



Bulletin n. 1/2016 - June 2016

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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

Manfred G. Schmidt

Conclusion: Policy Diversity in Germany's Federalism

in **German Politics**, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 301-314

This article will examine the extent to which the narrative of policy diversity is characteristic of German federalism, using findings from comparisons of policies in the individual Länder and with a special focus on the period since the German reunification. The first part of the article presents findings supporting the view that there is a significant degree of policy diversity in the states (Länder) of the Federal Republic of Germany (section one). Longitudinal studies also indicate an increase in policy diversity (section two). On the other hand, there are also some indicators that point to policy convergence, that is, to decreasing policy diversity (section three). On the whole, though, there are major differences between the German Länder, as is evident from even a cursory comparison with the Swiss cantons, the United States of America and the Austrian Länder (section four). The causes of the policy diversity and its limits must still be clarified. For this purpose four explanatory variables will be discussed in the final section of this article (section five): the partisan composition of government in the Länder, which increases the likelihood of policy diversity, and three other factors which tend to reduce the possibility of policy diversity: the competition between the two large pro-welfare state parties; then the division of powers between the federal state, the Länder and the European Union; and finally the institutional constraints on fiscal policy in the Länder.

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

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Helder Ferreira Do Vale

Federal Political Fragmentation in Mexico's 2015 Elections

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 121-138

The 2015 congressional, gubernatorial and mayoral elections in Mexico display the continuation of political changes that started 15 years ago. The most notorious change in 2015 is the electoral success of non-mainstream parties, which have increased their vote share vis-à-vis the mainstream parties, the Party of National Action (PAN), the Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI), and the Party of Democratic Revolution (PRD). These mainstream parties lost important vote shares, although the PRI has shown itself to be more resilient to electoral volatility than the other parties. The increase of volatility in Mexico favours the alternation of the parties in power; however, it also increases political fragmentation. This article argues that in a context of growing electoral volatility and political fragmentation, presidential authority is weakened, giving rise to the dispersion of power to other levels of government. Furthermore, the article suggests that party volatility presents important territorial variation in Mexico.

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Marc Sanjaume-Calvet

Federalisme, liberalisme i consens solapat. El cas canadenc
in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 23 , 115-159

Aquest article analitza les formes de legitimació del federalisme canadenc en relació amb la noció rawlsiana del consens solapat, aplicada al federalisme per Wayne Norman. A partir dels treballs de Dimitrios Karmis i Alain-G. Gagnon, es presenta una tipologia de tres federalismes: universalista, comunitarista i utilitarista, que són sotmesos a discussió amb relació a la situació constitucional posterior a la repatriació del 1982 i al model de Trudeau. Aquestes tres maneres d'entendre el federalisme s'apliquen posteriorment a l'estudi de casos de les polítiques d'immigració i la seva descentralització. Mitjançant l'exemple d'aquestes polítiques, l'article demostra que, si bé des del punt de vista constitucional hi ha una manca de consens solapat, certs aspectes que formaven part de les reformes fallides del Llac Meech (1988) i Charlottetown (1992) han estat rescatats fora de la Constitució. Aquesta situació permet concloure que la federació canadenc té un *modus vivendi* que permet el funcionament institucional, però que queda lluny de satisfer el consens solapat que només s'assoliria a partir d'un pacte multinacional.

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Golosov Grigorii V

Party system nationalization: The problems of measurement with an application to federal states
in *Party Politics*, Volume 22, Number 3, May , 278-288

The existing measures of party system nationalization and territorial heterogeneity of electoral support, including the Gini-based system-level nationalization score and its complements, can be inappropriate in those research contexts where, as it is in the study of federations, the territorial structure of the state is a substantively important factor of political development rather than one of the possible levels of electoral data aggregation. This problem can be solved by using a normalized version of the Gini coefficient. Alternatively, it is possible to use a new measure, the index of party system nationalization proposed in this study. While both the normalized Gini-based index and the new measure fully satisfy all theory-inspired requirements and yield similar results, the new measure may be preferable because of its relative computational simplicity and intuitively easy understanding.

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Alcantara Christopher, Broschek Jörg, Nelles Jen

Rethinking Multilevel Governance as an Instance of Multilevel Politics: A Conceptual Strategy
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 1 , 33-51

This paper introduces a new approach to the comparative analysis of multilevel governance (MLG). Using water governance in North America as an illustrative example, it advances an innovative approach for scrutinizing the varieties of actor constellations in multilevel settings. While MLG is commonly conceptualized rather broadly as a system, we define MLG instead as an instance of a specific actor configuration that can rigorously be distinguished from other configurations, most notably intergovernmental relations (IGR). With this more conceptually bounded classification, we suggest that scholars can now more fruitfully engage in systematic analyses of MLG and IGR across different types of political systems (e.g. unitary, federal and supranational). Our hope is that this paper will provide some much needed



conceptual and analytical clarification to an increasingly nebulous debate on what MLG actually is and what it means for students of political science, public policy and public administration.

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Veny Ludo, Warnez Brecht

Techniques for Protecting Minority Languages under Belgian Federalism

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 211-236

As one of the few countries in the Council of Europe, Belgium has, to date, not ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities as well as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Nevertheless, minorities are protected in Belgium due to its specific federal structure. Several instruments provide a balance between the two major language groups in the country: the Flemish and the French-speaking language group. This article focuses on these special techniques and situates them in the historical and specific judicial background of Belgium.

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Daniel Bochsler, Marlène Gerber, David Zumbach

The 2015 National Elections in Switzerland: Renewed Polarization and Shift to the Right

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 95-106

The 2015 election to the Swiss Parliament marks a return to an already observed trend that was only interrupted in 2011: a shift to the right and an increase in polarization. The vote share of the nationalist-conservative Swiss People's Party (SVP) has now reached a historical height of 29.4% (+2.8). This note discusses why cantons matter in the Swiss national elections, and to what degree elections have become nationalized. Institutionally, the 26 cantons serve as electoral districts. This leads to a highly disproportional electoral system and has magnified the minor vote shifts to a slightly more pronounced shift in seats, with the right now holding a tiny majority of 101 of 200 seats in the first chamber. The two winners, the SVP and the Liberals, also had most campaign funds at their disposal. They were able to guide an extensive nationwide campaign in which they advocated their core issues instead of candidates. Other parties only advertised at the cantonal level.

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Jeffery Charlie, Pamphilis Niccole M.

The Myth and the Paradox of 'Uniform Living Conditions' in the German Federal System

in *German Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 176-192

A paradox exists within the context of the German federal system. On one side stands a strong view that pervades society and academia that the German system strives for and produces uniform policy outcomes across the heterogeneous Länder, which is at odds with what one is conditioned to expect from a federal state. On the other side sits research and findings, though less common, that Germany does and has historically had diverse policy outcomes. This article starts to unwind the puzzle on how two views that appear to be diametrically opposed to one another



co-exist in Germany.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Jeffery Charlie, Pamphilis Niccole M., Rowe Carolyn, Turner Ed

Introduction to the Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism

in **German Politics**, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 165-175

In recent years, Germany's federal system has been subject to a number of pressures for change. A constitutional debate on 'disentangling' the legislative roles of federal and Länder institutions which stuttered through the 1990s and into the 2000s finally led to a re-allocation of competences in 2006. These reforms shifted some areas of legislative responsibility from the federal to the Länder level and relaxed rules which had earlier justified a federal override when both levels held legislative responsibilities concurrently. At the very least, these constitutional adjustments increased the potential for policy outputs to diverge from one Land to another and give expression to territorial differences in priority and preference.

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Chordia Shipra, Lynch Andrew

Constitutional Incongruence: Explaining the Failure of the Council of the Australian Federation

in **Federal Law Review**, vol. 43 - 3

The establishment and rise of the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) is, on balance, a story of the successful development of an executive-based institution for co-operative governance in the Australian federal system. By contrast, the Council of the Australian Federation (CAF), created in 2006 as a forum for interstate co-operation and policy development, has been far less effective. This article explores the reasons behind CAF's difficulties after a very short-lived initial impact. Integral to this account is the significance of Canadian experience of horizontal intergovernmental relations, which directly inspired the Australian Premiers to found CAF. The numerous indications of political congruence — some temporary, others systemic — between the Canadian and Australian settings obscured a deeper constitutional incongruence between the two jurisdictions and this is fundamental to appreciating CAF's failure as a transplant. CAF's ability to operate effectively as a significant institution was inevitably constrained by the parameters of the Australian federal system that its establishment was, in many ways, seeking to transcend.

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Luis Ernesto Orozco Torres

Carácter y alcance de los acuerdos interinstitucionales en el sistema jurídico mexicano

in **Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional**, no. 34



The interinstitutional agreements are provided in the Act on the Conclusion of Treaties of 1992. A large part of the Mexican doctrine on international law makes a number of considerations will disagree with this article; for example, interagency agreements are: a Mexican version of the congressional-executive agreements; comparable to international treaties or in one way or another are regulated by international law; materials that can have any legal effect; etc. Also, we deal here to analyze the Bill on General Conclusion and Approval of Treaties, in order to establish whether this proposed law solves the problematic nature of existing laws on the subject or not.

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Maria Eugenia Bartoloni

Competenze puramente statali e diritto dell'Unione europea

in Diritto dell'Unione europea, No. 2 , 339-365

The present contribution intends to explore the relationship between EU law and purely internal competences of Member States (MS). This specific category of national powers corresponds to fields where EU regulatory powers are non-existent, or in any case, very limited. This means that, with respect to the EU legal order, MS were free to exercise such powers as they pleased. However, the various developments of the Court's case law are progressively altering this discretionary character, since they tend to restrict the regulatory freedom enjoyed by MS. Indeed, the ECJ has developed, as is well known, a formula the effect of which is to circumscribe the scope of Member States' powers. This formula states that even though the field at issue falls within Member States' powers, the latter must nonetheless exercise such powers consistently with EU law.

In particular, the present article attempts to analyze the argument encapsulated in this formula and, so doing, to look at the way in which EU law imposes negative limits upon the powers retained by the MS. This purpose is fulfilled by using twofold parameter: on the one hand, the nature of "link" or "nexus" that connects national power with EU law; on the other hand, the type of norm or principle used as criterion of lawfulness in order to assess the compliance with EU law of a national measure. The outcome of this dual examination should permit to define the scope not only of the formula, but also of the extent of the obligations imposed on the MS.

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Stephen Legg

Democracy, Autocracy, and the Scalar Sovereignty of Interwar India

in Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East, Volume 36, Number 1 , 44-65

The 1919 Government of India Act devolved powers to the provinces and then divided these roles of government into reserved and transferred subjects, the latter of which would be administered by elected Indian ministers: the constitutional experiment known as dyarchy. Recent scholarship has been reassessing the local biopolitical potential unleashed by the 1919 act. In this article Legg revisits dyarchy at the national scale to show how this "All-India" revisioning of Indian sovereignty was actually negotiated in relation to its imperial and international outsiders and the exigencies of retaining governmental control inside the provinces. Legg proposes a constitutional historical geography of dyarchy, focusing on three scales and the forms of comparison they allow, namely international and federal political geometries; autocratic geographies of exclusion and exception; and rival conceptions of time, sequentiality, and dyarchy's reconfigurations of democracy, biopolitics, and the vital mass of the people.



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Ignacio González García

El papel de la norma en la colaboración interterritorial: propuestas de reforma

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 23 , 160-200

El frecuente y correcto establecimiento de relaciones de colaboración inter-gubernamental entre los distintos sujetos de poder que integran un Estado complejo es una pieza esencial de su satisfactoria articulación. La norma jurídica traza la arquitectura donde se sostienen tales relaciones, pero la voluntad política de las partes es el factor determinante del buen fin de las mismas. Ello no significa, sin embargo, que los diversos poderes territoriales puedan escapar aquí de las exigencias que se derivan de los principios constitucionales que rigen la actividad (también la actividad cooperativa) de todos los poderes públicos. Así pues, el papel de la doctrina y del legislador debe limitarse a procurar la mejora técnica de aquellos concretos instrumentos de colaboración que precisan revisión para resultar verdaderamente eficaces, a la vez que conformes con tales exigencias constitucionales, en caso de que el Estado y las comunidades autónomas decidan utilizarlos. Se abordan, así, en este trabajo, diferentes propuestas de reforma referidas a la Conferencia de Presidentes, la participación de los parlamentos autonómicos en la celebración de convenios interterritoriales y al conflicto de fuentes relativo a la entrada en vigor de los convenios verticales.

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Ross Robert E.

Federalism and the Electoral College: The Development of the General Ticket Method for Selecting Presidential Electors

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 2, Spring , 147-169

This article contributes to our understanding of the development of the federal aspect of the Electoral College by analyzing how and why states adopted the general ticket method currently used by all but two states. I examine early state experimentation with methods of choosing presidential electors, at a time when several prominent founders viewed the district system as the most principled method. I also focus on developments after the 1824 election, when Congress rejected a constitutional amendment requiring states to adopt the district system and the general ticket system grew in popularity. I show that it was in the course of these debates in the 1820s that the general ticket system acquired a new principled defense: that it best represented state majorities in the presidential selection process. This analysis enhances our understanding of one of the political safeguards of federalism, by explaining the entrenchment of state authority over the mode of choosing electors as well as adoption and justification of the general ticket system.

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Garrick Dustin Evan, Schlager Edella, Villamayor-Tomas Sergio

Governing an International Transboundary River: Opportunism, Safeguards, and Drought Adaptation in the Rio



Grande

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 2, Spring , 170-198

We extend Bednar's theory of a robust federation to examine the factors and institutions influencing the effectiveness of transboundary water governance in an international river basin. We examine the evolution and performance of drought adaptation in the Rio Grande/Bravo river basin of the United States and Mexico—two federal countries. Droughts and water shortages since 1990 have triggered opportunistic behavior by resource users and their governments. Analysis of case studies in three nested geographic contexts (internationally, interstate United States and interstate Mexico) generates evidence of opportunistic behavior and either limited or disputed compliance both internationally and within each country. Structural safeguards have stipulated powers and functions for water allocation and conflict resolution in all three settings, but roles and responsibilities are not clear during droughts. The limitations of structural, popular, and judicial safeguards have elevated the importance of joint monitoring, which we identify as a vital new form of safeguard.

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David Robitaille

Le transport interprovincial sur le territoire local : vers un nécessaire équilibre

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, vol. 20, issue 1 , 76-117

Le transport interprovincial d'hydrocarbures par trains et pipelines ainsi que l'aviation et la navigation suscitent de vives controverses au sein de populations locales. Ces activités font cependant l'objet de compétences que la Loi constitutionnelle de 1867 accorde au Parlement fédéral. Les élus provinciaux et municipaux se demandent alors dans quelle mesure ils peuvent ou non intervenir, en vertu des compétences provinciales sur le management du territoire, la santé et l'environnement, pour pallier les risques qu'elles engendrent. Ce texte est l'occasion d'analyser en profondeur la jurisprudence constitutionnelle canadienne récente en ces domaines. Si cette dernière a clarifié la possibilité que les normes provinciales et municipales valides s'appliquent aux entreprises fédérales, elle n'a pas encore permis de parvenir à un équilibre satisfaisant entre les compétences provinciales et fédérales sur le territoire local. Nous avançons que cet équilibre sera atteint lorsque les tribunaux reconnaîtront, dans une certaine mesure, la voix des instances locales dans la détermination de l'emplacement des infrastructures fédérales de transport.

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Richard Král

On the choice of methods of transposition of EU Directives

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 41, issue 2 , 220-242

The article scrutinises the freedom of choice of Member States regarding methods of transposition of EU directives. It is argued that this freedom is significantly limited and that its limits are influenced by several factors, which have their origin in both EU law and the national legal systems of Member States. The article identifies and assesses these factors. The analysis focuses on the main methods of transposition of EU directives: copying, elaboration, minimalistic transposition and gold-plating. The aim is to design a comprehensive systematic framework within which the choice of



transposition methods and the real limits of this choice can be conceptualised. The article stresses that, owing to a number of limiting factors, the choice between the main methods of transposition can never be exercised in a mechanical manner. The choice has to be based, instead, on a systematic and targeted analysis of the content of the directive concerned, relevant national laws, as well as directly applicable EU acts. The article also points out that the choice between available methods of transposition often involves an important policy choice.

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Andrea Pierini

Pensioni del pubblico impiego e diritti acquisiti nel Welfare statunitense: effetti del federalismo in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, No. 1 , 183-236

The topic of this essay are some of the most challenging problems of pension system of United States, with special reference to public pension reform. In fact, the increasing unfunded pension liabilities of the States are compelling them to enact legislative measures aimed to reduce or impair public pension benefits so to limit the growing imbalance of their budgets. The problem is that the legitimacy of these measures has been usually challenged by public employees (and their Unions) before State Courts, on the basis of Pension Protection Clauses and Contract Clauses set by the Constitution of the States. So the constitutional guarantee of public pension benefits has been granted by States' Courts, according to vested rights doctrine. The effect is a structural difference in USA, between public pension system (strongly conditioned by State law) and private one (whose regulation is largely based on federal legislation), that gets really difficult any attempt to enact a general reform of public pension system.

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Francisco Javier Matia Portilla

Primacía del derecho de la Unión y derechos constitucionales. En defensa del Tribunal Constitucional in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional, No. 106 , 479-522

No abstract available

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Jon D. Michaels

Separation of Powers and Centripetal Forces: Implications for the Institutional Design and Constitutionality of Our National-Security State in University of Chicago Law Review, vol. 83, issue 1 , 199-220

Today's national-security state is increasingly highly concentrated, centralized, and consolidated across at least three dimensions: the public-private divide, the federal-state divide, and the political–civil servant divide within government agencies. Each of these dimensions of concentration, centralization, and consolidation has been individually examined. Yet notwithstanding careful study, there has been little appreciation of the potentially reinforcing effects of consolidation occurring along any two, let alone all three, of the relevant dimensions. That is to say, scholars and policymakers have



generally zeroed in on only one dimension of consolidation at a time—and they have assessed the pros and cons of public-private, federal-state, or intra-agency consolidation against what they treat as an otherwise static backdrop. This Essay insists that we need to think more capaciously and systemically—to take stock of all of the moving parts and gauge how they work together. We need to do so for purposes of smarter, more careful institutional design that accounts for the multiple dimensions on which federal executive power has become concentrated and consolidated. What’s more, we need to do so for reasons pertaining to constitutional separation of powers. The public-private, federal-state, and intra-agency lines of separation are each constitutionally salient. Even if the weakening or collapsing of any one of those lines of separation does not by itself rise to the level of a constitutional transgression, the weakening or collapsing of multiple lines of separation within a given substantive policy domain may well threaten our constitutional order. In short, this Essay proffers a multidimensional, aggregate-effects theory of constitutional structure. The sum total of individually minor incursions (on private, state, and bureaucratic autonomy) might constitute a major one as the president and her agency heads accumulate power along multiple dimensions, picking up bits and pieces from dragooned corporations, from co-opted states and municipalities, and from a defanged federal workforce effectively serving at the pleasure of the Administration.

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Fort Carol

State vs Federal Government in the “Barmaids” Case: Regulating Australia's Second World War Home Front in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 62, Issue 1, March , 16-29

Australia's National Security Act of 1939 authorised the federal government to make emergency regulations “for securing the public safety and defence of the Commonwealth [of Australia]”. Further, it instructed the government to decide for itself what might be “necessary or convenient” for the “more effectual prosecution of the present war”.¹ This article examines the authorisation of the civilian leadership through one set of emergency regulations, the National Security (Women's Employment) Regulations, and analyses their functioning through one operational decision, the decision to permit women to serve in South Australian hotel bars with the intention of releasing male bar workers for essential industrial or military employment. Managing the home front proved complex. Sectional interests continued to jockey for positions of influence, even in war conditions. In this case, the state of South Australia sought to protect its “rights” against federal control of employment: a contest fuelled by an ideological squabble about what were then known as “barmaids”. I argue that Australia's centrally-determined national war goals were undermined by its federal sovereignty-distribution mechanism, which allowed sub-national elements such as South Australia to impede national policy, and conclude that even with extensive defence powers to draw on, the federal government's war goals were obstructed by non-war interests.

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Jasmine Farrier

The Contemporary Presidency: Judicial Restraint and the New War Powers in Presidential Studies Quarterly, Volume 46, Issue 2 , 387–410

Over the past four decades, members of Congress have filed 10 lawsuits challenging military actions abroad that were ordered or sustained by presidents without prior legislative consent. In dismissing these cases, federal courts told the



plaintiffs to use their legislative tools to show disapproval of the actions already in progress. Under this logic, the House and Senate must have a veto-proof supermajority to end an existing military engagement before a case can be heard on the merits. These precedents contrast with previous war powers cases initiated by private litigants, which focused on prior simple majority legislative authority for presidential action.

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Smith Robert W.

The Foreign Intercourse Bill of 1798 and the Debate over Early American Foreign Relations
in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 36, Number 1, Spring , 125-149

Between January and March of 1798 the House of Representatives debated the foreign intercourse bill, which would fund the diplomatic corps for the next two years. This was a generally a routine function, but it soon became a wide-ranging debate over the basis nature of American diplomacy, and of the American republic itself. The debate revealed something important about the politics of the 1790s. Given that republics were inherently fragile, even seemingly small matters might destroy the American republic. Both Republicans and Federalists proceeded from this assumption. The debate fell into three broad categories. First was the question of who should be appointed. The Republicans accused President Adams of using additional diplomatic appointments as a vehicle to create a patronage machine that would corrupt Congress. The Federalists that countered that amount of patronage available was insignificant, and that that the president was justified in excluding Republicans from office. Second was the question of who should control the appointments. This led back to the control of American foreign policy. The Republicans argued for congressional control through the appropriation and war powers. The Federalists contended for presidential control through the treaty and appointment powers. Third was the question of whether diplomats should be appointed at all. The Republicans believed that trade would allow the United States to secure its diplomatic goals without recourse to the normal institutions of diplomacy. The Republicans considered the United States as existing outside the European balance of power. The Federalists saw no choice but to play by the generally established rules, and thus must appoint diplomats.

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Scott Dodson

The Gravitational Force of Federal Law
in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 164, issue 3 , 703-753

In the American system of dual sovereignty, states have primary authority over matters of state law. In nonpreemptive areas in which state and federal regimes are parallel—such as matters of court procedure, certain statutory law, and even some constitutional law—states have full authority to legislate and interpret state law in ways that diverge from analogous federal law. But, in large measure, they do not. It is as if federal law exerts a gravitational force that draws states to mimic federal law even when federal law does not require state conformity. This Article explores the widespread phenomenon of federal law's gravitational pull. The Article begins by identifying the existence of a gravitational force throughout a range of procedural and substantive law felt by a host of state actors, including state rulemakers, legislators, judges, and even the people themselves. It then excavates some explanatory vectors to help understand and appreciate why federal law exerts a gravitational force. Finally, the Article considers some normative



concerns with state acquiescence to the federal gravitational pull.

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Kent McNeil

The Obsolete Theory of Crown Unity in Canada and Its Relevance to Indigenous Claims

in Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles, vol. 20, issue 1 , 1-28

This article examines the application of the theory of the unity of the Crown in Canada in the context of Indigenous peoples. It reveals a consistent retreat by the courts from acceptance of the theory in the late nineteenth century to rejection of it in the second half of the twentieth century. This evolution of the theory's relevance, it is argued, is consistent with Canada's federal structure and eventual independence from the United Kingdom. However, in a startling reversal, the Supreme Court reverted to the theory in its 2014 judgment in *Grassy Narrows First Nation v Ontario (Minister of Natural Resources)* to support its decision that the provinces have control over natural resource development in the areas of Canada that are covered by the numbered treaties.

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Demmer Amanda C.

Trick or Constitutional Treaty?: The Jay Treaty and the Quarrel over the Diplomatic Separation of Powers

in Journal of the Early Republic, Volume 35, Number 4, Winter , 579-598

Scholars have long recognized the Jay Treaty as a definitive, divisive moment in early American political culture. As the first treaty the U.S. negotiated with a European power under the Constitution, this moment also marked the first public debate over many of the Constitution's foreign policy provisions. To a greater extent than has been traditionally acknowledged, the Jay Treaty debate was a controversy about which branch(es) of government would dominate American foreign policy.

This essay examines that debate, with a focus on Republican criticisms levied during the summer of 1795. While Republicans disapproved of the Jay Treaty for many reasons, they immediately and consistently charged the treaty was unconstitutional. The sum and spirit of their critique rested on the premise that the treaty violated the separation of powers. More specifically, Republicans maintained that President George Washington and the Senate had usurped their constitutional authority by exercising powers that were reserved to the legislature, or the Senate and House of Representatives in Article I Section 8 of the Constitution. The fight over the Jay Treaty quickly became about much more than the specific terms of the Jay Treaty or treaty-making in general; because the nation's foreign and domestic affairs were intertwined, the Republican experiment itself seemed at risk. The debate over the Jay Treaty demonstrates the difficulty of putting abstract constitutional principles like the separation of powers into practice and reminds us that many precedents that would later be taken as givens remained undefined in the 1790s.

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Gregory S. Gordon

When One Country, Two Systems Meets One Person, One Vote: The Law of Treaties and the Handover Narrative



through the Crucible of Hong Kong's Election Crisis

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 16, issue 2 , 344-397

In Hong Kong's recent election crisis - a non-violent uprising against China pre-selecting candidates for Chief Executive and thus foreclosing civic nomination - both sides (establishment and pro-democracy) have attempted to interpret the term 'universal suffrage' based exclusively on its inclusion in Hong Kong's mini-constitution, the Basic Law. In so doing, however, they have given short shrift to the agreement that gave rise to the Basic Law in the first place: the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. But while the Joint Declaration provides important textual insights, it simultaneously raises significant issues regarding the application of the law of treaties. For example, did the Joint Declaration terminate upon Hong Kong's July 1997 transfer to China and the effective date of the Basic Law? Even if still valid, is its language too vague to offer meaningful interpretive assistance? And does the United Kingdom's 1976 Hong Kong exclusion reservation to art 25(b) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which provides for universal suffrage, survive the handover? Applying the law of treaties ultimately reveals that the Joint Declaration is still in force and can be interpreted to provide for civic nominated elections in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, on deeper consideration, reliance on traditional treaty law in this context is cumbersome and inefficient. This article posits that the inherently confusing situation of the Hong Kong handover, wherein a decolonising liberal democracy negotiated what amounts to a recolonisation with a communist dictatorship stipulating creation of a hybrid political system, calls for new approaches to treaty doctrine, including formulation of a principle of implied reservation termination and re-sequencing treaty interpretation to allow consideration of extrinsic evidence, rather than pure text, in the first instance. A wider interpretive berth, in turn, reveals a China far more sympathetic to progressive features in Hong Kong's constitution than commonly believed. Most significantly, Zhao Ziyang, China's chief negotiator, emerges as a political liberal who embraced parliamentary features as capitalistic performance enhancers. And even after Zhao Ziyang's post-Tiananmen Square downfall, the Chinese leadership reckoned that progressive elements were needed in the Basic Law to help curb Hong Kong brain drain after the Tiananmen Square massacres. Overall, this new approach to treaty law yields a better calibrated and historically more fulsome analysis which confirms that the Basic Law's reference to 'universal suffrage' may be interpreted to contemplate civic nominated candidates in Hong Kong's elections.

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

Samuel M. Strongin

When Thirteen is (Still) Greater Than Fourteen: The Continued Expansive Scope of Congressional Authority Under the Thirteenth Amendment in a Post-City of Boerne v. Flores World

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 102, issue 2 , 501-548

This Note argues that any disconnect between the Supreme Court's jurisprudence regarding Congress's broad power to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment and its much narrower power to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment does not compel a reduction in the former. Several scholars have observed such tension, and they claim that it requires curbing Congress's Thirteenth Amendment authority. This Note contends that even if that viewpoint is correct, focusing solely on the disjunction misses fundamental factors that preserve the Thirteenth Amendment as a vibrant font of congressional authority.

