with classic modernization theory than with second-generation modernization theory. Thus, if modernization in Africa does indeed intensify ethnic attachment, the impact is overwhelmed by the concurrent increase in panethnic territorial nationalism. Similarly, the results show that ethnic diversity and the partition of ethnic groups by “artificial” state borders increase, rather than decrease, the degree to which individuals identify nationally. Taken together, these results reject pessimistic expectations of African exceptionalism and instead suggest that the emergence of widespread national identification within African states is not only possible but even increasingly likely with greater economic development.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lenggenhager Luregn

Nature, War and Development: South Africa's Caprivi Strip, 1960–1980

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 467-483

This article explores the close entanglements between militarisation and ecological research in the Caprivi Strip between 1960 and 1980. Prior to the 1960s, the Caprivi Strip in the north-east of Namibia was repeatedly presented by the South African administration as a 'useless' and remote area of no value to its colonisers. This changed during the 1960s, when it became clear that the region was of crucial military significance in relation to the Cold War, as well as to Namibia's national independence movements. In this article, I argue that the militarisation of the Caprivi was closely entangled with ecological surveys and mapping carried out by the South African civil administration in co-operation with its army and air force. First, I will show how such activities have to be seen in a longer tradition of 'masking' South Africa's presence in Namibia, and its enforcement of apartheid as 'development'. Secondly, I will elaborate intricate layers of interdependences of warfare and ecological research, particularly on the level of personal networks of military personnel and civil servants in Katima Mulilo, by sharing infrastructure, such as military planes, used for aerial photography and mapping of natural features in the region. As the joint fight for the control of an alien water weed shows, the co-operation of the military and ecologists worked not only on a practical level: there were also shared interests in 'knowing space' in order to 'keep' it clean of 'invading enemies'. Finally, the data and maps produced in these joint surveillance projects laid the basis for a spatial definition of what I call a 'South African nature space' in the region.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Soudien Crain

Nelson Mandela, Robben Island and the Imagination of a New South Africa

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 353-366

The purpose of this article is to argue that the Robben Island prison experience between 1962 and the early 1990s makes an important contribution to the South African debate on the nature of belonging. In this article I focus on Nelson Mandela's imagination of belonging. I show how, through the process of formal study and the informal flowering of seminars, and particularly the debates and engagements that take place, Mr Mandela and his fellow prisoners work through, often with great personal difficulty and even contradiction, the questions of their individual and collective pasts and their subjectivities, and begin to delineate and even rehearse alternative visions of what a new South Africa might look like. This 'working through' involved, for Mandela, difficult questions of belonging – race, nation and the political economy to sustain belonging. Who and what is the nation, and what is its content?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Eger Maureen A., Valdez Sarah

Neo-nationalism in Western Europe

in **European Sociological Review**, Volume 31, Issue 1, February 2015 , 115-130



Abstract

The increasing popularity of radical right parties in Western Europe has received widespread attention. Despite a rather large literature on parties with explicitly anti-immigrant platforms, there is surprisingly little consensus about the underlying political ideology of this party family and its supporters. Particularly lacking is cross-national research that maps party positions in two-dimensional political space over time. Using Manifesto Project Data (1970–2010), we analyse election platforms of parties the literature has identified as radical right and show that they have qualitatively changed between 1970 and 2010. Current parties differ fundamentally from their predecessors in that nationalist claims are paramount. We use the European Social Survey (2002–2010) to confirm that voters' attitudes are consistent with contemporary parties' platforms. Our results point to a coherent political ideology, which may partially explain these parties' recent electoral successes. Based on our combined analyses, we conclude that contemporary anti-immigrant parties constitute a new and distinct party family, which we term neo-nationalist.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Wallace Marion

Personal Circuits: Official Tours and South Africa's Colony

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 635-652

This paper focuses on the visits of Sydney Buxton, Governor-General of South Africa, and his party to South West Africa (SWA, now Namibia) in 1915 and 1919. These, I argue, formed part of a broader economy of what might be called 'personal circuits' – journeys and visits by important personages – which helped to construct networks of power within the southern African region and beyond, and, in the case of the Governor-General, acted to promote British imperial power.

In this case, the tours took place at two crucial moments: during the South African conquest of Namibia in 1915, and after the granting of the League of Nations mandate for SWA to South Africa in 1919. The records of the tours illustrate not only that South Africa was eager to impose its symbolic authority on Namibia at (almost) the highest level, but also, to an extent which historians have overlooked, that this authority was conceived as that of imperial Britain as well as of the Union of South Africa.

The tours, during which the public performance of power and consent was repeatedly staged, also opened up a significant space for negotiation and dissent on the part of both the conquered German population and the African population. The petition from Africans in Windhoek reveals much about the trajectory of oppositional politics in Namibia at this time. The article also looks at the gendering of power during these visits by considering both the audiences at the public performances, and elite women, especially Mildred Buxton, whose significant role is argued to have been inherently political.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Meadwell Hudson

Philosophic history and common culture in Gellner's theory of nationalism

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 2, April 2015 , 270–288



Abstract

Ernest Gellner's work on nationalism is situated in a larger social metaphysic and philosophical anthropology. This paper investigates some of these overarching intellectual commitments and their implications for his arguments about nationalism. Two main issues are examined. Does the method of 'philosophic history' provide any philosophical or methodological support for his treatment of nationalism? What are the implications of the common culture of industrial civilization for his arguments about nationalism? Addressing these issues together contributes to the continuing evaluation of Gellner's work, particularly to recent discussion of his arguments about necessity and nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Muqtedar Khan M. A.

**Political Muslims in America: From Islamism to Exceptionalism
in Middle East Policy**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 32-40

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dunn Kris

**Preference for radical right-wing populist parties among exclusive-nationalists and authoritarians
in Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 367-380

The literature on authoritarianism and exclusive forms of nationalism often implies that authoritarian and exclusive-nationalist individuals will prefer radical right-wing populist parties such as Austria's FPÖ. The theoretical case for such implications appears sound as party programmes for radical right-wing populist parties invoke rhetoric that should appeal to individuals with either of these characteristics. To date, these implications have not been examined. This article examines quantitative survey data from five Western European countries with electorally viable radical right-wing populist parties to determine whether radical right-wing populist parties are preferred by authoritarians and/or exclusive-nationalists. Analyses indicate that the radical right-wing populist parties studied here are consistently preferred by exclusive-nationalist individuals, though not necessarily to all other parties, but only inconsistently preferred by authoritarian individuals. While more nuanced investigation is still needed, it is clear that, contrary to the assumptions in the authoritarianism literature, radical right-wing populist parties cannot always rely on authoritarian individuals for support.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Perri Giuseppe

**Premesse storiche e linee di tendenza della politica polacca
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 81, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 563-576

The article points out, in its first part, the historical legacy of the relations between Poland and the Ukrainian world,



starting with the annexation of Galicia to the Polish Crown in the XIV century, through the long and productive historical period of Ukraine's entire membership in the Lithuanian-Polish Rzeczpospolita, during which Ukraine enjoyed the beneficial effects of contacts with the Latin and the Renaissance culture. Then, with the traumatic break tied to Cossack uprising of 1648, the aristocratic oligarchy who led the Rzeczpospolita preferred an agreement with Muscovy and a partition of the Ukrainian territories. A strategy which, however, did not prevent Russian expansionism and the annexion, with the partitions of the XVIII century, of a large part of Poland itself. Are then examined the complex Russian-Polish-Ukrainian relationships in the Russian Empire in the XIX century, which also play an important role for the historical clarification of the current dynamics. The second part of the article, starting with the aforementioned reconstruction of the historical past, focuses on the two basic and alternatives strategies that the governments of the reborn Polish national State have adopted towards the eastern neighbour of Ukraine. On the one hand, the strategy of nationalism, that was anti-Ukrainian and in favour of a partition and a stabilization of the border with Russia; the other strategy was pro-Ukrainian, first embodied by the hegemonic neo-federalism of president Piłsudski, then reworked, in the sense of respectful of Ukrainian independence, by the circle of liberal emigration grouped around the Parisian magazine «Kultura» and its director, Jerzy Giedroyc. These strategies have alternated over time, leading at times of renewed historical contrasts between Ukrainians and Poles. The article discusses also the position of communist Poland in the international context and the mindset that spread in this period, in relation to Ukraine and its people. Since the days of Solidarnosc, and even more so since the advent of the new post-communist Poland, has finally prevailed the recovery strategy developed by the group of «Kultura» and that is an attitude that sees the freedom of Poland in close relation with the Ukrainian freedom. This is not without oscillations, made of indifference and hostility towards Ukraine, which still exist in Polish society. The new Russian-Ukrainian crisis, however, puts at risk the Polish Eastern policy as a whole and the ruling class of that country will have to take account of the multiple interferences that at this time are acting on the Giedroyc's strategy. The article lists the interferences and ends with a critical statement about those who, directly or indirectly or in good faith, do not do anything to avoid that Ukraine will be the scene of a war that would be disastrous and contrary to every Ukrainian national interest.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Rassool Ciraj

Re-storing the Skeletons of Empire: Return, Reburial and Rehumanisation in Southern Africa

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 653-670

This article argues that empire should be understood not only as geography or network, but also as extractive, hierarchical and stratified relations of knowledge, where the modern museum emerged as one of its key institutions and primary sites. The focus of this examination of empire as epistemology is the process of the return of the remains of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar to South Africa for reburial in 2012, seen in relation to other return processes under way from South African museums to the Northern Cape and Namibia. These are analysed through a wider understanding of South Africa's multiple colonialisms, as colonised and coloniser, and in relation to the history of the Trans-/Garieb transfrontier region, which, by the early 20th century, had been marked by colonial violence and the dispersal of its people across colonial borders. The plunder of graves in this region conducted in the name of scientific collecting formed the basis of the South Africanisation of science, through which the flows of human remains and artefacts began to be directed to South African museums in the service of a special South African concentration on 'living fossils', as they competed with their European counterparts. Through an insatiable and competitive collecting history at this time, the remains of so-called primitive people and their artefacts and records ended up in museums and archives in Vienna. They also became the founding collections of at least two museums in South Africa, the newly formed McGregor Museum in



Kimberley and the modernising South African Museum in Cape Town. This article tracks the experience, debates and challenges of the repatriation of the remains of the Pienars as a process of 'rehumanisation', disinterred, transported and stored as artefacts, and returned as the remains of citizens and subjects of history. It asks what implications this repatriation holds for the future for the modern museum itself, marked as it has been by a 'denial of coevalness'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Vrbek Sanja

Reasons for EU double standards: comparative overview of the cases of the Erased and the Non-citizens in Nationalities Papers, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2015 , 302-318

Abstract

On the basis of a comparative analysis of the case studies of the Slovenian Erased and the Latvian Non-citizens, the paper endeavors to identify the reasons for the EU involvement in the latter, but not the former case. These two situations are recognized as similar enough to be compared, and endure the counter-argumentation that the different EU approach is conditioned by the specifics of the local context, not by double standards. Hence, the paper comes to a conclusion that the involvement in Latvia has been conditioned by the fear of the potentially violent conflict, the existence of a proactive kin state, and a minority, significant in number, as well as the explicitly discriminatory legal framework that was in collision with the EU economic acquis. Thus, it has been inferred that double standards occur due to the lack of EU and international interest in these situations of human rights violations, where the powerful kin state and the minority, significant in number, are absent, do not have a potential to develop into a violent conflict, do not derive from explicitly discriminatory legal provision, and do not challenge the fundamental market freedoms of the EU.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bell Daniel A.

Reconciling Confucianism and Nationalism in Journal of Chinese Philosophy, Volume 41, Issue 1-2, March-June 2014 , 33-54

Abstract

Confucianism has made a comeback in mainland China over the last two decades or so. Politically minded Confucian revivalists see Confucianism as the core of national identity that differs from "foreign" traditions such as liberalism and they argue for replacing Marxism with Confucianism as the core ideology of the one-party state. But is the ancient tradition of Confucianism compatible with the modern tradition of nationalism? And is it possible to defend a morally appealing form of "Confucian nationalism"? This essay argues that both questions can be answered affirmatively.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Fernandes Carlos



Regional and Local Dynamics in the Shaping of the Centre for African Studies in Maputo, 1976–1986

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 581-597

The article proposes two features without which social science research work in the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA – Centre for African Studies) at Eduardo Mondlane University during the period 1976–86 cannot be fully grasped. First, the conflicting, ambiguous and productive interactions between the Mozambican state's attempts to construct socialism, and the strategies of the South African 'empire' in trying to build a hegemonic bloc in the region, particularly in its radical form of maintaining an economic and military destabilisation policy in Mozambique. Second, the conflicting, ambiguous and productive interactions between the CEA the Mozambican state, and among CEA researchers, over their research interests, research priorities and primary political loyalties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sneha Annavarapu

Religious Nationalism in a Global Age: The Case of Hindu Nationalism

in *Journal of Developing Societies*, 31 (1) , 125-146

This article attempts to present an understanding of the current discussions regarding religious nationalism in a global framework in order to solicit two themes in the case of Hindu Nationalism and revivalism. One, the conflict of interest that arises between globalization as a “means” and as an “end”; two, the implications of network societies and the politics of marginalization. Globalization is looked at from two ends of a spectrum—as an end product versus as a process in itself. This distinction between theorizing globalization as an end or as a means to an end has been made by scholars such as Robertson and White (2007). However, its implications for religious nationalism have not been explored exhaustively. Furthermore, the analysis of Hindu nationalism and revivalism as a peripheral dynamic in the Western nations needs to be problematized in this regard.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Henrichsen Dag, Miescher Giorgio, Rassool Ciraj, Rizzo Lorena

Rethinking Empire in Southern Africa

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 431-435

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

John L. Campbell, Hall John A.

Small States, Nationalism and Institutional Capacities: An Explanation of the Difference in Response of Ireland and Denmark to the Financial Crisis

in *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 56, Special Issue 01, April 2015 , 143-174

Abstract



This paper uses theories of small states (e.g. Katzenstein) and nationalism (e.g. Gellner) to explain why Denmark and Ireland responded to the 2008 financial crisis in different ways. In Denmark, a coordinated market economy with considerable corporatism and state intervention, the private sector shouldered much of the financial burden for rescuing the banking sector. In Ireland, a liberal market economy without much corporatism or state intervention, the state shouldered the burden. The difference stems in large part from the fact that Denmark had comparatively thick institutions and a strong sense of nationalism whereas Ireland did not. Lessons for the theories of small states and nationalism are explored.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Berbuir Nicol, Lewandowsky Marcel, Siri Jasmin

The AfD and its Sympathisers: Finally a Right-Wing Populist Movement in Germany?

in **German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 154-178

Is the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) the exponent of a successful right-wing populist movement in Germany? By analysing the positions, the discursive links and the sympathisers of the AfD, this article aims to draw a comprehensive picture of the new party and its environment. The link to populism research offers a conceptual framework for a mixed-method study which focuses on important aspects of the party's history, self-description and position in Germany's public discourse as well as its supporters by analysing two sets of quantitative and qualitative data. We argue that the AfD follows a nuanced and diverse communication strategy and can be regarded as a functional equivalent for a right-wing populist party in a country where right-wing politics are strongly stigmatised.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Limb Peter

The Empire Writes Back: African Challenges to the British (South African) Empire in the Early 20th Century

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 599-616

This paper examines African critical views on empires in the early 20th century. Historians regard modern African challenges to empire and the settler state in South(ern) Africa as a post-Second World War phenomenon; before then, entrenched empire loyalism among black elites held sway. I argue that while loyalism remained influential, black intellectuals and political leaders, from the earliest articulation of African nationalism, began to critique European and South African empires qua empire just as they first began to synchronise their forces across the terrain of a South African state aggressively developing imperial ambitions. In this counter-discourse, Africans adapted, inverted and subverted polite imperial discourse in their press, speeches and praise poetry that eulogised past African empires and criticised, even condemned, Boer and British imperialism. British Empire, South African empire, African empire; all this requires a re-figuring of how historians conceive African response to empire.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pohlandt-McCormick Helena, Minkley Gary



The Graves of Dimbaza and the Empire of Liberation

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Special Issue: South African Empire , 617-634

This paper focuses on the ambiguous, contradictory and montaged space of Dimbaza in the former Ciskei bantustan of the Eastern Cape, figured simultaneously as homeland resettlement village, betterment rural township, decentralised industrialisation showcase, site of political banishment, international symbol of apartheid difference and as graveyard of the racially discarded, among others. Drawing on empire as the dependent space to command sovereignty, the paper considers Dimbaza in terms of South African empire. While it is suggested that as a means to re-figure the South African political, the bantustan may be read as a mark of a South African empire 'project', the paper is more concerned to 'think with empire as a theoretical concept'. The paper draws on the elements of knowledge susceptible to being assembled by historical imagination – written documents, letters in the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) Collection, contemporary testimonies, and visual sources (including the important film documentary *Last Grave at Dimbaza*) – and which constitute or resist the native/racial/ethnic/African subject (and thus are seen to exemplify the racial spatial command of the sovereign). We assemble these in relation to seemingly antagonistic historical formulations, particularly 'colonialism of a special type' and the politics of exile and liberation. We propose that, rather than returning us to South African 'empire' as a totality, the term offers us multiple singularities that allow us to consider the imaginative formulation of the 'empire of liberation' as a dependent space that continues to command sovereignty within the 'native question'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Michael Kenny

The Return of 'Englishness' in British Political Culture – The End of the Unions?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 35–51

This article approaches the interpretation of elite and popular attitudes towards the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union through analysis of some of the rival perspectives on the national identity of the English that have become increasingly salient during the last two decades. It highlights their role as sources of some of the most influential ideas about nationhood, governance and state now shaping public discourse on the UK's membership of the EU. These include radical-democratic, restorationist and Anglo-British forms of patriotic discourse, which have prompted and responded to the growing prevalence of England as 'an imagined community' – a trend which has rendered other circles of attachment to the UK and Europe more tenuous and distant. A central conclusion of the article is that these emerging perspectives have spawned webs of belief that connect new and old ideas of nationhood to the political judgements that different actors are making about the EU.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Michael Kenny

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ideas about nationhood, governance and state now shaping public discourse on the UK's membership of the EU. These include radical-democratic, restorationist and Anglo-British forms of patriotic discourse, which have prompted and responded to the growing prevalence of England as 'an imagined community' – a trend which has rendered other circles of attachment to the UK and Europe more tenuous and distant. A central conclusion of the article is that these emerging perspectives have spawned webs of belief that connect new and old ideas of nationhood to the political judgements that different actors are making about the EU.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Cairney Paul

The Scottish Independence Referendum: What are the Implications of a No Vote?
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 2, April–June 2015 , 186–191

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Baird Ian G.