This Note grounds its argument in several sources. First, it discusses Congress's broad authority, under any regime, to legislate against direct violations of the Thirteenth Amendment, and how this authority has gone unutilized. Next, it argues that unlike the Free Exercise Clause context that spawned the famed "congruence and proportionality" test for Congress's Fourteenth Amendment power, which saw Congress and the Court literally clashing over that provision's



meaning, no such adversarial clash exists over the Thirteenth Amendment. Third, it demonstrates how the Thirteenth Amendment, due to the lack of a state-action requirement, presents fewer federalism problems than its counterpart. Finally, this Note uses a case study to make the argument come to life. Examining the federal civil remedy for victims of gender-based violence that the Court struck down in *United States v. Morrison*, in part because it exceeded Congress's Fourteenth Amendment authority, this Note argues how Congress, even under a congruence and proportionality test, could adopt that same legislation under the Thirteenth Amendment.

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Sarah Lattanzi

Il conflitto tra norma interna e norma dell'UNione priva di effetti diretti nella vicenda dei precari della scuola italiana

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 4 , 897-922

This article originates from a series of legal actions brought before several Italian courts by many workers of the Italian State schools, with the aim of having their repeated employment contracts converted from a fixed-term to a permanent one. The case raised the problem of what happens when a clash occurs between a piece of national legislation and rules of European law which do not have direct effects. In the first part, the article deals with the present case law and its implications for National courts. In the second part, it focuses on the role played by the Constitutional Court and the reasons beyond its first reference for a preliminary ruling to the European Court of Justice. It ends looking at the different solutions that the Constitutional Court might come to, following the preliminary ruling of the Court of Justice on Directive 99/70/EC on fixed-term work

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

Xabier Arzo Santisteban

¿Reforma o abandono de la legislación básica como técnica de delimitación de competencias?

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 23 , 201-234

El frecuente y correcto establecimiento de relaciones de colaboración inter- gubernamental entre los distintos sujetos de poder que integran un Estado complejo es una pieza esencial de su satisfactoria articulación. La norma jurídica traza la arquitectura donde se sostienen tales relaciones, pero la voluntad política de las partes es el factor determinante del buen fin de las mismas. Ello no significa, sin embargo, que los diversos poderes territoriales puedan escapar aquí de las exigencias que se derivan de los principios constitucionales que rigen la actividad (también la actividad cooperativa) de todos los poderes públicos. Así pues, el papel de la doctrina y del legislador debe limitarse a procurar la mejora técnica de aquellos concretos instrumentos de colaboración que precisan revisión para resultar verdaderamente eficaces, a la vez que conformes con tales exigencias constitucionales, en caso de que el Estado y las comunidades autónomas decidan utilizarlos. Se abordan, así, en este trabajo, diferentes propuestas de reforma referidas a la Conferencia de Presidentes, la participación de los parlamentos autonómicos en la celebración de convenios interterritoriales y al conflicto de fuentes relativo a la entrada en vigor de los convenios verticales.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Box-Steffensmeier Janet M. , Campisano Charles P. , Hitt Matthew P., Scott Kevin M.

Advising, Consenting, Delaying, and Expediting: Senator Influences on Presidential Appointments
in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 30 - Issue 01 , 19 - 37

When, how, and under what conditions can individual legislators affect presidential appointments? Since the early 1900s, the senatorial norm of the blue slip has played a key role in the confirmation process of federal district and appeals court judges, and it is an important aspect of the individual prerogative that characterizes senatorial behavior more broadly. We analyze newly available blue slips, covering the historical period 1933–1960. We show that the blue slip functioned in this era most often to support and expedite nominations, indicating that senators used this device to shape the nominations agenda in this period. Additionally, we analyze the factors that contributed to an individual senator's decision to support or oppose a nominee, or return a blue slip at all, finding that senators were more likely to return positive blue slips when the Judiciary Committee chair was not a coalition ally. We argue that while blue slips did at times provide an early warning for poor nominees, they more often offered a means by which senators ensured that their desired nominees were confirmed swiftly. The positive role of the blue slip demonstrates that this device protected the individual prerogatives of senators, allowing them a degree of agenda-setting authority with regard to nominees in the weak parties era.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Bäck Hanna, Debus Marc, Klüver Heike

Bicameralism, intra-party bargaining, and the formation of party policy positions. Evidence from the German federal system
in *Party Politics*, Volume 22, Number 3, May , 405-417

How do political parties arrive at their policy positions? We conceptualize position formation in federalist countries as an intra-party bargaining process in which subnational parties compete with each other in an attempt to get their own positions into their national party manifesto. Drawing on theories about inter-party bargaining over ministerial portfolios, we hypothesize that the bargaining success of subnational parties depends on their parliamentary strength. We evaluate our hypotheses based on a comprehensive dataset on policy positions of national and subnational parties in Germany from 1990 until 2009. Our results show that German subnational parties that are powerful in the second parliamentary chamber (Bundesrat) are particularly successful in shaping the manifesto of their national party. The findings have important implications for our understanding of intra-party politics and position formation within political parties in Germany more specifically and federalist countries more generally.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

María Gómez-Leal Pérez

El procedimiento legislativo ordinario en la práctica: los acuerdos en primera lectura
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 52 , 101-118

El artículo analiza el funcionamiento del procedimiento legislativo ordinario (PLO) en la práctica y cómo la práctica de los «trílogos» y los acuerdos en primera lectura está cada vez más consolidada. La descripción del PLO del artículo 294



TFUE no permite, por sí sola, hacerse una idea exacta del funcionamiento de la PLO en la práctica. es necesario tener presente la declaración común del parlamento, del consejo y de la comisión sobre las modalidades prácticas del procedimiento de codecisión. como consecuencia de estas modalidades prácticas el número de actos legislativos adoptados en primera lectura está en constante aumento, mientras que el número de propuestas legislativas que llegan a la fase de conciliación se ha reducido considerablemente. El papel del ponente y de la comisión parlamentaria competente así como el de la presidencia semestral del consejo se han visto reforzados, en la medida en que asumen el papel de negociadores de sus respectivas instituciones.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Giacomo Ruggie

Il ruolo dei triloghi nel processo legislativo dell'UE

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 4 , 809-838

Over the last fifteen years, the EU institutions have been increasingly relying on trilogue negotiations in order to streamline the law-making process and to make it more effective. Trilogue negotiations are informal meetings held behind close doors by small groups of representatives of Parliament, Council and Commission, during which the three institutions discuss and define features and contents of legislative initiatives. According to some authors, though, the informality and confidentiality of trilogue negotiations pose a major challenge to the principle of transparency as provided for by the Treaties. With this in mind, the purpose of this article is to carry out a legal analysis of trilogue negotiations, paying particular attention to the rule of informality and the tension between transparency and effectiveness within the European legislative process.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Robert Kovar

La Commission est en droit de retirer une proposition législative qu'elle ne reconnaît plus comme sienne

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, vol. 51, no. 2 , 349-364

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Giovanni Di Cosimo

Molto rumore per nulla? Difetti e incongruenze della lungamente attesa riforma del Senato

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 851-855

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch



Bird Wendell

Reassessing Responses to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions: New Evidence from the Tennessee and Georgia Resolutions and from Other States

in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 35, Number 4, Winter , 519-551

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, which headed the Republican attack on the Alien and Sedition Acts, are almost always described as being “rebuffed by all the other states” so that “none of the other fourteen state legislatures followed” in “declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional.” That is puzzling, since Madison’s and Jefferson’s resolutions are also generally regarded as the opening shots of the election of 1800, in which by contrast the Republicans were far from rebuffed or rejected.

That conventional description, besides being puzzling, is false. This article revisits the legislative journals, manuscript evidence, and period newspapers for each of the other states, and concludes that only half the sixteen states opposed the resolutions, while fully half of the sixteen states either supported or did not oppose the resolutions. It finds that Virginia and Kentucky received the support they requested through overlooked Tennessee and Georgia Resolutions (which called for repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts), and that legislatures divided in two states, while legislatures chose not to oppose the resolutions in the remaining two states. These findings, based on original research, challenge the conventional view of the abject failure of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, and of their rejection by the other states.

There are many broader implications of an accurate view of the reception of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which challenge conventional views about constitutional theories of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson in the Resolutions, about their expansive view of freedoms of press and speech being newly formulated, and about the Republican interest being undeveloped and far from a coordinated political party.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

John V. Kane

Control, Accountability, and Constraints: Rethinking Perceptions of Presidential Responsibility for the Economy

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 2 , 335–364

The state of the national economy is known to be of fundamental consequence for presidential fortunes, which implies that citizens (1) believe presidents exert substantial control over the national economy and, consequently, (2) hold presidents accountable for economic conditions. Yet the ability of presidents to control the national economy is highly constrained. Thus, we know relatively little about how citizens come to perceive the presidency as being so responsible for economic outcomes. Using a survey experiment, this study examines whether presidential campaigns, and candidates’ claims specifically, are capable of shaping citizens’ perceptions of presidential responsibility for the economy. Paradoxically, the results reveal that the public is inclined to hold presidents accountable for the economy to a significantly greater extent than it perceives presidents to actually control the economy. Moreover, the results suggest that, by deliberately omitting information about the constraints on presidential power over the economy, candidates’ claims may play an important role in perpetuating unrealistic expectations of the president among the general public.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch



Fabio Spitaleri

L'equilibrio istituzionale fra Parlamento europeo e Consiglio europeo nella nomina del Presidente della Commissione

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 4 , 839-863

Article 17(7) TEU regulates the nomination of the President of the European Commission. According to the current legal framework, the designation of this body is the result of the institutional dialogue between the European Council and the European Parliament, that is facilitated by appropriate consultations. The balance of power provided for by the Treaties puts the two involved institutions, at least in principle, in an equal position: they are jointly responsible for the smooth running of the process leading to the election of the President of the Commission. On the occasion of the European elections in 2014, this position has been changed, at least in part, in favor of the European Parliament. The main European parties decided to propose to voters some "leading candidates", then created a parliamentary majority that, during the consultations, declared its support in favor of the person linked to the political group with the highest number of seats. The European Council acknowledged this guideline by proposing that person for the office of the President of the Commission. This work demonstrates that - without being forbidden nor imposed by the treaties - the "leading candidate" process has caused a shift in the established institutional balances by reducing the weight of the Heads of State or Government in favor of the European Parliament and the political groups that have the absolute majority of seats in the Assembly. This practice does not affect the role assigned to the Commission as guardian of the general interest: it remains safeguarded by the obligation of independence and impartiality on the members of the body, including - obviously - the President. The practice in question does not even constitute an unlawful interference with the prerogatives of the European Council that retains a margin of discretion, although reduced, in the proposal of the candidate for that office. The "leading candidate" process represents one of the possible ways by which the European parties accomplish the task, assigned by the Charter and the Treaties, of promoting the formation of a European political awareness and facilitating the expression of the political will of EU citizens.

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Jeffrey E. Cohen

Presidential Attention Focusing in the Global Arena: The Impact of International Travel on Foreign Publics in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 1 , 30–47

Presidents increasingly engage in public diplomacy, especially traveling to other nations. Often presidents target the public in the visited nation, with the aim of improving the opinion climate there and then using that improved opinion climate to further U.S. policy goals in the visited nation. To a degree, then, foreign travel resembles presidential domestic going public. This article tests one important linkage in the process from a presidential trip to foreign public opinion, whether trips can focus public opinion in the visited nation on the president. Analysis uses a pooled cross-sectional time series analysis of weekly Google Trends data for forty-two nations during Barack Obama's first term in office. Results suggest that presidential trips lead to impressive increases in searches on the president, an indication of increased attention to the president. The conclusion places the findings into two literatures, presidential going public and public diplomacy, and suggests directions for future research.

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James P. Pfiffner

The Contemporary Presidency: Magna Carta and the Contemporary Presidency
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 1 , 140–157

Despite arguments by some scholars that Magna Carta has been inaccurately mythologized, this article argues that it continues to be relevant to contemporary governance. After an overview of the historical circumstances of the Great Charter, and a discussion of its major clauses, this article examines expansions of individual rights and limits on government in Anglo-American jurisprudence that trace their origins to Magna Carta. It argues that the timeless principles embedded in Magna Carta continue to be relevant to contemporary governments, particularly the U.S. presidency. It concludes that Magna Carta continues to be important as a classic statement of rule of law, limited government, and individual rights and a potent symbol and argument for restraining government in general and executives in particular.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Roy E. Brownell II

The Law: Vice Presidential Inability: Historical Episodes That Highlight a Significant Constitutional Problem
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 2 , 434–456

As with so many aspects of the vice presidency, questions involving incapacity in the office have been largely neglected by scholars. While discussion of historical episodes involving disability has been undertaken regarding presidents, members of Congress, and federal judges, no such work has been done regarding vice presidents. Given the indispensable role the vice president plays in the continuity of the executive branch under the Twenty-Fifth Amendment and the important advisory and troubleshooting duties the modern vice president carries out, a discussion of the history of vice presidential incapacity is long overdue. Such an examination reveals that vice presidential inability is not a hypothetical but a real issue.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Matthew J. Dickinson and Jesse Gubb

The Limits to Power without Persuasion

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 1 , 48–72

Research on executive action often assumes that presidents face an either/or decision between issuing an administrative order and seeking legislation. This premise, however, ignores differing structural characteristics of administrative and legislative policy vehicles. This article will argue that, rather than see administrative actions as equivalent to legislation, presidents understand the distinct advantages and disadvantages each policy instrument brings and act accordingly. Using data linking executive orders (EOs) and presidential legislative proposals, as well as a case study of the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, we show that when presidents issue more EOs, they do not issue fewer legislative proposals. In fact, presidents sometimes follow up on significant EOs with proposals to enshrine them in statute. Our research supports viewing EOs as a tool in the legislative toolbox rather than a challenge to the legislative process.



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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Itsiq Benizri

"Justice must not only be done, it must also appear to be done": Selecting judges of the Court of Justice in Les Cahiers de droit europeen, vol. 51, no. 2 , 365-397

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Paolo Mengozzi

A European Partnership of Courts. Judicial Dialogue between the EU Court of Justice and National Constitutional Courts

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 3 , 701-720

As illustrated by the recent requests for a preliminary ruling from the Italian and German Constitutional Courts (see, for this latter, the Gauweiler case), the Member State's Constitutional Courts have entered into a direct dialogue with the Court of Justice. This evolution should be welcomed. However, within the framework of Art. 267 TFEU, this dialogue must be based upon mutual trust. Consequently, the Constitutional Courts, should fully acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice. This would enable the Court of Justice to take into account more accurately their worries, in particular concerning possible encroachments by the EU institutions upon the Member States' competences (ultra vires control) and the respect of Member States' constitutional identity. In this way, Art. 267 TFEU would fully play a pacifying role in the relationship between these courts.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Ryan C. Black and Ryan J. Owens

Courting the President: How Circuit Court Judges Alter Their Behavior for Promotion to the Supreme Court

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 60, Issue 1 , 30–43

We examine whether circuit court judges sacrifice policy purity for career goals. We compare the behavior of contender judges—those most likely to be elevated to the Supreme Court—during vacancy periods with their behavior outside vacancy periods. We also examine the behavior of noncontender judges during those same times. The data show that during vacancy periods, contender judges are more likely to vote consistently with the president's preferences, to rule in favor of the United States, and to write dissenting opinions. Noncontender judges fail to evidence such behavior. These findings provide empirical support for the argument that federal judges adapt their behavior to specific audiences, and provide new avenues for research into judges' goals and the role of audiences in judicial decision making.

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Florian Smuda, Patrice Bougette and Kai Hüscherlath

Determinants of the Duration of European Appellate Court Proceedings in Cartel Case
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6

The duration of appellate court proceedings is an important determinant of the efficiency of a court system. We use data of 263 appeals decisions referring to 54 cartels convicted by the European Commission between 2000 and 2012 to investigate the determinants of the duration of the subsequent one- or two-stage appeals process. We find that while the speed of first-stage appellate court decisions depend, inter alia, on authority-related factors such as the complexity of the case, the clarity of the applied rules and regulations and previous or simultaneous US investigations, the second-stage appellate court proceedings appear to be largely unaffected by those drivers.

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Silverman Bradley G.

Federal Questions and the Domestic-Relations Exception
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 125, Issue 5

The domestic-relations exception to federal jurisdiction prohibits federal courts from hearing cases involving family-law questions within the traditional authority of the states. Since the Supreme Court first articulated the exception in 1858, the scope of the doctrine has remained unclear; in particular, confusion persists over whether it applies only to diversity cases, or to federal questions as well. This Note argues that the domestic-relations exception does not, as a matter of positive law, apply to federal-question cases. Applying the exception to bar federal courts from jurisdiction over bona fide federal questions would violate Article III, which endows federal courts with jurisdiction over all federal-question cases in law or equity. Additionally, the federal-question jurisdiction statute is best read as reflecting a congressional intent that federal jurisdiction extend to domestic-relations matters that raise questions of federal law. Federal courts have the authority to resolve important and timely questions of federal law. The domestic-relations exception should not be misconstrued to stand in their way.

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Anne-Sophie Bouvy

La place des juridictions administratives régionales et communautaires dans la Belgique fédérale
in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 2 , 215-264

Depuis plusieurs années, un nombre croissant de juridictions administratives spécialisées, d'origine régionale et communautaire, voit le jour. Au constat de la multiplication de ces juridictions s'en ajoute un autre : celui que le contentieux qui leur est confié est de plus en plus conséquent. Au départ relativement limitées, leurs compétences s'étendent aujourd'hui à des domaines beaucoup plus vastes tels que l'urbanisme, l'aménagement du territoire, l'environnement ou encore l'enseignement. Les questions suscitées par la création de ces juridictions sont nombreuses. Cependant, l'une d'entre elles revient de manière systématique : les communautés et les régions sont-elles compétentes pour mettre en place leurs propres juridictions administratives ? Si cette question se pose avec tant d'acuité et si les débats soulevés à cette occasion sont intenses, c'est parce que la réponse à y apporter n'est pas évidente. C'est sur ce premier point que portera tout d'abord l'analyse. Une fois ces juridictions administratives créées,



quelles garanties du droit à un procès équitable doivent-elles respecter ? Etant donné qu'elles ne font pas partie du pouvoir judiciaire, peut-on ou doit-on considérer que les règles constitutionnelles applicables aux cours et tribunaux ordinaires s'imposent à elles également ? Dans quelle mesure les garanties protégées par l'article 6 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme lient-elles le juge administratif ? Ce sont autant de questions auxquelles la seconde partie de cette étude tentera d'apporter des réponses.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Thomas Van Rijn

Les sanctions pécuniaires de l'article 260 TFUE : 5 ans après le traité de Lisbonne

in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, vol. 51, no. 2 , 557-589

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Jäckle Sebastian

Pathways to Karlsruhe: A Sequence Analysis of the Careers of German Federal Constitutional Court Judges

in **German Politics**, Volume 25, Issue 1 , 25-53

Judges of the German Federal Constitutional Court can be seen as both judicial and political elites. Yet up to now there is no systematic work on the Court's' judges and especially their careers prior to their appointments. Using sequence analysis, this article identifies four relatively distinct clusters of career characteristics: academia, administration (and administrative courts), ordinary jurisdiction and politics. Judges whose career background is limited to the judicial sphere mostly advance from a level below the Länder to the Länder and then on to the federal level, while those with a background in politics or administration switch less often among them. Furthermore, little evidence was found to suggest that differences in the judges' career paths can be explained by reference to the body that elected them (Bundestag or Bundesrat) or the party that nominated them (CDU/CSU or SPD). The article also illustrates the possibilities of sequence analysis for elite studies.

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Andrea Lawlor and Erin Crandall

Questioning Judges with a Questionable Process: An Analysis of Committee Appearances by Canadian Supreme Court Candidates

in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 48 - Issue 04 , 863-883

In 2006, the Canadian government introduced a new component to its process of selecting Supreme Court justices, a review committee composed of members of Parliament. Tasked with interviewing justices prior to their appointment to the bench, the committee met four times, interviewing only five of the eight judicial candidates appointed to the bench before the Conservative government announced the committee's termination in 2014. This study offers the first



comprehensive analysis of the performance of this ad hoc judicial review committee. Using an original dataset, we find that MPs asked little by way of probing questions, such as those related to policy or a candidate's previous jurisprudence. However, we do find some evidence that the hearing process was used to further the political aims of the participating political parties.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Andrew J. O'Geen and Christopher M. Parker

**Strategic Cooperation: Modeling Concurring Behavior on the U.S. Supreme Court
in *American Politics Research*, 44 (4) , 618-648**

How do competing motivations influence the decisions of justices to author concurring opinions? Justices must balance their desire to shape the law and public policy toward their preferred position with the need for strong and stable coalitions. We construct a theoretical model of cooperative behavior that explicitly accounts for the competing individual- and group-level considerations of U.S. Supreme Court justices. Our theory identifies conditions specific to justices, coalitions, and cases that make the authoring of a separate opinion attractive to justices. We test these expectations using data from 40 years of justice votes within some 4,500 cases. The results of our empirical analyses support our theoretical expectations and show that the choice of a justice in the initial majority to write separately is conditional on characteristics of the justices and the coalition. We also highlight the important implications of our findings for the study of judicial decision making and policymaking more generally.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Fabio Ferraro

**The Consequences of the Breach of the Duty to make Reference to ECJ for a Preliminary Ruling
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 3 , 589-622**

This article deals with the consequences of breach of the duty to make a reference for a preliminary ruling pursuant to the third paragraph of Art. 267 TFEU. It aims to show that the remedies available to curb omissive conduct on the part of national courts of last instance are very difficult to implement from a practical standpoint, inasmuch as the case-law of the Court of Justice shows that those remedies, though they may be exercised on the basis of premises and conditions that are markedly diverse, are all of an exceptional nature. This predicament is a consequence of the behaviour of the Court of Justice, which seems to be primarily concerned with safeguarding its privileged relationship with the courts of the Member States rather than with limiting their discretionary powers.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Brandon L. Bartels and Andrew J. O'Geen

**The Nature of Legal Change on the U.S. Supreme Court: Jurisprudential Regimes Theory and Its Alternatives
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 59, Issue 4 , 880–895**

Jurisprudential regimes theory (JRT) posits that legal change on the U.S. Supreme Court occurs in a drastic,



structural-break-like manner. Methodological debates present conflicting evidence for JRT, which has implications for the important law versus ideology debate. We confront this debate by first elaborating two alternative theoretical perspectives to JRT—evolutionary change and legal stability. Our analytical framework focuses on two key substantive effects of jurisprudential categories on the Court's case outcomes—relative differences between categories over multiple time periods and longitudinal differences across time periods. Importantly, different pieces of empirical evidence can provide support for different dynamic processes. The extent to which “law matters” is not necessarily tied to one particular model of legal change. Empirical analysis of updated and backdated free expression data generates key findings consistent with JRT, legal stability, and evolutionary change. We discuss the implications of the results for understanding legal change and legal influence.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Carlo Cottarelli

A European fiscal union: the case for a larger central budget

in *Economia Politica*, Volume 33, Issue 1 , 1-8

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

Dvorkin Maximiliano A., Shell Hannah

A Regional Look at U.S. International Trade

in *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, First Quarter 2016, Vol. 98, No. 1

Economic activity at the state level varies greatly across U.S. regions, with different states specializing in the production of particular goods and services. This heterogeneity in activity informs the geographic distribution of U.S. imports and exports.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ainhoa Lasa López

Constitución Económica Europea y modelo social: límites e ineficiencias de la integración negativa 1 mejorada en la lucha contra la exclusión social

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 53 , 133-165

La gestión de la crisis en la Unión Europea desde la perspectiva de la racionalidad del cálculo económico se ha materializado en una serie de mecanismos que buscan consolidar la centralidad del vínculo económico, corrigiendo las deficiencias del diseño institucional de la eurozona. Por lo tanto, lejos de tratarse de una transformación que reformula la integración negativa en términos de equilibrio con la dimensión social, ahonda en el estatus de subalternidad de la integración positiva. Desde estos parámetros, el objetivo de combatir la exclusión social a escala europea deviene una quimera. La escasa virtualidad práctica de los documentos sociales, la utilización de técnicas de soft law, y la devaluación del derecho a la protección contra la pobreza al limbo de la programaticidad, acentúa el carácter marginal



de la respuesta social europea a la crisis.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Heinz Dominic

Coordination in Budget Policy after the Second Federal Reform: Beyond Unity and Diversity

in German Politics, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 286-300

This article considers the impact of the 2009 federalism reform on budget policy in national and Land governments. It assesses whether the reform led to a centralisation of budget policy, through the work of the new 'Stability Council' and imposition of a 'debt brake', which would affect both levels. The fiscal and economic crisis of 2008–09 coincided with the so-called second federalism reform prepared from 2007 to 2009. This coincidence was supported by a decision of the Federal Constitutional Court requiring an early warning system for 'budget crises'. Against this backdrop the reform commission placed budget policy on the agenda, resulting in the establishment of a debt brake and a common framework to detect budget crises through the Stability Council. Compliance with both institutions expresses the new paradigm of balanced budgets that avoid new state debts. This article considers whether the common goal of budgetary crisis prevention results in a uniform or comparable budgetary policy in the Länder. It draws on expert interviews and finds that a common mechanism to detect a budget crisis was indeed established. However, in the end a large amount of variation in budget policy can be seen between the Länder, so that budgetary policy (still) is a long way off uniformity.

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Francesco Munari

Da Pringle a Gauweiler: i tormentati anni dell'unione monetaria e i loro effetti sull'ordinamento giuridico europeo

in Diritto dell'Unione europea, No. 4 , 723-755

This article analyses the impact of the so-called euro crisis on the rule of law value. It moves from the lack of a serious legal insight of the EMU weaknesses before the euro crisis and examines relevant ECJ case-law from Pringle to Gauweiler. The critical reading of the two judgments serves to highlight various tensions they create in respect of many EU legal pillars: the principle of conferral of powers, the ERTA judgment doctrine, the boundaries between economic and monetary policies and the respective scope of powers of Member States and EU institutions, as well as the extent of application of fundamental rights of the individuals to the financial stability mechanisms. In particular, it is argued that, if bending of rules was anyway inevitable given the flaws in the EMU legal structure, maybe a more far-reaching option would have been to interpret the ESM Treaty as a sort of implementing measure of article 136.3 TFEU, rather than a "parallel world" to the Union, i.e. what was actually established by Pringle. The article further discusses another blow in the EU legal system deriving from the euro crisis, namely the confrontation it has determined among several Member States' supreme courts (in particular constitutional courts), and the consequent arising of different problematic approaches even regarding the constitutional traditions common to the Member States. In the end, while appreciating the attempts made by the ECJ, especially in Gauweiler, to help rescuing the EMU, and hence the EU, in particular through the strengthening of the ESCB/ECB, the author advocates a reform of the treaties also as a tool to heal the weakening of the fundamental value of the rule of law, which the euro crisis has brought about.



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Niklas Potrafke, Marina Riem, Christoph Schinke

Debt Brakes in the German States: Governments' Rhetoric and Actions

in German Economic Review, Volume 17, Issue 2 , 253-275

In 2009, a new law on German debt brakes was passed: state governments are not allowed to run structural deficits after 2020. Consolidation strategies initiated between 2009 and 2020 influence if a state can comply with the debt brake in 2020. We describe to what extent government ideology predicts if state governments consolidate budgets and which fiscal adjustment path they choose. Attitudes toward budget consolidation, as expressed by politicians' rhetoric in the public debate, differed among parties. Anecdotal evidence and descriptive statistics indicate that leftwing governments ran on average higher structural deficits than rightwing governments between 2010 and 2014. Primary deficits, however, hardly differed under leftwing and rightwing governments. Revenues of federal taxes were much higher than expected and facilitated budget consolidation. Leftwing governments did not need to run deficits to design generous budgets. It is conceivable that parties confirmed their identity by using expressive rhetoric, but responded to shifts in public opinion after the financial crisis and pursued more sustainable fiscal policies when in office.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ana B. Ania, Andreas Wagener

Decentralized redistribution in a laboratory federation

in Journal of Urban Economics, Volume 93 , 49-59

The idea of laboratory federalism provides a strong argument in favor of fiscal decentralization. It views autonomous jurisdictions in a federation as laboratories where new policies can be tested at low risk for the entire system. If successful, these policies will spread out by imitation; otherwise, they will be discarded. Studying this idea in a dynamic setting of fiscal competition, we show that, due to externalities between jurisdictions, policies that appear successful and are therefore mimicked do not necessarily enhance welfare, and vice versa. Specifically, in the classical framework of decentralized, rich-to-poor income redistribution with labor mobility the long-run outcome entails a complete breakdown of redistribution with zero subsidies to the poor everywhere.

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Roberto Baratta

Diritto e prassi evolutiva dell'Eurogruppo

in Diritto dell'Unione europea, No. 2 , 493-521

Protocol No. 14 does not reflect in normative terms the relevant role assumed by the Euroroup in the EU institutional dynamics. It is only through the prism of its rich practice that one can assess that role. Originally conceived as a complementary body with respect to ECOFIN, Eurogroup has become an instance of evaluation and composition of the specific interests of the Eurozone, its activities having ended up affecting the internal equilibrium of the ECOFIN. Indeed,



practice shows that Eurogroup's positions - adopted by consensus - do influence the ECOFIN decision-making since the Eurozone ministers may vote as a caucus. In a broader perspective, the Eurogroup evolutionary practice appears as a paradigmatic case study to conceptualize the normative role of customs at the institutional level. The paper addresses that practice even in the prospect to examine the limits to creating customary rules within the EU legal order.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Dove John A.

Do fiscal constraints prevent default? Historical evidence from U.S. municipalities

in **Economics of Governance**, Volume 17, Issue 2, May 2016 , 185-209

Through the nineteenth century numerous U.S. states developed extensive municipal fiscal constitutions. These generally came in the wake of financial crises and large-scale default of public debts. Although the constraints were imposed in order to minimize the likelihood that such outcomes would occur in the future, little work has been undertaken to analyze whether they were successful in achieving that goal. Therefore, this current study attempts to do so by empirically investigating how procedural safeguards and outright prohibitions on debt accumulation, along with hard budget constraints, and tax limits impacted the likelihood of default. This is done by evaluating municipal defaults that centered on the Panic of 1893. Overall, the results suggest that outright prohibitions on debt accumulation and hard budget constraints actually reduced the likelihood of municipal default across states, while tax limits and procedural safeguards increased that likelihood.

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Alexeev Alexander, Good David H., Krutilla Kerry

Environmental taxation and the double dividend in decentralized jurisdictions

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 122, February , 90-100

This research explores the implications for jurisdictional welfare of sharing environmental rents between private and public consumption. An integrated model is developed from research literatures on jurisdictional competition, the “double dividend,” and on the design of tax-refund instruments. This model shows that jurisdictional welfare increases as environmental rents are initially allocated towards public consumption, yielding a “double dividend”, but that this dividend may or may not continue as all rents are shifted to public finance. When the double dividend occurs, the rent allocation both improves the efficiency of the tax system and reduces the private–public consumption distortion that decentralized jurisdictional decision-making creates. In some parameter configurations, there is an optimal rental allocation between the private sector and the local government. At this optimum, environmental and fiscal policies are set at their first-best levels and decentralized jurisdictional decision-making is globally efficient. If less rents are allocated to public finance than this optimum, fiscal and environmental policies will be suboptimal, whereas, if too much rent is allocated for public consumption, fiscal and environmental policies will be set at levels above the global efficiency standard. These results illustrate the crucial importance of environmental rent sharing for the efficiency of jurisdictional decision-making.

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Francesco Nicoli

Eurocrisis and the myths of European redistribution: illegitimate, unsustainable, inefficient?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 3 , E19-E48

Criticism of European solidarity relies on three cornerstone arguments with mythological features. First is the “Myth of the Beggar”: it is believed that supranational solidarity is self-defeating, as it produces a moral-hazard scheme where endogenous incentives to reform (otherwise known as “market pressure”) are artificially removed. Second stands the “Myth of the Efficient Markets”: it is believed that solidarity, through its market-distortive effects, artificially allocates resources into less productive activities, thus decreasing the overall growth rate of the economy. Third is the “Myth of the Demos”: it is believed that democracy- and thus redistribution- can endure only within a single Demos, and thus no solidarity can exist outside of a Demos. This paper aims to challenge the view that any scheme of solidarity is self-defeating, inefficient and illegitimate, developing a notion of “federative solidarity” providing a solution to the three “myths”.

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Noah Vardi

Finché exit non ci separi. Conseguenze giuridiche di un'ipotetica uscita dall'euro
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, No. 1 , 237-260

The article examines possible legal consequences that could follow a hypothetical exit from the Euro by a Member state. Given the absence of specific rules on such a procedure, the article in its first part examines the issue of the legal basis on which an exit could take place. In the second and third part it considers the hypothetical measures of monetary policy and of private law that would be necessary in order to ensure an ordered process of withdrawal from the euro and subsequent adoption of a national currency.

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Georg-Benedikt Fischer, Berthold U. Wigger

Fiscal Competition and Higher Education Spending in Germany
in *German Economic Review*, Volume 17, Issue 2 , 234-252

The present paper studies the determinants of higher education spending by the German federal states with a focus on the interplay between higher education spending of neighboring states. More specifically, the paper asks whether the German federal states free-ride on one another's higher educational spending or whether they employ higher education spending to attract university graduates. We identify a positive relationship between the states' higher education spending and conclude that the states compete for graduates rather than free-ride. We also consider the effect of the recent introduction of tuition fees in some, but not all German states. We do not find evidence that tuition fees led to crowding out of public higher education funds.

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Ermasova Natalia, Mikesell John

Fiscal disparity and equalisation in the Russian Federation

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 28, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 1-15

The regions of the Russian Federation are economically disparate. Differential endowment with energy resources drives much of this disparity and this translates into highly diverse fiscal capacities. Although regions do have some independent revenue-raising authority, all taxes are administered by the national Ministry of Taxation and a sizable share (roughly 45%) of total national revenue is transferred to regional and local government. The transfers, however, are not of equal importance to all regions. This article focuses on vertical and horizontal balance in the country. It examines differential revenue capacity and the extent to which national transfer programmes mitigate fiscal disparity.

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Paul Craig and Menelaos Markakis

Gauweiler and the legality of outright monetary transactions

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 41, issue 1 , 4-24

The Gauweiler case has already made history, since it was the first reference from the Bundesverfassungsgericht to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). Whether it makes history in other respects remains to be seen. The Bundesverfassungsgericht's reference was framed by its jurisprudence on ultra vires and identity locks, and the Bundesverfassungsgericht left the CJEU in no doubt that it felt that the European Central Banks (ECB)'s intervention via Outright Monetary Transactions was unlawful, and could only be saved if interpreted in the manner set out by the referring court. The CJEU nonetheless upheld the legality of the Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) schema, and its reasoning, together with that of the Bundesverfassungsgericht, is analysed in this article. It will be argued that the CJEU's decision was correct and legitimate in the light of the relevant Treaty provisions. The ball is now firmly back with the Bundesverfassungsgericht, and it remains to be seen whether it accepts the CJEU's ruling or makes history by refusing to follow it.

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Lovisa Persson

Government consumption smoothing in a balanced budget regime

in *International Tax and Public Finance*, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 289-315

I investigate government consumption smoothing (sensitivity) under a balanced budget rule in Swedish municipalities. In general, I find Swedish municipalities to be highly consumption sensitive. Municipalities consume 87.6 % out of predicted current revenues in the time period leading up to the implementation of the balanced budget rule, and they consume 76.3 % out of predicted current revenue in the time period following the implementation. Fiscally weak municipalities are found to be more consumption sensitive than fiscally strong municipalities. Very weak municipalities have become more consumption sensitive compared with very strong municipalities since the implementation of the balanced budget rule. Thus, I find indicative evidence that both credit market constraints and formal budget rules such as balanced budget rules increase municipal consumption sensitivity.



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Philipp Trein, Dietmar Braun

**How do fiscally decentralized federations fare in times of crisis? Insights from Switzerland
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 199-220**

This article examines federal dynamics during times of crisis in fiscally decentralized federations using Switzerland as an example. Based on qualitative research, we analyse how the relationship between the federal government and the cantons evolved during the recent 'Great Recession' and ensuing financial crisis. We contend that fiscally decentralized structures, as well as the consensus-oriented institutions of the political system, protect the federal balance of power. Our results show that Switzerland indeed adapted well to the crisis of the 2009 economic recession. However, the deficit crisis has revealed challenging coordination problems, notably in the areas of fiscal equalization and corporate taxation, which have the potential to put federal stability under stress. So far, the system has adapted well and safeguarded the federal order. Due to its combination of fiscally decentralized institutions and a strong consensus culture, Switzerland has proven to be a particularly robust federation.

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Mario Kölling

**How much Solidarity is in the EU Budget?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 3 , E77-E97**

In this article I argue that the EU budget is (slowly) moving from a budget based on the rationale that richer EU countries help poorer EU countries in exchange for their engagement to the process of economic integration, and because economic development of the EU has positive economic returns for them, to a concept of solidarity based on a different rationale; that all member states and the Union are confronted with the same challenges and risks. In order to support this argument I analyse the development of the different budget headings as well as the increasing flexibility within the budgetary system.

Leaving aside the discussion as to whether this change is considered to be positive or negative, a reform of the own resources system and a stronger involvement of the European Parliament in the negotiation of the Multi Financial Framework would be essential to foster the trend. These reforms, together with an increase in the financial resources available, are necessary if the EU budget is to be reconciled with a solidarity role it should and has to play, in addition to giving the EU the means to properly address current and future challenges.

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Chang-Gyu Kwak, Richard Feiock, Christopher Hawkins, Youngmi Lee

**Impacts of Federal Stimulus Funding on Economic Development Policy Networks Among Local Governments
in *Review of Policy Research* , Volume 33, Issue 2 , 140-159**

No abstract available



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

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Erhard Denninger

L'identità costituzionale tedesca e l'Unione europea: riflessioni a partire dalla pronuncia sulle OMT in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, No. 1 , 261-274

No abstract available

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

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Franco Gallo

L'incerta sorte del federalismo fiscale

in **Mulino (il)**, n.2 , 359-370

No abstract available

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

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Francesco Martucci

La Cour de justice face à la politique monétaire en temps de crise des dettes souveraines: l'arrêt Gauweiler entre droit et marche. Commentaire de l'arrêt CJ, GC, 16 juin 2015, Peter Gauweiler e.a, c-62/14

in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, vol. 51, no. 2 , 493-534

No abstract available

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

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Augusto Aguilar Calahorra

La posición del Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea frente a las medidas de la crisis económica

in **Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo** , no. 24

In this paper we analyze the change of attitude of the European Court of Justice from its origins to the economic crisis. It is noted that the Court has passed over the decades from an active attitude focusing on recognition of European law as an effective legal system to the current attitude that focuses on the effective operation of the European market. The analysis is critical with current situation and last case law in which it is revealed that the foundations of Van Gend en Loos and Costa c. Enel has entered into crisis endangering the Union based on Rule of law.

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Matteo Gnes

La prima fase del completamento dell'Unione economica e monetaria
in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 1 , 269-273

Brief note on political and legal advanced in the European Economic and Monetary Union.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Marco Benvenuti

Las medidas anticrisis adoptadas por la Unión Europea: una mirada de conjunto (entre continuidad de las decisiones institucionales, integración negativa y deconstitucionalización del Derecho supranacional)
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 24

This paper analyzes the most significant reforms undertook in the Unión during the economic crisis. This analysis is done with a theoretical perspective that uses as main tools the ideas of experimentalism, conditionality, reversibility and automatism. From these premises the paper wonders if the theoretical instruments allow us to understand the actual (un)fitness of the integration process with the constitutional dimension.

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Jonason Patricia

Le système de la péréquation entre les collectivités locales en Suède
in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 1021 - 1026

The System for Equalising Finances between Local Authorities in Sweden To make up for territorial disparities impacting upon municipalities' financial capacity, Sweden has set up an equalisation system which comprises five strands. The two principal ones are the redistribution of income and the equalisation of costs. The others concern grants for infrastructure, grants for input costs, and an accrual account. Each of these components is divided between a specific system for the municipalities and a specific system for the counties. The system makes it possible to reconcile significant local autonomy with equal access to the same level of service for all citizens.

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Albert Noguera Fernández

Los nuevos instrumentos de gobernanza económica europea y sus consecuencias sobre los derechos sociales en Grecia (periodo 2009-2015)
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 24

The implementation of the so-called European economic governance mechanisms, this is the system of institutions and procedures established to achieve the objectives of the EU treaties in the economic field, reducing the public deficit and



budgetary stability of states, is having in Greece, a country particularly affected by the crisis, disastrous consequences for the social welfare of population. This article analyzes the domestic legislation through Greece has adopted the conditions set by the mechanisms of European economic governance and its impact on the social conditions of the country's population.

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Hertzog Robert

L'avenir financier du secteur communal : grande réforme ou marasme durable ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 1005 - 1020

The Financial Future of the Municipal Sector: Major Reform or Ongoing Mess? The finances of the 'municipal sector' (communes, intercommunalities, the metropolises), which account for nearly 60% of total local finances, have grown faster than GDP, without new competences having been transferred from the state. This situation is no longer tenable. If public services are to maintain their levels of investment and performance, substantial savings will need to be made. These will only come about through an extensive reorganisation, in which intercommunalities and the metropolises will be strengthened with a view to achieving quantifiable rationalisation.

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Di Liddo Giuseppe, Longobardi Ernesto, Porcelli Francesco

Measuring horizontal fiscal imbalance: the case of Italian municipalities

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 3 , 385-419

In the literature on fiscal federalism, vertical fiscal imbalance has been widely studied, while the theme of horizontal fiscal imbalance and inequality among local governments, due to differences in their fiscal capacities, has been less explored. This article contributes to fill the gap. A new method to compute fiscal capacities based on regression analysis is proposed, which can overcome some of the drawbacks of traditional methods such as the representative tax system. This new approach is then employed to evaluate the fiscal capacities of Italian municipalities over the period 2002–2010. Finally two global measures of the horizontal fiscal imbalance are used to evaluate the equity implication of a major policy change occurred in 2008 in Italian municipal finance.

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Iozzo Alfonso

Monetary Power and Fiscal Power in a Federal System

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

Having created the institutions necessary for running the monetary union, Europe now needs adequate institutions able to manage the requisite budget increase, mainly to be funded by its own resources. However, there are major



institutional differences between the two processes.

Monetary Power

In a federal system, responsibility for currency is held solely at central level: a single centre must have the right to issue currency and to regulate its quantity. In federal systems such as the United States and Switzerland, a central institution holds this monopoly but it includes representatives of the lower level of government: the Federal Reserve System and the Swiss National Bank. Before the advent of the Euro there was a similar institution in the Federal Republic of Germany: the Bundesbank.

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Boffa Federico, Piolatto Amedeo, Ponzetto Giacomo A. M.

Political Centralization and Government Accountability

in Quarterly Journal of Economics (The), Volume 131 Issue 1 February 2016 , 381-422

This article explains why decentralization can undermine accountability and answers three questions: what determines if power should be centralized or decentralized when regions are heterogeneous? How many levels of government should there be? How should state borders be drawn? We develop a model of political agency in which voters differ in their ability to monitor rent-seeking politicians. We find that rent extraction is a decreasing and convex function of the share of informed voters, because voter information improves monitoring but also reduces the appeal of holding office. As a result, information heterogeneity pushes toward centralization to reduce rent extraction. Taste heterogeneity pulls instead toward decentralization to match local preferences. Our model thus implies that optimal borders should cluster by tastes but ensure diversity of information. We also find economies of scope in accountability that explain why multiplying government tiers harms efficiency. A single government in charge of many policies has better incentives than many special-purpose governments splitting its budget and responsibilities. Hence, a federal system is desirable only if information varies enough across regions.

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González Lucas

Presidential Popularity and the Politics of Distributing Federal Funds in Argentina

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 46, n. 2, Spring , 199-223

This article studies the main factors that affect the allocation of non-earmarked federal funds to subnational units in Argentina between 1999 and 2009. The main contribution is that it brings presidential popularity together with presidential structural and partisan preferences for distribution into the analysis. It argues that electorally strong and popular presidents tend to increase transfers to developing districts and reduce allocations to richer districts. Investing in developing provinces is more efficient, and governors from these districts tend to support redistributive presidents and be weaker political challengers than governors from richer units. In contrast, weaker presidents are less capable of resisting pressures from governors from larger and richer districts. There is also more distribution to developing regions when presidents have a larger share of partisan allies there and fewer in richer states. The article discusses these results, compares them with competitive claims, and explores implications for the comparative debate.



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Katerina Pantazatou

Promoting solidarity in crisis times: Building on the EU Budget and the EU Funds

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 3 , E49-E76

This article examines the evolution of the EU 'redistributive' policies in the (post-) crisis EU era. By reviewing the EU cohesion policy, the financial assistance mechanisms, the new economic governance measures and the potentials of attributing the EU fiscal capacity, it aims to conceptualize the notion of solidarity as redistribution as this has evolved by reason of the crisis. The article argues that by virtue of the diverging economies, interests and preferences of the Member States, reciprocal or 'effects-based solidarity' is the only type of solidarity that has been exhibited among the Member States during the crisis. It, further, shows how the principle of solidarity has not lived up to its potential in the present crisis context, but it has instead been cropped up in sharply different ways in the rhetorics and communications of political parties of all hues across the Union.

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Gianpiero Di Plinio

Sigfrido e il drago. Declinazioni (neo)germaniche dell'amicizia (tra i popoli): il punto di vista del bundesverfassungsgericht

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, No. 1 , 275-280

No abstract available

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

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Jerónimo Maillo and Justo Corti

Solidarity in the European Union in Times of Economic Crisis

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 3 , EI-EVII

The present special issue of *Perspectives on Federalism* reflects on the nature and characteristics of solidarity within a supranational context, it explains what solidarity has meant so far in the EU, how much solidarity we had during the crisis, what type of solidarity is needed and how to build it. It focuses on the new economic governance and its solidarity mechanisms during and after the economic crisis but tackles other related fields such as its impact on services of general economic interest or the European budget, as well as other areas where solidarity is also discussed such as the free movement of persons.

This monographic issue has its origin in the International Conference "Solidarity in Hard Times. Solidarity and the European Social Model in times of economic crisis" organized by the University Institute for European Studies (IDEE) on 11-12 June 2015 in Madrid, within the Jean Monnet Network MoreEU ("More Europe to overcome the crisis").



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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Israel Marques II, Eugenia Nazrullaeva, Andrei Yakovlev

Substituting Distribution for Growth: The Political Logic of Intergovernmental Transfers in the Russian Federation

in Economics and Politics, Volume 28, Issue 1 , 23-54

Given limited resources and economic realities, how do politicians distribute monetary transfers in order to retain office? Previous work has largely focused on two models – a core model of rewarding loyal supporters and a swing model of purchasing the support of easily swayed voters. Empirical results have proven mixed, however. In this article, we argue that these mixed results are due to economic factors, which condition politicians' distributive strategies. In our model, we consider that politician and voters are involved in a repeated game, where past expectations condition future strategy. Current (core) supporters who receive few benefits and perceive themselves worse off than other, less loyal, groups are likely to be less loyal themselves tomorrow. In our model, politicians avoid this by providing their supporters consumption benefits directly, in the form of transfers, or indirectly, via strong economic growth. Where economic growth is good, politicians can distribute less to core supporters, who benefit from the rising economy. Where economic growth is weak, however, politicians make transfers to their core supporters to ensure future loyalty. We test our theory using data on federal transfers from the Russian Federal government to 78 Russian Regions from 2000–2008.

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Matteo De Nes

The ESM and the Principle of Transparency

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 7, issue 3 , E128-E141

This note analyses a peculiar feature of the ESM, namely the lack of an acceptable set of standards for the fundamental democratic principle of transparency. Moving from the particular nature of this mechanism, we will highlight the most critical concerns connected to secrecy, confidentiality and inviolability of documents, looking not only at the ESM Treaty but also at relevant documents approved by its bodies (in particular the Code of Conduct and the By-Laws).

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Arianna Vettorel

The European Stability Mechanism: Human Rights Concerns Without Responsibilities?

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 7, issue 3 , E142-E162

The current financial problems of some Euro-area Member States have been tackled by ad hoc financial institutions, formed outside of the EU as international institutions and aimed at granting financial assistance on the basis of strict conditionality measures, which seriously affect human rights (particularly social and economic rights).

The paper focuses on the impact of the actions of the European Stability Mechanism and analyses whether this institution (or the European institutions and the Member States involved in it) should bear the responsibility for such violations.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Marta Legnaioli

The emergence of New Economic Governance and its impact on Services of General Economic Interest in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 7, issue 3 , E98-E127

This paper evaluates the impact of austerity measures on national social protection mechanisms and on the European Social Model. The study is based on an in-depth analysis of austerity measures adopted in Italy and Portugal and the evolution of several indicators, such as unemployment rates and the percentage of citizens at risk of poverty. The analysis demonstrates that measures adopted in the field of new economic governance have had an impact on the organization and provision of SGEIs and have affected the solidity of the national welfare state. It will be argued that in this context the promotion of a social dimension of the EU requires innovative methods for the regulation of new economic governance.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Reinhard Neck, Dmitri Blueschke

United we stand: on the macroeconomics of a Fiscal union

in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 43, Issue 2 , 333-347

In this paper, we apply dynamic tracking games to macroeconomic policy making in a monetary union. We use a small stylized nonlinear two-country macroeconomic model of a monetary union for analyzing the interactions between two fiscal (governments: "core" and "periphery") and one monetary (central bank) policy makers, assuming different objective functions of these decision makers. Using the OPTGAME algorithm, we calculate numerical solutions for cooperative (Pareto optimal) and non-cooperative games (feedback Nash). We show how the policy makers react to adverse demand shocks. We investigate the consequences of three scenarios: decentralized fiscal policies controlled by independent governments (the present situation), centralized fiscal policy (a fiscal union) with an independent central bank (pure fiscal union), and a fully centralized monetary and fiscal union. For the latter two scenarios, we demonstrate the importance of different assumptions about the joint objective function corresponding to different weights for the two governments in the design of the common fiscal policy. We show that a fiscal union with weights corresponding to the number of states in each of the blocs gives better results than non-cooperative policy making. When one bloc dominates the fiscal union, decentralized policies yield lower overall losses than the pure fiscal union and the monetary and fiscal union.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Jessica N. Terman Anthony Kassekert, Richard C. Feiock, Kaifeng Yang

Walking in the Shadow of Pressman and Wildavsky: Expanding Fiscal Federalism and Goal Congruence Theories to Single-Shot Games

in Review of Policy Research , Volume 33, Issue 2 , 124-139



We advance and test a theory of grant compliance in single-shot games by combining the insights on grant management from Pressman and Wildavsky's classic work with the role that goal congruence and local political institutions play in the intergovernmental grant process. One-time grants, such as the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, require unique grant management techniques on the part of the federal government and local political institutions to foster credible commitments between federal and local authorities. Based on administrative records from the U.S. Department of Energy and a national survey of local government recipients of DOE grants, we predict delay in expending grant funds given that the goal of the federal government is to rapidly stimulate the economy and produce gains in energy efficiency. We employ survival modeling to estimate the time from receipt of a stimulus grant until the funds are expended. We find compelling evidence that effective grant management and local government institutions and policies are salient for limiting delays.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Alejandro Ángel

¡Es la política ! Explicando la recentralización de recursos en contextos económicos divergentes. Los casos de Brasil y Colombia

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 23 , 80-114

Este artículo compara un país federal, Brasil, y un país centralista, Colombia, ambos, en un momento dado, llevan a cabo una recentralización de recursos a pesar de las diferencias en sus realidades económicas. La hipótesis es que la similitud en términos de la autonomía de gasto de sus gobiernos intermedios es consecuencia de que estos habían conquistado mayor autonomía gracias a las nuevas constituciones de 1991 en Colombia y de 1988 en Brasil. Para probar dicha hipótesis, el artículo primero busca mostrar la diferencia entre las situaciones brasilera y colombiana desde el punto de vista económico durante la década de 1990, tras las reformas constitucionales; luego muestra cómo los antecedentes de las relaciones intergubernamentales presentan similitudes desde el punto de vista político, lo que permite entender la manera en que se llevó a cabo la pérdida de autonomía de los gobiernos intermedios durante los años 1990. Finalmente, concluye que las realidades económicas diferentes, tanto de las economías nacionales como en las situaciones patrimoniales de los gobiernos intermedios, se ven subordinadas a las prioridades políticas derivadas de procesos en curso desde tiempo atrás. La deuda viabilizó la recentralización ocurrida en ambos países debido al uso que se hizo de ella.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Brunello Rosa

DRAGHI, L'EURO E IL FUTURO DEL WHATEVER IT TAKES

in *Limes*, 3/16

L'assenza di politiche espansive spunta le armi monetarie della Bce, mettendo a repentaglio l'esistenza della moneta unica in caso di nuove crisi. Gli armamentari 'non convenzionali' delle banche centrali. Il coniglio dal cilindro si chiama moneta fiscale.

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



Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Marcel Fratzscher, Marco Lo Duca, Roland Straub

ECB Unconventional Monetary Policy: Market Impact and International Spillovers

in *IMF Economic Review*, Volume 64, Issue 1, 36-74

This paper assesses the financial market impact of ECB unconventional monetary policy between 2007 and 2012. The paper looks at a broad range of asset prices and portfolio flows in the euro area and globally, using data at daily frequency. It finds that ECB policies boosted equity prices and lowered bond market fragmentation in the euro area. Spillovers to advanced economies and emerging markets included a positive impact on equity markets and confidence. The effects of ECB policies on bond markets outside the euro area were negligible. ECB policies also lowered credit risk among banks and sovereigns in the euro area and other G20 countries, while there is limited evidence of portfolio rebalancing across regions and assets on impact.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Clark Harris Katherine

Hidden in Plain Sight: The Federal Reserve's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 40, Issue 2

This Note considers the Federal Reserve Board's (FRB) role in foreign policy using a newly released data set: 1,865 pages of Federal Open Market Committee meeting transcripts from 2008. These transcripts provide a window into the important decisions made by the FRB during the recent financial crisis. This Note argues that these decisions had substantial bearing on U.S. foreign policy: (i) extending \$850 billion of international swap lines to certain nations and not others and (ii) jointly coordinating global interest rate cuts with six foreign central banks. As global markets grow more interconnected and the use of sanctions and other economic levers increase, the FRB's role in U.S. foreign policy will only become more salient. Consequently, the FRB should voluntarily issue guidelines to clarify when and how it will engage with the political branches on international matters. Voluntary guidelines strike the appropriate balance between institutionalizing coordination norms and protecting central bank independence. To date, legal scholars have only explored the FRB from an administrative law perspective. This Note moves beyond this domestic-centric focus and situates the FRB among principals and agents in U.S. foreign policy, raising new questions about central bank independence beyond the water's edge.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Blot Christophe, Hubert Paul, Riffart Christine

L'impact du découplage des politiques monétaires de la BCE et de la Fed sur la zone euro et les pays émergents

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, n°147 juin 2016, 223-258

Alors que la Réserve fédérale a amorcé un cycle de hausse des taux en décembre 2015, la BCE a amplifié son



programme d'assouplissement quantitatif en annonçant d'abord une extension de la durée du programme, puis une augmentation de sa taille et enfin un élargissement de la gamme d'actifs achetés. Il en résulte un découplage croissant de la politique monétaire entre les États-Unis et la zone euro. Ce découplage pourrait accentuer les effets du soutien qu'apporte la BCE par le canal du taux de change. Nous illustrons ce mécanisme en évaluant l'effet en zone euro des variations de taux d'intérêt anticipés et de taille du bilan sur le taux de change et le prix des cours boursiers. Les résultats suggèrent que l'effet taux est systématiquement significatif alors que l'effet par la taille du bilan serait moins important. En outre, après avoir alimenté la liquidité mondiale, la normalisation en cours de la politique monétaire américaine s'accompagne un recul des flux de capitaux des économies émergentes, provoquant ainsi de l'instabilité financière et fragilisant leur croissance. Nous estimons les effets de débordement de la politique monétaire de la Réserve fédérale et de la BCE sur les taux de change et les cours boursiers de ces pays. Nos résultats suggèrent que la sensibilité des économies émergentes aux politiques monétaires de la Réserve fédérale et de la BCE n'est pas homogène. Il ressort également que l'effet de signal de la politique monétaire pourrait être plus important pour sa transmission que les effets de réallocation de portefeuille.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Emiliano Brancaccio, Giuseppe Fontana, Milena Lopreite, Riccardo Realfonzo

Monetary policy rules and directions of causality: A test for the euro area

in **Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 509-531

Using a VAR model in first differences with quarterly data for the euro zone, the study aims to ascertain whether decisions on monetary policy can be interpreted in terms of a "monetary policy rule" with specific reference to the so-called nominal GDP targeting rule (Hall and Mankiw, 1994; McCallum, 1988; Woodford, 2012). The results obtained indicate a causal relation proceeding from deviation between the growth rates of nominal gross domestic product (GDP) and target GDP to variation in the three-month market interest rate. The same analyses do not, however, appear to confirm the existence of a significant inverse causal relation from variation in the market interest rate to deviation between the nominal and target GDP growth rates. Similar results were obtained on replacing the market interest rate with the European Central Bank refinancing interest rate. This confirmation of only one of the two directions of causality does not support an interpretation of monetary policy based on the nominal GDP targeting rule and gives rise to doubt in more general terms as to the applicability of the Taylor rule and all the conventional rules of monetary policy to the case in question. The results appear instead to be more in line with other possible approaches, such as those based on post Keynesian analyses of monetary theory and policy and more specifically the so-called solvency rule (Brancaccio and Fontana, 2013, 2015). These lines of research challenge the simplistic argument that the scope of monetary policy consists in the stabilization of inflation, real GDP, or nominal income around a "natural equilibrium" level. Rather, they suggest that central banks actually follow a more complex purpose, which is the political regulation of the financial system with particular reference to the relations between creditors and debtors and the related solvency of economic units.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Mario Tonveronachi

Revising the European Central Bank's fiscal rules to support growth and employment



in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 495-508

The paper presents a reform proposal for the operations of the European Central Bank (ECB) whose purpose is to create a common set of risk-free assets for financial institutions operating in the euro area (EA), which is the necessary condition for having a single internal financial market. The proposal does not require the introduction of changes in the existing European Union treaties. The effects of this reform on the debt dynamic of EA member countries permit a revision of the existing fiscal rules. With the help of some simulations, it is shown that maintaining compliance with the European treaties, the reform of the ECB operations and revised fiscal rules would transform the current fiscal deflationary stance into a reflationary one. Some implications for aggregate demand and growth for the EA are briefly discussed.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Alfonso Sabatino

The ECB's Quantitative Easing Programme: Necessary, but Not Enough

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVII, n. 3

The decisions taken by the Governing Council[1] of the European Central Bank (ECB) on Wednesday 3 December 2015, and the immediate negative reaction on the financial markets, have re-opened the debate on Quantitative Easing (QE), i.e. the programme of public and private bond purchasing introduced by the ECB in March the same year as a means of boosting inflation and reviving the economy of the eurozone.