Translocal assemblages and the circulation of the concept of “indigenous peoples” in Laos
in *Political Geography* , Volume 46, May , 54-64

Laos has long been recognized as a country with a high level of ethnic diversity. At present, the government of Laos recognizes 49 ethnic groups and over 160 sub-groups. Over the last couple of decades the modern concept of “indigenous peoples” has been introduced in Laos, albeit unevenly, partially, and in a quite limited way. The three broadly defined groups that have played important roles in variously promoting the concept of indigenous peoples (xon phao pheun meuang) in Laos are non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multilateral banks (the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank), and United Nations organizations. In this article I employ the analytic of translocal assemblages to examine the ways that the concept of indigeneity is circulating in Laos, and drawing on international and local influences. I briefly examine two issues frequently linked to the indigenous politics: communal land titling and bilingual education, and assess the extent to which new indigenous identities are being adopted in Laos. I present an example of how a Hmong group in the USA with links to Laos is constructing translocal assemblages through an indigenous peoples framework in order to resist the government in Laos. Unlike some other countries in Southeast Asia, which have increasingly embraced the concept, the government of Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) has not, preferring instead to acknowledge ethnic diversity, but within a framework that recognizes all ethnic groups as equal.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bashir, H. ; Gray P.W

ARMS OF THE REPUBLIC: REPUBLICANISM AND MILITIA REFORMS DURING THE US CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND THE FIRST FEDERAL CONGRESS 1787-91
in *History of Political Thought* , Volume 36, Number 2 , 310-330



Paying particular attention to the American Constitutional Convention and First Congress, we investigate the role of republicanism in the discussions of the role of state militias in the new republic. Noting the role of militias within the broader political tradition of republicanism over the centuries, we explicate how this tradition was complicated by the conditions of state-national relations within America, and the > means used by major figures at the American founding to resolve the tensions between a strong and efficient national military while also respecting the demands of states for militias within the new federal system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Sargentis Konstantinos

Crisis, Evil, and Progress in Kant's Philosophy of History

in *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, Volume 9, Issue 1, 2015 , 71 – 96

Abstract

The significance of the regulative function of the reflecting power of judgment for Kant's philosophy of history is widely accepted in the relevant literature. However, less attention has been paid to particular modes of reflection with reference to history. In the last paragraphs of the Critique of the Power of Judgment we find a distinction between the "theoretically reflecting power of judgment" and the reflecting power of judgment "in accordance with concepts of practical reason". In the present paper, I attempt to stress the importance of this distinction for Kant's philosophy of history. More specifically, it is my view that this distinction leads Kant to a double perspective on history, by means of which one can explain why the notions of Nature and Providence cannot be used interchangeably. Interestingly, at the same time, it facilitates a new understanding of what Kant in Religion within the Boundaries of mere Reason calls "revolution in the disposition of the human being". Another notion which is crucial for the main argument put forward in the present paper is that of the "culture of discipline". Although Kant introduces it in the third Critique, I attempt to show that this is the notion that mediates Kant's two views on history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Krause Skadi

Demokratischer Föderalismus. Tocquevilles Würdigung der kommunalen Selbstverwaltung als Teil der Civil Liberty

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 1, 2014

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Iturralde Xavier

José María de Semprún Gurrea, católico y republicano

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXIII, n. 46 , 127-144



This article focuses on José María Semprún Gurrea (Madrid, 1893 - Rome, 1966), father of writer Jorge Semprún. Semprún Gurrea was a fervent Catholic, but also a convinced republican, in a particularly conflictive historical period. He struggled relentlessly for a republican Spain and, following the example of French Catholic personalist Emmanuel Mounier, he committed to the progress of his own country without being seduced by the illusion of totalitarianism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Dalla Vía Alberto Ricardo

Los precursores doctrinarios del federalismo argentino: José Gervasio Artigas y Manuel Dorrego
in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, vol. XXVII , 133-150

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Lieberherr J.-Gérard

The Teachings of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe (Monnet Committee)
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 0 , 169-189

The difficulties as well as the successes that the EU faces today are not different from those of the past. They stem, as in the past decades of the Community, from nationalistic attitudes, national self interest, over cautious behaviors and, above all, from various fears: fear of the future, fear of one's neighbor, suspicion of technological advances and a general feeling of insecurity. However, for a quarter of a century, there was a man who worked behind the European scene with the aim of surmounting all such hurdles. That man was Jean Monnet. He was permanently involved in the gradual construction of a united Europe. It was commonplace to consider that the so-called "Monnet method" could contribute to resolve most of the disputes and disagreements inherent in such a process. The "method" was based on dealing with all the various problems off the visible political stage by bringing together, without prejudice, players drawn from all horizons of public life. Politicians, trade-unionists, decision makers of all origins met together in the Action Committee for the United States of Europe with the sole purpose of identifying ways and means to meet the general interest. However, it was, above all, the personal commitment and determination of one man that made things move. To-day's European rulers need the same driving force to ensure the EU continues to move forward every day, as it does imperceptibly in spite of the apparent difficulties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Steffek Jens

The cosmopolitanism of David Mitrany: Equality, devolution and functional democracy beyond the state
in *International Relations*, vol. 29, n. 1, march , 23-44

ABSTRACT: In this article, I engage with the normative foundations of David Mitrany's international political theory. My aim is to show that there is more to be found in Mitrany's approach to international organization than the technocratic problem-solving often associated with his name today. To pinpoint the essence of Mitrany's normative thought, I



introduce the term 'functional cosmopolitanism'. This variety of cosmopolitan theorizing starts from the equality of individual needs (not from rights or obligations), suggesting that transnational institutions, rather than states, should cater to these needs. An important aim of this 'functional devolution' is to limit and reconfigure public power, thus countering the threat of an ever more powerful nation-state. Mitrany's proposal for introducing a functional dimension into the political system can be interpreted as a 'thin' cosmopolitanism, designed to free citizens from war and oppressive concentrations of political power, but vague in its ideas about individual political engagement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Jeremy C. Pope and Shawn Treier

Voting for a Founding: Testing the Effect of Economic Interests at the Federal Convention of 1787
in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Vol. 77, No. 2, 519-534

Previous work measuring the voting patterns of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention largely focused on either individual delegate positions for a handful of key votes or on state delegation positions for a far broader set of votes. We remedy this limitation by modeling the key first two months of the Convention including both some individual-level and all delegation-level voting, while simultaneously estimating the effect of various economic interests on that voting, controlling for various cultural and ideological factors. The findings suggest that economic factors mattered a great deal at the Convention. The effect of such interests vary however by the dimension of debate—representation, national institutional design, or federalism. We conclude that economic interests exerted a powerful influence on the deep structure of voting at Convention, though not consistently by issue or dimension. Specific interests only mattered on specific dimensions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dias Eduardo, Linde Marianne, Scholten Henk J.

Geodesign: integrating geographical sciences and creative design in envisioning a 'New Urban Europe'
in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 14, No. 1-2, Special Issue on Cities as Engines for Sustainable Development, 164-174

This paper reflects on the emerging concept of geodesign (a technological integration of spatial design and geographic and information sciences) and how it can be used to promote visionary goals for urban development. It moves on to review the recently proposed research agenda for urban studies, entitled: 'New Urban Europe' and draws links between the geodesign steps and those proposed research needs, as it can help designers understand their land-use interventions have consequences which push the urban space to different futures. We operationalised this concept for urban planning in the Netherlands. We integrated the geographic knowledge of the region into layers of information [e.g., geo-demographics, built environment, natural landscapes, energy potential] and analytic scientific models [e.g., traffic, noise, pollution, land-use change, safety, knowledge worker preferences] in order to calculate impacts and consequences during the course of the design process. The design is facilitated by a digital natural user interface that transparently records the creative ideas in sketches and provides feedback, immediately. This new interactive process allows more targeted designs which are evaluated and measured against intended future outcomes.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gehrold Stefan

Social Market Economy and Its Universal Validity

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 0 , 129-151

The purpose of this analysis was to outline the concept, the principles and the universality of social market economy. Its elements are not only valid in Europe, but they can rather be applied worldwide. As most of the highly developed countries in the world show signs of the institutions of social market economy and the good economic performance can be traced back to these institutions, social market economy is applicable worldwide. Furthermore, the successful implementation of the principles of social market economy in countries with unstable social and economic conditions, as shown in the example of post-war Germany, underlines the universality of the concept. There is absolutely no proof that a European model is by any means more competitive or more social or more successful, than an American model. If anything can be said at all, the contrary seems more likely. The theory of the superiority of a European Economic Model is a myth.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hovik Sissel, Naustdalslid Jon, Reitan Marit, Muthanna Tone

Adaptation to climate change: professional networks and reinforcing institutional environments

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 1, February , 104-117

The paper studies processes of adaptation to a changing climate in the water supply and wastewater sector in five Norwegian municipalities. Our case illustrates that the combination of characteristics of climate adaptation as a policy issue, institutional characteristics related to the vertical organization of the water sector in Norway, and characteristics of the professional network between local and national levels of governance seem to have been conducive to problem awareness and proactive approaches to problem solving. Our findings contradict the general picture drawn in the literature concluding that adaptation efforts are mainly reactive and internally related to the sector. We identify important mechanisms related to the production of policy solutions in governance networks mediating knowledge between different institutional levels. By these observations, the paper should contribute to the debate about the working of governance networks, and in particular to the knowledge about factors that are conducive to effective network governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Papadopoulos Dimitris, Tsianos Vassilis S.

After citizenship: autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2 , 178-196

ABSTRACT: This paper explores the relevance of the autonomy of migration approach for understanding the role of citizenship in the sovereign control of mobility. There is an insurgent configuration of ordinary experiences of mobility emerging against this regime of control. At its core is the sharing of knowledge and infrastructures of connectivity, affective cooperation, mutual support and care among people on the move. The sovereign regime of mobility control is



displaced on the level on which it attempts to take hold: the everyday movements of migrants. The frenetic fixation with security is challenged by the creation of common worlds of existence; the obsession with governance is replaced by inhabiting social spaces below the radar of existing political structures. This paper attempts to contribute to a reconstruction of this mundane ontology of transmigration, an ontology which we will describe as the mobile commons of migration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Spoon Jae-Jae, West Karleen Jones

Alone or together? How institutions affect party entry in presidential elections in Europe and South America in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 393-403

Prior research has shown that institutions affect parties' incentives to coordinate within elections or compete on their own. However, no study to date has examined with institutional effects when parties coordinate in the most important of electoral contests: the presidential race. In this article, we explain which institutions encourage parties to run as part of pre-electoral coalitions (PECs) or shun them and run on their own in the race for the presidency. Using an original dataset of over 1400 parties that sponsored a candidate on their own or ran as part of an alliance in presidential elections across 23 democracies in Europe and South America from 1975 to 2009, we find that the powers of the presidential office, electoral rules and multi-level governance determine when parties decide to enter the race on their own or form an alliance. Our findings have important implications for understanding party competition in semi-presidential and presidential systems.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Larson John Lauritz

An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations in Journal of the Early Republic, Volume 35, Number 1, Spring , 1-23

It was the publication in 1776 of Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* that marked the beginning of the ideological revolution explored in this article. Political economy had been much debated in the previous hundred years, but Smith's formulation set the terms of discussion and over the next fifty years displaced a centuries-old rhetoric of economic values that had celebrated moderation, restraint, stewardship, and charity over greed, lust, and self-interest. During the American revolutionary era, when restless colonial elites began crafting explanations for their independence project, the publication of Smith's treatise on political economy put into play a new framework for considering the wealth of nations. This new framework resonated as a scientific discourse alongside the equally important new "science of politics" made famous by the revolutionary Whigs. It resonated as well with the new sciences of nature that lately had been exposing immutable "laws" by which human beings now explained their physical world. In each realm—economy, politics, and the natural world—scientific reasoning promised to disable the tyranny of ancient prerogatives, superstitions, illegitimate customs, and fantastical explanations. These new scientific perspectives sometimes intersected directly and sometimes influenced each other only by induction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schulz Daniel, Newig Jens

Assessing Online Consultation in Participatory Governance: Conceptual framework and a case study of a national sustainability-related consultation platform in Germany

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 25, Issue 1, January-February , 55-69

Experimenting with different forms of public participation in environmental governance, online consultation has become a widely used instrument. While these new forms of participatory mechanisms have attracted considerable scientific interest, research still remains fragmented and largely disconnected from mainstream literature on participatory governance. This article seeks to close this gap by developing an analytical framework that utilizes this literature to bring together formerly isolated findings in the new field of online participation. This framework is subsequently applied to the empirical case of an online consultation called 'Mitreden-U' conducted by the German Federal Ministry of the Environment in 2010. By relating key categories of established concepts (e.g. empowerment, participant selection, information flow), the framework allows us to examine the specific opportunities and challenges of online participation. Findings show that while online participation mechanisms have potential to open up governance structures and provide a venue for meaningful interaction, they also require careful design considerations as well as a cultural change on behalf of public administrators.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/eet.1655/epdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chaisty Paul, Whitefield Stephen

Attitudes towards the environment: are post-Communist societies (still) different?

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 4, Special Issue: Environmental concerns during a time of duress , 598-616

The causal processes that shape the emergence of environmental attitudes in post-Communist Europe are examined. We describe the widening gap in environmental policy orientations between West and East, and then cite two factors to explain the lower support for environmentalism in this region: first, citizens still evaluate environmental issues through a distinctive ideological lens carried over from the Communist era; and, second, they do not connect environmental issues to other (more salient) economic and political questions in a consistent way. Using the three waves of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) environmental module, these questions are explored with individual-level and multilevel models. It is concluded that the post-Communist effect is unlikely to disappear until environmental issues comprise a component of citizens' ideological orientations and the programmes of political parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Riedy Chris, Kent Jennifer

Australian climate action groups in the deliberative system

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 3, June , 363-381

A systemic approach to deliberative democracy de-emphasises the role of discrete deliberative experiments involving minipublics. Instead, this systemic perspective focuses attention on the quality of deliberation achieved throughout distributed governance systems. It opens up the possibility that institutions that do not appear deliberative in isolation



may have a positive impact on deliberation at a system scale. This systemic perspective is drawn on here to assess the role of climate action groups (CAGs) within Australia's deliberative system on climate-change response. These self-organised, voluntary groups, made up of like-minded people with a shared concern about climate change, do not meet traditional criteria for advancing deliberation. Unrepresentative and lacking discursive diversity, they nevertheless advanced the quality of public deliberation by bringing new voices and preferences into public deliberation, holding decision makers accountable and acting as trusted information sources for at least some citizens. From a deliberative-systems perspective, self-organised, unrepresentative, but persistent groups such as CAGs may offer more fruitful sites for increasing public deliberation on climate change than temporary minipublics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bell Duncan

Before the democratic peace: Racial utopianism, empire and the abolition of war
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 3, september , 647-670

ABSTRACT: During the final quarter of the 20th century, the democratic peace thesis — the idea that democracies do not fight each other — moved to the centre of scholarly debate throughout the Western world. Much of this work traces its origins to the European Enlightenment, focusing especially on Immanuel Kant. Yet this narrative ignores earlier 20th-century debates about the possibilities of global peace, and the role of democracy within them. In this article, I analyse some prominent, but now largely forgotten, strands of political thinking in the United States and Britain during the first half of the 20th century. They form an important part of the genealogy of the democratic peace thesis. I start by delineating four types of argument about peace that were popular in the 19th century: liberal-systemic, radical-liberal, socialist and republican. I then introduce two other modes of argument that circulated at the turn of the 20th century: the 'democratic war thesis' (the idea that democracies are war-prone) and the 'empire peace thesis' (the argument that only imperial states are capable of assuring perpetual peace). I follow this with a discussion of racial utopianism — the claim that the unification of the Anglo-Saxons could eliminate war, securing peace and justice on earth. This white supremacist vision was a call for the racial pacification of the globe.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Addie Jean-Paul D., Keil Roger, Olds Kris

Beyond Town and Gown: Universities, Territoriality and the Mobilization of New Urban Structures in Canada
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 27-50

Cities and universities have been active participants in the creation of new economic structures, but the sociospatial relationships between 'town' and 'gown', and the potential impact of deepening and diversifying the relationship on either side, are neither fully understood nor simple. In this paper, we focus on universities in Canada to provide an integrative review of the changing sociospatial relations of cities and universities in an era of increasing neoliberal and globalized development agendas. We treat these relationships in spatial and institutional terms, recognizing that actors and decision-makers in government and academic bodies understand their links as a combination of both. Our analysis destabilizes established normative understandings regarding the sociospatial structure and governance of the university and the interrelations between universities and urban space. Numerous spatial strategies demonstrate that universities' relations are multi-layered, multi-scaled and multiply topological. Yet while they may be well positioned to adopt a



proactive role in shaping economic development and civic agendas, universities have no privileged position in their communities. Despite acting as deliberate place-making agents in rapidly changing metropolitan environments, universities remain located in, yet apart from, their urban and regional context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Corry Olaf, Jørgensen Dan

Beyond 'deniers' and 'believers': Towards a map of the politics of climate change
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 32, May , 165-174

The politics of climate change is not concerned solely with rival scientific claims about global warming but also with how best to govern the climate. Despite this, categories in climate politics remain caught up in the concepts of the 'science wars', rarely progressing far beyond the denier/believer-dichotomy. This article aims to nudge climate politics beyond the polarized scientific debates while also counteracting the de-politicisation that comes from assuming scientific claims lead directly to certain policies. First existing typologies of climate political positions are reviewed. Diverse contributions make up an emerging field of 'climate politology' but these tend to reduce climate politics either to views on the science or to products of cultural world-views. Drawing on policy analysis literature, a new approach is outlined, where problem-definitions and solution-framings provide the coordinates for a two-dimensional grid. The degree to which climate change is considered a 'wicked' problem on the one hand, and individualist or collectivist ways of understanding political agency on the other, provide a map of climate political positions beyond 'believers' vs 'deniers'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Curiale Gian Domenico

Bien plus que la seule conscription au cœur du système suisse
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 780, mai

Afin de sauvegarder le modèle de conscription actuel, qui prévoit une période d'entraînement annuelle, l'armée suisse est prête à revoir la durée de sa formation. Cette période d'absence du milieu professionnel, indispensable à la cohérence du système de défense, est perçue comme une contrainte par les milieux économiques.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stoddart Mark C.J., Tindall David B.

Canadian news media and the cultural dynamics of multilevel climate governance
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 3, June , 401-422

Links between national news outlets (Globe and Mail and National Post) and climate-change discourse are examined in order better to understand the cultural politics of Canadian involvement in climate governance. National news media use a narrow range of issue categories to interpret climate change to the public. Both news outlets also privilege national and international political spheres, with less attention to climate governance at the sub-national level. However, there



are important differences between them. The Globe and Mail tends to focus on government responsibility, while the National Post tends to focus on climate science and the economic costs of addressing climate change. Four key periods (1999, 2002, 2006, and 2010) are examined in order to trace shifts in climate-change discourse. There has been a shift towards greater issue complexity over time, coupled with a growing polarisation of climate discourse across the two national news outlets.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Karlsen Rune, Skogerbø Eli

Candidate campaigning in parliamentary systems. Individualized vs. localized campaigning

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 428-439

The individualization of politics is usually studied in relation to party leaders. Using new data from the Norwegian Candidate Survey 2009 and in-depth interviews with 29 top candidates, in this article we study whether candidates in the Norwegian 2009 parliamentary election ran party-centred or individualized campaigns. We distinguish between the organizational aspects and the communicative focus of the candidates' campaigns. Moreover, we argue theoretically and show empirically how campaigns can be localized but still party-centred. The analysis shows that there are low levels of individualized campaigning in Norway, but that there are differences between candidates, especially based on party affiliation. Moreover, the differences are first and foremost related to the communicative focus, not the organizational aspects. While candidates highlight the importance of localizing the campaign, the results show that this is mostly about 'translating' the national campaign strategy to the regional or local level, not about independent local strategies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Les juifs de l'empire des Habsbourg. Incarnation du modèle supranational ?

Catherine Horel

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n° 13, 2015/1 , 49-62

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pan Rui

China's WTO Membership and the Non-Market Economy Status: discrimination and impediment to China's foreign trade

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 24, Issue 94, 2015 , 742-757

This article provides a Chinese perspective on the terms of China's WTO accession, highlighting the negative impact of some discriminatory conditions that China accepted in order to join the WTO on its foreign trade and global competitiveness in the last decade. The author uses the non-market economy status of China as a case study to support the argument that these discriminatory conditions imposed on China upon accession have not only impeded the



healthy development of China's foreign trade, but also violated the 'non-discrimination' principle of the WTO.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Axelrod Mark

Clash of the treaties: Responding to institutional interplay in European Community–Chile swordfish negotiations

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 4, december , 987-1013

ABSTRACT: Scholars increasingly acknowledge that international institutions interact with each other, especially across issue areas such as trade and environment. However, scholars continue to dispute whether, and under what conditions, such regime interplay has positive or negative impacts on the effectiveness of international institutions. Existing scholarship debates whether international regimes may be compromised by inconsistencies, or whether enhanced reputational benefits make governments more likely to uphold commitments across components of a regime complex. This article examines how institutional complexity affects state behavior. Specifically, it analyzes how governments respond to regime inconsistency, and whether they continue adhering to their commitments in the absence of material or sociological non-compliance costs. The study tracks how state preferences and behavior changed over time when exposed to inconsistent international legal commitments regarding trade and regulatory rights in the South Pacific swordfish fishery. In this case, both World Trade Organization and United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea rules were at stake, and both dispute settlement forums accepted jurisdiction over the case. Nonetheless, Chile and the European Community resorted to negotiation outside of — but still bounded by — these established rules. Thus, this study finds that when multiple regimes regulate a particular situation, bargaining continues to take place within the boundaries established by those rules.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Edenhofer Ottmar, Jakob Michael, Creutzig Felix, Flachsland Christian, Fuss Sabine, Kowarsch Martin, Lessmann Kai, Mattauch Linus, Siegmeier Jan, Steckel Jan Christoph

Closing the emission price gap

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 31, March , 132-143

Even without internationally concerted action on climate change mitigation, there are important incentives for countries to put a price on their domestic emissions, including public finance considerations, internalizing the climate impacts of their own emissions, and co-benefits, such as clean air or energy security. Whereas these arguments have been mostly discussed in separate strands of literature, this article carries out a synthesis that exemplifies how policies to put a price on emissions can be conceptualized in a multi-objective framework. Despite considerable uncertainty, empirical evidence suggests that different countries may face quite different incentives for emission pricing. For instance, avoided climate damages and co-benefits of reduced air pollution appear to be the main motivation for emission pricing in China, while for the US generating public revenue dominates and for the EU all three motivations are of intermediate importance. We finally argue that such unilateral incentives could form the basis for incremental progress in international climate negotiations toward a realistic climate treaty based on national interest and differentiated emission pricing and describe how such an agreement could be put into practice.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rovny Jan

Communism, Federalism, and Ethnic Minorities: Explaining Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe
in *World Politics*, vol. 66, n. 4, october , 669-708

ABSTRACT: Scholarship on East European politics expects that party competition in the region is determined by various communist legacies, juxtaposing state-centric authoritarianism to a liberal market economy. Recent empirical evidence, however, uncovers significant variance of party competition patterns across East European countries. To explain this variance, this article argues that an interaction between communist institutional framework and partisan responses to ethnic minorities determines party competition structure in the region. While experience with communist federalism determines partisan affinities with ethnic minorities, tolerance or support for ethnic minorities leads the political actors associated with those minorities to general socially liberal positions. Consequently—and contrary to received knowledge—ethnic politics influence the ideological content of party competition and structure party systems in Eastern Europe.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armesto María Alejandra

Competencia política y gasto particularista de los gobiernos subnacionales en México y Argentina
in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 50, Number 1, 2015 , 160-183

The existing hypotheses about the relationship between political competition and particularistic spending predict opposite consequences. One view suggests that political competition—divided government—constrains the executive and reduces particularism; the opposite perspective predicts greater particularism as a result of side payments in exchange for legislative support. Both hypotheses rest on the assumption, which is not always true, that partisan veto players are present in the legislature. This article argues that this assumption is crucial for both hypotheses and shows that where this condition is not met the predictions do not hold. The article explores the effects of government with and without a majority on particularistic spending where legislatures are institutionally weak. To do so, it analyzes spending on local public goods by subnational governments in Mexico and Argentina and shows that government without a majority does not lead to any of the results anticipated by existing models.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giebler Heiko, Wagner Aiko

Contrasting First- and Second-Order Electoral Behaviour: Determinants of Individual Party Choice in European and German Federal Elections

in *German Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, Special Issue: Voters and Voting in Germany's Multi-level System , 46-66

In contrast to national elections, both parties and voters are assumed to think that 'less is at stake' in European elections: Campaigns are less intense, turnout is lower, and citizens are more inclined to 'vote with their hearts'. The



latter should be reflected in differing rationales of voting – party choice should not be based on identical determinants in national and European elections. However, this hypothesis has not been sufficiently tested and most of the research is based on the analysis of aggregated data while causal explanations are located on the micro level. This paper compares vote functions of individuals in regard to the 2009 European Parliament election as well as the 2009 German Federal election. Using data from the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES), comparison of explanatory models shows that party choice on both levels is neither fundamentally different nor does it fit into the pattern of second-order electoral behaviour.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Krampf Arie, Fritz Barbara

Coping with financial crises: explaining variety in regional arrangements in Contemporary Politics, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2015 , 117-126

Financial regional arrangements vary across countries and change over time. Until recently, most economists and political scientists took the European model of monetary integration as the yardstick to which all other regional financial arrangements had to measure up in this article. It is argued that the Euro crisis provides an opportunity for scholars to adopt a different perspective that does not interpret the variety of financial arrangements merely as economic deficiencies caused by the incapacity or unwillingness of regions to follow the European model. Instead, the comparative study of monetary and financial regionalism has to account for the different factors that shape variations. These go from different levels of economic development, over regional political and economic preferences to historical processes which shape the institutional context and the constellation of interests and social forces. Such an approach, which integrates economic and political science approaches, de-centres the Euro model and opens up a new understanding of the global diversity of regional monetary and financial cooperation, and their potential to cope with financial crises.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mabon Leslie, Shackley Simon, Vercelli Samuela, Anderlucci Jonathan, Boot Kelvin

Deliberative decarbonisation? Assessing the potential of an ethical governance framework for low-carbon energy through the case of carbon dioxide capture and storage in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 2, April , 256-271

In this paper we explore the potential of a framework of ethical governance for low-carbon energy. Developing mainly in the field of information and communications technology, ethical governance is concerned with the marginalisation of ethical and moral issues during development and deployment of new technologies. Focusing on early carbon dioxide capture and storage (CCS) projects, we argue that a focus on technical arguments in the governance of low-carbon energy similarly risks sidelining deeper issues such as fairness, justice, and values. We believe an ethical governance approach does have potential for low-carbon energy technologies like CCS, but also that climate change mitigation technologies pose particular challenges for the implementation of ethical governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Maschietto Roberta Holanda

Dilemmas of Peace Studies Fieldwork with Emancipatory Concerns
in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Issue 21, March , 167-179

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/ssis/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/dilemmas-of-peace-studies-fieldwork-with-emancipatory-concerns.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boulding Carew, Brown David S

Do political parties matter for turnout? Number of parties, electoral rules and local elections in Brazil and Bolivia

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 404-416

Does the number of political parties influence voter turnout in developing democracies? Some scholars argue that large party systems facilitate matching voter preferences with a specific party, increasing turnout. Others argue multiparty systems produce too many alternatives, decreasing turnout. In developing democracies, there is debate over whether these institutions matter at all. We argue that party systems do matter for turnout in developing countries, but the relationship between turnout and the number of political parties is conditional on the electoral formula. Under proportional representation systems, large numbers of parties increase turnout. Under winner take all systems, large numbers of parties depress turnout. Since electoral rules also influence the number of parties, we use an innovative sub-national research design, taking advantage of local variation in the number of parties that is largely unrelated to the electoral system. Specifically, we test these relationships by analysing turnout data at the municipal level in Brazil and Bolivia, countries with very different electoral rules. Overall, we find evidence that party systems influence turnout, but in different ways depending on the election rules.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Scarlett Lynn, Boyd James

Ecosystem services and resource management: Institutional issues, challenges, and opportunities in the public sector

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 115, Ecosystem Services Science, Practice, and Policy: Perspectives from ACES, A Community on Ecosystem Services, July , 3-10

Application of ecosystem services measurement and analysis to natural resource planning, investment, and management decisions has gained momentum over the past decade. This momentum springs from a confluence of practical conservation challenges and conceptual developments. In particular, the ecosystem services focus emphasizes an appreciation of the social and economic values of natural resources and ecological systems. Despite a growing interest in ecosystem services and their incorporation into public-sector decisions and transactions, a number of institutional challenges complicate these efforts. These challenges include dispersed agency authorities and jurisdictional fragmentation that may constrain the geographic scale of public-sector transactions or cross-jurisdictional planning and actions. Challenges also include limitations on agency capacities to adjust decisions in the face of



changing resource conditions and new information. Nonetheless, many agencies have flexibility to incorporate ecosystem services assessments into their planning, use them to inform spending choices, and develop markets based on ecosystem services concepts. Challenges are, thus, more instrumental and practical rather than legal and structural.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hoon Parakh

Elephants are Like Our Diamonds: Recentralizing Community Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana, 1996--2012

in *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 15, issue 1, december , 55-70

ABSTRACT: When the Botswana parliament passed a Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) policy in 2007, ten years after its implementation, the formal policy rejected some of the basic precepts of community based conservation-those who face the costs of living in close proximity to wildlife should receive a major share of benefits. In the national debate over the CBNRM policy, benefits from wildlife were seen analogous to diamonds to be shared by the nation. The paper explains how and why Botswana's CBNRM policy took this direction through an analysis of three key aspects: subnational bureaucratic and community-level decision-making, national political economy and shifting coalition dynamics in a dominant one party system, and the contestation between transnational indigenous peoples' networks and the Botswana government. By understanding the CBNRM process as it unfolded at the national, district, and local level over an extended period of time, the paper provides a longitudinal argument about CBNRM recentralization in Botswana.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Musil Pelin Ayan

Emergence of a Dominant Party System After Multipartyism: Theoretical Implications from the Case of the AKP in Turkey

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 71-92

This study aims to provide insights into how and why a dominant party system emerges after an era of multipartyism. Conceptualising the emergence phase of a dominant party system within the framework of Sartori's 'predominant party system', it elaborates the causal weight of different theories within the Turkish context through a comparative-historical analysis. Comparing the case of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) with the Justice Party (AP), it argues that perceptions of an incumbent's good economic performance and lack of centrifugal intra-party conflicts are two crucial factors that lead to the emergence of a dominant party system after multipartyism. Restrictive electoral rules and existing social cleavages, however, create a favourable setting for this outcome.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ceccorulli Michela, Fassi Enrico, Lucrelli Sonia

Europe's "depopul-ageing" bomb?

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 81-91



For a long time International Relations did not pay much attention to population studies and it took the end of the Cold War to find new attention to global phenomena even included global demographic trends and their implications. Yet such an attention is still limited in academia and fails to find its place in the pages of many leading reviews of the discipline. This is rather surprising given the relevance of demographic trends on the overall future of international politics. The aim of this article is to contribute to the recent literature that shows the relevance of demographic trends for international politics. In particular, the article aims to shed light on two main issues likely to have a major impact on Europe: population growth and ageing. If these phenomena can be considered as global trends, in Europe they compound themselves to depict a particularly worrying scenario for the future. As a matter of fact, while all world regions will experience significant ageing of their populations, the effect of such an event in Europe is particularly troublesome as in this region (contrary to others) it is combined with a declining population. Moreover, when considering trends in other dimensions, and especially in the economic domain, the added effect of demographic decline and aging assumes an ever worrying significance. The net effect on Europe's internal balances and its stance in the world are due to be affected. In conclusions, demographic dynamics are worth considering if Europe is to remain a relevant and influential actor in the global landscape.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.986701>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Monson Tamlyn

Everyday politics and collective mobilization against foreigners in a South African shack settlement in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 85, Number 1, February , 131-152

In contrast to the tolerant and largely peaceful 'living politics' of informal settlements, as embodied by the social movement Abahlali baseMjondolo, this article considers a darker side of squatter politics: 'xenophobic' mobilization. I show how the historical stratification of citizenship in South Africa remains spatially embedded in longstanding informal settlements, where distinctive repertoires of collective action have been shaped by a (still unfinished) history of struggle for inclusion. Using archival research and interviews conducted in the informal settlements of Atteridgeville, Gauteng, I show how the continuing struggle for equal citizenship draws on shared experiences of mundane hardship and collective labour, giving rise to social distance between established local squatters and politically indifferent foreign newcomers. At times of protest, this polarity is concentrated by and converges with familiar practices of insurgent citizenship, creating a context for mobilization against foreigners. In this sense, 'xenophobic' mobilization may be seen to articulate a claim for inclusion by structurally excluded 'citizens', rather than an exclusionary claim by those who already belong. The article provides a useful counterpoint to readings of 'xenophobic' violence that focus on the role of elite discourses, instrumental leaders or crude racial identities in shaping such mobilization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shaker Richard R., Zubalskya Sara L.

Examining patterns of sustainability across Europe: a multivariate and spatial assessment of 25 composite indices

in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology, Volume 22, Issue 1 , 1-13

Nearly all societies have now committed themselves to sustainable development by integrating some form of



environmental quality, social equity, and economic welfare into their day-to-day activities. As such, there remains a strong political desire for the comprehensive assessment of conditions that evaluate the current status, measure progress, and help set future development goals. Indicators have been nominated as universal tools for progressing sustainable development across scales; however, there remains no consensus regarding the best approach to their design or use. While several studies have investigated the associations between indicators of sustainable development, few have directly addressed the question of how multiple measures can be used simultaneously to assess sustainability regionally. Building upon previous studies, this paper presents a quantitative and spatial assessment of 25 multi-metric indices across 36 European nations. The goals of this research were (1) to increase understanding of indicator complexity and (2) provide an applied example of their simultaneous use for regional assessment. Global Moran's I-test and Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) analysis were used to test spatial autocorrelation and multicollinearity, respectively. From the 25 composite indices, an overall rank was also provided for each country. Lastly, Ward's cluster analysis was used to create country bundles of similarity. Our findings revealed that environmental performance index, global information networking institute coefficient, and happy planet index were numerically and spatially random. Cluster analysis revealed a four-bundle solution, while Norway, Switzerland, and Sweden ranked highest. This approach shows promise for systematically describing, visualizing, and monitoring sustainable development at the continental scale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Snow Dave

Explaining a Policy Failure: Jurisdictional Framing, Federalism, and Assisted Reproductive Technologies in Canada

in Canadian Public Policy , Volume 41 Number 2 , 124-136

This article develops the concept of jurisdictional framing: describing a policy field as properly belonging to one particular level of government. It applies this concept to explain how federalism frustrated Canadian attempts to create national assisted reproductive technology policy. Canada's failed policy can be traced to how the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies and the federal government failed to align their substantive framing strategies with the procedural requirements of the Canadian Constitution. Future policy studies should focus on the interaction between substantive and jurisdictional framing, as policy failure can stem from the language used to justify legislative authority in unforeseen ways.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ciravegna Daniele

For a New Humanism of the Economy

in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 1 , 51-79

The Social Doctrine of the Church (SDC) can contribute to define a "new humanism in the economy", since the economy needs ethics in order to function correctly. SDC identifies four permanent principles: the dignity of the human person, the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity, which can be summarized in the "integral human development and the central role of the person". By convention, the SDC begins with Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical Letter "Rerum Novarum" (1891) and its construction has happened through the addition of arguments, and the deepening into the discussion of



these arguments, made by the pontifical encyclicals from Pius XI until Bededict XVI, passing through the Second Vatican Council's pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes* and the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*. The development of this doctrine hasn't been linear; rather, on some issues, it has shown second thoughts and changes of direction. The summary of the analysis of the Social Doctrine of the Church is that it focuses very much on the current problems of human society. Among these ones, this paper considers in particular the matter of labour and man as the subject of work. Human work has an ethical value of its own, which clearly and directly remains linked to the fact that the one who carries it out is a person, a conscious and free subject, that is to say a subject that decides about himself. The essential nature of work stems from a subjective concept of it.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Berti Benedetta

Forcible intervention in Libya: revamping the 'politics of human protection'?

in **Global Change, Peace & Security**, vol. 26, n. 1 , 21-39

ABSTRACT: Following the end of NATO 'Operation Unified Protector' in Libya there has been an intense debate in the international community with respect to the impact of the military engagement on both the emerging 'responsibility to protect' (R2P) norm as well as on the international community's commitment to enforce it. The study examines the impact of the international military intervention in Libya on this debate by looking at whether Operation Unified Protector contributed to strengthening or weakening the development of R2P. To do so, it first examines whether the authorization to use force in Libya was indeed grounded on R2P, as well as whether it was perceived as such by the international community. Secondly, the research examines whether the intervening parties' actual use of force was consistent with R2P. Finally, the research provides an assessment of the current state of R2P post-Libya.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Graefe Andreas