Today, Europe — the eurozone primarily — needs to work out how to manage the ongoing technological and scientific revolution, what kind of welfare state model is needed to support a new phase of development, and, finally, what interventions are required at global level in order to ensure adequate governance of globalisation through, to begin with, reform of the international monetary system (so as to stabilise the system of exchange rates of major currencies) and reform of the International Monetary Fund.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pontier Jean‑Marie

Quelles compétences pour quelles communes ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 989 -1004

Which Competences Should Different Communes Have? There are very many French communes, they are very old, and local people are greatly attached to them. However, they are currently going through all sorts of different changes, which entail and require extensive reforms. Communes still retain their 'general competence' (while that of the departments and the regions has been abolished). However, the real situation increasingly differs from the traditional theoretical framework: intercommunality is being developed, and its different forms are increasingly prevailing upon communes, whose competences are increasingly being transferred to intercommunal cooperation agencies, which progressively integrate their members over time. In parallel, differences between communes are growing as they exercise different general interest functions requiring increasingly extensive and complex cooperation with other entities, including the state. However, these changes have not yet led to an overhaul of communes.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Albert Jean‑Luc

Après l'intercommunalité, quoi ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 981-988

Where Will Intercommunalities Lead? The answer to the question posed in the title of this contribution is not entirely straightforward, although it does highlight the merger process affecting local authorities in particular at the municipal level in many European (e.g. Germany and Switzerland) and non‑European (e.g. Japan) countries. Intercommunalities are constantly changing and evolving towards new statuses, including in metropolitan areas. The development of the metropolis is a specific response for large cities, with the process being pushed to the extreme in Lyon, for example, with the creation of a special local authority status. However, parliament has also paved the way for another phenomenon, which some people originally derided, but which is seeing unexpected growth, namely new communes. Their originality and interest is clear, and this can preserve the communes' original identity. In its introduction and conclusion, this contribution focuses specifically on this duality between intercommunalities and communes, which may actually lead to the emergence of a new type of commune.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pinson Gilles, Morel Journal Christelle

Beyond Neoliberal Imposition: State–Local Cooperation and the Blending of Social and Economic Objectives in French Urban Development Corporations

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Neoliberal City: Theory, Evidence, Debates , 173-195

For more than 15 years, the French central State created Etablissements publics d'aménagement in a series of major cities. These EPAs are in charge of large urban development projects mixing infrastructure, office development and housing projects and have been given formal authority over land use regulation. The similarities between French EPAs and British Urban Development Corporations created in the 1980s are striking. In many ways, the case of the EPA fits with the neoliberalization framework provided by radical geographers. Nevertheless, this case also shows limits to the generalization of this theoretical framework. Firstly, the distinction between two clearly distinct periods characterized by different agendas, policy instruments and systems of relations between actors and levels is far from convincing in the French case. Secondly, evolutions that could be attributed to neoliberal urbanism are rather the result of processes of rationalization within organizations or professions which may have little to do with neoliberalism, or the result of a transformation of the welfare State and the reassessment of ways of producing social justice. On this basis, we argue for theoretical frameworks that put neoliberalization at its right place and allow its articulation with other trends of change such as rationalization and the refinement of Welfare mechanisms.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Psycharis Yannis, Zoi Maria

Decentralization and local government fiscal autonomy: evidence from the Greek municipalities in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 2, March , 262-280

Despite the widespread international trend toward decentralization, local municipalities in Greece still rely heavily on fiscally centralized revenue sources, thereby achieving a limited extent of tax or other forms of fiscal autonomy. This paper seeks to explain the determinants of local government fiscal autonomy in Greece over the 1999–2009 year period. By constructing a dataset with disaggregated revenue and expenditure subcategories for the first tier of local government and by applying panel data analysis techniques, it offers unique evidence that socioeconomic and demographic criteria along with political factors affect the level of fiscal autonomy of local government in the country. Our evidence also highlights the distinctive nature of Greece in geographical terms, reporting significant differences across diverse geographical regions (such as islands or mountainous areas). The paper aims at filling in part the gap in the existing research for Greece and at offering some insights from a fiscally centralized country to the current international debate on intracountry fiscal decentralization.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Tatchalerm Sudhipongpracha, Achakorn Wongpredee

Decentralizing decentralized governance: community empowerment and coproduction of municipal public works in Northeast Thailand in Community Development Journal, Volume 51 Issue 2 , 302-319

This study explores the effects of coproduction on community empowerment in two Thai municipalities. In recent years, local authorities in Thailand have adopted a variety of approaches to enhance democratic governance and public service quality. Two municipalities in Northeast Thailand have used coproduction in their public service delivery, particularly in road repair and maintenance. With this strategy, resources for public works and spending authority are devolved to each community in the two municipalities. Citizens can decide and prioritize public works spending in their own neighbourhoods. Focus group and in-depth interviews are used in this study. This study finds that citizens in the two jurisdictions have been transformed into active stakeholders in municipal government affairs. In the urban municipality in particular, coproduction activities have been co-managed by local political leaders, community leaders, citizens, and local bureaucrats.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

David Roszbach

Domestic Institutions and regional representation in the European Union: the case of Austria in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 25-43

Multi-level governance in the European Union is a well-established model in the EU literature. An area of ongoing focus within that literature has been the regional representation offices that have proliferated in Brussels. This article addresses the research question of how domestic institutional arrangements affect the strategies of regions seeking



representation at the European level. Based on the results of original interviews with directors and deputy-directors of Austrian regional representation offices in Brussels to illustrate the approach these offices take when interacting with other European institutions and with Austrian federal representatives, this study builds on the regional representation literature that has stressed the pre-eminence of state institutional structures in understanding the role of regional representation offices and argues that the importance of the offices is best examined through a focus on state level institutions and power arrangements rather than on office impact at the European level.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Fitzgerald Joan, Lenhart Jennifer

Eco-districts: can they accelerate urban climate planning?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 2, March , 364-380

Despite signing the Mayors Climate Change Agreement, few US cities have made significant progress in either climate mitigation or adaptation. For the most part, European cities have been more effective, albeit with assistance from the European Union and their national governments. Several of the most successful European cities have implemented eco-districts, which have offered many lessons for overall sustainability planning. Using Malmö, Sweden as a case study, we ask how planners and elected officials learned from implementing an eco-district, focusing on experimentation with new technologies and approaches to planning. We identify how “double-loop learning”, a term coined by Argyris and Shön, was at play in changing planning practice. As eco-districts are catching on in North American cities, there is much to be learned from European practice.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Markey Sean, Breen Sarah-Patricia, Vodden Kelly, Daniels Jen

Evidence of Place: Becoming a Region in Rural Canada

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 39, Issue 5, September , 874-891

The purpose of this article is to investigate whether place is emerging in practice as a critical dimension in the development of Canadian rural regions. Recently, Jones and Paasi set regional researchers the task of better understanding how regions ‘become’. In researching this question, we are particularly interested in the definition and expression of place-based identity as a mobilizing force for regionalism. Our findings suggest that, while identity plays a critical role in fostering regional development processes, it is either too emergent or actively resisted within our research sites to be a significant force for place-based regional development.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Haughton Graham, Allmendinger Philip

Fluid Spatial Imaginaries: Evolving Estuarial City-regional Spaces

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 39, Issue 5, September , 857-873

This article looks at successive attempts to create new spatial imaginaries around three estuary-based city regions in



England: the London–Thames Gateway, the Atlantic Gateway/Mersey Belt (Manchester and Liverpool), and Hull and the Humber ports. We develop a framework of analysis for new planning and regeneration spaces that takes forward debates on relational and territorial geographies, spatial imaginaries and the creation of new regional identities as governance objects. Specifically, we adopt a long-term and comparative perspective that allows an examination of how successive efforts at regional building are both path-dependent and context-specific, as new approaches reflect emerging ideas about how best to construct successful regions in a changing global economy.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lee Youngmi

From Competition to Collaboration: Intergovernmental Economic Development Policy Networks in Local Government Studies, Volume 42, Issue 2 , 171-188

his study investigates the strategic collaboration among local jurisdictions in the competitive environment: how fragmented jurisdictions in a metropolitan area perceive each other as cooperative partners and what factors influence the establishment of collaborative relationships between them. To answer the research questions, we applied the Institutional Collective Action (ICA) framework, which assumes that institutional actors behave in ways such that their economic benefits are maximised and risks and costs of collaboration are minimised, and employed the exponential random graph (ERG) model, one of the statistical social network analyses. The results indicate that the physical, political and geographical similarities among municipalities positively influence collaboration among local jurisdictions. In addition, municipalities are more likely to prefer to establish the closed network relationship such as triad–triplet. This study allows to understand the mechanism to establish collaborative behaviour among local jurisdictions for their regional economic development in a metropolitan area.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Gillette Clayton P. , Skeel Jr. David A.

Governance Reform and the Judicial Role in Municipal Bankruptcy
in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Volume 125, Issue 5

Recent proceedings involving large municipalities such as Detroit, Stockton, and Vallejo illustrate both the utility and limitations of using the Bankruptcy Code to adjust municipal debt. In this Article, we contend that, to resolve fully the distress of a substantial city, municipal bankruptcy needs to provide more than simple debt reduction. Debt adjustment alone does nothing to remedy the fragmented decision making and incentives for expanding municipal budgets that are ingrained in municipal governance structures and that often underlie municipal distress. Unless bankruptcy also addresses governance dysfunction, the city faces a return to financial distress. Indeed, this Article demonstrates that governance restructuring has long been an essential element of corporate bankruptcy and that, given the monopoly position of local governments as providers of local public goods, it is even more important in the municipal bankruptcy context.

Some might argue that reducing a city's debt is the best that bankruptcy courts can offer, due to concerns that a more



comprehensive approach would, among other things, interfere with state sovereignty and exceed the statutory authority that the Bankruptcy Code grants to courts. In our view, these concerns do not withstand scrutiny. Based on a careful analysis of the origins of the current municipal bankruptcy provisions, as well as an assessment of recent Supreme Court jurisprudence, we argue that governance reform is permitted even under existing law, and point out that minor adjustments to municipal bankruptcy law would make this conclusion even clearer. To be sure, the states themselves, rather than a bankruptcy court, ideally should be the ones to effect municipal governance reform. But political factors and the imperatives of the immediate fiscal crisis make state intervention unlikely, thus underscoring the need for a more comprehensive approach to municipal bankruptcy.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Alberto Lucarelli

La ville métropolitaine dans la reforme de l'organisation territoriale en Italie

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 973 - 980

Metropolitan Cities in Italy's Territorial Reform The creation of metropolitan cities was first planned in 1990, but this only really started to happen after the Del Rio Act of 2014. The reform concerns nine major conurbations outside Rome. It is part of the wider reform of the state being undertaken by the Renzi government and is a response to the limited success of the regions. Like an upside-down pyramid, metropolitan cities are underpinned by municipalities. Their governance entails various forms of democracy and they derive their dynamism from the local level. Metropolitan cities replace provinces within the same territorial boundaries. Metropolitan mayors automatically become the mayor of the main municipality in the province.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Gordon David J.

Lament for a network? Cities and networked climate governance in Canada

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 3, May , 529-545

There is substantial evidence that the global governance of climate change must pass through cities. While formal networks offer cities a means of generating effects that extend beyond their own borders, it remains unclear as to whether such networks can address collective action barriers and implementation gaps. City-networks, after all, are limited in their efforts to govern and must rely on information, service provision, and soft forms of coercion if they are to steer their members past these considerable challenges. This article contributes to extant efforts to assess their ability to do so by addressing two gaps in the literature. First, the article focuses on the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP), a city-network that has received little attention to date. Second, through analysis of two Canadian cities (Toronto and Winnipeg), the article provides an empirical illustration of the limitations of network authority and influence, and offers some thoughts on what this means for networked urban climate governance in Canada and beyond.

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



Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jansen Oswald

Le niveau intermédiaire de l'administration territoriale aux Pays-Bas : bilan provisoire de réformes controversées

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 945 -958

The Intermediate Level of Territorial Administration in the Netherlands.

The Provisional Outcome of Controversial Reforms Since the 19th century, the country' administrative organisation has been based on municipalities, provinces and the state. The number of municipalities has gradually declined, and problems have been encountered in organising major conurbations. There have been longstanding efforts to establish suitable administrative structures for such conurbations, especially for the Randstad area, and to reduce the number of the provinces. However, this has not been possible due to constitutional and political obstacles. The latest reform, in 2014, leaves the 12 provinces in place and abolishes compulsory intercommunal structures, although it created the metropolitan region of Rotterdam, the Hague and the region of Amsterdam, which is linked with neighbouring provinces through informal modes of operation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sauvêtre Pierre

Les politiques du commun dans l'Europe du Sud (Grèce, Italie, Espagne). Pratiques citoyennes et restructuration du champ politique

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 59, 2016/1 , 123-138

The political projects of the common in southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Spain). Civic practices and the restructuring of the political field

The article examines the current reemergence of movements addressing the question of «common goods», or «commons», or the «common». It points out that while numerous initiatives and inquiries relative to this issue focus on the economic and juridical conditions of the sustainability of shared resources that are subject to the reflexive organization of a community of users, those projects which have been developed in southern Europe enable us to apprehend the notion of the «common» more in terms of a collective practice of self-institution and self-government. Among these, the article considers cases of collective self-management in Greece, elements of the beni comuni movement in Italy, and certain elements in the renewal of the political in Catalonia. It concludes by noting that the political implications of these initiatives are primarily in terms of the «relativization of the State», through the development of capacities of economic and political organization which are autonomous, a fortiori when developed inside the very institutions of the State.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Joseph Lyons

Local Government Structure and the Co-ordination of Economic Development Policy

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 48 - Issue 01 , 173-193



This paper explores how local government structure affects policy co-ordination. It compares the delivery of economic development services in two Ontario cities. In London, a specialized agency is the lead, but lacks full functional control, while in Hamilton policy control is consolidated in a single municipal department. The findings support the hypothesis of those who argue in favour of general-purpose governments, as the municipal hierarchy in Hamilton was instrumental in achieving policy co-ordination. Proponents of specialization argue that it limits the need for co-ordination between governments but, as the London case demonstrates, this logic breaks down when there are too many players with too few responsibilities.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wollmann Hellmut

Local government reforms: between multifunction and single-purpose organisations

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 3 , 376-384

The paper argues that, in 'revisiting' the referred-to article published back in 2004, the concept then guiding the analysis would need to be modified particularly on three scores. For one, in order to achieve a more adequate comparison the country selection should be expanded beyond the earlier sample (UK, France, Germany and Sweden) to also capture Southern and Central Eastern European countries. Second, the 'developmental' ('over time') analysis of the pertinent institutional changes should be further accentuated and complemented by proceeding 'by (developmental)stages' instead of 'country by country'. Third, while still deeming the distinction between 'multifunction' and 'single-purpose' organisations fruitful to guide a 'government versus governance' analysis and interpretation, the distinction between 'political rationality' and 'economic rationality' should be added with the former (ideal-typically) identified with elected (local) government and the latter seen characteristic of many of the actors in the governance-typical actor networks.

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

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Kerstin Völkl

Länder Elections in German Federalism: Does Federal or Land-Level Influence Predominate?

in *German Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 243-264

Elections take place in particular institutional contexts. In Germany, this institutional context is defined by the principles of federalism, more specifically, by those of cooperative federalism. Therefore the question arises what relative weight political factors at the federal and Land level have for citizens' electoral choices in Länder elections. This article examines this question by using a pooled dataset of Land election surveys conducted between 1990 and 2013. Logistic regressions of Land voting behaviour shows that party composition of the federal and Länder governments is an important context variable for the determination of the level-specific effects referring to both the federal and the Land level, following the logic of reward and punishment. In addition, the results show that the explanatory power of the federal and Land influence on Land voting decisions depends on the existence of a party identification, regional origin and the direction of the voting intention.



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Wouter Jans, Bas Denters, Ariana Need, Minna Van Gerven

Mandatory innovation in a decentralised system: The adoption of an e-government innovation in Dutch municipalities

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 51, Issue 1 , 36-60

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kortta Michael A., Dolleryb Brian , Drewb Joseph

Municipal Mergers in New Zealand: An Empirical Analysis of the Proposed Amalgamation of Hawke's Bay Councils

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 2 , 228-247

Local government policymakers across the developed world have frequently employed municipal amalgamation to improve the operation of local councils, and New Zealand is no exception. This paper empirically examines claims made in Potential Costs and Savings of Local Government Reform in Hawke's Bay that the merger of the five local authorities in the Hawke's Bay Region of New Zealand would generate significant cost-savings. We empirically test for the existence of scale economies in a single merged Hawke's Bay council and find that no cost-savings can be expected. This removes a key argument for a forced Hawke's Bay amalgamation.

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

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Joanne Heritz

Municipal-Aboriginal advisory committees in four Canadian cities: 1999–2014

in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 59, issue 1 , 134-152

How have municipal governments in Canada been engaging Aboriginal peoples and First Nations? This project examined municipal Aboriginal relations offices and/or advisory committees across Canada and focuses on four cases in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto. This study identified their mandates, size, locations and initiatives these offices and advisory committees have undertaken, which include: awareness training; employment strategies to recruit, hire and retain Aboriginal municipal employees; and improve Aboriginal representation on municipal agencies, boards and commissions.

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Le Galès Patrick

Neoliberalism and Urban Change: Stretching a Good Idea Too Far?

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Neoliberal City: Theory, Evidence, Debates , 154-172

Does neoliberalism matter for cities, urbanization processes, urban governance and policies? How and to what extent? What does this even mean? These questions are important as neoliberalism is a contentious and powerful political project and paradigm. This paper argues that: (1) it may be fruitful to be clearer about the meaning of neoliberalism rather than adopting an encompassing constructivist framework; and (2) that neoliberalism may not explain that much about the current transformation of urbanization processes and cities. Instead, these mechanisms need to be better specified and their limits defined: urban worlds and the urbanization processes of cities do not change all the time, in all ways. Rather than embracing the multiple, ever-changing forms of neoliberalism and the constructivist framework underpinning this position, this paper identifies a set of central points to define neoliberalism by contrast to liberalism, as one possible working definition of neoliberalism. Secondly, it discusses the neoliberalization of cities and urban policies, recognizing that cities change for many reasons, of which neoliberalism is just one.

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

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Elisabetta Mauri and Giuseppe Carlo Ricciardi

Nuove prospettive di valorizzazione delle aggregazioni territoriali? L'esperienza lombarda delle fusioni comunali nel contesto macroregionale alpino

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 985-1012

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Coro' Giancarlo

Per un auto-governo dello spazio metropolitano. Processi di cooperazione territoriale in Italia, Francia e Stati Uniti

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, Numero unico del 2015- marzo 2016

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jakobsena Morten, Kjaerb Ulrik

Political Representation and Geographical Bias in Amalgamated Local Governments

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 2 , 208-227

There is a strong tendency across the world to amalgamate political jurisdictions, especially local governments. Merger of jurisdictions entails integration of local interests, and former jurisdictions have to struggle to secure political representation and specific area interests in the new amalgamated jurisdiction. We argue that this struggle is affected by



the strength of the centre–periphery dimension of the new amalgamated jurisdiction. When a large city is merged with less populated jurisdictions, a strong centre–periphery dimension is created, and this leads to a numerical over-representation of the periphery in the legislature of the amalgamated jurisdiction. We test the argument empirically using a recent large-scale amalgamation reform that allows us to compare 66 amalgamations with different centre–periphery dimensions. Our argument is supported when we examine representation by seats in jurisdiction councils (descriptive representation) and politicians' advancement of local interests (substantive representation).

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Sean Mueller, Oscar Mazzoleni

Regionalist Protest through Shared Rule? Peripherality and the Use of Cantonal Initiatives in Switzerland
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 45-71

In this article, we are interested in the extent to which federalism is able to deal with peripheral protest through shared rule channels. Shared rule as a key dimension of federal states has not thus far received adequate academic attention. Empirically, we analyse the use of all cantonal initiatives in Switzerland over the past 25 years as a particular instrument of shared rule, subsequently focusing on two peripheral regions with successful regionalist parties, Ticino and Geneva. We find that regionalist parties contribute towards radicalizing peripheral demands in search of attention from the centre. This leads to the mainstreaming of peripheral demands by pulling other parties along. We conclude that shared rule properly designed gives even the most peripheral regions a voice in national decisions, but that regionalist parties may also use shared rule instruments to mobilize their electorate at home to fight their non-regionalist competitors.

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Messina Patrizia

Riforme istituzionali e governo dell'area vasta come strategia di sviluppo del territorio: tra deficit democratico e percorsi partecipativi
in *Diritto della regione (il)*, Numero unico del 2015- marzo 2016

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hafizur Rahman and Zena Seldon

Spheres of decision-making in small and isolated municipalities: The Thompson-Nicola Regional District
in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 59, issue 1 , 153-174

While there is extensive American literature that examines the interface between elected officials and administrators in cities and municipalities, there is virtually nothing written about Canada, particularly for small and isolated cities and



villages. Based on a survey consisting of twenty-one operational questions conducted in the Thompson-Nicola Regional District (TNRD) of British Columbia, the study fills that void. We found varying degrees of shared decision-making between the two parties, but the respondents also reported incursions from their counterparties in a number of areas.

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Hilmar Langhelle Mjelde, Bjarte Folkestad, Jacob Aars, Dag Arne Christensen

The 2015 Norwegian Local Elections: Support for Governing Radical Right Progress Party Plummetts and Great Gains for Greens in 'Second-Order' Elections

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 243-253

Two years into the first term of the right wing Conservative/Progress Party coalition government, the 2015 Norwegian local elections displayed many features of a 'second-order' election: the governing parties lost considerable support, minor parties did well and voter turnout was low. For the second local elections in a row, political circumstances prevented the far right Progress Party from mobilizing on the anti-immigration issue, adding to the burdens of governing nationally for the first time. The Green Party leveraged its 2013 entry into the national parliament into record support, consolidating the progress made in the 2011 local elections. Although the elections were shaped by national politics, municipal and county variation shows that local political factors did matter.

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Storper Michael

The Neo-liberal City as Idea and Reality

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Neoliberal City: Theory, Evidence, Debates , 241-263

Although there have been substantial changes in the techniques of public management and the rhetoric of urban policy, there is little evidence of the massive withdrawal of the state, de-regulation of city life, reduction in urban public goods, or decline in the role of inter-regional transfers in regional development. These phenomena are frequently cited in the literature arguing that cities and urban policy have become neo-liberal. A principal reason why the critical neo-liberalist literature makes its largely erroneous claim about changes in urban management and policy is that it fails to master liberal economic concepts, and to clearly distinguish them from neo-liberal, illiberal, or laissez-faire reasoning. This paper shows that the literature makes substantial errors in labelling many governmentality practices as neo-liberal, because many of them are caused by pragmatic responses to technological and demographic change, while many others result from the opposite of neo-liberal ideologies, that is, social movements that reject monolithic regulatory state power and press for new, more diversified ways of life. The paper concludes by arguing that the weaknesses of the critical neo-liberalism literature stem from failure to engage with economic and social theory analytics in a disciplined fashion, as well as from normative bias.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21622671.2016.1158662>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pinson Gilles, Morel Journal Christelle



The Neoliberal City – Theory, Evidence, Debates

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Neoliberal City: Theory, Evidence, Debates , 137-153

For almost two decades now, neoliberalism and neoliberalization have become the object of increasing interest not only in political debate but also in the social sciences, and in particular urban studies. Because the definition of neoliberalism (or neoliberalization) is itself one dimension of this debate, we provisionally define it here as the set of intellectual streams, policy orientations and regulatory arrangements that strive to extend market mechanisms, relations, discipline and ethos to an ever-expanding spectrum of spheres of social activities, and all this through relying on strong State intervention. These streams and orientations are far from constituting a coherent and stable ensemble. That is the reason why many scholars prefer the notion of neoliberalization in order to depict the inherently fuzzy, diverse, contingent, ever-mutating and path-dependent processes of regulatory change that have been inspired by neoliberal ideas (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21622671.2016.1166982>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Raco Mike, Street Emma, Freire-Trigo Sonia

The New Localism, Anti-Political Development Machines, and the Role of Planning Consultants: Lessons from London's South Bank

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Neoliberal City: Theory, Evidence, Debates , 216-240

This paper draws on a study of the politics of development planning in London's South Bank to examine wider trends in the governance of contemporary cities. It assesses the impacts and outcomes of so-called new localist reforms and argues that we are witnessing two principal trends. First, governance processes are increasingly dominated by anti-democratic development machines, characterized by new assemblages of public- and private-sector experts. These machines reflect and reproduce a type of development politics in which there is a greater emphasis on a pragmatic realism and a politics of delivery. Second, the presence of these machines is having a significant impact on the politics of planning. Democratic engagement is not seen as the basis for new forms of localism and community control. Instead, it is presented as a potentially disruptive force that needs to be managed by a new breed of skilled private-sector consultant. The paper examines these wider shifts in urban politics before focusing on the connections between emerging development machines and local residential and business communities. It ends by highlighting some of the wider implications of change for democratic modes of engagement and nodes of resistance in urban politics.

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Kempin Reuter Tina

The Right to Self-Determination of Ethnic Groups: The Canton of Jura in Switzerland

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 250-269

The right to self-determination of peoples has become interconnected with the rights of ethnic groups, including the right to determine the group's own affairs and to participate in the decision-making process of the state. This article argues that a "people-centred" understanding of the right to self-determination is evolving in international law in response to emerging claims of non-traditional non-state actors such as ethnic groups. The case study of the establishment and



continuing negotiations over the boundaries of the canton of Jura in Switzerland serves as an illustration of such a “people-centred” approach to self-determination. Findings suggest that the approach taken by the Bernese and Jurassians can serve as a role model for other ethnic groups in constitutional democracies with territorial claims.

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Grigorii V. Golosov

The September 2015 Regional Elections in Russia: A Rehearsal for Next Year's National Legislative Races in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 255-268

The September 2015 elections in the regions of Russia resulted in victories for the major pro-government party, United Russia, in 11 regional legislative elections and brought success to incumbent chief executives in 21 gubernatorial elections. The performance of United Russia was better than in the previous series of regional elections, which is particularly important given that in many respects, the 2015 regional elections served as a rehearsal for the 2016 national legislative races. The results of the elections generally attested to the efficiency of political and institutional manipulation tools developed by the Russian authorities in recent years.

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Zareh Asatryan

The indirect effects of direct democracy: local government size and non-budgetary voter initiatives in Germany in International Tax and Public Finance, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 580-601

Recently, a wide and empirically backed consensus has emerged arguing that direct democratic control over government's spending decisions through initiatives and referendums constrains government size. This paper extends the discussion to German direct democracy reforms of the mid-1990s, which granted voters rights to launch initiatives on local issues, but neither the right nor the responsibility of voting on the implied costs of these initiatives. An analysis of around 2300 voter initiatives in the population of around 13,000 German municipalities from 2002 to 2009 demonstrates that in this sample—and in contrast to most of the Swiss and US evidence—direct democracy causes an expansion of local government size on average by around 8 % in annual per capita expenditure and revenue per initiative (on economic projects). This quite substantial increase in government size is financed by an increase in local taxes.

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Adam Grydehøj

Toward Subnational Democracies of Scale: Tensions between Democratic Legitimacy, Legality, and Effective Governance in Geopolitics, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 22-42

Although democracy is often discussed as a universally applicable ideology, the liberal democratic state tends to assess democracy on the basis of government institutions. This paper argues that democratic institutionalism favours national governments and makes it difficult for subnational governments to expand their governance capacity and exercise



additional powers. Greenland, Shetland, and Tresco (Isles of Scilly) serve as case studies of different subnational strategies for exercising greater governance capacity: 1) Actual adherence to democratic form (Greenland), 2) Symbolic adherence to democratic form (Shetland), and 3) Operating external to democratic form (Tresco). Despite the efforts of local governance actors, governance in these three island communities has proved problematic in terms of democratic legitimacy, legality, and/or effectiveness. It is argued that pressure toward the development of liberal democratic government institutions can in fact decrease the quality of subnational democracy. This requires a reassessment of definitions of democracy and authoritarianism. It is necessary to pursue place-specific and community-sensitive democracies of scale if we wish to democratically empower local communities.

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Allmendinger Phil, Haughton Graham, Shepherd Edward

Where is planning to be found? Material practices and the multiple spaces of planning

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 1, February , 38-51

A range of new spaces of English planning have emerged in recent years. One new space of clear import is the sub-region. In this paper we seek to gain a better understanding of why sub-regional spaces emerge, how they are used and how planning functions through them. Drawing upon an analysis of three English regions and interviews with actors the paper identifies four types of sub-regional planning that highlight the relationship between accountable, legally sanctioned territorial spaces on the one hand and more informal, open and strategic sub-regional spaces on the other. Sub-regional planning provides an important if not critical strategic parallel to regulatory planning though the relationship between the two is characterised by complexity, contestation, experimentation and impermanence. Among other issues raised by this contemporary reworking of planning is the emergence of an accountability gap through the uncoupling of formal democratic processes embedded within territories and the more diffuse practices of strategic plan making.

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Steinert Christoph, Yordanova Nikoleta

'Alliance with the Enemy': Why the CDU and the Greens Formed Their First Coalition in a Large German Federal State

in German Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1 , 54-72

This article seeks to explain the 2013 coalition between the CDU and the Greens in the German federal state of Hesse. It applies traditional office-seeking and policy-seeking coalition formation theories to the case alongside a new explanation underscoring the influence of past behaviour on coalition partnership; namely, the negative impact of a pre-electoral commitment breach on future coalition formation. The results show that pure office-seeking cannot explain the coalition outcome. Instead, as the analysis of textual data extracted from political parties' manifestos shows, there has been a constant process of policy approximation between the CDU and the Greens in Hesse. Additionally, we find evidence suggesting that the SPD's breach on their promise not to rely on support by the Left Party in 2008 shaped the CDU's refusal to coalesce with the SPD in 2013. The findings add to our understanding of the interplay between office-seeking and policy-seeking motivations as well as the personal enmities of key actors in shaping the coalition formation. The study further offers insights into the new German coalition option between the Greens and the CDU, which can serve as a blueprint at the national level.



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Keil Roger, Addie Jean-Paul D.

'It's Not Going to be Suburban, It's Going to be All Urban': Assembling Post-suburbia in the Toronto and Chicago Regions

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 39, Issue 5, September , 892-911

Urban and suburban politics are increasingly intertwined in regions that aspire to be global. Powerful actors in the Chicago and Toronto regions have mobilized regional space to brand rescaled images of the urban experience, but questions remain as to who constructs and who can access the benefits of these revised spatial identities. Local political interests have tended to be obfuscated in the regional milieu, most problematically in the spaces between the gentrified inner cities, privileged growth nodes, and the glamorized suburban subdivisions and exurban spaces beyond the city limits. This article analyses how socio-spatial changes in post-suburbanizing urban fringes contribute to the way regions are being reconfigured and reimagined. Guided by current debates at the intersection of assemblage theory and critical urban political economy, our analysis demonstrates how socio-technical infrastructures, policy mobilities and political economic relations are spatially aligned, sustained and dissolved in splintering North American agglomerations. Particular attention is paid to issues of urban transportation and connectivity in uncovering multifaceted modes of suburbanism that now underlie the monistic imagery of the globalized region. Emergent regionalized topologies and territoriality blur conventional understandings of city-suburban dichotomies in extended urban areas that are now characterized by polycentric post-suburban constellations. In terms of their substance and functionality, 'real existing' regions are currently re-territorialized as complex assemblages that are embedded in a neoliberalizing political economy whose politics and identities are only beginning to be revealed.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Kada Nicolas

L'État et le territoire : quelles missions pour quelle vision ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 907 - 922

The State and the Territorial Level: Which Responsibilities for Which Vision?
Contrary to what might appear to be the case, territorial reforms are not just ad hoc technical procedures for reorganising local and regional authorities and their competences. Over and above the basic institutional and political mechanisms underpinning these procedures, these reforms permit the state to express its vision on the decentralisation and territorialisation of public policies, while highlighting the responsibilities it intends to retain. However the state is extremely vague about this at present, thus exposing recurrent problems regarding its vision on the relationship with the territorial level.

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Marcou Gérard

L'État, la décentralisation et les régions

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 887-906

The State, Decentralisation and the Regions

Legislation passed since 2013 has yet again revived the process of local government reform. Groupings of local authorities will be reformed, with the creation of 14 metropolitan areas, including Le Grand Paris. In line with the 2010 Act, intercommunalities will become more commonplace, although they will have a much higher minimum population. However, the reform of intermediate levels of government is inconsistent. First the legitimacy of the department councils was renewed in 2013. Then it was announced that they would be abolished, but the creation of bigger regions finally justified maintaining them. The NOTRe Act on the Republic's new territorial organisation allowed them to keep powers that it had been expected would be transferred to the regions. The general clause on departments' and regions' competences was initially abolished by the 2010 Act, then it was reintroduced by the Act of 27 January 2014, and now it been removed again by the Act of 7 August 2015. Ultimately the regionalist thrust of the second wave of reforms has not been kept up. An opportunity to update the French system has thus arisen, in which the key players will be the state (through the prefects) and communes (through the intercommunalities).

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cheeseman Nic, Lynch Gabrielle, Willis Justin

Select Decentralisation in Kenya: the governance of governors. Decentralisation in Kenya: the governance of governors

in *Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 53 - Issue 3 - September , pp. 1-35

Kenya's March 2013 elections ushered in a popular system of devolved government that represented the country's biggest political transformation since independence. Yet within months there were public calls for a referendum to significantly revise the new arrangements. This article analyses the campaign that was led by the newly elected governors in order to understand the ongoing disputes over the introduction of decentralisation in Kenya, and what they tell us about the potential for devolution to check the power of central government and to diffuse political and ethnic tensions. Drawing on Putnam's theory of two-level games, we suggest that Kenya's new governors have proved willing and capable of acting in concert to protect their own positions because the pressure that governors are placed under at the local level to defend county interests has made it politically dangerous for them to be co-opted by the centre. As a result, the Kenyan experience cannot be read as a case of 'recentralisation' by the national government, or as one of the capture of sub-national units by 'local elites' or 'notables'. Rather, decentralisation in Kenya has generated a political system with a more robust set of checks and balances, but at the expense of fostering a new set of local controversies that have the potential to exacerbate corruption and fuel local ethnic tensions in some parts of the country.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Mazzucotelli Francesco

"Beyond the Nation-State? Democratic Confederalism and the Charter of Rojava"

in *Politico (II)*, n. 239-240, 2015 , 256-275

ABSTRACT: L'articolo prende in esame l'applicazione del concetto di confederalismo democratico all'interno della carta proto-costituzionale del Rojava, ossia delle regioni a maggioranza curda nel nord della Siria che sono emerse come uno spazio politico autonomo nel quadro della guerra civile siriana. Il confederalismo democratico è stato teorizzato da Abdullah Öcalan come una prassi di autogoverno e democrazia diretta che esula dalla cornice dello stato-nazione, visto come un modello istituzionale funzionale al sistema capitalista. L'articolo, attraverso una ricognizione storica della componente curda in Siria, prende in esame il cosiddetto "contratto sociale" del Rojava, chiedendosi se e quanto il confederalismo democratico sia stato trasposto nella pratica. Il paradigma statale appare difficilmente scardinabile, mentre ciò che sembra profilarsi è il consolidamento di un territorio parzialmente indipendente che negozia quote di sovranità con un potere centrale. La scomparsa dello stato-nazione non è probabilmente dietro l'angolo, ma il rafforzamento di spazi politici parzialmente indipendenti e di attori non statuali crea una nuova geografia politica del Vicino Oriente, che si potrebbe dire di tipo post-westfaliano e in cui i tradizionali attributi della sovranità statale vanno sempre più sfumando.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Timothy William Waters

A World Elsewhere: Secession, Subsidiarity and Self-Determination as European Values

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 23 , 11-45

There is a strong animus against the idea of secession, which is seen as violating the integrative values of the European Union. This animus is misguided, which this essay demonstrates in two ways: first, that secession should be understood as an act of subsidiarity, and as such is fully consistent with European values; and second, that we have the means for realizing those values in international law and politics generally by using the language of self-determination – though not the contemporary doctrine, rather a radically democratic form: a right to secession. Beginning with a critique of a prominent attack on Catalan secession, this essay shows the problematic conceptual and moral underpinnings of the animus against secession; it then demonstrates the ethical and legal relationship between subsidiarity and secession, the usefulness of self-determination as a justificatory framework, the advantages of a radical right to secession, and the moral case for embracing secession as a European value.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Editorial

A new settlement for the United Kingdom: undermining the euro by limiting free movement

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 41, issue 2 , 145-146

No abstract available



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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Editorial

Brexit and international treaty-making

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 41, issue 1 , 1-2

No abstract available

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Scheindlin Dahlia, Waxman Dov

Confederalism: A Third Way for Israel–Palestine

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 39, Issue 1 , pp. 83-94

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cheeseman Nic, Lynch Gabrielle, Willis Justin

Decentralisation in Kenya: the governance of governors

in *Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 54 - Issue 1 - March , pp. 1-35

Kenya's March 2013 elections ushered in a popular system of devolved government that represented the country's biggest political transformation since independence. Yet within months there were public calls for a referendum to significantly revise the new arrangements. This article analyses the campaign that was led by the newly elected governors in order to understand the ongoing disputes over the introduction of decentralisation in Kenya, and what they tell us about the potential for devolution to check the power of central government and to diffuse political and ethnic tensions. Drawing on Putnam's theory of two-level games, we suggest that Kenya's new governors have proved willing and capable of acting in concert to protect their own positions because the pressure that governors are placed under at the local level to defend county interests has made it politically dangerous for them to be co-opted by the centre. As a result, the Kenyan experience cannot be read as a case of 'recentralisation' by the national government, or as one of the capture of sub-national units by 'local elites' or 'notables'. Rather, decentralisation in Kenya has generated a political system with a more robust set of checks and balances, but at the expense of fostering a new set of local controversies that have the potential to exacerbate corruption and fuel local ethnic tensions in some parts of the country.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-modern-african-studies/article/div-classtitledecentralisation-in-kenya-the-governance-of-governors-a-hrefnns01-ref-typefnadiv/5359C86BB7B5540B81E78C6DC30E98B6/core-reader>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

ABDULAI KUYINI MOHAMMED

Decentralization and Participation: Theory and Ghana's Evidence



in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 17 - Issue 02 , 232-255

Decentralization is predicted to increase popular participation in all processes, and especially decision-making at the local level. Through the analysis of interview data and secondary information, this claim was tested in five districts in Ghana. The evidence showed that contrary to theory, formal and informal procedures for participation are inadequate and irregular. Although the spaces for participation have been established and expanded, these are dominated by males with educated and professional backgrounds as well as the rich and influential with access to power at the center. Women, the poor and disabled as well as people from rural peripheries are excluded from the process. Their exclusion is attributable to gender-insensitive decentralization policy, lack of socio-economic resources, low educational attainment, cultural practices, and patronage politics. The paper concludes that decentralization cannot compel the predicted level of participation unless these structural conditions inhibiting engagement and empowerment of especially marginalized groups are addressed.

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Emmeneger Rony

Decentralization and the local developmental state: peasant mobilization in Oromiya, Ethiopia in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 86, Number 2, May , 263-287

This article explores the politics of decentralization and state-peasant encounters in rural Oromiya, Ethiopia. Breaking with a centralized past, the incumbent government of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) committed itself to a decentralization policy in the early 1990s and has since then created a number of new sites for state-citizen interactions. In the context of electoral authoritarianism, however, decentralization has been interpreted as a means for the expansion of the party-state at the grass-roots level. Against this backdrop, this article attempts a more nuanced understanding of the complex entanglements between the closure of political space and faith in progress in local arenas. Hence, it follows sub-kebele institutions at the community level in a rural district and analyses their significance for state-led development and peasant mobilization between the 2005 and 2010 elections. Based on ethnographic field research, the empirical case presented discloses that decentralization and state-led development serve the expansion of state power into rural areas, but that state authority is simultaneously constituted and undermined in the course of this process. On that basis, this article aims to contribute to an inherently political understanding of decentralization, development and their entanglement in local and national politics in rural African societies.

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Debrah Emmanuel

Decentralization, District Chief Executives, and District Assemblies in Ghana's Fourth Republic in Politics & Policy, Volume 44, Issue 1, February , 135-164

The article shows how District Chief Executives (DCEs) exert extraordinary influence on Ghana's decentralization. Analyzing data from Afrobarometer surveys and 100 interviews, the article establishes that DCEs' position is very complex, involving the exercise of political and administrative functions aimed to influence grassroots support for the president. While politicization allowed the DCEs to perform their assigned functions, it polarized the district assemblies



with assembly members divided in support of or against their policies/activities. It further led to conflict and tension between the DCEs, administrators, and Members of Parliament, which proved counterproductive to rural development. Subnational leaders who owe their position to political appointment lack autonomy to pursue grassroots preference. Yet with constitutional reforms that ensure direct election of DCEs, and the creation of a local supervisory body with review and veto powers over DCE policy and administration, responsiveness, and accountability to the people can be encouraged. This, in turn, can foster cooperation/positive interaction among the varying actors and perspectives for effective decentralization.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/polp.12146/pdf>

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Marcou Gérard

Développement économique : la région, chef de file ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 1037 -1048

Should the Regions be the Leading Players in Economic Development? The NOTRe Act of 7 August 2015 on the Republic's new territorial organisation extended the regions competences in the field of economic development, economic planning and support to businesses. It strengthened their leading role in this area, which had been established by the Act of 27 January 2014. However, this preeminent role is disputed; the metropolises are emerging as competing powers in the economic field and the state still plays a predominant role in the economic field. Cooperation is thus necessary on the one hand between regions and the state, and on the other hand between the regions and other authorities.

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Lucía Payero López

El derecho de autodeterminación en España: breve explicación para extranjeros estupefactos y nacionales incautos

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 23 , 46-79

El derecho de autodeterminación nacional ha sido un punto de fricción habitual entre el gobierno central y las naciones de la periferia en España. El presente artículo examina los fundamentos teóricos de este derecho, vinculado a los principios democrático, liberal y nacionalista. A continuación, se aplica dicho concepto de autodeterminación a las naciones integradas en el seno de un estado democrático como es España, proponiendo un nuevo paradigma alternativo a la concepción dominante.

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José Ramón Parada Vázquez

El fracaso de la descentralización política. Reforma del Estado y reformas administrativas.



in *Revista de Occidente*, Número 416 , 5-38

No abstract available

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

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Oleg Demchenko, Grigorii V Golosov

Federalism, gubernatorial power and the incorporation of subnational authoritarianism in Russia: A theory-testing empirical inquiry

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 51, Issue 1 , 61-79 [Look Inside](#) [Get Access](#)

No abstract available

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

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Joni Tuomas Vainikka

Finland's Parliamentary Election 2015: Certainty of the Result with Uncertainty of the Outcome

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 269-285

The winner of the Finnish parliamentary election 2015 was certain long before the elections. The Centre Party of Finland would win, but for the composition of the government and future societal changes, it was more interesting who would be the runners-up. With eight parliamentary parties and with eight different political agendas, the Finnish political system forms a hard to predict political landscape. Key issues for the Centre Party, rebounding from the catastrophic elections of 2011, were to find a coalition with trust between its members and to generate trust in getting things done. One evident societal outcome of the election is the deceleration of centralization policies furthered by the previous government. The disagreement over regional politics and devolution and related cleavages within the country brought the coalition government between the Centre Party, the National Coalition Party and the Finns Party to the verge of falling after only six months.

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Mattingly Daniel C.

How Decentralization and Informal Institutions Weaken Property Rights in China

in *World Politics*, vol. 68, n. 3, july , 383-412

ABSTRACT: Political decentralization is often argued to strengthen political accountability by bringing government closer to the people. Social and civic institutions at the local level, such as lineage associations, temples, churches, or social clubs, can make it easier for citizens to monitor officials and hold them accountable. This article argues that strong social institutions also empower local elites who may use their informal influence to control their group and capture rents. Drawing on evidence from case studies of Chinese villages, the article shows that lineage group leaders who become village officials use their combination of social and political authority to confiscate villagers' land. Evidence from a survey experiment suggests that endorsement of a land confiscation plan by lineage elites elicits greater compliance with



property seizures. A national survey indicates that when a lineage leader becomes a village cadre, it is associated with a 14 to 20 percent increase in the likelihood of a land expropriation. The findings demonstrate how informal institutions and local civil society can be tools of top-down political control.

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Hildebrandt Achim, Wolf Frieder

How Much of a Sea-Change? Land Policies after the Reforms of Federalism

in **German Politics**, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 227-242

The reforms of German federalism in 2006 and 2009 that widened the scope of Länder powers and rearranged Germany's fiscal structures were met with great expectations as well as outright hostility. This article analyses how the resulting patterns of Länder policies and their determinants differ from the period between re-unification and the 2006 reforms. It focuses on higher education and environmental law, the two areas over which initial reform attempts in 2004 had failed and where changes were especially far-reaching and debates especially emotional. If indeed a new type of federalism, and of Land-level politics in particular, has emerged, it would be most likely to manifest itself regarding these policies. Our theoretical approach contrasts expectations of intensified policy competition between the Länder with institutional, partisan and political-cultural factors working towards continued co-ordinated, incremental muddling-through. So far, our empirical analysis shows, the latter seem to dominate.

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Mangiameli Stelio

Il Titolo V della costituzione alla luce della giurisprudenza costituzionale e delle prospettive di riforma

in **Italian Papers on Federalism**, 1-2/2015

If there is a prominent responsibility in the failure to transform the state and the poor implementation of regionalism, this can be ascribed to the dominant legal science in Italy who has never metabolized regions and that this is very different from the ones of the federal states.

This helps to dispel the position of those who tend to shift the responsibility for the degradation of regionalism to the Constitutional Court because it is not sustainable that it can exist and operate regardless of constitutional culture, indeed in many ways it is its due reflection. The Court's work lives on the basis of constitutional science, whose ideas and passions dominate and animate it, especially considering that many legal scholars have been members of the Court. Until the Constitution was formulated in terms of guarantees for the regions in respect to the State, the constitutional case law was animated by the desire to safeguard the unity of the legal system, supporting - even in a substitute role - the state legislature, and what has been done has had the sense to maintain an overall balance.

Instead, after the reform the Court will be required to provide a guarantee to the constitutional principles of regionalism and to balance the power that the new constitution will allow the central government.

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Harris Eleonora



Il buon funzionamento delle relazioni tra livelli di governo nel Regno Unito dopo il referendum sull'indipendenza in Federalismi, Anno XIV - Nr. 3

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Alvés Correia Fernando

Le Portugal, une régionalisation sans régions administratives ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 959 -972

Regionalisation on the Portuguese Mainland: Regionalisation without Administrative Regions? Regionalisation on mainland Portugal was rejected by the electorate in the referendum of 1998. Consequently the process of regionalisation has taken place without any regional administrative units having been created, so to speak. Powers over spatial planning, infrastructure and development have been transferred to regional development commissions, which are decentralised central government agencies in five administrative regions. Relatively large intercommunal structures with powers in the same areas have also been set up. However, they are not local authorities, even in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. Legislation concerning them has been revised several times in recent years. Ultimately Portugal is still a relatively centralised state. The decentralisation process could be pursued through the transfer of powers to the intercommunal structures.

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Jegouzo Yves

Les compétences « aménagement du territoire et urbanisme » : quelle décentralisation ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 1049 -1054

How Should Spatial and Urban Planning Powers be Decentralised? Despite the decentralisation of competences in the field of urban and spatial planning, they are still areas of shared competence. Reforms of urban planning legislation have constantly expanded its remit. The fact that local authorities in France are dispersed has meant that it has taken 20 years for the idea that planning needs to be done at intercommunal level to prevail. However, the legislation has not yet been fully implemented. The NOTRe Act provides regions with a regulatory planning tool which seeks to integrate the various sectoral planning tools used to enforce planning regulations. However, it is impossible to anticipate the use the regions will make of these new powers, given the experience of the former SRADT regional spatial planning and development system, the reorganisation of the regions and new powers acquired by the metropolises.



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Rowe Carolyn, Turner Ed

Let's Stick Together? Explaining Boundaries to Territorial Policy Variation: The Case of Germany's Prisons Legislation

in **German Politics**, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 193-209

This article offers an initial impact assessment regarding the introduction of new legislative responsibilities at the Land level in a case study of prisons policy (Strafvollzug). Combining an analysis of new legislation produced across the 16 Länder since the responsibility for prisons policy was transferred to the Land level, and insights into the mechanics of policy development obtained through a series of interviews with senior politicians and officials, this article finds that the desire among Länder to legislate independently has varied, with substantial backing for co-ordination in the development of new legislation. This has helped to confound expectations of a 'competition of harshness' which many expected to result from decentralisation. However, even before the 2006 reforms, there were substantial variations between the Länder when it came to implementing prisons policy, so consideration of the sub-national level in this area remains essential.

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Lowndes Vivien, Gardner Alison

Local governance under the Conservatives: super-austerity, devolution and the 'smarter state'

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 42, Issue 3 , 357-375

Through their ambitious devolution programme, the Conservatives show a new assertiveness in relation to restructuring the local state, in contrast to the laissez-faire approach of the previous Coalition government. Although the Coalition piloted devolution, its signature policies of 'localism' and the 'Big Society' focused on non-state actors, providing rights and opportunities for communities to challenge local government and establish their own services. The Conservatives are promoting devolution as a strategy to stimulate economic growth based on greater sub-regional autonomy and increased competitiveness across and between English localities. 'Combined authorities' have the opportunity to champion local identities and acquire new economic development powers from Whitehall. But devolution could be a strategy to decentralise austerity, shifting responsibility to the local level for deeper cuts (56% by 2020) and inevitable service reductions. Local government confronts 'super-austerity', where new cuts come on top of previous ones, compounding original impacts and creating dangerous (and unevenly spread) multiplier effects. The Conservatives' 'smarter state' policies, aimed at delivering 'more for less', amount to little more than a recycling of new public management diktats. The emerging patchwork of 'devolution deals' challenges the redistributive assumptions of the grant regime and could leave disadvantaged areas at particular risk of failure. 'Metro mayors' are intended to provide visible and accountable leadership; but roles for locally elected councillors, and prospects for community and citizen engagement, remain unclear. The public has yet to be adequately engaged in what is in danger of becoming a technocratic transfer of power.

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Reus Iris

On a Successful Road to 'More Federalism' in Länder Politics? The Case of Smoking Bans after Germany's Federalism Reform

in **German Politics**, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 210-226

The Federalism Reform I of 2006 was aimed at reversing interlocked policy making and thereby transferred 16 legislative competences to the Länder to provide them with more autonomy. Yet, the impact of the reform depends primarily on the way the Länder actually make use of these new competences. This contribution examines ensuing Länder legislation using the case of the protection of non-smokers. With regard to the question of 'uniformity vs diversity', the analysis of laws shows that alongside great uniformity in principle there are considerable differences concerning the arrangements in detail. The analysis of the legislation processes shows that only part of the uniformity is caused by the intention of harmonisation. Instead, it was the convergent development of public opinion in the Länder that led the legislation in the same direction. To some extent therefore, while autonomous Land legislation took place concerning the processes, it resulted in uniformity.

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Gurney G. G, Cinner J.E., Sartin J., Pressey R.L., Ban N.C., Marshall N.A., Prabuning D.

Participation in devolved commons management: Multiscale socioeconomic factors related to individuals' participation in community-based management of marine protected areas in Indonesia

in **Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 61, July , 212-220

Management of common-pool natural resources is commonly implemented under institutional models promoting devolved decision-making, such as co-management and community-based management. Although participation of local people is critical to the success of devolved commons management, few studies have empirically investigated how individuals' participation is related to socioeconomic factors that operate at multiple scales. Here, we evaluated how individual- and community-scale factors were related to levels of individual participation in management of community-based marine protected areas in Indonesia. In addressing this aim, we drew on multiple bodies of literature on human behaviour from economics and social science, including the social-ecological systems framework from the literature on common-pool resources, the theory of planned behaviour from social psychology, and public goods games from behavioural economics. We found three key factors related to level of participation of local people: subjective norms, structural elements of social capital, and nested institutions. There was also suggestive evidence that participation was related to people's cooperative behavioural disposition, which we elicited using a public goods game. These results point to the importance of considering socioeconomic factors that operate at multiple scales when examining individual behaviour. Further, our study highlights the need to consider multiscale mechanisms other than those designed to appeal to self-interested concerns, such as regulations and material incentives, which are typically employed in devolved commons management to encourage participation. Increased understanding of the factors related to participation could facilitate better targeting of investments aimed at encouraging cooperative management.