German Election Forecasting: Comparing and Combining Methods for 2013

in **German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 195-204

The present study reviews the accuracy of four methods for forecasting the 2013 German election: polls; prediction markets; expert judgement; and quantitative models. On average, across the two months prior to the election, polls were most accurate, with a mean absolute error of 1.4 percentage points, followed by quantitative models (1.6), expert judgement (2.1) and prediction markets (2.3). In addition, the study provides new evidence for the benefits of combining forecasts. Averaging all available forecasts within and across the four methods provided more accurate predictions than the typical component forecast. The error reductions achieved through combining forecasts ranged from 5 per cent (compared to polls) to 41 per cent (compared to prediction markets). The results conform to prior research on US presidential elections, which showed that combining is one of the most effective methods to generating accurate election forecasts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Acharya Amitav

Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, issue 4, december , 647-659

ABSTRACT: The discipline of International Relations (IR) does not reflect the voices, experiences, knowledge claims, and contributions of the vast majority of the societies and states in the world, and often marginalizes those outside the core countries of the West. With IR scholars around the world seeking to find their own voices and reexamining their own traditions, our challenge now is to chart a course toward a truly inclusive discipline, recognizing its multiple and diverse foundations. This article presents the notion of a “Global IR” that transcends the divide between the West and the Rest. The first part of the article outlines six main dimensions of Global IR: commitment to pluralistic universalism, grounding in world history, redefining existing IR theories and methods and building new ones from societies hitherto ignored as sources of IR knowledge, integrating the study of regions and regionalisms into the central concerns of IR, avoiding ethnocentrism and exceptionalism irrespective of source and form, and recognizing a broader conception of agency with material and ideational elements that includes resistance, normative action, and local constructions of global order. It then outlines an agenda for research that supports the Global IR idea. Key element of the agenda includes comparative studies of international systems that look past and beyond the Westphalian form, conceptualizing the nature and characteristics of a post-Western world order that might be termed as a Multiplex World, expanding the study of regionalisms and regional orders beyond Eurocentric models, building synergy between disciplinary and area studies approaches, expanding our investigations into the two-way diffusion of ideas and norms, and investigating the multiple and diverse ways in which civilizations encounter each other, which includes peaceful interactions and mutual learning. The challenge of building a Global IR does not mean a one-size-fits-all approach; rather, it compels us to recognize the diversity that exists in our world, seek common ground, and resolve conflicts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schattle Hans

Global citizenship as a national project: the evolution of segye shimin in South Korean public discourse

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 19, issue 1 , 53-68

ABSTRACT: The idea of global citizenship in contemporary South Korean public discourse has revolved mainly around a national endeavor to boost the county's stature and competitiveness amid economic globalization. Based on a review of two decades of published media references to segye shimin ('global citizen' in the Korean language), this article shows that the specific usages of segye shimin – mainly by elites from government, academia, and journalism – underscore how the 'developmental citizenship' that marked South Korea's past authoritarian military regimes has carried on since the transition to civilian-led democracy. In contrast with the burgeoning academic discourse on cosmopolitanism that focuses heavily on moral responsibilities to humanity and the planet, South Korea's discourse of global citizenship has been closely aligned with neoliberalism and filled with exhortations to the domestic population to overcome numerous perceived liabilities seen as impeding the country's advancement. While global citizenship discourse in South Korea has emphasized top-down national strategic imperatives, a bottom-up approach to cosmopolitanism is also emerging as the country gains confidence and the notion of segye shimin gradually gains traction across the wider society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dilley Luke T M

Governing our choices: 'proenvironmental behaviour' as a practice of government

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 2, April , 272-288

The concept of proenvironmental behaviour change (PBC) has been the subject of an increasing volume of research. Much of this has either sought to make PBC 'work better' or offered critiques of the concept. This paper uses an ethnography of the UK's Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs' Sustainable Behaviours Unit to understand PBC as a practice of government. Drawing on a governmentality framework, in this paper I explore how PBC can be thought of as a heterogeneous array of elements. I demonstrate not only the intellectual labours behind PBC but also how agents have sought to make it practicable. In exploring the coming together of PBC, I try to critically examine a practice which seeks to govern the way we 'choose to behave'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Symons Jonathan, Karlsson Rasmus

Green political theory in a climate-changed world: between innovation and restraint

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 173-192

The implications for Green political theory of the international community's failure to avert dangerous warming are evaluated. An emerging conflict is identified between the Green-romantic value of restraint and the Green-rationalist value of protection, between a desire to preserve biotic systems and a distrust of scientific solutions to problems that are intrinsically social. In response, approaches are outlined that can help to navigate the current period of overshoot beyond safe planetary boundaries by informing choices among bundles of environmental harms. An ethic of restraint, encompassing non-domination and post-materialist values, can validly be justified without reference to ecological catastrophe. Meanwhile, in respect of preservation from climate-linked harms, the need for cooperation in support of scalable abatement measures suggests the necessity of accelerated research into 'breakthrough', low-emissions energy technologies. However, since technophilic preservationism is incompatible with existing environmental 'logics of practice', this strategy must mobilise political support outside the traditional environmental movement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Engelberg Ernst

Großmächte im Gleichgewicht. Bismarcks Werk und Erbe

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2015 , 85-94

Am 1. April jährt sich zum 200. Mal der Geburtstag Otto von Bismarcks, des einzigen deutschen Politikers von Weltrang am Beginn des Industriezeitalters. Seine zentrale Frage – welche Rolle kann und sollte Deutschland als stärkstes Land in Europa spielen – ist heute aktueller denn je. Aus der Flut der Biographien ragt noch immer die des marxistischen Historikers Ernst Engelberg (1909-2010) heraus. Als im Jahr 1985 der erste Band als einziges Geschichtswerk zeitgleich in großen ost- und westdeutschen Publikumsverlagen erschien, war es ein publizistisch-politisches Ereignis.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mattijssen Thomas J. M., Behagel Jelle H., Buijs Arjen E.

How democratic innovations realise democratic goods. Two case studies of area committees in the Netherlands
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 58, Issue 6 , 997-1014

Participatory planning is becoming increasingly integral to governance. Numerous planning innovations are developed which aim to increase democratic legitimacy and improve decision making. This paper critically reflects on a typical Dutch innovation: the area committee. Based on two individual case studies, we investigate whether area committees realise democratic legitimacy in existing planning practices. Analytically, we focus on four democratic goods: inclusiveness, popular control, considered judgement and transparency. Based on the interdependencies between area committees and government structures we discuss the potential and dilemmas for the area committee to contribute to the democratic legitimacy of environmental policy and rural development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coen-Pirani Daniele

Human capital accumulation in a federation
in *European Economic Review*, Volume 76, May 2015 , 104-124

More than half of the variation across U.S. school districts in real K-12 education expenditures per student is due to differences between, rather than within, states. I study the welfare implications of redistribution of education expenditures by the Federal government, using an analytically tractable model of human capital accumulation with heterogeneous agents and endogenous state policies. The net welfare effect of Federal redistribution depends on a trade-off between the positive effect of redistributing resources toward poorer states and the negative effect resulting from misallocation of population across states. Federal redistribution increases welfare in a calibrated version of the model.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dabla-Norris Era, Kochhar Kalpana

India: In Search of the Drivers of the Next Wave of Growth
in *India Review*, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 153-173

India's unprecedented growth since the mid-1990s and increased macroeconomic resilience has been against the backdrop of wide-ranging reforms, growing trade and financial integration, buoyant external demand, and ample global liquidity. Looking ahead, like most emerging markets, India is likely to face stronger headwinds, with less buoyant external financing conditions, and potentially lower growth in advanced markets. This raises questions about the sustainability of growth, sources of future growth, and reform priorities for restoring the momentum of convergence to higher income levels. Using the "distance to frontier" approach, the analysis in this article finds that the sizeable convergence gaps with respect to advanced and other emerging market economies imply considerable opportunities for catch-up. But structural transformation and convergence to higher living standards in India will be conditional on policy and institutional reforms to alleviate market and government failures, as well as on the ability of labor and capital to



move toward higher-productivity sectors and activities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Laurence Whitehead

International democracy promotion as a political ideology: upsurge and retreat

in Journal of Political Ideologies , Volume 20, Issue 1 , 10-26

The meta-narrative of 'democracy promotion' rose to international ascendancy in the 1990s. The fall of the Berlin Wall marked its apparently unstoppable advance; the terrorist assaults of 11 September 2001 its culmination and subsequent retreat. This article interprets the post-2001 retreat of democracy promotion as a foreseeable consequence of the 1990s overreach. A threefold argument is set out here. First, that in its ascendant phase, this meta-narrative displayed core features of a 'strong' political ideology. Second, while events since 2001 have proved it partly wanting, foundational reassessments have been blocked by the prevalence of binary analysis, counterposing autocracy and democracy, and democracy promotion and prevention. Third, it reviews the merits of using tripartite schemas to understand the 'democracy prevention' or 'anti-democracy promotion' responses elicited by the ideology and practice of democracy promotion. It is argued that, however clear in theory, binary polarities are never absolute opposites in practice and that contemporary 'democracy prevention' cannot be seen as a straightforward mirror image of 1990s orthodoxy about democracy promotion. It concludes that tripartite classifications open the door to 'second best' predictions and prescriptions. Such an approach permits a more pluralist and self-critical take on the prospects for advancing political freedom than binary analysis, and thereby repositions the debate in a more intellectually defensible manner.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wlaker William

International reactions to the Scottish referendum

in International Affairs , vol. 90, issue 4, july , 743-759

ABSTRACT: The referendum on whether Scotland should become an independent country will be held on 18 September 2014. This article reflects on the evolution of foreign governments' attitudes towards the referendum since its confirmation in October 2012, and on their expectations should a 'yes' vote result. With few exceptions, they have adopted a policy of non-intervention, treating the referendum as the UK's domestic affair. President Obama's expression on 5 June 2014 of his desire for the UK to remain 'a strong, robust, united and effective partner' may, however, be seen as a sign of increasing apprehension abroad. Concerns of foreign governments aroused by the referendum include the diminution of the UK's power and role in international affairs, the possible encouragement of other secessionist movements, and disturbance to international organizations and alliances. It is commonly assumed that Scotland would become a reasonably prosperous and reliable small state. But how would the rest of the UK (rUK), a much more powerful and populous country, respond to 'the loss of Scotland'? How would it affect the UK's already unsettled relations with the EU, including the prospect of a referendum on EU membership? Despite many uncertainties and a febrile political atmosphere, it is widely expected abroad that Scotland and rUK would settle into a cooperative relationship after a difficult transitional period, and that an independent Scotland would be accepted into the EU and NATO if it displayed flexibility on important issues.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Davies Jonathan S, Spicer André

Interrogating networks: towards an agnostic perspective on governance research

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 2, April , 223-238

Networks have rapidly become the dominant trope in governance theory and practice. While scholarship highlights important benefits, there has been insufficient systematic interrogation of the potential pathologies in network governance. This paper addresses the lacuna. We begin by discussing different kinds of network analysis and distinguishing the specific claims of network governance theory. We then pull together the scattered critically oriented literatures on the topic, identifying major problems with network modes of governance: hypocrisy, distrust, marketization, subjugation, antiproceduralism, fragmentation, and 'netsploitation'. We finally argue for a more agnostic approach to governance research, capable of taking account of these pathologies and thereby putting networks in their place. This means avoiding the fetishization of particular modes of governance and giving more careful attention to the settings in which they each can be useful.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gunter Michael M.

Iraq, Syria, Isis and the Kurds: Geostrategic Concerns for the U.S. and Turkey

in Middle East Policy, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 102-111

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kaya Ayhan

Islamisation of Turkey under the AKP Rule: Empowering Family, Faith and Charity

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 47-69

Referring to the linkages between neoliberal social policies and religious forms of governmentality, this article analyses the Islamisation of Turkey under the rule of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) since 2002. It discusses the strategies, discourses, and policies deployed by the AKP to take control of the state, with a particular focus on the changing environment of social policies. The focus is on the growing importance of the family, faith-based voluntary organisations, charities, education, and Islam for AKP rule. It concludes with brief reference to the #Occupygezi movement, which was partly a response to the Islamisation pursued by the AKP government.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.979031>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Bellucci Paolo, Garzia Diego, Lewis-Beck Michael S

Issues and leaders as vote determinants: The case of Italy

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 2, March , 272-283

A growing literature highlights the importance of leader image as a determinant of voting in contemporary democracies and as a force now paralleling the explanatory power of traditional structural and ideological factors affecting voting choice. Yet the actual effect of leaders in the citizen's vote calculus remains uncertain because of the potential reciprocal causation between leader evaluation and other vote determinants. Thus, the extent to which voters' appreciation of leaders depends on their personality traits or on their policies, and how these forces variously influence the vote, is difficult to assess. To cope with this endogeneity problem we rely on instrumental variable estimation and two-stage regression analysis. We are able to show that in the highly polarized 2006 Italian legislative elections the net direct effect of leaders on voting choice was actually weaker than that exerted by issue preferences.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Felice Emanuele, Vecchi Giovanni

Italy's Growth and Decline, 1861–2011

in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The)*, Volume 45, Issue 4, Spring , 507-548

The large body of new statistical data that became available after the 150th anniversary of Italy's unification permits a re-examination of Italy's economic growth. Up-to-date estimates and re-interpretations of Italy's gdp from 1861 to 2011—at both the national and regional levels—in the light of institutional and technological changes within an international context find that Italy's economic growth was substantial early in the twentieth century but slackened considerably since the 1990s, despite successes in long-term performance. Analysis suggests that the country is on the road to irreversible decline. Part of the problem lies in the failure of the southern regions to converge economically with the more highly developed central and northern regions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Charbonnier Pierre

Jacques Ellul ou l'écologie contre la modernité

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 50, Syndicats et transition écologique , 127-146

This paper addresses the thought of Jacques Ellul, and attempts to overcome the way that it is currently understood by most French academics, who present this thinker as a neglected prophet of political ecology. It shows how Ellul orchestrated a confrontation between modern political thought and the defense of society against technology. In this confrontation, modernity is conceived as being responsible for the decay of society, which results in the reign of technology. Through an examination of the context of Ellul's reflections, and an assessment of the singular history of the relationships between politics and nature in 20th century France, we try to shed a new light on these ideas and their paradoxes. This study highlights how Ellul illustrates the ambiguities of the contemporary French environmentalism, which never really confronted the consequences of his own political naturalism. A sociological approach to the collective relationships with nature could be an alternative to these views.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Teute Fredrika J., Sheilds David S.

Jefferson in Washington: Domesticating Manners in the Republican Court

in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 35, Number 2, Summer , 237-259

Brief excerpt of the content:

https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_the_early_republic/v035/35.2.teute01.html

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Helliwell Christine, Hindess Barry

Kantian cosmopolitanism and its limits

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 18, Issue 1, 2015 , 26-39

Abstract

The cosmopolitanism of the European Enlightenment was mostly a limited matter of a Eurocentric anti-nationalism promoting the ideal of Europe as an harmonious system of balancing states. Against this background, Kant's cosmopolitan vision stands out as more inclusive because, far from restricting its concerns to Europe, it proposes to bring all of humanity together by locating its different sections in a developmental framework that runs from the most primitive of human conditions to the fullest development of Man's moral and intellectual capacities. Like the developmental schema posited by Voltaire and the Scottish Enlightenment, this vision locates most of humanity at some distance behind Western Europe. It produces the appearance of a cosmopolitan inclusiveness by means of an equally cosmopolitan differentiation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Francesco Compagna

La Corte europea dei Diritti dell'uomo fra inviolabilità dei principi di garanzia e conseguenti esigenze di riforma del sistema sanzionatorio

in *Nomos*, n. 1 2015

Se è a tutti evidente come la funzione della Corte europea dei diritti dell'Uomo a tutela di alcuni principi fondamentali si sia andata manifestando, negli ultimi anni, in maniera sempre più incisiva, lo straordinario ruolo propulsivo recentemente assunto dalle sue decisioni sul piano politico-costituzionale [...] sembra essere stato colto solo da una parte della dottrina.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Castaldo Massimo

La questione russa

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 82, n. 1, gennaio-marzo

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gardi Ciro, Panagos Panos, Van Liedekerke Marc, Bosco Claudio, De Brogniez Delphine

Land take and food security: assessment of land take on the agricultural production in Europe

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 58, Issue 5 , 898-912

Soil is a multifunctional, non-renewable natural resource for Europe as clearly expressed in the European Union (EU) Thematic Strategy for Soil Protection (COM (2006)231). Soil carries out multiple functions, including the support of food production. Urban development and its associated land take poses a major threat to soil and could have significant effects on agricultural production. This paper aims to evaluate the potential productivity losses in European agriculture due to land-take processes between 1990 and 2006. Agricultural land take was calculated using CORINE Land Cover maps of 1990, 2000 and 2006. For 21 of the 27 EU member states, agricultural land take was computed to be 752,973 ha for 1990–2000 and 436,095 ha for 2000–2006, representing 70.8% and 53.5%, respectively, of the total EU land take for these periods. The impact of this land take on the production capabilities of the agricultural sector for the period 1990–2006 for 19 of the 21 states was estimated to be equivalent to a loss of more than six million tonnes of wheat. The paper demonstrates that Europe's intense urbanisation has a direct impact on its capability to produce food.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09640568.2014.899490>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arler Finn, Mellqvist Helena

Landscape Democracy, Three Sets of Values, and the Connoisseur Method

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 24, Number 3, June , 271-298

The European Landscape Convention has brought up the question of democracy in relation to landscape transformation, but without a clear definition of democracy. This paper conceptualises democracy in relation to three main sets of values related to self-determination, co-determination and respect for argument. It examines various methods that have been used to try to make landscape decisions more democratic. In the last part of the paper the connoisseur method is introduced. This method emphasises stakeholder participation in deliberative processes with a particular focus on place-based knowledge. It has been used in Sweden as a means of involving local stakeholders in the democratic process of defining goals and objectives of their landscapes. In the conclusion, this method is recommended despite its dependence on favourable conditions, particularly continuity and commitment, and a few suggestions about possible improvements are presented.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Sikkink Kathryn

Latin American Countries as Norm Protagonists of the Idea of International Human Rights in Global Governance, vol. 20, n. 3, july-september , 389-404

ABSTRACT: Latin American governments, social movements, and regional organizations have made a far greater contribution to the idea and practice of international human rights than has previously been recognized. Most discussions of the global human rights regime stress its origins in the countries of the Global North. This article explores the role of Latin America states as early protagonists of the international protection of human rights, focusing in particular on the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. Histories of human rights in the world emphasize the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, as the founding moment of international human rights. Few know that Latin American states passed a similar American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man a full eight months before passage of the UDHR. The American Declaration thus was the first broad enumeration of rights adopted by an intergovernmental organization. This article explores the American Declaration as an example of often overlooked Latin American human rights protagonism that has continued to this day, and that calls into question the idea that human rights originated in only the Global North.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bueger Christian

Learning from piracy: future challenges of maritime security governance

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 1 , 33-42

Is the decade of large scale piracy off the coast of Somali over? What are the lessons from Somali piracy for maritime security governance? This article revisits the triggers of piracy and argues for the need of being cautious since the current success in curbing piracy might not be sustainable. I identify six factors that trigger piracy: (1) geography, (2) weak law enforcement and corruption, (3) maritime insecurity, (4) economic dislocation, (5) cultural acceptability and skills and (6) the prevalence of criminal minded entrepreneurs. An analysis of the rise and decline of piracy provides an explanation of why the international measures show success, but document that it is questionable if these will contain piracy in the long run. The measures address two of the factors (law enforcement and cultural acceptability) primarily. Studying the decline of Somali piracy reveals the importance of learning some major lessons for reevaluating the importance and character of maritime security. Future efforts will be necessary to increase the quality and efficiency of maritime security governance.

Full text available online at

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.960170>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stel Nora Marie

Lebanese–Palestinian Governance Interaction in the Palestinian Gathering of Shabriha, South Lebanon – A Tentative Extension of the ‘Mediated State’ from Africa to the Mediterranean

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 76-96

This article offers a qualitative case study of the interaction between Lebanese state institutions and Palestinian



authorities concerning the unofficial Palestinian camp of Shabriha. It particularly highlights the indirect nature of these interactions and the brokering role of Lebanese political parties. Governance in Shabriha is conceptualized as a manifestation of a 'mediated state', a notion that has been instrumental in understanding governance in sub-Saharan Africa but has not yet been applied to the Mediterranean. Based on empirical insights from Shabriha, the article offers a tentative reconsideration of the mediated state concept in order to extend it to scholarship on Mediterranean politics and governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boulland Paul, Gouarné Isabelle

Les mondes mêlés du communisme : une autre approche transnationale ?

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 66 , 9-18

si l'on ne compte plus désormais les ouvrages, numéros de revues, colloques et séminaires consacrés au « tournant global » des sciences humaines et sociales, le débat reste ouvert sur la véritable portée de ce changement et sur les transformations qu'il appelle dans le régime des savoirs : certains considèrent qu'il importe maintenant de définir le nouveau paradigme sous-jacent aux global studies ;...

Plan de l'article

Reconsidérer le rôle de l'État dans les processus transnationaux
Repenser les chronologies de la « globalisation »

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Roos Christof, Laube Lena

Liberal cosmopolitan norms and the border: Local actors' critique of the governance of global processes

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 15, n. 3 , 341-361

Liberal cosmopolitanism provides a set of norms that calls for the openness of borders. Freedom of movement, equality in opportunity and hospitality define a liberal framework for a state's ruling over the access of foreigners to the territory. However, in states' execution of border and immigration control these normative ideals seem not to apply. Accounts of border and immigration policy and discourse document a bias towards exclusion, restriction and securitization. It looks as if this normative political theory has no bearing on the real world. This is the starting point for an exploration into the public discourse on liberal cosmopolitan norms and the border. The study finds that most collective actors consider the application of the norms to be utopian. Still, they heavily draw on these norms as a means to critique domestic policies that attempt to regulate global mobility. These are considered to be morally wrong or insufficient for providing equality in opportunities, solidarity, or protection. Actors' interpretation of key norms such as equality, hospitality and social justice varies significantly which calls for empirical as well theoretical work on the often Janus-faced implications of putting cosmopolitan norms into practice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Krienke Markus

Liberalism vs. Libertarianism. The Philosophical Roots of the Social Market Economy
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 1, Number 2 , 143-201

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Misra Amalendu

Life in Brackets: Minority Christians and Hegemonic Violence in Pakistan
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 157-181

This article focusses on the Christian minority in Pakistan, and postulates that their “crisis condition” can be explained within a set pattern of rules. Within that framework, it examines three separate, but interrelated theoretical positions: The rising level of Islamic radicalism and consequent attack on minority Christians needs to be placed within the framework of a “thick” and “thin” view of religion; 2. the select “targeting” of a minority and stirring up of sectarian conflict is the outcome of a clearly thought out framework of hegemonic violence; and 3. the conscious process of “scapegoating” that establishes the majority-led in-group and out-group narrative leading to the castigation and persecution of the marginal group. The last two sections examines the scope of external intervention on behalf of this beleaguered community. It goes on to assess the coping strategies of the Christians in the face of mounting Sunni Muslim extremist violence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Negrón-Gonzales Melinda, Contarino Michael

Local Norms Matter: Understanding National Responses to the Responsibility to Protect
in *Global Governance*, vol. 20, n. 2, april-june , 255-276

ABSTRACT: Most states have embraced the emerging Responsibility to Protect norm, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005. R2P obliges states to prevent atrocity crimes within their own borders and not to turn a blind eye when they occur elsewhere. However, R2P's third pillar, which permits UN Security Council–authorized coercive actions, has been controversial. A few states have rejected R2P, fearing that the third pillar might be misused, while others have localized R2P (adapting it to their own preferences) or have sought to modify it globally through feedback in continuing UN discussions. This article explains the range of responses to the third pillar of R2P and explores why states employ different types of feedback, ranging from soft feedback (which seeks to build broader support for R2P) to hard feedback (which seeks to limit R2P). The article concludes that feedback reflects both national strategic concerns and preexisting local norms. Prior normative commitments to human rights and humanitarianism reduce the incidence of hard feedback whereas normative commitments to anti-imperialism and noninterference increase the likelihood of feedback seeking to constrain R2P. States with mixed commitments (e.g., to both human rights and to anti-imperialism) may offer complex, even contradictory, feedback, reflecting a prevailing national norm hierarchy, changes to which could result in changed state responses to R2P.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

De Juan Alexander

Long-term environmental change and geographical patterns of violence in Darfur, 2003–2005

in *Political Geography*, Volume 45, March , 22-33

This paper investigates spatial associations between environmental change and violence in Darfur. Long-term variations in the geographical distribution of water and vegetative resources can foster migration from areas with decreasing levels of resource availability to areas with increasing levels. Rising ethnic diversity and resource competition can, in turn, escalate the risk of violence in areas of high in-migration. This paper employs a multimethod approach to investigate this hypothesis. Qualitative evidence is used to demonstrate the plausibility of the argument for the case of Darfur. The quantitative analysis is based on information retrieved from satellite imagery on long-term vegetation change and the spatial distribution of attacks on villages in the early phase of the civil war (2003–2005). The findings indicate that violence has been more likely and intense in areas that experienced increasing availability of water and vegetative resources during the 20 years prior to the civil war.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Saillard Antoine

L'Autre dans les mécanismes étatiques de contrôle de la mobilité(France, seconde moitié du XIXe siècle)

in *Politique européenne* , n. 47, 2015/1 , 94-120

Starting in the mid-19th century, several European States developed tools to control movers. By targeting specific populations and organizing their marginalization, these mechanisms aimed at controlling domestic and international mobility. We compare three tools implemented in France in order to understand the mechanisms that create alterity and marginality. In so doing we explore the figure of the outsider in the second half of the 19th century in France, considering the complex and blurred boundaries that exist between the "Same" and the "Other".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Awondo Patrick

L'afropolitanisme en débat

in *Politique africaine*, n. 136 , 105-119

S'appuyant sur la problématique des politiques identitaires, l'interrogation sur ce qu'on pourrait nommer le patrimoine Nègre et la façon dont les Afro-descendants s'y identifient a ouvert sur deux types de positionnements au cours des trois dernières décennies : il y a d'un côté une pensée de la différence s'adossant sur les avatars de l'africanité, et de l'autre des philosophies de la médiation, dont le travail intellectuel critique le discours de « clôture identitaire ». L'afropolitanisme comme idée de la façon dont les Africains et leurs descendants des diasporas font « communauté » et communient avec le monde surgit à l'interface des deux pôles évoqués. Il se veut lié à l'Afrique sans pour autant s'y réduire. Il ouvre dès lors sur une nouvelle politique identitaire à l'heure de la globalisation, privilégiant la fluidité et la modularité des appartenances. Mais réussira-t-il à faire école ?



Debating Afropolitanism

Based on the issue of identity politics, the interrogation about what might be called the Negro heritage and how Afro-descendants identify to it has led to two types of intellectual positions over the past three decades: On the one side is a discourse of the difference leaning on the avatars of Africanism; on the other, the philosophies of mediation, whose aim is to be critical of the “identity closure” discourse. Afropolitanism as an idea about how Africans and their descendants in the Diasporas build a “community” and are in communion with the world arises at the interface of these two positions. Afropolitanism as an intellectual project conceives itself as linked to Africa but without reducing everything to this location. It therefore opens a new kind of identity politics in the age of globalization, emphasizing the fluidity and modularity of belonging. But will this “postracial” project succeed in mobilizing the majority of Afro-descendants?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ditz Toby L.

Masculine Republics and “Female Politicians” in the Age of Revolution

in Journal of the Early Republic, Volume 35, Number 2, Summer , 263-269

Brief excerpt of the content:

https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_the_early_republic/v035/35.2.ditz.html

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Roter Petra

Minority Children and Education in the Work of the Advisory Committee

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 202-231

This article seeks to analyse the relevance of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Framework Convention) for minority children in the field of education. It does this with a comprehensive analysis of primary sources, namely opinions of the Framework Convention’s Advisory Committee, which monitors the treaty’s implementation. The article therefore also analyses the role of this independent monitoring body in protecting minority children’s rights. It argues that the Framework Convention provides a very relevant structure for children’s rights, and demonstrates that perhaps the most valuable contribution of the Advisory Committee to the field of children’s rights has been, firstly, in identifying various obstacles that are preventing the full implementation of children’s rights in the field of education; secondly, in recommending measures for removing those obstacles or mitigating their effects; and, thirdly, in identifying best practices with regards to the rights of children to education.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dorman Andrew M.

More than a storm in a teacup: the defence and security implications of Scottish independence

in International Affairs , vol. 90, issue 3, may , 679-696



ABSTRACT: In September 2014 the people of Scotland will vote on whether to become an independent nation, with the defence and security of Scotland proving to be one of the more vociferous areas of debate. This article argues that defence and security implications of this referendum are far more fundamental than either the 'yes' or 'no' campaigns have admitted. It makes four points. First, it suggests that the Scottish government's plans for defence and security in NATO and the EU are at odds with its proposed armed forces and that Scotland may well find itself having to make far greater commitments to defence to assure its allies. Second, it argues that a vote for independence will represent a game-changing event for the remainder of the United Kingdom's defence and security, which will have significant consequences for the United Kingdom's partners and allies in NATO, the European Union and elsewhere. Third, the article contends that even a vote against independence will have a long-term impact, in that the 'West Lothian question' and Scottish support for nuclear disarmament influence the 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review. Finally, the article highlights how this issue has revealed weaknesses in the think-tank and academic communities, particularly in Scotland. The independence vote does, therefore, represent 'more than a storm in a tea cup' and thus there needs to be far greater engagement with these issues within the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cooper Drury A., James Patrick, Peksen Dursun

Neo-Kantianism and Coercive Diplomacy: The Complex Case of Economic Sanctions in International Interactions, vol. 40, issue 1 , 25-51

ABSTRACT: Although voluminous research connects the neo-Kantian triad—democracy, economic interdependence, and intergovernmental organization membership—to amelioration of conflict processes, comparatively little is known about how these factors relate to economic coercion. We advance the relevant literature on neo-Kantianism and the determinants of sanction decisions by (1) analyzing the impact of all three neo-Kantian factors on economic coercion and (2) assessing the effects of these factors across both the onset of threat and imposition of sanctions. Results from the time-series, cross-national data analyses indicate a significant but complex connection between the neo-Kantian variables and sanctions. Specifically, we find that although democratic regimes are less likely to threaten each other with sanctions, once a threat is made, democracies are more likely to impose sanctions against each other. Economic interdependence and common IGO membership are likely to increase the probability of sanction threats. Yet, the results also suggest that common IGO membership decreases the probability of sanction imposition while economic interdependence has no statistically significant effect on the decision to impose sanctions. Overall, these results highlight the importance of a more nuanced study of sanction decisions for a better understanding of the factors that lead to sanction use.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ellinas Antonis A.

Neo-Nazism in an Established Democracy: The Persistence of Golden Dawn in Greece in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 1-20

The literature predicts that extremist right-wing parties like the Greek Golden Dawn (GD) are doomed to stay in the margins of electoral competition, scaring away voters with their authoritarian views and violent tactics. Defying scholarly expectations and despite the criminal prosecution of its leadership, GD increased its electoral strength in the May 2014



European elections. The article contrasts the neo-Nazi GD with Western European radical right parties and examines the factors that facilitated the persistence of such an extreme political party in an established European democracy. It shows how GD managed to capitalise on the de-legitimation of Greek political institutions and, through its organisational activity, present itself as a socially legitimate anti-system alternative.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.981379>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stanciu Cezar

Nicolae Ceaușescu and the origins of Eurocommunism

in Communist and post-communist studies, vol. 48, n. 1, March , 83-95

After the Sino-Soviet dispute had considerably weakened Moscow's supremacy in world communism, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev was keen on restoring control and unity. But he soon discovered that his meaning of unity did not exactly coincide with what others had in mind. West European communists were striving to accommodate social principles to domestic conditions so, as to be able to accede to government. They advocated for each party's right to make their own decisions independently and also for an enlargement of world communism beyond its initial sectarianism. Their cause was vulnerable though as internationalism was still an important part of their political identity, apart from the fact that Moscow did subsidize most of them. In the second half of the 1960s though, a new voice joined those asking for reform in world communism: Nicolae Ceaușescu, a leader of the Romanian Communist Party. Interested to promote his country's autonomy in the Soviet bloc, Ceaușescu had no reason to support Moscow's efforts to regain control. Instead, Ceaușescu developed close relations with West European Communist parties and assumed some of their ideological tenets, trying to fend off Soviet domination. This way, although he never was a Eurocommunist, Ceaușescu did play an important part in the ideological debates that were later to produce Eurocommunism, defending West European arguments in front of Moscow.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dzurec David

Of Salt Mountains, Prairie Dogs, and Horned Frogs: The Louisiana Purchase and the Evolution of Federalist Satire 1803–1812

in Journal of the Early Republic, Volume 35, Number 1, Spring , 79-108

In November 1803, President Thomas Jefferson presented to the United States Congress a report on the newly acquired Louisiana Territory. The report offered a wide-ranging description of the territory, including geographic boundaries, accounts of the various inhabitants, and the natural resources contained within the region. For Jefferson and his supporters the news of the salt mountain and the other natural wonders contained within the Louisiana Territory provided cause for celebration. For some members of the Federalist opposition, however, these natural wonders offered grist for the political mill. While this back and forth is colorful, historians often treat it as little more than an interesting aside in studies of the Federalist response to the Louisiana Purchase, focusing instead on larger issues of constitutional authority, the extension of slavery, and even northern secession. Yet to relegate these "curiosities" to a secondary role misses an important moment in the development of American politics. More than simply serving as entertaining political banter, the Federalist critique of the Louisiana Purchase became an essential piece of minority party's on-going satire of



the Jefferson administration. These efforts became a form of shorthand that made up a key part of a moderate Federalist identity as they sought to navigate a shifting political landscape in earliest decades of the 19th century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

EI-Enany Nadine

On Pragmatism and Legal Idolatry: Fortress Europe and the Desertion of the Refugee

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Critical Approaches to Migration Law , 7-38

This article adopts a critical approach in analysing restriction as a response to the refugee in policy and legal scholarship. eu migration policy hinders territorial access and poses methodological and epistemological challenges to progressively minded policy-makers and researchers. Contesting migration control means, crudely, arguing for removing restrictions or accepting them and advocating incremental protection improvements. This choice creates three conditions resulting in the refugee's desertion. First, "legal idolisers", who cling to protective laws, overlooking their exclusive function and second, "pragmatist-realists", who argue a realist approach to restriction is necessary to further protection. Consequently, the field becomes vulnerable to opportunistic research designed to be palatable to policy-makers. This creates, thirdly, a sinking ship for those arguing for the removal of restrictions. Mainstream scholarship and public debate paint migration control critics as adopting a "cuddle policy" towards "illegals" and abstract the migration discourse from structures of domination and questions of historical injustice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Meckling Jonas

Oppose, Support, or Hedge?: Distributional Effects, Regulatory Pressure, and Business Strategy in Environmental Politics

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, May , 19-37

What explains the choice of corporate political strategy in environmental politics? Drawing on recent models of actor strategy formation in political economy, this article argues that basic material interests of firms are translated into strategies in the context of institutional environments. I advance a typological model that posits how distributional effects—positive versus negative—and perceived regulatory pressure—low versus high—interact in leading firms to adopt one of four ideal-type strategies: opposition, hedging, support, and non-participation. This article examines the model through the case of corporate strategies in the making of the European Union's Emission Trading Scheme. The article contributes to theory-building on business strategy in environmental politics by offering a probabilistic explanatory model, and it flags hedging strategies as an increasingly prevalent form of business behavior.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Waylen Kerry A., Blackstock Kirsty L., Marshall Keith B., Dunglinson Jill

Participation–Prescription Tension in Natural Resource Management: The case of diffuse pollution in Scottish water management



in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 25, Issue 2, March-April , 111-124

The need for stakeholder participation in natural resource management is widely acknowledged. Many have noted that real-life processes fall short of theoretical ideals in the literature, but less attention is given to understanding if and how participation may produce positive outcomes within these imperfect processes. For example, policies prescribing specific goals and statutory timelines are potentially in tension with goals for stakeholder participation, but the implications of this tension are not well understood.

We studied this tension in order to inform future participatory natural resource management. We used qualitative inductive analysis of river basin management planning in Scotland to explore to the extent to which benefits of participation were possible under prescribed conditions, and how prescribed constraints influenced the processes of participation.

Participation was constrained by the prescribed targets and timeline. However, participants in advisory groups challenged assumptions and provided additional information, leading to a more balanced analysis of pressures and a more collaborative approach to potential solutions. Overall, their interaction and inputs produced a mix of substantive and instrumental benefits to the process. More attention is needed to understand if and how such benefits would be realized from other processes, but our findings support the value of encouraging participation in natural resource management, even when that participation is constrained.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gibson Rachel K.