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Fatke Matthias

Participatory effects of regional authority: decentralisation and political participation in comparative



perspective

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 4 , 667-687

ABSTRACT: This article studies political participation in the context of decentralisation in Europe. Recent secession attempts demonstrate how the demand for decentralisation energises citizens. Yet the fact that decentralised institutions, initially, were endorsed to increase citizens' participation is often neglected. In order to test this contention empirically, three theoretically informed arguments are developed, making use of the most recent data on regional authority for 282 regions in 20 European countries. Results of three-level hierarchical models lend support to the arguments. Regional self-rule increases probabilities to engage only in more demanding and less common forms of participation. It also acts as a political opportunity structure, moderating the influence of individual driving forces of participation. Participatory effects on protest activity, however, turn out to be endogenous, as the instrumental variable analysis indicates that decentralisation does not increase protest, but rather the reverse. These findings seem relevant to the current heated debates both on secession attempts and waning political involvement.

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Detterbeck Klaus

Party Inertia amid Federal Change? Stability and Adaptation in German Parties

in German Politics, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: Reframing German Federalism , 265-285

German parties have been characterised by strong vertical linkages between party levels, but recent changes in the German federal system and the territorialisation of the party system have posed severe challenges to this organisational model. This article looks at party responses from two different theoretical perspectives. Rational choice institutionalism would predict rapid adaptation to a new political environment resulting in a significant increase of autonomy of the Land branches. Historical institutionalism, however, would expect more piecemeal party reforms and a good deal of organisational inertia. Studying the degree of vertical integration and sub-national party autonomy in the major German parties before and after re-unification, the article finds evidence for both theoretical approaches. The increase in regional heterogeneity has resulted in Land parties making more frequent use of their formal organisational competences. Yet, there are still many incentives for German parties to organise as integrated multi-level organisations.

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Vladimir Kogan, Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz

Performance Federalism and Local Democracy: Theory and Evidence from School Tax Referenda

in American Journal of Political Science, Volume 60, Issue 2 , 418–435

Federal governments are increasingly employing empirical measures of lower-level government performance to ensure that provincial and local jurisdictions pursue national policy goals. We call this burgeoning phenomenon “performance federalism” and argue that it can distort democratic accountability in lower-level elections. We estimate the impact of a widely publicized federal indicator of local school district performance—one that we show does not allow voters to draw valid inferences about the quality of local educational institutions—on voter support for school tax levies in a U.S. state uniquely appropriate for this analysis. The results indicate that a signal of poor district performance increases the probability of levy failure, a substantively large and robust effect that disproportionately affects impoverished



communities. The analysis employs a number of identification strategies and tests for multiple behavioral mechanisms to support the causal interpretation of these findings.

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Gagneron Werner

Quel bilan et quel rôle pour les administrations déconcentrées de l'État ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 923 -930

The Achievements and Future Role of the State's Devolved Administration
The reform of the state at the territorial level (RÉATE) has achieved mixed results since it was implemented six years ago in 2009. The goals of achieving wider interministerial cooperation in the implementation of public policies and improvements in support functions have not been achieved. It is now necessary to redefine the role of the state at territorial level, by directly determining what its task should be and by developing a new relationship with local and regional authorities. Also, if the list of interministerial departmental directorates is maintained, they should be given the resources they require by developing new professional sectors and providing them with a proper operational budget.

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Chavier Géraldine

Quels pouvoirs juridiques pour l'exercice des compétences ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/4 (N° 156) , 1027 -1036

Which Legal Powers are Required in order to Exercise which Competences? While numerous competences have been transferred to local and regional authorities, their use is still broadly shaped by too many over-detailed central government regulations. Local and regional authorities clearly have greater power to apply and adapt legislation, but this is still insufficient. So-called constitutional obstacles are relative. This is particularly the case concerning the binding nature of planning regulations adopted by the regions in order to exercise their competences.

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Sara Niedzwiecki

Social Policies, Attribution of Responsibility, and Political Alignments A Subnational Analysis of Argentina and Brazil

in *Comparative Political Studies* , 49 (4) , 457-498

This article assesses how the political context shapes policy implementation in decentralized countries. It finds that effective implementation of non-contributory social policies depends on political alignments across different territorial



levels. Subnational units governed by the opposition hinder the implementation of national policies, but only if the policy carries clear attribution of responsibility. On one hand, conditional cash transfers have clear attribution of responsibility and thus, pose risks for opposition subnational governments, who, as a result, have incentives to obstruct such policies. On the other hand, in social services, attribution of responsibility is blurred, and therefore their implementation is not shaped by political alignments. By analyzing policy implementation, disaggregating social policies, and incorporating multilevel political alignments, this article contributes to theories of the welfare state and multilevel governance. The empirical foundation includes an analysis of the factors that shape the successful implementation of social policies in Argentina and Brazil through a combination of pooled time-series analysis and extensive field research.

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David Martí, Daniel Cetrà

The 2015 Catalan election: a de facto referendum on independence?

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 107-119

The 2015 Catalan regional election, held on 27 September, was framed as a proxy for an independence referendum by the pro-independence parties. This was meant to bypass the PP-led central government's opposition to permit an official referendum. After an election campaign clearly dominated by the independence issue, the results delivered a majority of seats but not of votes for the pro-independence camp. However, the reading of the results as a de facto referendum is not straightforward. Growing polarization around the independence issue resulted in the emergence of two main blocs, for and against independence; in the polarization of stances within the blocs; and in substantial changes in the Catalan party system. The lack of agreement between the secessionist parties over the reappointment of Artur Mas as president almost triggered a new election but, in a last-minute move, Mas stepped aside. The new government aims to declare independence in 18 months.

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Moonis Ahmar

The Dynamics of Pakistan's Intra-national Security: The Role of the New Provinces

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 1 , 16-29

The debate and discourse to change the provincial map of Pakistan by creating new provinces is not a new phenomenon and is considered as a major challenge to intra-national security and to the centripetal forces who still want Pakistan to be a unitary/centralised state instead of a federal state. What is intra-national security and how can the issue of creating new provinces have a major impact on the dynamics of national security at different levels? When compared with national security, which deals with the whole country, intra-national security relates to contradictions and variations in the security dynamics and paradigms in different parts of the country. Pakistan as a multiethnic, multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious state can effectively deal with issues of security if intra-national security is accepted as a reality and is beyond the scope of national security. Matters and issues relating to different regions of Pakistan located in its provinces can at best be understood in terms of intra-national security. If the approach of major power stakeholders in Pakistan is positive, and they wish to peacefully address issues that cause friction, instability, chaos, disorder and violence in different provinces because of social, economic and political injustices, they must seriously consider proposal to upgrade existing divisions of Pakistan into provinces. For that matter, proper brainstorming by the concerned



stakeholders including civil society groups needs to be done so that consensus is reached on the methodology to create new provinces in Pakistan.

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Panara Carlo

The Enforceability of Subsidiarity in the EU and the Ethos of Cooperative Federalism: A Comparative Law Perspective

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 02 , 305–331

In this article, I will tackle the issue of the enforceability of subsidiarity in the EU and, more specifically, I will deal with the following questions: if and to what extent subsidiarity is justiciable; if the full justiciability of subsidiarity would be politically sustainable; and if there are any alternatives to the judicial enforcement of subsidiarity. I will argue that subsidiarity is justiciable, even though its judicial enforcement should be limited to particular situations. I will also argue that full justiciability of subsidiarity would be politically unsustainable in the long run and that a balanced combination of judicial review, procedural arrangements and political cooperation is the only alternative to an all-encompassing judicial enforcement of subsidiarity. In tackling this issue, I will use a comparative law approach in that I will make extensive reference to the legal systems of Germany and Italy.

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Mullen Tom

The Referendum and After: Scotland's Constitutional Future

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 02 , 187–202

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Thomas Y. Patrick

The Zeitgeist of Secession Amidst the March Towards Unification: Scotland, Catalonia, and the Future of the European Union

in *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 1 , 195-226

Europe is in the midst of a period of unprecedented change. The European Union is undergoing great unification and centralization of power, and some believe that a "European" identity is subsuming the traditional national identity of Member States. Contributing factors to this remarkable phenomenon include the emergence of viable supranational frameworks, economic recession, technological advancement, and mass migration. Some groups, however, have been empowered by these circumstances to seek greater sub-state power and to solidify regional identities. Scotland and Catalonia in particular present two distinct independence movements in the midst of continental power centralization. Their efforts present novel and serious challenges both to their governing states and to the European Union itself. The European Union must aid the resolution of these movements or face sacrificing its own legitimacy. Either way, its course



of action threatens to unleash a chain reaction that may ultimately compromise its decision-making capabilities and undermine its very future.

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Colasante Paolo

Unità e diversità nel (parziale) regionalismo asimmetrico italiano, alla luce della riforma costituzionale in itinere
in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, 1-2/2015

In the current phase, in which the Italian regionalism is involved in a new project of reform, it has also been reopened the debate about the special Regions, to which - due to the so-called safeguard clause - the new rules on the division of competence would not apply until the revision of their statutes on the basis of agreements with them.

The transitional provision gives rise to multiple nodes of interpretation to be resolved, especially with regard to the procedural aspects of the revision of the Statutes.

In any case it must be concluded that it is able to produce the effect of giving rise to a greater autonomy "of result" of special Regions autonomies, deriving from maintaining the status quo ante.

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Wong Siu Wai

Urbanization as A Process of State Building: Local Governance Reforms in China

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 39, Issue 5, September , 912-926

Existing scholarship suggests that local transformation in reform-era China has been a process of decentralization of state power driving extractive local governments to pursue economic growth through rapacious land appropriation and producing many miserable landless villagers. This study puts forward an alternative perspective by arguing that local governance reforms in China to advance urban development should also be interpreted as a process of state building, whereby local government reshaped its governance strategy so as to mitigate potential social unrest and strengthen its political legitimacy in governing rapidly urbanizing areas. Based on intensive fieldwork in a periurban district in southern China, this research examines how the local state has heightened its control over urbanizing villages through its day-to-day governance practices and the pursuit of a complex policy agenda comprising social welfare provision, shareholding reforms and intervention in grassroots politics. The findings of this study shed new light on understanding local state transformation in periurban China and on explaining why the country still maintains tremendous urban growth despite incessant land disputes and numerous social tensions at different localities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Alter Karen J. , Helfer Laurence R., Madsen Mikael Rask

How Context Shapes the Authority of International Courts

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 1



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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vinjamuri Leslie

The International Criminal Court and the Paradox of Authority
in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 1

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wagner Beate

50 Jahre UN-Menschenrechtspakte
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222193/50-jahre-un-menschenrechtspakte>

Am 16. Dezember 2016 jährt sich die Verabschiedung der beiden ersten völkerrechtlich verbindlichen Menschenrechtsabkommen, des Internationalen Paktes über wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Rechte sowie des Internationalen Paktes über bürgerliche und politische Rechte, zum 50. Mal. Anders als bei den runden Jubiläen der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte (AEMR) ist nicht mit viel Publizität zu rechnen. Die Pakte, die eigentlich der AEMR vom 10. Dezember 1948 auf dem Fuße folgen sollten, wurden erst 18 Jahre später in der UN-Generalversammlung beschlossen und traten erst nach weiteren zehn Jahren in Kraft. Fast drei Jahrzehnte Zeitverzug und lange kontroverse Debatten zwischen Ost und West auch nach Inkrafttreten der Pakte haben die Entfaltung einer angemessenen Strahlkraft nicht gefördert.

Dennoch lohnt zum 50. Jubiläum der Pakte eine Würdigung der Vertragspraxis. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, inwieweit es gelungen ist, den ursprünglichen Anspruch umzusetzen, mit der AEMR und den beiden Pakten eine weltweite Menschenrechtsverfassung zu etablieren. Dieser Beitrag skizziert Entwicklung, Bedeutung und Wirkung der Pakte und fragt nach den aktuellen Herausforderungen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Appello per la riforma dell'ONU e del Trattato contro la Proliferazione Nucleare



in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 5-10

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou

Arab agency and the UN project: the League of Arab States between universality and regionalism
in **Third World Quarterly**, Volume 37, Issue 7 , 1219-1233

Discussion of the contemporary Arab state system overlooks the engagement of the nascent League of Arab States with the debates about world politics and the purposes of the UN system emerging from World War II. The early experience of that body did not articulate a full expression of universalism, and the integrative cooperation of the Arab League was confined to a limited security policy framework. It did not subsequently seek lastingly to influence the nature of those ideas and institutions that would come to shape the United Nations. The Arab League was also never wedded to a Global Southern logic. Yet the UN has seldom been disavowed in the League's diplomatic processes, which have been used by member states tactically as a conduit to maximise regional interpretations of the challenges from global order and as a forum for advancing the sub-region's provincial interests.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Aidan Hehir

Assessing the influence of the Responsibility to Protect on the UN Security Council during the Arab Spring
in **Cooperation and Conflict**, 51 (2) , 166-183

This article challenges those perspectives which assert first, that the Security Council's engagement with the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) during the Arab Spring evidences a generally positive trend, and second, that the response to the Arab Spring, particularly Syria, highlights the need for veto restraint. With respect to the first point, the evidence presented in this article suggests that the manner in which R2P has been employed by the Security Council during this period evidences three key trends: first, a willingness to invoke R2P only in the context of Pillar I; second, a pronounced lack of consensus surrounding Pillar III; and third, the persistent prioritisation of national interests over humanitarian concerns. With respect to veto restraint, this article argues that there is no evidence that this idea will have any significant impact on decision-making at the Security Council; the Council's response to the Arab Spring suggests that national interests continue to trump humanitarian need.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Häge Frank, Hug Simon

Consensus Decisions and Similarity Measures in International Organizations
in **International Interactions**, vol. 42, issue 3 , 503-529

ABSTRACT: Voting behavior in international organizations, most notably in the United Nations General Assembly



(UNGA), is often used to infer the similarity of foreign policy preferences of member states. Most of these measures ignore, however, that particular covoting patterns may appear simply by chance (Håge 2011) and that these patterns of agreement (or the absence thereof) are only observable if decisions are reached through roll-call votes. As the relative frequency of roll-call votes changes considerably over time in most international organizations, currently used similarity and affinity measures offer a misleading picture. Based on a complete data set of UNGA resolution decisions, we demonstrate how taking different forms of chance agreement and the relative prevalence of consensus decisions into account affects conclusions about the effect of the similarity of member states' foreign policy positions on foreign aid allocation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Nadia Banteka

Dangerous Liaisons: The Responsibility to Protect and a Reform of the U.N. Security Council in *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, vol. 54, issue 2 , 382-423

This Article responds to current literature, which unitarily advocates for a United Nations Security Council (UNSC) reform solution to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) deadlock, particularly in the context of the situation in Syria. This Article argues, contra the consensus, that a reformed UNSC would hinder the crystallization of R2P as a customary norm and its application to humanitarian crises. Part I of this Article argues that the interaction between R2P and the newly advanced concept of Responsibility Not to Veto (RN2 V) can be examined under two hypotheses: one substantive and one procedural. The substantive hypothesis treats RN2 V as a corollary obligation to R2P, explicating that the concept of R2P necessitates two separate state obligations: (1) the obligation to respond to grave violations of human rights; and (2) the obligation to, at a minimum, refrain from obstructing other states' efforts to employ R2P. I argue that the substantive hypothesis, though not necessarily conceptually problematic, does not offer the same practical and pragmatic value that the procedural hypothesis does. By viewing RN2V as a procedural mechanism to facilitate R2P's invocation, R2P has a higher likelihood of being crystallized into a rule of customary international law. Part II of this Article analyzes empirical data to show that the often-proposed UNSC reform measure would be ineffective. I utilize the proposed models of UNSC expansion, advanced by the current academic literature, to examine the past and current practices of potential new permanent members toward the concepts of RN2 V and R2P. By comparing this practice to that of the current permanent UNSC members, I conclude that the resulting UNSC composition would, in the aggregate, include more states that are not traditionally in favor of R2P. Despite hopes of a UNSC reform making the Council more effective in governing the use of force, this Article argues that in cases of R2P, a reformed UNSC is likely to face greater difficulty in reaching a consensus. Instead, the most effective way to promote the development of the R2P norm is through acknowledging RN2 V's procedural role, and the assertion that RN2 V functionally implements, or particularizes, R2P.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kurtz Gerrit, Rotmann Philipp

Der Schutz von Zivilisten durch UN-Friedenseinsätze in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:



<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222195/der-schutz-von-zivilisten-durch-un-friedenseinsaetze>

Unter der Flagge der Vereinten Nationen versuchen derzeit weltweit mehr als 125000 zivile Experten, Polizisten und Soldaten in 16 Einsätzen, schwierigen Friedensprozessen eine Chance zum Erfolg zu geben. Meist dauert das Jahre. Während Politiker und Generäle verhandeln, kommt es immer wieder zu Rückschlägen, Kämpfen und Übergriffen auf die Zivilbevölkerung. Sowohl die Menschen im Südsudan, im Kongo, in Zentralafrika als auch der UN-Sicherheitsrat erwarten, dass die Einsätze der Weltorganisation das leisten, was in ihrer Macht steht, um das Leid zu begrenzen und so viele Zivilistinnen und Zivilisten wie möglich zu schützen. Für die meisten Einsätze ist genau das laut Mandat des UN-Sicherheitsrates die wichtigste Aufgabe. Dass der Schutz von Zivilisten in den Mittelpunkt der UN-Friedenseinsätze gerückt ist, ist das Ergebnis eines schmerzhaften Lernprozesses, der noch lange nicht abgeschlossen ist...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

STEFANO RECCHIA

Did Chirac Say 'Non'? Revisiting UN Diplomacy on Iraq, 2002-03

in *Political Science Quarterly*, VOLUME 130 - NUMBER 4 , 625-654

STEFANO RECCHIA revisits the George W. Bush administration's attempt in the spring of 2003 to secure UN approval for the Iraq war. Drawing on new evidence from declassified documents and interviews with senior officials, he argues that the administration would have stood a good chance of securing UN approval—notwithstanding French opposition. But the administration had to be willing to postpone the start of military operations by up to six weeks and endorse a set of demanding benchmarks for Iraqi compliance, as proposed by Britain and several nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Marcia Narine

Disclosing Disclosure's Defects: Addressing Corporate Irresponsibility for Human Rights Impacts

in *Columbia human rights law review*, vol. 47, issue 1 , 84-150

Although many people believe that the role of business is to maximize shareholder value, corporate executives and board members can no longer ignore their companies' human rights impacts on other stakeholders. Over the past four years, the role and responsibility of non-state actors such as multinationals has come under increased scrutiny. In 2011, the United Nations Human Rights Council unanimously endorsed the "UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights," which outline the State duty to protect human rights, the corporate responsibility to respect human rights, and both the State and corporations' duties to provide remedies to parties. The Guiding Principles do not bind corporations, but dozens of countries, including the United States, are now working on National Action Plans to comply with their own duties, which include drafting regulations and incentives for companies. In 2014, the UN Human Rights Council passed a resolution to begin the process of developing a binding treaty on business and human rights. Separately, in an effort to address information asymmetries, lawmakers in the United States, Canada, Europe, and California have passed human rights disclosure legislation. Finally, dozens of stock exchanges have imposed either mandatory or voluntary non-financial disclosure requirements, in sync with the UN Principles.



Despite various forms of disclosure mandates, these efforts do not work. The conflict lies within the flawed premise that, armed with specific information addressing human rights, consumers and investors will either reward “ethical” corporate behavior, or punish firms with poor human rights records. However, evidence shows that disclosures generally fail to change behavior because: (1) there are too many of them; (2) stakeholders suffer from disclosure overload; and (3) not enough consumers or investors penalize companies by boycotting products or divesting. In this Article, I examine corporate social contract theory, normative business ethics, and the failure of stakeholders to utilize disclosures to punish those firms that breach the social contract. I propose that both stakeholders and companies view corporate actions through an ethical lens, and offer an eight-factor test to provide guidance using current disclosures or stakeholder-specific inquiries. I conclude that disclosure for the sake of transparency, without more, will not lead to meaningful change regarding human rights impacts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pallavi Roy

Economic growth, the UN and the Global South: an unfulfilled promise in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 7 , 1284-1297

The most visible success of the UN system has been to foster a multilateral structure of international governance that has proved resilient since World War II. However, this structure has failed to provide a financing mechanism to help developing countries achieve the structural transformations required for broad-based economic growth. Indeed, the Global South has also had many chances to reorder the international financing system but has failed thus far to do so. The global distribution of power remains with the USA and the West; even rising China plays by the contract-enforcement rules of the North in terms of global economic governance. Another critical reason why financing has not been readily available, despite the magnitude of capital flows between developed and developing economies, is that it comes with conditions that induce little ‘effort’ to result in capability development. Policies should be devised to overcome this weakness but they are unlikely within a multilateral framework. However, if the USA and China agree to work together on alternative multilateral systems promoted by the Global South, the potential for positive change increases.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Adriana Erthal Abdenur

Emerging powers and the creation of the UN: three ships of Theseus in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 7 , 1171-1186

What role did the present emerging powers play in the creation of the United Nations? Drawing on Plutarch’s ‘ship of Theseus’ paradox, this article analyses how, and the extent to which, Brazilian, Chinese and Indian representatives influenced key debates leading up to the UN’s foundation. At the time Brazil was ruled by a fascist-inspired military regime, yet it had supported Allied efforts during World War II; China was split among Nationalists and Communists; and India was still a British colony. These national delegations reflected the main social and political struggles of their respective countries. While these three countries were able to influence the design, procedures and substance of the burgeoning organisation, their agency was limited by their primary focus on internal issues. By comparison, in the present era they have been able to extend their influence in global governance debates by coordinating certain reformist



positions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jean Galbraith

Ending Security Council Resolutions

in *American journal of international law*, vol. 109, issue 4 , 806-821

The Security Council resolution implementing the Iran deal spells out the terms of its own destruction. It contains a provision that allows any one of seven countries to terminate its key components. This provision – which this Comment terms a trigger termination – is both unusual and important. It is unusual because, up to now, the Security Council has almost always either not specified the conditions under which resolutions terminate or used time-based sunset clauses. It is important not only for the Iran deal, but also as a precedent and a model for the use of trigger terminations in the future. The political and legal dimensions of trigger terminations are striking. As to political dimensions, this Comment shows that by providing for the termination of resolutions, trigger terminations can influence the bargaining surrounding the creation and implementation of resolutions. As to legal dimensions, this Comment analyzes trigger terminations in light of the broader literature on the Security Council's power to delegate authority and defends their legality within wide boundaries. Overall, this Comment argues that trigger terminations hold considerable promise but also some peril for the future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Toulemon Robert

For a Reform of the UN Organization Inspired by the European Experience

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

At the end of his *Memories*, Jean Monnet wrote a sentence that his successors have sometimes forgotten. “The (European) Community is but a step towards the forms of organization of the world of tomorrow”. Those who assign Europe the goal to build itself into a new great power comparable to those which in turn have dominated the Western world since the end of the Middle Ages, are deluding themselves. Just as ambitious, but more in accordance with the aspirations of the men of today and in conformity with the inclinations of most of the partners of France, would be a great European design, that is to say, to contribute, through example and influence, to a genuine world order, a true order that would meet the fundamental human needs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Götz Norbert

From Neutrality to Membership: Sweden and the United Nations, 1941–1946

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 25, n. 1, February , 75-95

Sweden's relationship with the United Nations fluctuated considerably between 1941 and 1946. This article examines how the Nordic country's own security interests were sometimes viewed as compatible and sometimes at odds with



membership of the United Nations. The discussions surrounding Sweden's accession to the United Nations and actions of its first delegates to the international organisation are explored at length. So too is the discrepancy between Sweden's reputation for neutrality and its enthusiastic support for the United Nations, on the one hand, and its internal debates and policy decisions during the 1940s, on the other. Finally, the article explores the ways in which Sweden used the United Nations as an arena in which to manifest both its indifference to security alignment and its exceptionalism in world affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Orellana Marcos

Governance and the Sustainable Development Goals: The Increasing Relevance of Access Rights in Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 50-58

The United Nations General Assembly has adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the 2030 sustainable development agenda. Governance underlies all of the SDGs, because effective, accountable and inclusive institutions and procedures are essential to their realization. This article identifies and describes the features and structures of governance necessary for the attainment of the SDGs. Drawing on Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration and other legal sources, the article deconstructs the procedural rights which are integral to governance for sustainable development and emphasizes the need for effective accountability mechanisms at various levels. The article concludes that procedural rights and effective accountability at all levels is the key to governance that will transform political commitments to the 2030 sustainable development agenda into actual realities for people on the ground.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pilinger Mara, Hurd Ian, Barnett Michael

How to Get Away with Cholera: The UN, Haiti, and International Law

in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 14, issue 1, march , 70-86

ABSTRACT: The legalization of world politics is often celebrated for reducing impunity for those who contribute to humanitarian crises. This may sometimes be true but the opposite is also true. In 2010, United Nations peacekeepers unwittingly brought cholera to Haiti and sparked an epidemic. Nearly a million people were made sick and 8,500 died. Legal activists have sought to hold the UN responsible for the harms it caused and win compensation for the cholera victims. However, these efforts have been stymied by the structures of public international law—particularly UN immunity—which effectively insulate the organization from accountability. In short, the UN is empowered, and the cholera victims disempowered, by legalization. The Haiti case powerfully illustrates the dangers of legalism, which have been largely overlooked in discussions of international law, and suggests that law alone is an inadequate arbiter of responsibility in international politics.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Lou Pingeot

In Whose Interest? The UN's Strategic Rapprochement with Business in the Sustainable Development Agenda in Globalizations , Volume 13, Issue 2 , 188-202

Following the Rio+20 conference and in anticipation of the end of the Millennium Development Goals, the United Nations is at the centre of debates on the future of sustainable development. In these debates, the UN Secretariat has positioned transnational corporations as essential and legitimate actors for new sustainable development goals. This policy does not follow a direct mandate from member states. Rather, the UN's rapprochement with business in the 'Post-2015' process should be seen as an example of independent decision-making by the organization within the constraints of the current world order. This strategy dates back to the late 1990s and is meant to increase the UN's authority and legitimacy and expand its mandate by making it more relevant to powerful actors in the international arena. The article questions whether the organization's strategy vis-à-vis business is producing the anticipated effects, or rather reveals institutional dysfunction.

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Bosco Giorgio

La protezione dei civili nei conflitti armati

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 194-200

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Linos-Alexandre Sicilianos

Le Conseil de sécurité, la responsabilité des États et la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme : vers une approche intégrée

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 119, issue 4 , 779-795

La question de la responsabilité des États agissant en exécution d'une résolution du Conseil de sécurité apparaît de façon récurrente dans la jurisprudence de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, depuis l'arrêt Bosphorus de 2005 jusqu'à l'affaire Al-Dulimi, actuellement pendante devant la Grande Chambre, en passant par des étapes importantes et notamment : la décision Behrami et Saramati, relative aux activités de la MINUK et de la KFOR au Kosovo, les arrêts Al-Skeini et Al-Jedda c. Royaume-Uni, concernant les activités britanniques en Irak, l'arrêt Nada c. Suisse, se rapportant aux listes noires du Conseil de sécurité ou encore deux affaires importantes contre les Pays-Bas, à savoir la décision Stichting Mothers of Srebrenica, relative au conflit en Bosnie et l'arrêt Jaloud, adopté plus récemment par la Grande Chambre.

Au-delà des problèmes d'ordre technique posés par ces affaires, la question centrale qu'elles soulèvent concerne les rapports entre le système des Nations Unies et celui de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme (CEDH) et, partant, le rôle de la Cour dans ce vaste cadre géopolitique et en même temps sa fonction en tant que garante des valeurs fondamentales de l'ordre public européen.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Alastair Smith

Leader Turnover, Institutions, and Voting at the UN General Assembly

in **Journal of Conflict Resolution**, 60 (1) , 143-163

Using evidence from voting in the UN General Assembly (UNGA), this article shows that leader turnover, especially in small coalition, nondemocratic systems, increases the likelihood of policy realignment. Autocrats who are beholden to only a small proportion of the population represent the foreign policy interests of their small number of supporters. When leader turnover occurs, the interests represented often shift too and this results in an increased volatility and regression toward a neutral position of a nation's alignment at the United Nations vis-à-vis the United States. While such realignments can offer an opportunity to reduce enmity between states, they can also signal growing differences between friends. The impact of leaders change in large coalitions produces more moderate shifts in alignments.