Party change, social media and the rise of 'citizen-initiated' campaigning

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 2, March , 183-197

This article argues that digital media are introducing a new grassroots-based mode of 'citizen-initiated campaigning' (CIC) that challenges the dominant professionalized model of campaign management by devolving power over core tasks to the grassroots. After defining the practice through reference to the 2008 campaign of Barack Obama and online parties literature, we devise a measure of CIC that is applied to UK parties in the 2010 election. Our findings show that CIC is emerging outside the U.S. and adoption is associated with major party status, although it may be of particular appeal to political actors facing a resource deficit. The conclusions focus on the implications of CIC for new forms of party membership, indirect voter mobilization and the contextual factors influencing this new model of campaigning. Full text available online at <http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/21/2/183.full.pdf+html>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Su Yen-Pin

Party registration rules and party systems in Latin America

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 2, March , 295-308

Existing studies have paid a great deal of attention to how electoral systems affect party politics, but there has been little discussion in the literature on the effects of party registration rules. The theoretical importance of the impact of party registration rules on party system development lies in its temporal priority to the effects of electoral systems. This study aims to fill the theoretical void by conducting a systematic analysis of the effects of party registration rules in Latin



America. Using an original dataset of petition signature requirements and spatial registration requirements in 18 Latin American countries from 1978 to 2011, I conduct cross-national time-series analyses on how this institution affects the number of parties. The empirical results show that a more restrictive petition signature requirement significantly reduces the number of electoral parties in a country, while a spatial registration requirement does not significantly affect the number of parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bratman Eve

Passive revolution in the green economy: activism and the Belo Monte dam

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Environmental Justice and the Quest for a Green Global Economy, March , 61-77

The paper offers an analysis of the historical, material, and ideational factors involved in shifting socio-environmental activism dynamics in Brazil, with a focus on the Belo Monte hydroelectric dam project located on the Xingu River in the Brazilian Amazon. Relying on qualitative research at a variety of levels, the paper seeks to answer the question: What does the Belo Monte case portend for our understanding of the capacity of green economy to facilitate a greater environmental sensitivity in a national context? The case study illustrates how green activism has been weakened by a combination of self-interested calculations by activists and strategic maneuvers by the state. Critically for environmental policymaking, the case study reveals how the state and its international allies can use the green economy discourse as a hegemonic tool to isolate opposition, break alliances, and further resource-extraction-oriented economic policies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cabrita Joel

People of Adam: Divine Healing and Racial Cosmopolitanism in the Early Twentieth-Century Transvaal, South Africa

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 57, Issue 2, April , 557-592

This article analyses the intersection between cosmopolitanism and racist ideologies in the faith healing practices of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. Originally from Illinois, USA, this organization was the period's most influential divine healing group. Black and white members, under the leadership of the charismatic John Alexander Dowie, eschewed medical assistance and proclaimed God's power to heal physical affliction. In affirming the deity's capacity to remake human bodies, church members also insisted that God could refashion biological race into a capacious spiritual ethnicity: a global human race they referred to as the "Adamic" race. Zionist universalist teachings were adopted by dispossessed and newly urbanized Boer ex-farmers in Johannesburg, Transvaal, before spreading to the soldiers of the British regiments recently arrived to fight the Boer states in the war of 1899–1902. Zionism equipped these estranged white "races" with a vocabulary to articulate political reconciliation and a precarious unity. But divine healing was most enthusiastically received among the Transvaal's rural Africans. Amidst the period's hardening segregation, Africans seized upon divine healing's innovative racial teachings, but both Boers and Africans found disappointment amid Zion's cosmopolitan promises. Boers were marginalized within the new racial regimes of the Edwardian empire in South Africa, and white South Africans had always been ambivalent about divine healing's incorporations of black Africans into a unitary race. This early history of Zionism in the Transvaal reveals the constriction



of cosmopolitan aspirations amidst fast-narrowing horizons of race, nation, and empire in early twentieth-century South Africa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Krampf Arie

Perhaps this time it's different: ideas and interests in shaping international responses to financial crises in Contemporary Politics, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2015 , 179-200

The experience of the recent two decades of financial crises shows that donor countries and international financial institutions (IFIs) can respond to a crisis in a peripheral open economy by either of two crisis management strategies: either they can impose harsh conditionality to fix the domestic economy and prevent future moral hazard problems, or they can provide last-resort credit to restore market confidence. In some cases, the crisis management strategy changes as the crisis evolves. What are the factors that determine the choice of key donor countries and IFIs? This article traces the processes by which the USA and the International Monetary Fund designed the crisis management strategy in respect to the Asian crisis, and how Germany and the European Central Bank designed the response to the eurozone crisis, in order to understand how ideas regarding the causes and solutions of a financial crisis interact with the interests of key donor countries. The article argues that in both cases ideas and interests are mutually constituted, but in each case the mechanism that linked ideas and interests was different: whereas in the Asian case US interests led to policy innovation and experimentation and to a change in the crisis management strategy, in the European case ideas played a greater role in shaping German interests. The article explains this difference on the basis of the lessons learned by IFIs from the Asian crisis, which were then implemented in the eurozone case.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Popa Sebastian Adrian

Political sophistication in Central and Eastern Europe. How can parties help? in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 440-455

This article investigates how parties can influence the level of political sophistication their supporters have. Although the importance of parties in providing their supporters with political information was first suggested in early studies of voting behaviour, this level of analysis has been omitted from individual studies of political sophistication. Focusing on the political environment of post-communist societies, where parties played a key role in helping citizens understand politics, I theorize both a direct and an indirect path through which parties can contribute to the level of sophistication of their supporters. Using cross-national data from the Eurequal 2007 project on 13 post-communist countries, I show three characteristics related to parties' motivation to mobilize the electorate against the status quo that have an impact on individual level political sophistication. Results from a multi-level model suggest that supporting a non-incumbent, smaller or right-wing party is related, either directly or in interaction with individual characteristics, to higher levels of political sophistication. These findings shed light on how looking at political parties can help us better understand the differences in the levels of political sophistication among citizens.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mondon Aurelien

Populism, the 'people' and the illusion of democracy – The Front National and UKIP in a comparative context in French Politics, Volume 13, Issue 2 (June 2015) , 141-156

The 2014 European elections confirmed the prominence in the media of what is commonly called the far right. While parties such as the Front National and UKIP were successful in the elections, their performance has since been exaggerated and they have benefited from a disproportionate coverage. Aiding their apparently 'irresistible rise', their normalisation was greatly facilitated by their description as 'populist' parties. However, while this term 'populism' has been almost universally accepted in the media, it remains a hotly debated concept on the academic circuit, and its careless use could in fact prove counterproductive in the assessment of the current state of democracy in Europe. Instead of focusing on the reasons behind the rise of these parties, similarities and differences already widely covered in the literature, this article hypothesises that a skewed and disproportionate coverage of the European elections in particular, and the 'rise' of 'right-wing populism' in general, have prevented a thorough democratic discussion from taking place and impeded the possibility of other political alternatives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Auriol Emmanuelle, Biancini Sara

Powering Up Developing Countries through Integration?

in World Bank Economic Review (The), Volume 29 Issue 1 2015 , 1-40

Power market integration is analyzed in a two-country model with nationally regulated firms and costly public funds. If the generation costs between the two countries are too similar, negative business stealing outweighs efficiency gains so that, subsequent to integration, welfare decreases in both regions. Integration is welfare enhancing when the cost difference between two regions is large enough. The benefits from export profits increase the total welfare in the exporting country, whereas the importing country benefits from a lower price. In this case, market integration also improves incentives to invest compared to autarky. The investment levels remain inefficient, however, especially for transportation facilities. Free riding reduces incentives to invest in these public-good components of the network, whereas business stealing tends to decrease the capacity to finance new investment.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stoll Heather

Presidential coattails

in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 417-427

This article takes a closer look at how presidential elections affect the fragmentation of the legislative party system. It reviews the theory and conventional empirical modelling strategy; identifies some drawbacks to this strategy and suggests solutions; and then conducts an empirical investigation of the implications of this critique by combining replication data from Golder (2006) with new data on the key variables measuring the presidential coattails. Fortuitously, the literature's findings about the shadow cast by presidential elections, usually known as the presidential coattails, are relatively robust. However, important differences emerge on the margins, such as regarding the effect of midterm



elections. Moreover, this article demonstrates that subsequent presidential elections, like concurrent and preceding ones, cast shadows, too. It also demonstrates that the conventional modelling strategy underestimates the presidential coattails.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Serrao-Neumann Silvia, Harman Ben, Leitch Anne, Choy Darryl Low

Public engagement and climate adaptation: insights from three local governments in Australia
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 58, Issue 7 , 1196-1216

Public participation in decision making is a central component of the planning process; however, implementing effective engagement initiatives to resolve complex planning and policy problems, such as climate change, is challenging for planners. These challenges are particularly acute in coastal communities throughout Australia, where many settlements are at risk of future climate perturbations. Using the International Association for Public Participation framework for public participation, we analyse three local government led public participation initiatives in New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, Australia. Our analysis suggests there are three critical factors that can influence the level of public participation in the context of climate change adaptation: the technocratic approach to decision making; absent high order government support; and the lack of evaluation mechanisms for public participation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

van der Heijden Jeroen

Regulatory failures, split-incentives, conflicting interests and a vicious circle of blame: the New Environmental Governance to the rescue?

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 58, Issue 6 , 1034-1057

This paper addresses a current trend of New Environmental Governance (NEG). It examines whether NEG is able to overcome a series of complex regulatory barriers and market shortfalls that stand in the way of carbon emissions reductions in the building sector. Building on an evaluation of 20 NEG arrangements from Australia and the Netherlands, it discusses the limits of the effective implementation and use of NEG in this sector. The paper concludes by suggesting three strategies to improve the performance of NEG arrangements in the building sector.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shahar Dan Coby

Rejecting Eco-Authoritarianism, Again

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 24, Number 3, June , 345-366

Ecologically-motivated authoritarianism flourished initially during the 1970s but largely disappeared after the decline of socialism in the late-1980s. Today, 'eco-authoritarianism' is beginning to reassert itself, this time modelled not after the Soviet Union but modern-day China. The new eco-authoritarians denounce central planning but still suggest that governments should be granted powers that free them from subordination to citizens' rights or democratic procedures. I



argue that current eco-authoritarian views do not present us with an attractive alternative to market liberal democracy even if we take a highly pessimistic view of our shared prospects under the latter sort of regime.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Williams Dodeye Uduak

Relevance of Mary Kaldor's 'new wars' thesis in the 21st century

in **Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution**, vol. 6, n. 5, september , 84-88

ABSTRACT: The nature and characteristics of war in the post-cold war era have been the focus of academic debates in the field of Peace and Conflict studies in recent years especially with regard to whether or not a distinction should be made between 'old' and 'new' wars. Mary Kaldor's 'new wars' thesis, a very significant contribution to these debates, argues that there is a distinction given that the actors, goals, methods and modes of financing wars in the post-cold war era have changed significantly as a result of globalization (Kaldor, 2006:1). While many critics disagree and argue that the distinction does not exist (Kalyvas, 2001) and claim that there is nothing new about 'new wars' (Henderson and Singer, 2002), others question the lack of adequate empirical and historical evidence (Chojnacki, 2006:48) and argue that the thesis lacks any measureable criteria. However, as Mundy (2011) rightly points out, our justifications for concepts such as the 'new wars' thesis should be based on their ability to confront and address the very circumstances they seek to improve rather than on claims of alleged coherence and reflections of history. While this article is not directed at refuting criticisms, it is important to note that the term 'new' used in describing these wars that were taking place in the 1990s in the Balkans and Africa did not refer to them as having no historical parallels or antecedents but referred to a different 'logic' from the wars that scholars and policy-makers were concentrating on (Kaldor, 2012). Regardless of its limitations, this article argues that Kaldor's 'new war' thesis has significant academic/analytical and policy relevance in the field of security studies and much more in the 21st century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rohrschneider Robert, Miles Matthew R.

Representation through parties? Environmental attitudes and party stances in Europe in 2013

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 4, Special Issue: Environmental concerns during a time of duress , 617-640

Public demand for environmental policies can only influence policies when political parties incorporate environmentalism into their platforms. The economic downturn that began in 2009 may have caused European parties to abandon their commitment to environmentalism as they focused on solutions to the economic crisis. Particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, where commitment to the environment is not as central to party competition, public environmental concerns may have been placed on the periphery of the policy agenda. Examining this issue, this study finds that political parties, especially mainstream parties, in Western Europe represented economic and environmental preferences of voters about equally as well in 2013 as they did prior to the economic crisis. However, in Central and Eastern Europe, parties tended to be less responsive to environmental preferences, presumably because economic differences dominate political divisions in newer democracies. It is concluded that environmental interests are well protected by mainstream actors in the West, though less so in Europe's newer democracies.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stephen Matthew D.

Rising powers, global capitalism and liberal global governance: A historical materialist account of the BRICs challenge

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 20, n. 4, december , 912-938

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the phenomenon of rising powers from a historical materialist perspective. It (1) elaborates the key concepts of historical structures of world order, state–society complexes and transnational class formation, and (2) applies them to Brazil, Russia, India, China and other so-called ‘rising powers’ to account for the nature and extent of the challenge they pose to the existing institutions of global governance. A double argument is advanced: first, the integration of rising powers into the historical structure of global capitalism has reduced traditional sources of great power conflict, and made rising powers heavily dependent on the existing institutional framework established by the liberal West. This facilitates their integration into the existing governance order. However, within the limits of the existing order, two factors lend a heartland–contender cleavage to the politics of global governance: the rising powers’ relatively more statist, less market-driven forms of state, and their subsequent failure to be integrated into emergent transnational capitalist class structures. Consequently, it is not the global governance order itself, but its most liberal features, that are contested by rising powers. The result is that, in contrast to realist pessimism and liberal optimism, the rise of new powers is leading to a hybrid governance order that is both transnationally integrated and less liberal.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kyriacou Andreas P., Morral-Palacín Noemí

Secessionism and the Quality of Government: Evidence from a Sample of OECD Countries

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 3, Issue 2 , 187-204

In this article we test the hypothesis that secessionism reduces government quality because secessionist threats elicit a response from central governments concerned with the territorial integrity of the state and this, in turn, channels attention and resources away from necessary governance reforms. We consider the link between secessionism and government quality based on an original data set that reflects the electoral success of secessionist parties in national elections. Our empirical results, drawn from a sample of 22 OECD countries over the period from 1980 to 2007, support the expectation that secessionism will tend to reduce the quality of government even after controlling for the influence of potentially confounding variables and the possibility that government quality may itself affect the electoral fate of secessionist parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Weitz Eric D.

Self-Determination: How a German Enlightenment Idea Became the Slogan of National Liberation and a Human Right

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 120, Issue 2, April , 462-496



No phrase has had greater political resonance in the last one hundred years than “self-determination.” No concept is as murky as self-determination. Even legal scholars, from whom one hopes to find some precision, throw up their hands in confusion and dismay. “No one is very clear as to what it [the right of self-determination] means,” writes James Crawford.¹ Others are even more scathing: “Juridically, the notion of a legal ‘right’ of self-determination is nonsense—for can ex hypothesi [an] as yet juridically nonexistent entity be the possessor of a legal right?”²

Yet self-determination became and is still the favored slogan of all sorts of movements around the globe and has been written into virtually every major human rights declaration and convention since the 1940s—including the United Nations Charter, the ...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Melandri Manuela

Self-determination and State-building in International Law: The Need for a New Research Approach
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 20 Issue 1

This article offers a critical appraisal of the current debate on the role of self-determination in the context of post-conflict state-building. It starts by looking at what contribution existing literature has made in advancing our knowledge of the matter and it critically analyzes the value of this contribution from the perspective of international law. The key argument set forward is that if we aim to fully understand the role and significance of self-determination in international law a new interpretative framework should be used to study this principle. The discussion proceeds in two steps. First, the article takes issue with how self-determination was studied so far. It identifies a common framework through which the issue has been approached, defines the main characteristics of the approach used and critically examines the bases on which authors carry out their studies of self-determination. Second, it advocates for the opening up of innovative inroads aimed at elaborating a new way of thinking about self-determination. Ultimately, the piece points to the need of a new interpretative framework to approach this issue; it suggests what the new approach should look like and highlights the potential advantages of adopting a new perspective for studying self-determination in the context of post-conflict state-building.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Melo-Escrihuela Carme

Should Ecological Citizenship Advocates Praise the Green State?
in *Environmental Values*, Volume 24, Number 3, June , 321-344

This article focuses on the relationship between ecological citizenship and the green state and asks whether it is a productive one. First, I examine the political system of an ideal ecological state to assess how it could encourage ecological citizenship. Then, I turn my attention to how eco-states might emerge and be sustained, and the obstacles they may encounter. I show that the green state has a strong potential to develop ecological citizenship, albeit with a rather narrow focus on its deliberative dimension. However, my main point is that this potential may not be fully realised



because the green state is grounded on a postliberal ecological democracy and an ecologically modernised economy. Since the green state cannot avoid the problems arising from the nexus between liberal democracy and capitalism, I claim that it is not the most appropriate locus for the cultivation of ecological citizenship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caselli Lorenzo

**Social Market Economy and Economic Democracy: the Trade Union's Role
in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)**, Volume 1, Number 1 , 17-26

The paper discusses the role that the trade union can play in the construction of the new European Social Market Economy, widening the frontiers of democracy. In the current situation of "social dismantling", it is necessary in fact to increase the number of the protagonists of the political, economic, and social life, emphasising the principle of the common good and its cultural values. In this framework, according to the Author, the trade union must take full responsibility for directing, controlling and managing economic and social choices, shifting from the "culture of consequences" to the "culture of project", in order to contribute to a good, or at least decent, life expectancy for everybody.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Helleiner Eric

**Southern Pioneers of International Development
in Global Governance**, vol. 20, n. 3, july-september , 375-388

ABSTRACT: What is the origin of the norm that international institutions should support the economic development of poorer countries? It is commonly argued that the norm of international development was pioneered by US president Harry S. Truman in a famous 1949 speech as a means of serving US economic goals in the early Cold War. But this norm in fact emerged much earlier from Sun Yat-sen's thinking in China in 1918 and after that from Latin American preferences in the inter-American context of the 1930s. The latter were particularly influential in encouraging US officials to design, in the early 1940s, the first international institution with a strong development mandate: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. During the negotiations leading up to the 1944 Bretton Woods agreements, Latin American policymakers supported and reinforced the US plans, as did representatives of China, India, and Eastern Europe. For officials from these countries and regions, international development promised support for their increasingly ambitious domestic development goals while minimizing the costs that had often been associated with private international investments in the past.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alonso Sonia, Rovira Kaltwasser Cristóbal

**Spain: No Country for the Populist Radical Right?
in South European Society & Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 21-45



Although there is growing research interest in populist radical right (PRR) parties in Western Europe, little attention has been paid to the case of Spain – a country where these parties are almost non-existent or irrelevant from an electoral and political point of view. In a nutshell, we maintain that in contemporary Spain there is real demand for PRR parties, but three supply-side factors are impeding their electoral breakthrough and persistence: the cleavage structure of the country, the strategy of competition of the mainstream right and the electoral system. At the same time, we postulate that at least in the case of Spain the Great Recession has not improved the electoral odds of the PRR as such but rather facilitated the emergence of leftist populist forces.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

van de Bildt Joyce

Srebrenica: A Dutch National Trauma

in Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 21, March , 115-145

The Srebrenica genocide of 1995 and the failure of Dutch peacekeeping troops to protect the enclave have brought about a lingering, painful national debate in the Netherlands. Almost two decades after the fall of Srebrenica, the issue remains sensitive in Dutch society. From the extensive amount of Dutch writing, analyses and investigations into what happened in Srebrenica one can conclude that the Dutch public felt the obligation to approach the issue as a party that had been directly involved in the events. Academics, journalists and artists, as well as involved army personnel and members of the Dutch government, engaged in discussing responsibility and culpability, and thoroughly examined what could have been done differently. This debate resulted in a painful self-investigation of Dutch society and politics. A feeling of guilt was widespread, and the capability of Dutch politicians and army has been seriously questioned. All of the activities related to Srebrenica - ranging from writing to composing music, and from public demonstrations to donating money to survivors – are attempts to deal with a national trauma. Moreover, the Dutch experience in Srebrenica has led the United Nations to seriously rethink its approach in subsequent peacekeeping missions, especially with regard to the application of the concept of safe areas in conflict zones.