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Elodie Convergne

Learning to Mediate? The Mediation Support Unit and the Production of Expertise by the UN

in **Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding**, Volume 10, Issue 2 , 181-199

The UN Mediation Support Unit (MSU) was created to support peace processes and enable organizational learning. This article analyses the unit through a sociological lens with the aim to understand its present configuration, and what this reveals about the production of knowledge about mediation at the UN. It argues that, because of the constraints imposed by intrastate wars and the existing institutional setting within the Secretariat, the MSU emphasizes generic and depoliticized expertise, by contrast with mediation's traditional reliance on non-transferable skills. This approach, in spite of its pitfalls, enables the unit to justify its own existence and to claim a position of authority within the organization and beyond.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

David Bosco

Letters from the Front Lines: State Communications to the U.N. Security Council during Conflict

in **Columbia Journal of Transnational Law**, vol. 54, issue 2 , 341-381

This Article analyzes state communications to the United Nations Security Council during episodes of serious interstate conflict. In Part I, I explain the basis in the U.N. Charter for state communications about their uses of force. I then advance three hypotheses regarding state practice during and after the Cold War. I hypothesize that overall state communications should have increased after the Cold War; that states should be advancing more diverse legal justifications for their uses of force; and that states should be focusing more on the *jus in bello* than during the Cold War. An analysis of several hundred state communications drawn from a fifty-year period provides only limited support for these hypotheses. Patterns in state justifications to the Security Council have not changed markedly, and states remain overwhelmingly focused on self-defense as a legal justification.



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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Élodie Brun, Valette Marie-Françoise

**Los fundamentos de la diversidad del Sur ante la intervención militar
in Foro Internacional**, vol. LVI - n. 1

Analysis of decision taking in countries of the Global South, principally by means of their voting on UN bodies, questions the sovereignist thesis and reveals a double sense of diversity. The poliheuristic approach of foreign policy makes it possible to decipher the complexity of decision making. Beyond a firm commitment to respect for international law, the countries of the Global South appear to be divided, while defending a range of attitudes towards proposed military interventions. Thus some adopt a decision on the basis of their experience, or in line with national or regional political objectives or connected to their relationship with the United States, but also depending on given circumstances and as a response to the evolution of the debate on human rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Yf Reykers & Niels Smeets

**Losing control: a principal-agent analysis of Russia in the United Nations Security Council's decision-making towards the Libya crisis
in Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, Volume 31, Issue 4 , 369-387

Russia's behaviour in the United Nations Security Council remains poorly understood. Applying principal-agent insights, this article analyses the Russian abstention towards Resolution 1973, which authorised intervention during the 2011 Libya crisis. Introducing a triangle of delegation, it shows that preferences diverged regarding the means and aims of the intervention. The article also investigates the information asymmetries which characterised the decision-making and indicates that this affected the Russian capacity to control the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which implemented Resolution 1973. It argues that Russia can only effectively control such a UN-authorized intervention by using, or threatening to use, its veto power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hamilton Kirk

**Measuring Sustainability in the UN System of Environmental-Economic Accounting
in Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 64, Issue 1 - Special Issue on Valuing Ecosystem Services for Improved National Accounting, May , 25-36



The adoption of the System of Environmental-Economic Accounting 2012: Central Framework as a UN statistical standard is a landmark in environmental accounting. The SEEA has the same authority and weight as the System of National Accounts in the pantheon of official statistics. The SEEA defines the unit value of depletion of an exhaustible resource to equal the average unit value of the asset (the total asset value divided by the physical stock of resource). By applying this definition to a non-optimal Dasgupta–Heal–Solow model of an extractive economy, we show that ‘depletion-adjusted net saving’ as defined in the SEEA supports a generalized version of the Hartwick Rule. This measure of saving can guide policies for sustainable development in extractive economies, in particular fiscal policies concerning consumption and investment expenditures funded by resource rents. The conditions required to support this finding are (i) that extraction declines over time at a constant rate, and (ii) that the marginal cost of resource extraction is constant. A less general result holds in the case of increasing marginal extraction costs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cremer Hendrik

Menschenrecht Asyl

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:

Nach Angaben des Flüchtlingshilfswerks der Vereinten Nationen (UNHCR) befinden sich gegenwärtig etwa 60 Millionen Männer, Frauen und Kinder auf der Flucht. Seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges waren es nicht mehr so viele Menschen wie in den vergangenen Jahren. Dieser Anstieg ist insbesondere auf die hohe Zahl derer zurückzuführen, die vor dem Bürgerkrieg in Syrien fliehen, und stellt die internationale Gemeinschaft vor eine enorme Herausforderung.

In der Europäischen Union sowie innerhalb ihrer Mitgliedstaaten laufen gegenwärtig hitzige Debatten um die Asylpolitik. Nachdem aufgrund der hohen Belastung für Länder mit EU-Außengrenzen wie Italien und Griechenland das sogenannte Dublin-System kollabiert ist, nach dem in erster Linie derjenige Staat für die Prüfung eines Asylantrags zuständig ist, in dem eine Person erstmals EU-Territorium betreten hat, ist momentan noch offen, wie die Europäische Union reagieren wird. Insbesondere Staaten ohne EU-Außengrenzen wie Deutschland mangelte es lange am politischen Willen, eine grundlegende Änderung des Systems herbeizuführen. Für einen von einigen Mitgliedstaaten wie unter anderem Deutschland angestrebten permanenten Verteilungsmechanismus für die Flüchtlinge innerhalb der Europäischen Union gibt es bisher keinen Konsens, zumal sich andere Mitgliedstaaten dagegen wehren, (mehr) Flüchtlinge aufzunehmen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bertrand G. Ramcharan

Normative human rights cascades, North and South

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 7 , 1234-1251

This essay submits that events preceding and leading to the establishment of the United Nations, in the 1940s, saw the emergence of foundational human rights ideas that have shaped the international order ever since. While the major wartime powers were the sponsoring actors, there were strong demands for justice and equality in countries of the



South. It was a combination of Northern, Southern and NGO contributions that shaped the content of the normative human rights framework. No country came to this with fully clean hands. The leading powers sought to shield themselves from colonialism, gulags and racial segregation but had to agree to principles and norms that would triumph in the end. Southern representatives, some partly educated in the West but mostly taking their essence from their own soils, argued for high principles and norms, and then many proceeded to violate them once they had gained control of their countries. Many Latin American leaders advanced lofty principles while presiding over exploitative feudal societies at home. The gulf between principles and practice continues in our times, with numerous violations of human rights worldwide.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Marco Massoni

OECD & UNECA: Growth Perspectives for Africa

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.9 , 39-49

According to the latest estimates of the OECD's African Economic Outlook, overall growth in Africa in 2015 shall be of 4.5 percent, being expected to remain high as 5 percent in 2016. The end of the last millennium has seen an unprecedented growth of the African continent as a whole, also due to the resilience shown by African economies against the impact of the global financial crisis and, marginally, to the fall in commodity prices. The dynamism of Africa is also demonstrated by migration that can only grow in absolute terms; migrations in question are both intra-African and extra-African ones. The generational change of the African ruling class is contributing substantially to the transformation of Africa. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) increased by forty billion dollars in 2005 to about seventy-five in 2015. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Africa is almost quadrupled in just thirteen years (from 600 billion in 2000 to \$ 2.2 trillion in 2013). 'It is Africa's Time', as claimed by the UN Under Secretary-General, Carlos Lopes, in his capacity as Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), based in Addis Ababa. Now that the Millennium Development Goals (Mugs) have reached the concluding stage, the international community is starting to talk more and more critical of sustainable development or the sustainability of the current model of development which, without an adequate reorientation of it, will not be soon replicable worldwide

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rudolf Peter

Prävention von Massenverbrechen im Sinne der "Schutzverantwortung"– aber wie?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:



<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222198/praevention-von-massenverbrechen-im-sinne-der-schutzverantwortung>

Die Prävention massiver organisierter innerstaatlicher Gewalt steht seit den frühen 1990er Jahren unter dem Stichwort der Konfliktprävention auf der Agenda internationaler Politik, gerade auch im Rahmen der Vereinten Nationen. Seit den 2000er Jahren richtete sich unter dem Einfluss des Prinzips der Schutzverantwortung (Responsibility to Protect, kurz R2P) der Blick insbesondere auf die Verhinderung von Gräueltaten, die in der politischen Diskussion häufig als "Massenverbrechen" (mass atrocities) bezeichnet werden. Nach diesem Prinzip hat die internationale Staatengemeinschaft zwar nicht rechtlich, jedoch moralisch eine subsidiäre Verantwortung, massenhafte Menschenrechtsverletzungen zu verhindern und notfalls auch mit militärischer Gewalt zu unterbinden, wenn die Regierung des betreffenden Landes ihrer Schutzverantwortung gegenüber den eigenen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern nicht gerecht wird. Mittlerweile ist vielfach die Rede von der Responsibility to Prevent, um die Bedeutung der präventiven Dimension der R2P herauszustellen. So wird in den Berichten des UN-Generalsekretärs Ban Ki-moon die Schutzverantwortung vor allem im Sinne einer Präventionsverantwortung interpretiert...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jess Gifkins

R2P in the UN Security Council: Darfur, Libya and beyond

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 51 (2) , 148-165

It has been argued that consensus on the responsibility to protect (R2P) was lost in the United Nations Security Council as a result of the NATO-led intervention in Libya in 2011. This argument assumes that there was more agreement on R2P before the Libyan intervention than there was afterwards. Yet, a close examination of the Security Council's use of language on R2P shows the opposite: R2P was highly contentious within the Security Council prior to the Libyan intervention, and less so afterwards. Not only has the Council used R2P language more frequently since 2011, but also negotiating this language has become quicker and easier. To demonstrate this I compare negotiations on Darfur with deliberations during and after the Arab Spring. Resolution 1706 on Darfur was the first time the Security Council referred to R2P in a country-specific resolution – and indeed it was the only country-specific resolution to refer to R2P before 2011 – making it an apt point of comparison. Via focused analysis on how the language used in Security Council resolution evolves over time, this article demonstrates that the Council has found 'agreed language' on R2P that is acceptable to members, both for thematic resolutions and country-specific resolutions. Language on R2P in Security Council resolutions has shifted from contentious to commonplace.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stewart Manley

Referencing Patterns at the International Criminal Court

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 4 , 191-214

A largely neglected area of study in international law has been referencing patterns by international courts and tribunals. This article assesses referencing data collected from the International Criminal Court's (ICC) records issued in the Uganda and Central African Republic situations. The data is generally restricted to 'persuasive citations' – those



references that the ICC's various chambers have used to help decide a point of law. Covering over 500 records, this study addresses, among other things, the frequency with which the ICC cites its own judgments, the nature of external sources cited, how referencing changes over time and how often individual judges cite their own decisions. The data may prove useful to the ICC itself, advocates who appear before it and scholars of international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Panke Diana, Lang Stefan, Wiedemann Anke

Regional actors in the United Nations: exploring the regionalization of international negotiations

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 431-440

Traditionally, international organizations (IOs) are arenas for state–state cooperation, but more often than not regional organizations and groups (ROs) can acquire formal status within IOs (e.g. observer). Studying the behaviour of 62 ROs in 19 UN umbrella organizations over more than 350 individual negotiations, this article provides comparative insights into the current pattern of regionalization of international negotiations. We seek to account for the observed variation in the extent of regionalization of international negotiations. Thus, we examine which institutional design features are conducive for the regionalization of IO negotiations. We show that large IOs with majority rules in place render regionalization of negotiations more likely, while the formal openness of an IO for ROs does not have a positive effect. This is not the least due to the inclination of ROs to engage in forum shopping, especially when they have access to multiple venues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kjell Engelbrekt

Responsibility Shirking at the United Nations Security Council: Constraints, Frustrations, Remedies

in Global Policy, Volume 6, Issue 4 , 369–378

The United Nations Security Council is the primary international body in charge of upholding international peace and security. Permanent and nonpermanent member states share in the responsibility to avert great power conflicts and thwart asymmetric disputes, regional instability and civil war, but the former task has priority and the prerogatives and therefore the obligations of the five permanent member states widely exceed those of countries that hold two-year elected seats. The bifurcation of roles nevertheless produces 'responsibility shirking', which weakens Council performance on the latter type of tasks. This article suggests that responsibility shirking is underreported in the literature even though it is well known to diplomatic practitioners. It considers three types of remedies to the situation, arguing that amendments to the UN Charter or the Provisional Rules of Procedure are unlikely, but that piecemeal and pragmatic reform could precipitate a change of mindset. In particular, allowing nonpermanent member states to co-chair the drafting of resolutions is likely to engage all member states in the core business of the Council.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dallal Stevens

Rights, needs or assistance? The role of the UNHCR in refugee protection in the Middle East



in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 264-283

This article examines the meaning of 'protection' as applied by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in its policy in the Middle East, with particular reference to Jordan and Lebanon. It traces the move by human rights and development agencies to adopt a 'rights-based approach' in their activities, and critiques the adoption of such an approach by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (and non-governmental organisations) in the definition of '(international) protection'. The article then proceeds to explore how this interpretation of protection manifests itself in the context of Iraqi and Syrian flight to neighbouring states. It concludes by arguing that the language of protection continues to be confusing and that a rights-based definition not only does not reflect the reality of assistance on the ground, but may, in fact, impede the willingness of states in the region to support refugees in the long term.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Matikainen Satu

The British Parliament and Minority Protection under the League of Nations, 1929–33

in *Parliamentary History*, Volume 35, Issue 1, February , pp. 15-27

The British parliament took a keen interest in the international protection of minorities during the interwar era. Minority treaties addressing the rights of minorities in east central Europe had been concluded and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations after the First World War. The main focus here is not on the situation of individual minority groups but rather on the general operation of minority protection and the attempts to improve it during the late 1920s and early 1930s, when the principles and procedures of minority protection were widely discussed. As a key member of the League, Britain had a strong interest in the smooth functioning of the system. This article shows that parliamentary questions constituted an important form of parliamentary pressure on the government's conduct of foreign affairs during the interwar era, and that the questions were, in some instances, co-ordinated with the efforts of voluntary associations and publicity in the media. In order to present the viewpoint of the government as well, the preparation of the answers and other responses to the questions by the foreign office is also examined. The source material reveals that there was complex interaction between parliament, the government, and voluntary associations in defining British policy vis-à-vis the League of Nations.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1750-0206.12181/full>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

David Kaye and Kai Raustiala

The Council and the Court: Law and Politics in the Rise of the International Criminal Court

in *Texas Law Review*, vol. 94, issue 4 , 713-741

In his recent book *Rough Justice: The International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics*, David Bosco provides an accessible analysis of the International Criminal Court, its evolving role in international law, and its relationship to power politics. In this Book Review, Professors David Kaye and Kai Raustiala further examine the power politics surrounding the court's establishment and modern operation and then propose potential solutions to protect the court and promote cooperation between states and the court itself.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Shaffer Gregory, Elsig Manfred, Puig Sergio

**The Extensive (But Fragile) Authority of the WTO Appellate Body
in Law and contemporary problems**, Volume 79, Number 1

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra

**The Mandate and the (In)Effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council and International Peace and Security: The Contexts of Syria and Mali
in Geopolitics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, 43-68

The article examines the (in)effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as an enforcer of peace and security in the post-Cold War global order and teases out the tensions between the mandate and its enforcement. Through an examination of the cases of Syria and Mali and the related UNSC resolutions, the article demonstrates that the council's role is primarily guided by the geopolitical visions and interests of its veto-wielding permanent members (P5). The action or inaction of the council depends on whether a particular situation is tangential or core to the concern of a permanent member or a group of members. Geopolitical visions guiding the interests of the permanent members dominate the UNSC-mandated concerns of international peace and security. While the conflict situations in Syria and Mali posed similar problems, the council emerged largely effective in the later and ineffective in the former owing to the clash of geopolitical visions. In the case of Syria the clash of visions eclipsed the global concerns for peace, while in the case of Mali the absence of the clash enabled the council to enforce peace.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dan Plesch

**The South and disarmament at the UN
in Third World Quarterly**, Volume 37, Issue 7, 1203-1218

This article analyses the Global South's role in disarmament. It offers evidence of a customarily ignored Southern agency in UN processes and suggests that the later work of Hans Morgenthau explains both this agency and contrary state policies. The article looks at the recent agreement with Iran as an example of constructive convergence and sets out the structure of an emerging and Southern-supported disarmament initiative.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Surya P. Subedi

The UN Human Rights Special Rapporteurs and the Impact of their Work: Some Reflections of the UN Special Rapporteur for Cambodia

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 1-14

As one of only twelve UN country-specific mandate holders, and as the longest-serving UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Cambodia, my work has had a significant impact on the situation of human rights in that country, with many of my recommendations having been implemented by the government. The Parliament of Cambodia has enacted three fundamental laws designed to enhance the independence and capacity of the judiciary, and has amended the Constitution of the country to make the National Election Commission a constitutional, independent, and autonomous body, in line with my recommendations. In this paper I examine the role of the UN country-specific mandate holders, the approach that I took to implement my mandate in Cambodia, and the impact of my work in that country.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Thomas G. Weiss, Pallavi Roy

The UN and the Global South, 1945 and 2015: past as prelude?

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 7 , 1147-1155

The United Nations is hardly a popular pursuit in today's academic and policy literatures, and so it is unsurprising that an examination of that multilateral structure before 1945 shows an even more egregious absence of analytical attention. Such ignorance conveniently ignores the forgotten genius of 1942–45, namely in the wide substantive and geographic relevance of multilateralism during World War II and in the foundations for the contemporary world order. This collection of papers critically reviews the worlds of 1945 and 2015, of then and now, to determine the role of continuity and change, of the ongoing bases for compromise, and for the clashes between the Global South and Global North.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Matej Avbelj and David Roth-Isigkeit

The UN, the EU, and the Kadi Case: A New Appeal for Genuine Institutional Cooperation

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 17, no. 2 , 153-178

While the Kadi affair has attracted a lot of attention, this Article approaches it from a rarely used contextual theoretical perspective of resolving institutional conflicts through reflexive sincere cooperation. The argument is short and simple: The institutional relationship between the EU judiciary and the UN Security Council should have been conducted not in strategic-pragmatic terms motivated by institutional power-plays, but rather by genuine pluralist institutional cooperation. The argument is preceded by an in-depth analysis of the theoretical and concrete practical shortcomings stemming from the lack of institutional cooperation between the UN and the EU in the Kadi affair. These shortcomings were not inevitable, as the EU and the UN legal and political systems are already connected with a whole set of bridging mechanisms. These should be, however, strengthened and their use should be made more common. In order to achieve that, the Article suggests an amendment to the Statute of the Court of Justice of the EU and further improvement of the safeguards in the UN Security Council sanctioning mechanisms procedures. There is no dilemma:



Enhanced institutional cooperation between the institutions of the two systems will work to their mutual advantage as well as, most importantly, maintain the rights and liberties of individuals like Kadi.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Prabhakar Singh

The rough and tumble of international courts and tribunals

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 55, no. 3

The PCA, a college of arbitrators, originated as an alternative to wars and arms race in Europe at the high noon of colonialism. Subsequently, in 1922, the PCIJ was established to address the ad hoc-ism of pre-World War I hybrid tribunals. Both permanent courts and ad hoc tribunals however failed to acknowledge colonialism as international law's Achilles heel. The interwar bourgeoisie funded the ghostwriting of apathetic legal methods and capitalist norms in transnational tongues for the protection of alien investors. Post-1945, the continuity of the structure of colonial legal arguments stood in the way of interrogating its essentialist ontology and capitalist teleology. As such, initially, the ICJ stood indifferent to the colonial question. During the ensuing Cold War, the erstwhile colonial powers refused to accept the ICJ's jurisdiction with the United States doubting the integrity of individual judges. In disputes arising due to the breach of colonial concession contracts, investor-state tribunals billed the costs of producing legal norms to the new sovereigns. Prescriptive writings in favour of judicial lawmaking and the proposed interweaving of investor protection with human rights continue to nourish international law's Eurocentrism. A hyper-normative theory of lawmaking by international courts and tribunals remains decidedly indifferent to both rational choice approach and third world scholarship. This paper puts ontology and teleology of international judicial lawmaking to test.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Salvatici Silvia

Trent'anni di umanitarismo internazionale

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 3, Dicembre , pp. 177-188

The modern international humanitarianism has its roots in the period between the two world wars. Starting from this premise, the essay highlights how the impact of the Great War, particularly in terms of the waves of refugees and the persistence of undernutrition in some parts of Europe, engendered an international humanitarian effort based on the interplay of non-governmental organizations and the League of Nations. The essay explores the ideas, practices and skills developed in the interwar period as constitutive conditions of the rise of a new international humanitarian regime after the World War II.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Blix Hans

UN Security Council vs. Weapons of Mass Destruction

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, issue 2 , 147-161



ABSTRACT: International institutions given the task to maintain collective security and to seek disarmament need to build on cooperation between major powers. The authors of the UN Charter vested great powers in the Security Council but a consensus between the five permanent great powers was required for use of the powers. This inevitably paralyzed the Council during the Cold War. After the end of the Cold War, the permanent members have remained unable jointly to pursue disarmament, but they have succeeded in several remarkable cases to reach consensus, notably on measures to prevent the further spread of weapons of mass destruction. The quick action to eliminate chemical weapons in Syria was a win-win case led by US-Russian diplomacy, while the comprehensive deal settling the controversy over Iran's nuclear program was a victory for patient diplomacy involving all permanent members and the EU. These actions show the potentials of the Council.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Grovogui Siba N.

Universalismus, Partikularismus und das Streben nach menschlicher Würde - Essay
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222200/universalismus-partikularismus-und-das-streben-nach-menschlicher-wuerde>

Sind Menschenrechte ein "westliches" Konzept? Häufig wird bei dieser Frage fälschlicherweise unterstellt, es stehe zur Debatte, ob diese Rechte universell für alle Menschen gelten können, und ob kulturelle und regionale Kontexte jeweils unterschiedliche Herangehensweisen an das Thema erfordern. Eine solche Auffassung der Frage ist oft das Ergebnis einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen zwei oder mehreren Seiten, die um die politische und moralische Überlegenheit ringen, oft im Zuge ideologisch-intellektueller Debatten in und zwischen aktivistischen und akademischen Kreisen, in denen einzelne Normen bestehender Menschenrechtskonventionen als erstrebenswerter gelten als andere.

In all diesen Fällen basiert die Ausgangsfrage auf einer Reihe irriger Annahmen: dass westliche Denk- und Moralkategorien einzigartige Eigenschaften haben, die anderen fehlen; dass westliche Erfahrungen und Institutionen andernorts keine Entsprechung finden; dass manche Konzepte des "Menschlichen" aufgrund ihrer kulturellen Eigenheiten jenseits ihrer Entstehungsorte nicht auf fruchtbaren Boden fallen; und dass Menschenrechtstraditionen nicht nur als jeweils besondere zu charakterisieren sind, sondern auch in keiner Beziehung zueinander stehen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Brock Lothar

Wozu brauchen wir heute die Vereinten Nationen? Bilanz und Perspektiven der Weltorganisation
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222189/wozu-brauchen-wir-heute-die-vereinten-nationen>



Die Vereinten Nationen wurden gegründet, um die Menschheit von der Geißel des Krieges zu befreien. Heute, mehr als 70 Jahre später, sehen wir uns mit immer neuen gefährlich eskalierenden internationalen Spannungen und Konflikten konfrontiert sowie mit einem transnationalen Terrorismus, der zunehmend auch das Alltagsleben der Menschen bedroht. Die Vereinten Nationen wurden gegründet, um die allgemeine Wohlfahrt der Menschheit zu steigern. Heute, mehr als 70 Jahre später, sind wir mit einem fortdauernden Wohlstandsgefälle zwischen und in den Staaten konfrontiert, das gewaltige Migrationsströme auslöst, die ihrerseits mit neuen sozialen Spannungen und Konflikten einhergehen. Die Vereinten Nationen wurden gegründet, um die Menschenrechte zu fördern und zu schützen. Heute, mehr als 70 Jahre später, zeigen sich sogar in liberalen Demokratien politische Radikalisierungstendenzen, die demokratische Grundwerte infrage stellen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Birkenkötter Hannah

Zwischen Quasi-Gericht und politischem Organ: Die Menschenrechtsausschüsse der Vereinten Nationen in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 10-11, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222191/die-menschenrechtsausschuesse-der-vereinten-nationen>

Menschenrechte sind heute als Grundlage der Arbeit der Vereinten Nationen anerkannt, ihr Schutz ist eine Grundaufgabe der internationalen Gemeinschaft. Für die Aushandlung multilateraler Menschenrechtsverträge sind die Vereinten Nationen das zentrale Forum. Insgesamt neun solcher Verträge wurden bisher durch die Vereinten Nationen verabschiedet, oftmals aufbauend auf jahrzehntelangen politischen Verhandlungsprozessen. Mit dem seit 2006 bestehenden Menschenrechtsrat verfügen die Vereinten Nationen heute über ein zentrales Organ für die politische Arbeit zu Menschenrechten. Darüber hinaus haben sich über die Jahrzehnte komplexe Mechanismen entwickelt, um die Einhaltung der in den verschiedenen Menschenrechtsverträgen niedergelegten Standards zu überwachen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Alanna O'Malley

'What an awful body the UN have become!!' Anglo-American–UN relations during the Congo crisis, February–December 1961

in **Journal of Transatlantic Studies** , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 26-46

When Lord Salisbury passed the above remark in November 1961 it was at a moment of intense frustration for the British Foreign Office during the Congo crisis as the UN accelerated their efforts to restore territorial integrity to the Central African state by ending the secession of Katanga. The British viewed UN actions as a threat to their political and economic interests in the Congo and in Central Africa but crucially, also found that they were at loggerheads with the United States. This article examines Anglo-American relations at two key junctures in March and December 1961 when Britain successfully appealed to the United States to intervene in order to stall UN actions in the Congo. The cooperation between President John F. Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan to constrain UN Congo policy reflects the centrality of the organisation in Anglo-American relations at the time and also highlights an understudied aspect of the relationship between the London and Washington. It will be shown that the crisis put a strain on the Anglo-American



relations, leading to efforts by the British to play on the Cold War fears of the Americans by urging them to limit the actions of the UN. It is argued that the changing nature of the organisation helped to foster tensions in the Anglo-American relationship, exposing inherent differences of opinion about how American Cold War objectives should be balanced against the British agenda for decolonisation. The two incidents highlighted here reflect how the crisis became a challenge for Anglo-American relations and ultimately reveal the waning influence of the United States and the UK within the UN at the time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Šturma Pavel

Goodbye, Maffezini? On the Recent Developments of Most-Favoured-Nation Clause Interpretation in International Investment Law

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 15, n. 1 , 81-101

ABSTRACT: The article focuses on the development of post-Maffezini practice of interpretation and application of most-favoured-nation clauses in international investment law. Although such clauses differ as to their precise formulation, the traditional view was that they applied to substantive treatment only. The decision of the arbitral tribunal in Maffezini was a point of change that gave a new, unpredicted dynamic to the interpretation of MFN clauses in BITs. The aim of this article is to shed a light on the development of international investment jurisprudence in order to confirm or to question the sustainable nature of the shift in interpretation of MFN clauses. The analysis also draws from the recent work of the Study Group of the UN International Law Commission. Some recent and drafted investment agreements are also taken into consideration with a view to completing the interpretation of MFN clauses by investment tribunals and the ILC report.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Salvador Gil-Pareja, Rafael Llorca-Vivero, José Antonio Martínez-Serrano

A Re-Examination of the Effect of GATT/WTO on Trade

in Open Economies Review, Volume 27, Issue 3 , 561-584

The empirical literature on the effect of the GATT/WTO on trade provides ambiguous results. This paper sheds new light on this issue by re-examining the ex post (partial) effect of GATT/WTO membership on trade using multiple econometric specifications of the gravity equation and analysing several potential asymmetries of the GATT/WTO system. Our results show an uneven but pervasive evidence that membership in GATT/WTO have had an economically significant effect on members' bilateral trade. Moreover, we find that the GATT/WTO effect operates through both trade margins but mainly through the intensive margin.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fink Fabian, Scholl Almuth