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/ssis/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/Srebrenica---a-dutch-national-trauma.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

DumberryPatrick

State Succession to Bilateral Treaties: A Few Observations on the Incoherent and Unjustifiable Solution Adopted for Secession and Dissolution of States under the 1978 Vienna Convention

in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 28 - Issue 01 , 13 - 30

This article examines the question of state succession to bilateral treaties. It analyses the work of the International Law Commission undertaken in the 1970s and criticizes the solutions it has adopted in the 1978 Vienna Convention on Succession of States in Respect of Treaties for different types of state succession. I will argue that it is incoherent for the ILC to apply, on the one hand, the solution of automatic continuity for bilateral treaties in the context of secession and dissolution of states, while adopting, on the other hand, the solution of tabula rasa for Newly Independent States. In any event, it is plainly unjustifiable to apply the principle of automatic continuity to bilateral treaties. Thus, while the tabula



rasa principle was adopted by the ILC for multilateral treaties to protect Newly Independent States' right to self-determination, the same solution was chosen for bilateral treaties for different reasons. The rule of tabula rasa was adopted because of the particular nature of bilateral treaties and the basic requirement that the other party to an original treaty must consent to the continuation of that treaty with a Newly Independent State. There are simply no logical reasons as to why the tabula rasa principle adopted for Newly Independent States should not also find application for all new states. Bilateral treaties do not automatically continue to be in force as of the date of succession unless both states that are implicated explicitly (or tacitly) agree to such a continuation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Barca Stefania

Sur l'écologie de la classe ouvrière: un aperçu historique et transnational

in **Ecologie et politique**, n. 50, Syndicats et transition écologique , 23-40

Based on a review of some of the available literature in English, Italian and Portuguese on work-environment relationships in historical perspective, this article proposes a socio-ecological redefining of the "working class" and suggests that the "movement of environmental justice" may direct the research programs as well as the public policies. It requires to re-work the "environmental justice" paradigm. With this aim, the author analyzes the experiences conducted in the United States, in Italy and in Brazil.

Translator by the English text: Chrislain-Eric Kenfak

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kurian Pryia A, Munshi Debashish, Bartlett Robert W.

Sustainable citizenship for a technological world: negotiating deliberative dialectics

in **Citizenship Studies**, vol. 18, issue 3-4 , 435-451

ABSTRACT: Incorporating the notion of sustainability is the biggest challenge for citizenship in a technological era. Existing conceptions of citizenship have not been able to grapple with compounded ecological, economic, cultural, and moral threats facing modern technology-infused societies. Nor has increased public participation, engagement, and dialogue resolved polarized positions on issues such as what constitutes quality of life or what is meant by the integrity of nature. This paper draws on the scholarship of both sustainability and citizenship to propose a framework of sustainable citizenship that seeks to emphasize shared values through a deliberated clash of ideas. Such a framework involves a negotiation of the dialectics of rights and responsibilities, state and non-state, public and private, human and non-human nature, universal and particular, and democracy and capitalism. The paper illustrates how sustainable citizenship can be applied to deal with contentious political and policy issues of new and emerging technologies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Paasche Till F.

Syrian and Iraqi Kurds: Conflict and Cooperation

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Spring , 77-88

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Peeters Wouter, Dirix Jo, Sterckx Sigrid

The Capabilities Approach and Environmental Sustainability: The Case for Functioning Constraints

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 24, Number 3, June , 367-389

The capabilities approach of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum has become an influential viewpoint for addressing issues of social justice and human development. It has not yet, however, given adequate theoretical consideration to the requirements of environmental sustainability. Sen has focussed on the instrumental importance of human development for achieving sustainability, but has failed to consider the limits of this account, especially with respect to consumption-reduction. Nussbaum has criticised constraining material consumption for its paternalistic prescription of one particular conception of the good life, without considering it as an imperative of justice. We discuss two possible extensions of the capabilities approach. First, the concept of capability ceilings contains several attractive elements, but it also suffers from some shortcomings. Therefore, second, we advocate constraining people's combinations of functionings in accordance with a personal budget which consists of a fair share of environmental resources.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tallio Virginie

The Corporate Social Responsibility Projects of the Oil Companies in Angola: Anecdotal Fact or Significant New Trend in Public Health Development Intervention?

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 389-404

Angola is one of the most contradictory countries in the world. It has among the worst health and educational indicators, due to the war that tore it apart for more than 30 years. At the same time, it has one of the world's fastest rates of economic growth, thanks to the oil money that flows into the country. The country needs to (re)build its infrastructure – roads, schools, hospitals, and so on – and to develop its educational and health systems. Oil companies are deeply involved in this, through the process known as *angolanização* (Angolanisation). Through their corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies, they finance and implement social projects. They are thus replacing development NGOs, which never seized the market for the reconstruction of Angola. This article analyses the specificities of the oil companies' participation in the public health sector, looking at the changes their intervention is causing in the model of development. It concludes with an analysis of the consequences of these changes for the shape of the Angolan State.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Wang Linzhu

The Definition of Indigenous Peoples and its Applicability in China

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 232-258

This article considers the applicability of the concept of indigenous peoples in China, in accordance with the definitions developed in international law. It examines different approaches to define indigenous peoples in international law, and explores how those definitions may relate to Chinese ethnic groups. In particular, the article looks at possibilities for Chinese minorities to claim indigenous status, based on the standards of 'the priority of settlement' and 'distinctiveness arising from historical continuity and attachment to a specific land'. It argues that the uncertainty of the definition, the complexity of the ethnic situation, and the reluctance of the Chinese Government make the application of indigenous rights in China unclear at the present. The Chinese minority/indigenous argument, to a certain extent, depends on the elaboration of international norms on indigenous rights, as well as the clarification of Chinese terms in relation to ethnic minorities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Da Lomba Sylvie

The ECHR and the Protection of Irregular Migrants in the Social Sphere

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Critical Approaches to Migration Law , 39-67

For more than a decade, the Council of Europe has expressed deep concern over irregular migrants' poor access to basic social rights. With this in mind, I consider the extent to which the European Convention on Human Rights can contribute to protect irregular migrants in the social sphere. To this end, I consider the role of international supervisory bodies in social rights adjudication and discuss the suitability of international adjudication as a means to uphold irregular migrants' social rights. Having reached the conclusion that international adjudication can help protect irregular migrants' social rights, I examine the 'social dimension' of the European Convention on Human Rights and the significance that the European Court of Human Rights attaches to immigration status. I posit that the importance that the Court attaches to resource and immigration policy considerations in *N v. United Kingdom* significantly constrains the ability of the European Convention on Human Rights to afford irregular migrants protection in the social sphere.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sandmo Agnar

The Early History of Environmental Economics

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Volume 9, Issue 1, Winter , 43-63

This article traces the history of economists' treatment of environmental problems prior to the establishment of environmental economics as a separate field in the 1960s. I examine the economics literature from the late eighteenth century onward, searching for an awareness among early economists of both the effects of economic activity on the natural and social environment and the feedback from the environment to the economy. I argue that the way in which economic theory developed made it increasingly relevant for the study of environmental issues and the design of appropriate economic policies.



Full text available online at <http://reep.oxfordjournals.org/content/9/1/43.full.pdf+html>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rodríguez-Pose Andrés, Stermšek Marko

The Economics of Secession: Analysing the Economic Impact of the Collapse of the Former Yugoslavia in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 73-96

This paper looks at the economic impact of secession through the lens of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. It uses an econometric analysis covering the period between 1956 and 2011—including a series of factors linked to the independence process, socio-economic and structural controls, and the level of development—in order to assess whether (a) breaking away from the former Yugoslavia delivered an ‘independence dividend’ to the newly independent countries and whether (b) independence had a more favourable impact in richer, rather than poorer territories. The results of the analysis underline that there has been no favourable economic impact of secession and that how secession was achieved is key in understanding the subsequent economic performance of the newly independent countries. In cases of secession without conflict, independence did not have a noticeable impact on ensuing economic performance. Secession achieved by conflict, by contrast, seriously dented growth prospects.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.965729>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Galonnier Juliette

The Enclave, The Citadel and the Ghetto: The Threefold Segregation of Upper-Class Muslims in India in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 92-111

The urban sociology literature has identified three types of segregated spaces: the ghetto, the enclave and the citadel. While the ghetto stems from a high constraint, the enclave accounts for a more intentional form of segregation and the citadel refers to a deliberate attempt to exclude undesirable populations. While these three figures are often contrasted in the American literature, this article focuses on a specific type of neighbourhood that combines all of these: the upper-class minority neighbourhood. By introducing the main results of an interview study I conducted in the Indian city of Aligarh, I show that Muslim upper-class residential choices are informed by contradictory feelings: while the threat of Hindu–Muslim riots forces them to segregate in homogenous neighbourhoods (the ghetto), their segregation also stems from a genuine desire to live in an Islamic environment (the enclave). Finally, the Muslim upper classes also indulge in a sharp process of socio-spatial differentiation from their poorer coreligionists (the citadel). These processes of compelled segregation, self-aggregation and social distancing lead to an enduring spatial concentration along religious and class lines. The simultaneity of these three logics indicates that the categories of the ghetto, the enclave and the citadel, framed in reference to the American context, can be applied to the Indian city of Aligarh if understood as dynamic processes rather than static spatial units. Such a reformulation allows theory to travel across the North–South divide in a more productive way.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2427.12203/epdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Felisini Daniela

The European Enterprise as a Key Player in the European Economic Model. A Historical Perspective in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 0 , 153-168

The enterprise is a key player in the European economic model. An analysis in historical perspective can contribute to better define its identity, helping the implementation of effectual industrial policies during the current phase of economic crisis and political divergences within the Union. This article presents the results of a collective research, still in progress, aiming to identify the native characters - a kind of genetic code - of the European enterprise since the end of 19th century. Despite the differences between the various models of capitalism, we attempt to verify the existence of at least four genetic characters common to the sample of firms studied in major European countries. In our research hypothesis, the "genetic code" of European enterprise is influenced by at least one or more of these four elements: a) Contractual cooperation, cartels and concerted practices; b) Personal or family business, determining the diffusion and relevance of small and medium firms; c) Active role of substitutive factors: the State and the bank; d) Strong influence of the workers and their organization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Obani Pedi, Gupta Joyeeta

The Evolution of the Right to Water and Sanitation: Differentiating the Implications

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 27-39

Since 1980, the right to water has been seen mainly as implicitly subsumed under other social human and political rights. The global recognition of the need for access to sanitation services has led to formulations of a right to sanitation that emphasizes both the responsibilities of States and the rights of individuals. However, efforts to prioritize access to water and sanitation services have led to a gradual merger of these ideas in the human right to water and sanitation as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2010. Much of the literature on this subject focuses on water and sanitation simultaneously. This article fills a gap in knowledge by examining the different evolution of the human right(s) to water and sanitation at the international and national levels. It argues that the practical and social requirements for an environmentally sustainable and cost-effective implementation of access to water and sanitation are so different that, even if there is a combined right, the implementation may call for separating these two issues in some cases.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Feris Loretta

The Human Right to Sanitation: A Critique on the Absence of Environmental Considerations

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 1, April , 16-26

As approximately 2.6 billion people are without access to basic sanitation, the recognition of a human right to sanitation represents an important development in international human rights law. The right, derived from Article 11 (the right to an adequate living) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, has been framed as the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation. However, what has been largely absent in both the emergence of the right to



sanitation in various international law instruments, as well as the conceptualization of it over the last decade, is a consideration of the impact of inadequate sanitation on the natural environment and the associated infringement of environmental rights. This article problematizes the scant acknowledgement of environmental considerations in the framing of the right to sanitation and argues that a multifaceted approach to the right to sanitation must integrate environmental concerns.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Patton David F.

The Prospects of the FDP in Comparative Perspective: Rest in Peace or Totgesagte leben länger?

in German Politics, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 179-194

This article examines the conditions under which political parties that have dropped below the threshold of legislative representation later re-enter parliament. To do so, it compares two German parties that did not return to the Bundestag and two that did. In light of the 'lessons' of previous cases in the Federal Republic, the essay considers the prospects of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in the wake of its 2013 federal election defeat.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bellamy Alex J.

The Responsibility to Protect Turns Ten

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 2, summer , 161-185

ABSTRACT: Ten years since its adoption by the UN General Assembly, the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) has become an established international norm associated with positive changes to the way that international society responds to genocide and mass atrocities. In its first decade, RtoP has moved from being a controversial and indeterminate concept seldom utilized by international society to a norm utilized almost habitually. This is an assessment that stands in contrast to the widespread view that RtoP is associated with "growing controversy," but is one that rests on evidence of state practice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Deaton Clifford

The Revolution Will Not Be Occupied: Theorizing Urban Revolutionary Movements in Tehran, Prague, and Paris

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 3, Issue 2 , 205-225

Recent events have demonstrated that revolutionary movements continue to play an important role in shaping local, national, and international politics. This paper theorizes the spatial practice of revolutionary movements through three case studies: Tehran during the 2009 Green Movement, Prague during the 1989 Velvet Revolution, and Paris during the 1968 student protests. Urban space provides the primary location of movement mobilization. Furthermore, urban mobilization activates the memory of past struggles and prior political events, and movements use these political memories to connect with an urban population and to justify the challenge to state power. Secondary spaces, defined as



important civic or cultural spaces within the city, potentially contribute leadership and organization toward the goal of revolutionary transformation. This paper demonstrates that movements that are able to formally organize within secondary spaces, instead of relying only on a tactic of urban occupation, defined as sustained mobilization within central streets and plazas, will be more successful in orchestrating political transition.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.945473>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Marktanner Marcus

The Social Market Economy - Assembled in Germany, Not Made in Germany!

in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 1, Number 0 , 77-113

While the concept of the Social Market Economy has a "Made in Germany" image, "Assembled in Germany" is more correct. A "made in" claim requires that a particular product and all of its components originate from the country. This is not true for the Social Market Economy. Instead, Social Market Economics is a utility model that has incorporated lessons from both international economic history and the international history of economic thought. This article provides an overview of these lessons. It concludes that re-emphasizing the many international influences of and parallels and differences to other political-economic theories is necessary to reposition Social Market Economic thought as the only real-world alternative to the romanticisms of socialism, unfettered market liberalism, and economic macro-management.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Felice Flavio

The Social Market Economy: Origins and Interpreters

in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 2, Number 1

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pares Marc, Brugué Quim, Espluga Josep, Miralles Júlia, Ballester Alba

The Strengths and Weaknesses of Deliberation on River Basin Management Planning: Analysing the water framework directive implementation in Catalonia (Spain)

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 25, Issue 2, March-April , 97-110

By the means of evaluating the planning process carried out in Catalonia (Spain) according to the requirements of the implementation of the EU Water Framework Directive, this article explores the relation between the characteristics of a deliberative process and its results. Our research examines the effects of a real deliberative process on river basin management planning, identifies its strengths and weakness and unveils those factors that explain the lights and the shadows of deliberation. Our evaluation shows that, although the deliberative process achieved significant outputs, most of the participants were unsatisfied with the results. The article concludes that the behaviour rules of the participants, the methodology used, the political engagement and the resources invested are crucial to understanding most of the



deliberative processes' success. On the other hand, the lack of deliberative culture, the existence of weak governmental leadership and the absence of some key actors explain the participants' dissatisfaction with the results.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arpin Isabelle, Cosson Arnaud

The category of mountain as source of legitimacy for national parks

in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Volume 48, Frames on the move: Regional governance in mountain areas, May, 57-65

This article aims to show that the category of mountain has been a useful resource for justifying that national parks be major instruments for environmental knowledge and action throughout their history. The first part relates how mountain national parks became major tools for nature conservation. We describe the shift that took place during the era of nature conservation, from a register of representativeness (mountains as miniatures of the globe) to a register of exceptionality (mountains as the last refuges for remarkable species and ecosystems). The second part presents the changes that accompanied the emergence and rise of the notion of biodiversity and how these changes undermined the exceptionality register of legitimacy and raised sharp criticism against national parks. The third part shows how mountain national parks' managers sought to respond to this criticism by associating a new register of legitimacy (sensitivity) to the category of mountain (mountains as sentinels in a rapidly changing globe) and combining it with previous registers of legitimacy (representativeness and exceptionality). Focusing on scientific programmes recently carried out in French national parks, we identify two complementary means of mixing these three registers of legitimacy. We conclude by characterizing the category of mountain as a long-standing, situated and constructed resource that requires social skills and competences to be maintained over time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Raleigh Clionadh, Choi Hyu Jin, Kniveton Dominic

The devil is in the details: An investigation of the relationships between conflict, food price and climate across Africa

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 32, May, 187-199

This study investigates the relationship between violent conflict, food price, and climate variability at the subnational level. Using disaggregated data on 113 African markets from January 1997 to April 2010, interrelationships between the three variables are analyzed in simultaneous equation models. We find that: (i) a positive feedback exists between food price and violence – higher food prices increase conflict rates within markets and conflict increases food prices; (ii) anomalously dry conditions are associated with increased frequencies of conflict; and (iii) decreased rainfall exerts an indirect effect on conflict through its impact on food prices. These findings suggest that the negative effects of climate variability on conflict can be mitigated by interventions and effective price management in local markets. Creating environments in which food prices are stable and reliable, and markets are accessible and safe, can lower the impacts of both climate change and conflict feedbacks.

Full text available at

http://ac.els-cdn.com/S0959378015000357/1-s2.0-S0959378015000357-main.pdf?_tid=5723b018-ffbd-11e4-8567-00000aacb360&acdnat=1432215120_61713e0908b935d4b557b17edb2a68d2



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Atkins Danielle N., Bradford W. David

The effect of changes in State and Federal policy for nonprescription access to emergency contraception on youth contraceptive use: a difference-in-difference analysis across New England States

in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 3, July 2015 , 405–417

One of the more contentious policy changes in the past decade in the United States involves the decisions by several state legislatures and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to permit sales of emergency contraception on a nonprescription basis. We took advantage of a set of natural experiments to estimate the impact of changes in state and federal level nonprescription emergency contraception access on the probability of high-school students' sexual and contraceptive behaviors. We extracted data from the Youth Risk Behavioral Survey for New England states that had data about contraceptive use (Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont) from 2003 to 2009. We combined this student-level data with information on when states and the FDA began allowing nonprescription sales of emergency contraceptives. We estimated a series of difference-in-difference models on the impact of these policies on the probability that students were sexually active and on the probability of condom or hormonal birth control use conditional on sexual activity. We found that switching emergency contraception to a nonprescription status had no systematic effect on the probability of sexual activity or the conditional probability of hormonal birth control use, but that it significantly reduced the probability that public school students used condoms by between 5.2% and 7.2%.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Akhter Majed

The hydropolitical Cold War: The Indus Waters Treaty and state formation in Pakistan

in *Political Geography*, Volume 46, May , 65-75

This paper develops the framework of the “developmentalist passive revolution” to analyze the politics of water development during the Cold War. This framework is developed by drawing on Marxist geopolitics and critical water geography, and is offered as a way to facilitate comparative analysis of engineering and nationalism in the context of Cold War hydropolitics. The concrete historical engagements of the paper relate to the signing of The Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) of 1960 between Pakistan and India and the associated Indus Basin Plan to transform the Pakistani waterscape. What historical and geopolitical-economic conditions enabled the signing of the IWT? What legacies did the IWT have for state formation in Pakistan? Drawing on the negotiation records of the IWT, archival materials relating to Pakistani river development during the 1960s, and fieldwork conducted in Pakistan in 2012, this paper argues that Cold War hydropolitics are best analyzed through the cultural and economic interactions of asymmetrically empowered developmentalist state elites at multiple scales.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Matthew J. Webb

The importance of predecessor centers of sovereignty and processes of state formation in explaining



secession

in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 31, Issue 1 , 22-34

A range of theories have sought to explain and predict secession with varying degrees of success. Arguing that a disproportionate focus upon the seceding group as the unit of analysis has frustrated the development of a comprehensive theoretical framework that is universally valid, this article highlights the role of predecessor institutions of governance and the failure of states to successfully incorporate these as an important, but neglected, causal factor in the study of secession. The inclusion of pre-state institutions of governance and processes of state formation not only results in a more complete, and therefore accurate, explanatory account of secession, but also explains why some regions have been more prone to secession than others.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McAllister Ian

The personalization of politics in Australia

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 3, May , 337-345

While national election campaigns have become increasingly personalized, it is unclear to what extent this trend has been replicated at the constituency level. Using surveys of Australian election candidates conducted from 1996 to 2010, this article tests the personalization hypothesis at the local constituency level. Three areas that may be affected by personalization are examined: constituency service; geographic proximity between candidates and potential voters; and local election campaigning. Among MPs, constituency service has grown in importance at the expense of local party engagement. However, among the broader group of candidates standing in the election, the results show that party-related activities deliver more votes than personal ones.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boyd Robert I.

The 'Black Metropolis' in the American Urban System of the Early Twentieth Century: Harlem, Bronzeville and Beyond

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 39, Issue 1, January , 129-144

By defining and measuring a dimension of the Black Metropolis in terms of occupational representation, this study advances research on the urban black communities of the early twentieth-century United States. Census data show that: (1) Bronzeville (Chicago) was the premier Black Metropolis overall and the black communities of urban-industrial centers in the Midwest had locational advantages that rivaled those of Harlem (New York) with respect to the rise of the black professional and entrepreneurial classes; (2) The standing of Harlem as a preeminent Black Metropolis was due mainly to opportunities generated by unique features of New York that aided blacks' entry into an extensive array of artistic, entertainment and mass media occupations; (3) The black community of Washington, DC, was the only substantial Black Metropolis below the Mason-Dixon Line because of advantages that derived from the city's location above areas of the lower South and from its status as the capital of the US federal government; (4) In general, the northern Black Metropolis was characterized more by opportunities for blacks to participate in politics and public life and to create vital cultural institutions than by opportunities for blacks to economically gain through professions or businesses.



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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Steinberg Alan

To Negotiate or Not to Negotiate, That is the Question: A Cost Analysis of a Non-Negotiation Policy in Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 21, March , 85-114

This paper seeks to understand the rationality and potential value of maintaining a “non-negotiation” policy as opposed to a more ambiguous approach in which negotiation is one of multiple possible actions. Under the assumption that terrorists start as actors desiring political change, a formal model of a sequential game between a group with an agenda of political change and a government is presented. The model shows that costs for the government occur at a greater speed than the costs for the would-be terrorist group, but costs are dependent on government type. Democratic governments are more likely to want to end the game early, while nondemocratic governments may be in a better position to wait out the would-be terrorist group. Additionally preemption becomes more likely for nondemocratic governments when the probability is high that the group desiring political change will engage in hostility and for democratic governments when the government lacks the ability to negotiate or the costs of doing so are high. Taken together, the model shows that a strict non-negotiation policy never leads to lower costs for the government.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Freyburg Tina

Transgovernmental Networks as an Apprenticeship in Democracy? Socialization into Democratic Governance through Cross-national Activities in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 59, issue 1, march , 59-72

ABSTRACT: Does contact with democratic governance make state officials in authoritarian regimes more democratic? While studies of democratic diffusion are built on the inherent assumption that exposure to democratic practices shapes the attitudes of domestic actors toward democracy, scholars of international socialization are more skeptical about such micro-effects. Drawing on insights from sociology and social psychology, I examine what type of cross-national activities can socialize Moroccan state officials into democratic governance. The results of cross-sectional, multivariate regression analyses based on original survey data emphasize that, in authoritarian contexts, transnational linkage manifests the potential to democratize only if it involves practical experience, a condition fulfilled by cooperative exchange within transgovernmental networks, but not by more diffuse types of linkage such as international education and foreign media broadcasting.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Akçalı Emel, Korkut Umut

Urban transformation in Istanbul and Budapest: Neoliberal governmentality in the EU's semi-periphery and its limits



in **Political Geography**, Volume 46, May , 76-88

By discussing the variety and variability of urban neoliberal governmentality and its limits in the semi-periphery of the advanced capitalist world, the article aims to explore the embeddedness of neoliberalism at the dawn of the new millennium. Cities that are increasingly becoming parts of the global economy, despite being on the periphery of advanced capitalism, host a myriad of diverse forms of neoliberal governmentality in terms of spatial change. Although responding with enthusiasm to the increasing mobility of capital and the internationalization of investments through gentrification plans, the current transformative efforts of Istanbul and Budapest under two conservative governments indicate, for instance, the re-invention of authoritarianism so that these cities serve the purposes of their national leaders. This development signals a hybrid form of governmentality that combines neoliberalism with illiberal logics and manifests similar processes in different locations despite disparities in scale, local needs and characteristics. The article further argues that since such urban transformations take place within the neo-conservative leaders' battles to acquire cultural and social capital, they create potential to make both metropolises the new rebel cities of Europe, albeit with divergent levels of resistance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lang Britta, Sakdapolrak Patrick

Violent place-making: How Kenya's post-election violence transforms a workers' settlement at Lake Naivasha

in **Political Geography**, Volume 45, March , 67-78

Violent events significantly influence the identity of places. Post-conflict areas evoke specific meanings and emotions, and the narratives of violent events have profound effects on the individual and collective interpretations of the venues of violence. This paper addresses the interdependent relationship between violence and place, considering the structural and multi-scalar conditions of a relational and discursive making of places. By linking them with an empirically grounded analysis of the materialisation of violence, we follow Gearóid Ó Tuathail's (2010) call for a more grounded study of place-specific causes for violent conflict. We focus on an empirical example – the post-election violence in Kenya 2007/08 – and look into one of its venues, a poor and heterogeneous workers' settlement at Lake Naivasha in Kenya's Rift Valley. Considering the specific socio-political setting in Kenya, we first examine the factors that explain why the violence broke out at that place in particular. We combine an exploration of the structural conditions that determined the violence, and which still regulate social life at present, with a presentation of the individual accounts of people directly or indirectly involved in the violence in Naivasha. We then investigate how the experience of violence has influenced the imaginations of the place, and whether these localised imprints of violence in Naivasha continue to regulate social and spatial (re)organisation after the events themselves. The study reveals that politically instigated societal divides continue to exist, and that memories of the violence induce intensified processes of segregation in the surveyed settlement during times of political uncertainty.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kotwal Ashok, Chaudhuri Arka Roy

What Will Improve Governance?

in **India Review**, Volume 14, Issue 1, Special Issue: India's Economy: Growth, Governance, and Reform , 43-57



Misgovernance in India ranks among its toughest problems to solve. Despite decades of seemingly progressive legislation, there is a simmering dissatisfaction even among those for whose benefits the legislation is designed. The electoral debacle of the UPA government in the parliamentary election of 2014 can be partly attributed to the disenchantment that a vast majority of people felt toward the governance issues. We argue that dynastic politics is the hallmark of many political parties in India and it prevents the emergence of meritorious leadership. Just as we need the process of creative destruction in the economic arena for sustained growth, we need a similar process in the political arena so that local leaders are chosen on the basis of their performance. The success of the new government at the center will depend on whether they succeed in jettisoning centralized decision making and moving the political process in this direction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kenter Jasper O., O'Brien Liz, Hockley Neal, Ravenscroft Neil, Fazey Ioan, Irvine Katherine N., Reed Mark S., Christie Michael, Brady Emily, Bryce Rosalind, Church Andrew, Cooper Nigel, Davies Althea, Evely Anna, Everard Mark, Fish Robert, Fisher Janet A., Jobstvogt Niels, Molloy Claire, Orchard-Webb Johanne, Ranger Susan, Ryan Mandy, Watson Verity, Williams Susan

What are shared and social values of ecosystems?

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 111, March , 86-99

Social valuation of ecosystem services and public policy alternatives is one of the greatest challenges facing ecological economists today. Frameworks for valuing nature increasingly include shared/social values as a distinct category of values. However, the nature of shared/social values, as well as their relationship to other values, has not yet been clearly established and empirical evidence about the importance of shared/social values for valuation of ecosystem services is lacking. To help address these theoretical and empirical limitations, this paper outlines a framework of shared/social values across five dimensions: value concept, provider, intention, scale, and elicitation process. Along these dimensions we identify seven main, non-mutually exclusive types of shared values: transcendental, cultural/societal, communal, group, deliberated and other-regarding values, and value to society. Using a case study of a recent controversial policy on forest ownership in England, we conceptualise the dynamic interplay between shared/social and individual values. The way in which social value is assessed in neoclassical economics is discussed and critiqued, followed by consideration of the relation between shared/social values and Total Economic Value, and a review of deliberative and non-monetary methods for assessing shared/social values. We conclude with a discussion of the importance of shared/social values for decision-making.

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gallagher Adrian

What constitutes a 'Manifest Failing'? Ambiguous and inconsistent terminology and the Responsibility to Protect

in *International Relations*, vol. 28, n. 4, december , 428-444



ABSTRACT: Paragraph 139 of the World Summit Outcome Document (WSOD) stipulates that the international community is prepared to respond on a 'case-by-case basis' in a 'timely and decisive manner' when 'national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations' from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. But what constitutes a 'manifest failing'? Ten years on from the WSOD, it is evident that there is a large amount of ambiguity and inconsistency in how this term is interpreted and applied. This article highlights the confusion and complexity within the discourse prior to putting forward five policy prescriptions. In so doing, it argues that a more informed understanding of the concept will, primarily, rectify the problems of ambiguity and inconsistency and, secondarily, may help address fears of Great Power manipulation and assist in delegitimising misuse of the R2P.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bayram Burcu A.

What drives modern Diogenes? Individual values and cosmopolitan allegiance
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 2, june , 451-479

ABSTRACT: Why do some individuals see themselves as world citizens? A significant number of individuals around the world view themselves as world citizens. This is a curious phenomenon that merits attention. Yet despite a growing body of work on cosmopolitanism, the literature lacks a clear explanation of what moves individuals to see themselves as citizens of the world. This article explicates the psychological underpinnings of cosmopolitan allegiance by bringing in personal values. Multinomial logistic regression analysis using World Values Survey data (2005–2008) shows that self-transcendence, self-enhancement (except power), and openness-to-change values as defined by the Schwartz Value Theory lead to cosmopolitan allegiance, while conservation values hinder this attachment. This finding indicates that world citizenship on the ground is a multifaceted role attractive to individuals with varied outlooks on life. In people's perceptions, world citizenship is congruent with morality, diversity, and liberty as well as with self-interest. By offering a psychological account of cosmopolitan allegiance, this study adds the missing micro-foundations to macro theories of cosmopolitanism and provides the needed empirical evidence. By illuminating what drives contemporary world citizens, this research contributes to a richer understanding of the bottom-up cosmopolitanism crucial for democratic and efficacious global governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lidskog Rolf, Sundqvist Göran

When Does Science Matter? International Relations Meets Science and Technology Studies
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, February , 1-20

Under what conditions does science influence environmental policy? International relations (IR) scholars argue that to gain political influence, science should not connect to policy before scientific consensus has been reached. We take this suggestion as a point of departure for investigating how science is and should be connected to policy in international environmental governance. Using insights from science and technology studies (STS), we discuss the contributions of IR, both to present its limitations and to further develop understanding of scientific consensus within IR and the need for separation and connection between science and policy. The organization and performance of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is used as an illustrative case. We conclude that the focus within STS on contextual and informal factors could improve understanding of the science–policy relationship, which tends to focus on the formal



organizational design of the interplay between science and policy.

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shum Robert Y.

Where constructivism meets resource constraints: the politics of oil, renewables, and a US energy transition in Environmental Politics, Volume 24, Issue 3, June , 382-400

Debates about policies affecting the consumption of oil, and on how to support development of substitutes, often represent environmental politics at its most polarizing. How can we explain the serial reversals in energy policy that result from changing perceptions about the availability of renewable versus non-renewable energy supplies? Application of a range of theories to the case of the United States since 1973 suggests that two distinct types of explanation interact to play crucial roles: socially constructed deliberation takes place over the purposes of energy policy; meanwhile, physical constraints in natural resources are also observed and processed into updated perceptions of relative feasibility among policy choices. Over time, different policy priorities – varying in emphases on economic growth, sustainability, scarcity, or innovation – rise and fall as market conditions test how policies correspond with reality. Opportunities to develop successful policy strategies for managing this century's energy transition – in any of the four directions described – will depend similarly on the absence or presence of political will, a condition shaped by perceptions of material feasibility.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Acharya Amitav

Who Are the Norm Makers? The Asian-African Conference in Bandung and the Evolution of Norms in Global Governance, vol. 20, n. 3, july-september , 405-417

ABSTRACT: It is increasingly recognized that the literature on norms, like that of international relations more generally, neglects or obscures the voices and role of non-Western actors. Part of the reason has to do with its relatively narrow conceptualization of agency: who are the norm makers and how do they create and diffuse norms? This article, drawing on the author's previous work on the subject, calls for a broader understanding of what norm making means and who should be considered as norm entrepreneurs. It then examines the debates and outcomes of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955 to illustrate some if not all of the key points about the normative agency of the developing countries in the construction of the postwar security order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lövbrand Eva, Beck Silke, Chilvers Jason, Forsyth Tim, Hedrén Johan, Hulme Mike, Lidskog Rolf, Vasileiadou Eleftheria

Who speaks for the future of Earth? How critical social science can extend the conversation on the Anthropocene

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 32, May , 211-218



This paper asks how the social sciences can engage with the idea of the Anthropocene in productive ways. In response to this question we outline an interpretative research agenda that allows critical engagement with the Anthropocene as a socially and culturally bounded object with many possible meanings and political trajectories. In order to facilitate the kind of political mobilization required to meet the complex environmental challenges of our times, we argue that the social sciences should refrain from adjusting to standardized research agendas and templates. A more urgent analytical challenge lies in exposing, challenging and extending the ontological assumptions that inform how we make sense of and respond to a rapidly changing environment. By cultivating environmental research that opens up multiple interpretations of the Anthropocene, the social sciences can help to extend the realm of the possible for environmental politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lessersohn Nora

“Provincial Cosmopolitanism” in Late Ottoman Anatolia: An Armenian Shoemaker’s Memoir in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 57, Issue 2, April , 528-556

This paper examines the nature of late Ottoman provincial intercommunal interactions and affiliations as they appear in the memoir of Hovhannes Cherishian (1886–1967), a shoemaker from late Ottoman Marash (present-day Kahramanmaraş, in southeastern Turkey). The paper is situated within the larger discourse of “untold histories” that historians have begun to address in revising the deeply ingrained post-Ottoman nationalist historiographies that dominate both academic and popular discourses. Conventional historiographies have represented former late Ottoman subject communities (e.g., Greek, Jewish, Armenian) as insulated and homogenous proto-nation-states. In the revisionist historiography, the late Ottoman Armenian voice, especially the provincial one, has been noticeably absent. Here I utilize Cherishian’s memoir to examine the life and thoughts of one late Ottoman Armenian provincial subject. I focus especially on his treatment of intercommunal interactions in Anatolia and present-day Syria between 1897 and 1922. His accounts of these often extended intercommunal interactions, affiliations, and networks are characterized by intercommunal and interpersonal openness, sympathy, intimacy, and pleasure, even as he presents them side-by-side with descriptions of deportation and death at the hands of the late Ottoman state. I develop the idea of what I call “provincial cosmopolitanism” to conceptualize and represent the disposition, affinity, and process of identity formation that enabled Cherishian to create and operate these interpersonal relationships and networks that propelled his life, a historical condition to which we are not currently privy in most historiographical accounts of the late Ottoman period.