A quantitative model of sovereign debt, bailouts and conditionality

in Journal of International Economics, Volume 98, January 2016 , Pages 176-190



In times of sovereign debt crises, International Financial Institutions provide temporary financial support contingent on the implementation of specific macroeconomic policies. This paper develops a model of sovereign debt and default with endogenous participation rates in bailout programs. Conditionality enters as a constraint on fiscal policy. In the model, the insurance character of bailouts generates incentives for debt accumulation. Quantitative results suggest that bailouts prevent sovereign defaults in the short-run but may come at a cost of a greater default probability in the long-run. Increasing the intensity of conditionality lowers the bailout participation rate and generates a hump-shaped pattern of sovereign default risk.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Christian Häberli

An International Regulatory Framework for National Employment Policies

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.50, Issue 2 , 167-191

Employment-related policies are sensitive by any standard, and they remain basically national despite international labour standards (ILS) being even older than the United Nations. Globalization is changing this situation where countries may have to choose between 'more' or 'better' jobs. The multilateral framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) can only have an indirect impact. But Regional Trade Agreements (RTA) and International Investment Agreements (IIA) are emerging as a new way of gradually enhancing the impact of certain labour standards. In addition, unilateral measures both by governments and importers driven by social and environmental consumer preferences and pressure groups increasingly shape the international regulatory framework for national employment policies. Even small, locally operating enterprises risk marginalization and market exclusion by ignoring these developments. The long-term influence of this new 'network approach' on employment-related policies, including job location, gender issues, social coherence and migration remains to be seen. Nonetheless, the still flimsy evidence gathered here seems to indicate that this new, international framework might increase sustainable employment where and when supporting measures, including through unilateral preferences and even sanctions, form a 'cocktail' which export-oriented industries and their suppliers will find palatable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kaya Ayse

Designing the Multilateral Trading System: Voting Equality at the International Trade Organization

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 15 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2016 , 25-49

Through detailed archival analysis, this paper examines states' voting rights and representation in the International Trade Organization (ITO), which remains an under-analyzed aspect of the post-war multilateral trading system. The paper shows that the US designers of the ITO preferred and pursued formal voting equality because they reasoned it served the institution's intended functions and purposes better than weighted voting. But, as the negotiations undermined US priorities, particularly on balance of payment (BOP) questions, the designers presented a proposal for mirroring the IMF's weighted voting at the ITO. They, however, returned to their original proposal of voting equality when the ultimate draft of the ITO reflected their key preferences without resorting to weighted voting. By closely tracing the drafters' thinking throughout the evolution of the negotiations, the paper contributes to understanding the design of multilateral institutions as well as US behavior in the creation of the post-war multilateral system.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ben Cormier

Empowered borrowers? tracking the World Bank's Program-for-Results

in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 2 , 209-226

The World Bank has developed a new lending instrument, called Program-for-Results (P4R). This instrument is notable because it emphasises borrower programmes and contexts, ostensibly shifting from universally applied Washington Consensus models. Why did the Bank develop P4R? First, theoretical grounds for a new Bank policy are outlined. Second, the context, formalisation and usage of P4R are analysed. Third, P4R's possible futures are described, along with their implications for development lending theory and practice. Despite its embryonic status, scholars and practitioners will be able to learn about power in development lending by following the fate of P4R.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, Kevin P. Gallagher, Mah-Hui Lim and Katherine Soverel

Financial Stability and the Trans-Pacific Partnership: Lessons from Chile and Malaysia

in Global Policy, Volume 6, Issue 4 , 330–342

There is growing recognition that nations may need to deploy cross-border financial regulations to prevent and mitigate financial crises. Indeed, in December 2012 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed on a new 'institutional view' that notes how the IMF will begin to recommend that nations deploy cross-border financial regulations in the future. However, many nations have become party to global, regional and bilateral trade and investment treaties that may restrict their ability to deploy such regulations effectively. This article analyzes the cases of two countries currently in negotiation over a Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP): Chile and Malaysia. This article examines the extent to which each nation has deployed cross-border financial regulations in the past, and the extent to which they have negotiated the policy space for such regulations in its trade and investment treaties. Finally, this article analyzes the degree to which such measures would be permitted if the TPP's investment provisions looked like the model bilateral investment treaty of the USA. We find that, with some important exceptions, both countries have successfully deployed cross-border financial regulations and have carved out the ability to do so under the World Trade Organization (WTO) and some regional commitments. However, such policy space would be jeopardized if the TPP conformed to the US model rather than arrangements that each country has been able to broker in other arenas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zhu Jiejun

G20 institutional transition and global tax governance

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 29, Issue 3, 2016 , 465-471

The G20 is in transition from a short-term crisis institution to long-term steering institution, adopting a new 'G20 + established international organization' governance approach. In this approach, the main role of the G20 is to set the



agenda and build political consensus for global economic governance. The established international organization provides the technical support and facilitates proposal implementation, while the precondition for the G20 institutional transition is that the emerging economies need to participate on an equal footing with the advanced economies. The case of global tax governance is among the few success stories of the G20's institutional transition. Within the 'G20 + OECD' governance architecture, the G20 builds the political consensus that the profits should be taxed where they are performed, while the OECD proposes the technical Base Erosion and Profit Shifting Action Plan. In this way, the G20's political leadership and the OECD's technical advantage complement each other, making a giant leap in global tax governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rachel Harris and Gillian Moon

GATT Article XX and Human Rights: What Do We Know from the First 20 Years

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 16, issue 2, 432-483

It has been 20 years since the World Trade Organization and its law came into operation, accompanied by much speculation about its effects on member states' powers to meet their international human rights law obligations. This article sets out what has been learnt over that period about the relationship between WTO law, principally the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade ('GATT') and human rights law. While there have been no formal disputes during this period expressly invoking the core human rights treaties, much can be deduced from WTO jurisprudence. It is evident that there is normative tension between the trade and human rights domains, both in terms of the ends they pursue and the means they adopt. We argue that mooted solutions to this tension, such as interpreting WTO law in light of human rights law or applying human rights law directly in WTO disputes, face considerable obstacles and appear to have limited prospects. More radical solutions, such as amending WTO law, would yield better results, but would be very difficult to achieve. However, WTO jurisprudence suggests that it is possible to design some human rights measures to avoid non-compliance with WTO law disciplines, so long as the measures are very carefully structured and the policy process well-executed. This article focuses on GATT obligations and on the GATT art XX exception as a window through which human rights measures may potentially pass. To illustrate, we present two hypothetical, trade-affecting human rights measures to show both the prospects of such measures securing compliance with WTO law and how far the boundaries of compliance can be pushed within the existing paradigm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Michael Riegner

Governance Indicators in the Law of Development Finance: A Legal Analysis of the World Bank's 'Country Policy and Institutional Assessment'

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 1, 1-26

The article presents a legal critique of and a legal framework for the 'Country Policy and Institutional Assessment' (CPIA), the indicator system used by the World Bank to evaluate the governance performance of its borrowers and to allocate aid to its poorest members. The CPIA is becoming increasingly rules-based and raises important questions for legal research: First, what legal role does the CPIA play in the allocation of public resources by the World Bank, and how can the CPIA's financial, reputational, and cognitive effects be conceptualized from a legal point of view? Secondly,



what is the existing legal framework for influential governance rating exercises like the CPIA, and should this framework be developed further along the lines of Global Administrative Law or 'public' law thinking? And finally, what is the appropriate role of 'technocratic' instruments such as indicators in global (re)distribution of financial resources?

The main argument is that the CPIA is a promising tool to make development more effective, but that it also represents a powerful exercise of international public authority which requires an appropriate public law framework. This framework already exists in part within the administrative law of development cooperation, which enables us to transform certain concerns about the CPIA's effectiveness and legitimacy into legal arguments. However, this framework remains deficient and must be further developed, for which the article makes some concrete suggestions.

The article proceeds in three main steps: It first develops an analytical and regulatory framework for indicators used in development cooperation. It then applies this framework to the CPIA, analysing its genealogy, contents, and effects, as well as existing mechanisms of participation, reason-giving, transparency, and review. The third section evaluates the CPIA's existing legal regime against the principles of development cooperation law, namely development-orientation and efficacy as well as collective and individual autonomy. The conclusion reflects on how this framework potentially captures the tensions between distributive politics and expert-driven, technocratic instruments like indicators.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Guilleminot Adrien

Heurs et malheurs du systeme monetaire international in *Politique internationale*, La Revue n°149 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Michel Camdessus conduit par Adrien Guilleminot:

The International Monetary Fund, created in 1944, is being attacked from all sides, with detractors criticizing its dogmatism, favoritism for the major powers and of course the ineffectiveness of its remedies. But Michel Camdessus, who led this institution for a record term of 13 years, rises to its defense. In his view, the critics are barking up the wrong tree. The problem isn't that the IMF is too powerful, but rather that it isn't powerful enough! Its funding capacity has become largely insufficient in relation to the volume of liquidity now in play. Furthermore, countries and regional organizations are interfering in its work, and getting involved in issues that the IMF should be managing by itself, as seen in the case of Greece. In addition to expressing his views on the IMF, Mr. Camdessus shares his very frank opinion on the economic situations in France, Europe and the world. He also spells out his recommendations for a reform of the international monetary system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Quintin H. Beazer and Byungwon Woo

IMF Conditionality, Government Partisanship, and the Progress of Economic Reforms in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 60, Issue 2 , 304–321

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) often seeks to influence countries' domestic public policy via varying levels of conditionality—linking financial support to borrowing governments' commitment to policy reforms. When does extensive conditionality encourage domestic economic reforms and when does it impede them? We argue that, rather than



universally benefiting or harming reforms, the effects of stricter IMF conditionality depend on domestic partisan politics. More IMF conditions can pressure left-wing governments into undertaking more ambitious reforms with little resistance from partisan rivals on the right; under right governments, however, more conditions hinder reform implementation by heightening resistance from the left while simultaneously reducing leaders' ability to win their support through concessions or compromise. Using data on post-communist IMF programs for the period 1994–2010, we find robust evidence supporting these claims, even after addressing the endogeneity of IMF programs via instrumental variables analysis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zangl Bernhard, Heußner Frederick, Kruck Andreas, Lanzendöfer Xenia

Imperfect adaptation: how the WTO and the IMF adjust to shifting power distributions among their members in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 11, n. 2, june , 171-196

ABSTRACT: How do international institutions adjust to shifting power distributions among their members? We argue that institutional adaptations to the rise of emerging and the decline of established powers are different from what power transition theories (PTTs) would lead us to believe. Institutional adaptations are not impossible, as pessimist PTT variants hold; and they are rarely easy to attain, let alone perfect, as optimist PTT variants imply. To bridge the gap between these versions of PTT, we propose an institutionalist power shift theory (IPST) which combines insights on the conditions and mechanisms of institutional change from functionalist, historical and distributive variants of rational institutionalism. IPST claims that institutional adaptations will succeed or fail depending on whether or not emerging powers are able to undermine the international institution and to make credible threats to this effect. To demonstrate IPST's plausibility we analyze: (1) how India and Brazil gained the agreement of established powers to their membership in the WTO core negotiation group ("Quad"), which had previously been dominated by developed countries; and (2) how China reached agreement with established powers on (more) even-handed surveillance of IMF members' financial stability, which, up to then, had focused on developing countries and exchange rate issues

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Dirk De Bièvre, Arlo Poletti, Marcel Hanegraaff, Jan Beyers

International Institutions and Interest Mobilization: The WTO and Lobbying in EU and US Trade Policy in Journal of World Trade, Vol.50, Issue 2 , 289-312

What affects lobbying patterns in trade policymaking? Existing explanations focus mainly on economic determinants, like the rise of intra-industry trade. We argue that the international trade institutions of the World Trade Organization (WTO) themselves are also key for understanding which type of interest mobilization is likely to arise. We contend that the institutional setting of issue-linkage based trade negotiations creates incentives for firms to work through broad sector-wide lobbying organizations, while judicial adjudication and enforcement in WTO dispute settlement stimulates de-linkage, leading to product-specific interest mobilization. We illustrate how these two arguments can explain the coexistence of both sector-wide and product-specific lobbying in the contemporary international trade regime. We provide evidence on interest mobilization for United States (US) and European Union (EU) initiated WTO disputes, and on EU and US domestic interest organizations that mobilize during multilateral trade rounds or are present at WTO ministerial conferences.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Milagros Álvarez-Verdugo

La Agencia Internacional de la Energía en el escenario energético mundial y sus relaciones con Estados no miembros

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 31, junio

Since the end of last century, changes in the global energy landscape have led to a set of IEA initiatives addressed to bring closer its practices, policies and activities to non-member countries. This line of external action (known as 'global engagement') includes bilateral cooperation measures with those non-member States, which are the subject matter of this work. Its analysis addresses the characteristics of the competences of international bodies in the field of external relations as well as the legal nature of the instruments used for the exercise of such competences. Furthermore, from a thematic perspective, the contents of the IEA external action offer a significant indicator of the current challenges faced by the global energy governance and therefore of the degree of participation and impact of the Agency's work on this task. Thus it can be argued that, in the current global energy context, the relevance of the Agency and the achievement of its founding objectives depend on the scope and effectiveness of the Agency's external activity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Villalta Puig Gonzalo, Dalke Eric D.

Nature and Enforceability of WTO-plus SPS and TBT Provisions in Canada's PTAs: From NAFTA to CETA
in *World Trade Review*, Volume 15 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2016 , 51-83

Safety standards can function as non-tariff barriers to trade. Canada is a large exporter of goods and so it has an interest in the regulation of safety standards, both at the multilateral level through its membership of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and, most especially, at the bilateral and regional level through its Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs). Canada has signed PTAs with provisions that go beyond the obligations of WTO Members under the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures and the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade. This article analyses the nature and enforceability of WTO-plus provisions on sanitary and phytosanitary standards (SPS) as well as product standards (TBT) in Canada's PTAs, from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, Mexico, and the United States to the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the European Union. First, it finds that the inclusion of WTO-plus SPS and TBT provisions in Canada's PTAs is a relatively recent practice that is still in development. Only about half of Canada's PTAs contain WTO-plus SPS and TBT provisions and, those treaties that do, commonly concern institutions for regulatory cooperation and information exchange arrangements, without much commitment to harmonization. Secondly, it finds that nearly half of the SPS and TBT provisions in Canada's PTAs are unenforceable. They either are in a language that is too imprecise for enforcement or do not allow access to a dispute settlement mechanism. Thirdly, it finds that, by global standards, most of Canada's PTAs are modest in their approach to SPS and TBT issues, with NAFTA and CETA as key exceptions. The article concludes that the extent to which regulatory convergence occurs on safety standards for Canada is dependent more on political cooperation between the parties than on the nature and enforceability of SPS and TBT provisions in its PTAs.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Alua Amirbekova, Ruslan Galyamov

Participation Constraints in the WTO Dispute Settlement: Considering Kazakhstan

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.50, Issue 2 , 335-368

This study examines participation constraints faced by developing countries and the impact of wealth and power (the power hypothesis) or economic and legal capacity (the capacity hypothesis) of a Member State on its decision to file a legal complaint against a specific other member at the World Trade Organization (WTO). Empirical research of 486 WTO disputes filed between 1995 and 2014 indicates that legal capacity matters more than power considerations in the WTO members' legal dispute settlements. This study is based on the premise that Kazakhstan does best when using the WTO dispute settlement system (after its accession to the WTO) against its main trading partners. Moreover, it attempts to predict the maximum gross domestic product (GDP) levels of Kazakhstan's potential defendants. The main findings are that under the legal capacity theory, Kazakhstan's economic features (such as GDP per capita, international trade position, government efficiency, military and non-military government spending, and others) are sufficient to proceed with legal claims against the Netherlands, Austria, Romania, Portugal, and Belarus.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

João Márcio Mendes Pereira

Recycling and expansion: an analysis of the World Bank agenda (1989–2014)

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 5 , 818-839

This article analyses the agenda of the World Bank after the Washington Consensus, arguing that it became more encompassing, politicised and intrusive. This agenda expanded and recycled itself since, in addition to liberalisation, privatisation and macroeconomic adjustment, it also advocated the wide-ranging reconstruction of the economy, the relationship between society and nature, the state, civil society and visions of the world and social practices from a neoliberal perspective. It is argued that the fight against poverty was incorporated by the institution, which functioned as an auxiliary mechanism for this liberalisation. The importance of the incorporation of New Institutional Economics for this expansion and recycling is highlighted.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Howse Robert

Regulatory Cooperation, Regional Trade Agreements, and World Trade Law: Conflict or Complementarity?

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 78, Number 4



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lienau Odette

The Challenge of Legitimacy in Sovereign Debt Restructuring

in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 57, Issue 1

Since the emergence of the post-World War II international economic system, policymakers have lamented the absence of a global sovereign debt restructuring mechanism. This disappointment has only intensified in recent years, as the failure to provide prompt, comprehensive, and lasting debt relief becomes even more apparent. As a result, scholars and key international actors have argued for the development of a more coherent global approach to debt workouts. But to date this discussion lacks a sustained focus on questions of legitimacy

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a fact that is exceptionally puzzling in light of the voluminous scholarship on the legitimacy deficits of international economic institutions once they have been established.

This Article bridges that gap, arguing that serious attention should be paid to these questions in advance of negotiating a possible debt workout mechanism, and considering what such attentiveness might mean in practice. It highlights the political complexity and distributional ramifications of legitimacy arguments, and develops an analytical framework for understanding the concept along with a preliminary application to the debt restructuring context. It then analyzes the institutional and historical background of debt restructuring in light of this typology, and assesses how domestic insolvency regimes and investment treaty arbitrations incorporate features purported to advance legitimacy. Finally, the Article considers how a future debt workout institution might respond to calls for legitimacy

—
based on its initial establishment,
ongoing processes, and final outcomes

—
and briefly discusses existing proposals and likely political obstacles in light of these themes. In foregrounding these concerns, this Article draws attention to issues and controversies that will likely be relevant for some time, and contends that the tensions, distributional issues, and power dynamics implicated in questions of legitimacy should inform negotiations on any sovereign debt workout mechanism going forward.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Eichengreen Barry, Woods Ngaire

The IMF's Unmet Challenges

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 30 No. 1 Winter 2016 , 29-52

The International Monetary Fund is a controversial institution whose interventions regularly provoke passionate reactions. We will argue that there is an important role for the IMF in helping to solve information, commitment, and



coordination problems with significant implications for the stability of national economies and the international monetary and financial system. In executing these functions, the effectiveness of the IMF, like that of a football referee, depends on whether the players see it as competent and impartial. We will argue that the Fund's perceived competence and impartiality, and hence its effectiveness, are limited by its failure to meet four challenges—concerning the quality of its surveillance (of individual countries, groups of countries, and the global system); the relevance of conditionality in loan contracts; the utility of the Fund's approach to debt problems; and the Fund's failure to adopt a system of governance that gives appropriate voice to different stakeholders. These problems of legitimacy will have to be addressed in order for the IMF to play a more effective role in the 21st century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sergio Béjar, Juan Andrés Moraes

The International Monetary Fund, Party System Institutionalization, and Protest in Latin America
in *Latin American Politics & Society*, Volume 58, Issue 2 , 26-48

Extant studies have documented a positive correlation between country participation in International Monetary Fund–sponsored programs and collective protests in Latin America. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that there is a great deal of variation in the number of protests in recipient countries across the region. This article provides a theoretical argument that explains how the fund interacts with the level of party system institutionalization to affect the level of protest. The main prediction is that the level of protest decreases in recipient countries when the level of party system institutionalization is high. Empirical results from a sample of 16 Latin American democracies observed from 1982 to 2007 provide strong statistical and substantive support for the main hypothesis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Reinhart Carmen M., Trebesch Christoph

The International Monetary Fund: 70 Years of Reinvention
in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 30 No. 1 Winter 2016 , 3-28

A sketch of the International Monetary Fund's 70-year history reveals an institution that has reinvented itself over time along multiple dimensions. This history is primarily consistent with a "demand driven" theory of institutional change, as the needs of its clients and the type of crisis changed substantially over time. Some deceptively "new" IMF activities are not entirely new. Before emerging market economies dominated IMF programs, advanced economies were its earliest (and largest) clients through the 1970s. While currency problems were the dominant trigger of IMF involvement in the earlier decades, banking crises and sovereign defaults became the key focus after the 1980s. Around this time, the IMF shifted from providing relatively brief (and comparatively modest) balance-of-payments support in the era of fixed exchange rates to coping with more chronic debt sustainability problems that emerged with force in the developing economies and have now migrated to advanced economies. As a consequence, the IMF has engaged in "serial lending," with programs often spanning decades. Moreover, the institution faces a growing risk of lending into insolvency; this has been most evident in Greece since 2010. We conclude with the observation that the IMF's role as an international lender of last resort is endangered.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Clemens Michael A., Kremer Michael

The New Role for the World Bank

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 30 No. 1 Winter 2016 , 53-76

The World Bank was founded to address what we would today call imperfections in international capital markets. Its founders thought that countries would borrow from the Bank temporarily until they grew enough to borrow commercially. Some critiques and analyses of the Bank are based on the assumption that this continues to be its role. For example, some argue that the growth of private capital flows to the developing world has rendered the Bank irrelevant. However, we will argue that modern analyses should proceed from the premise that the World Bank's central goal is and should be to reduce extreme poverty, and that addressing failures in global capital markets is now of subsidiary importance. In this paper, we discuss what the Bank does: how it spends money, how it influences policy, and how it presents its mission. We argue that the role of the Bank is now best understood as facilitating international agreements to reduce poverty, and we examine implications of this perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ravallion Martin

The World Bank: Why It Is Still Needed and Why It Still Disappoints

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 30 No. 1 Winter 2016 , 77-94

Does the World Bank still have an important role to play? How might it fulfill that role? The paper begins with a brief account of how the Bank works. It then argues that, while the Bank is no longer the primary conduit for capital from high-income to low-income countries, it still has an important role in supplying the public good of development knowledge—a role that is no less pressing today than ever. This argument is not a new one. In 1996, the Bank's President at the time, James D. Wolfensohn, laid out a vision for the "knowledge bank," an implicit counterpoint to what can be called the "lending bank." The paper argues that the past rhetoric of the "knowledge bank" has not matched the reality. An institution such as the World Bank—explicitly committed to global poverty reduction—should be more heavily invested in knowing what is needed in its client countries as well as in international coordination. It should be consistently arguing for well-informed pro-poor policies in its member countries, tailored to the needs of each country, even when such policies are unpopular with the powers-that-be. It should also be using its financial weight, combined with its analytic and convening powers, to support global public goods. In all this, there is a continuing role for lending, but it must be driven by knowledge—both in terms of what gets done and how it is geared to learning. The paper argues that the Bank disappoints in these tasks but that it could perform better.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Robert Howse

The World Trade Organization 20 Years On: Global Governance by Judiciary

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 27, no. 1 , 9-77



This article presents a narrative about the building of an effective, legitimate judicial system in the World Trade Organization (WTO) through a period of intense diplomatic and political divisiveness and prevailing perception of impasse and malaise in the Organization. At the centre of the narrative is the Appellate Body of the WTO, a standing body of seven jurists charged with deciding appeals of law. The Appellate Body, as will be elaborated, responded to the political conflict and paralysis at the WTO by distancing itself from the Organization and making a number of crucial jurisprudential moves that led to its transformation into an independent court, which has often decided controversial questions in balanced or deferential ways that display, at best, neutrality to the neo-liberal 'deep integration' trade agenda reflected in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations and many of its results, such as the WTO Agreements on Intellectual Property and on Technical Barriers to Trade, for example. In the early years, the Appellate Body's deviation from some of the basic tenets of the trade insiders at the WTO led to an open conflict with the trade policy elite, including the delegates of the Members who sit as diplomatic representatives of the membership in Geneva. The end result, however, was the acceptance of the Appellate Body's authority. The same consensus practice of political and diplomatic decision making at the WTO that made negotiating breakthroughs elusive also made it essentially impossible for the Members to threaten or pressure the Appellate Body effectively since, ultimately, overruling any of its decisions, either through the amendment of a WTO treaty or through an 'authoritative interpretation', could not be done absent a consensus of the Members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Robert Howse

The World Trade Organization 20 Years On: Global Governance by Judiciary
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 4 , 9-77

This article presents a narrative about the building of an effective, legitimate judicial system in the World Trade Organization (WTO) through a period of intense diplomatic and political divisiveness and prevailing perception of impasse and malaise in the Organization. At the centre of the narrative is the Appellate Body of the WTO, a standing body of seven jurists charged with deciding appeals of law. The Appellate Body, as will be elaborated, responded to the political conflict and paralysis at the WTO by distancing itself from the Organization and making a number of crucial jurisprudential moves that led to its transformation into an independent court, which has often decided controversial questions in balanced or deferential ways that display, at best, neutrality to the neo-liberal 'deep integration' trade agenda reflected in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations and many of its results, such as the WTO Agreements on Intellectual Property and on Technical Barriers to Trade, for example. In the early years, the Appellate Body's deviation from some of the basic tenets of the trade insiders at the WTO led to an open conflict with the trade policy elite, including the delegates of the Members who sit as diplomatic representatives of the membership in Geneva. The end result, however, was the acceptance of the Appellate Body's authority. The same consensus practice of political and diplomatic decision making at the WTO that made negotiating breakthroughs elusive also made it essentially impossible for the Members to threaten or pressure the Appellate Body effectively since, ultimately, overruling any of its decisions, either through the amendment of a WTO treaty or through an 'authoritative interpretation', could not be done absent a consensus of the Members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Baldwin Richard



The World Trade Organization and the Future of Multilateralism

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 30 No. 1 Winter 2016 , 95-116

When the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was signed by 23 nations in 1947, the goal was to establish a rules-based world trading system and to facilitate mutually advantageous trade liberalization. As the GATT evolved over time and morphed into the World Trade Organization in 1993, both goals have largely been achieved. The WTO presides over a rule-based trading system based on norms that are almost universally accepted and respected by its 163 members. Tariffs today are below 5 percent on most trade, and zero for a very large share of imports. Despite its manifest success, the WTO is widely regarded as suffering from a deep malaise. The main reason is that the latest WTO negotiation, the Doha Round, has staggered between failures, flops, and false dawns since it was launched in 2001. But the Doha logjam has not inhibited tariff liberalization far from it. During the last 15 years, most WTO members have massively lowered barriers to trade, investment, and services bilaterally, regionally, and unilaterally—indeed, everywhere except through the WTO. For today's offshoring-linked international commerce, the trade rules that matter are less about tariffs and more about protection of investments and intellectual property, along with legal and regulatory steps to assure that the two-way flows of goods, services, investment, and people will not be impeded. It's possible to imagine a hypothetical WTO that would incorporate these rules. But the most likely outcome for the future governance of international trade is a two-pillar structure in which the WTO continues to govern with its 1994-era rules while the new rules for international production networks are set by a decentralized process of sometimes overlapping and inconsistent mega-regional agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Neuwirth Rostam J., Svetlicinii Alexandr

The current EU/US–Russia conflict over Ukraine and the WTO: a preliminary note on (trade) restrictive measures

in *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 32, n. 3 , 237-271

In 2012, the Russian Federation (RF) joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) as its 156th member. Two years later, an international conflict over the developments in Ukraine in general and the changing status of Crimea erupted, which henceforth saw the RF, the United States (US), and the European Union (EU) drawn into a circle of the unilateral imposition of trade and other restrictive measures. This article looks at the trade aspects of the ensuing conflict and provides a detailed survey of the restrictive measures imposed by the EU, the US, and the RF from the perspective of the national legal orders of the jurisdictions concerned, as well as from the international perspective of the applicable WTO trade rules. It includes a critical assessment of the compatibility of economic sanctions with the parties' WTO commitments, as well as the possibility of addressing the current divergences under the WTO dispute settlement mechanism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gabriel Garcia

The rise of the Global South, the IMF and the future of Law and Development

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 2 , 191-208



Following the onset of the Asian Financial Crisis the world has witnessed a re-accommodation of the global financial system. In the particular case of middle-income countries they have disentangled themselves from the conditionality of the IMF and grown into more assertive actors in international forums, proposing new alternative mechanisms to become more financially independent and for the provision of development assistance. This article critically reviews the new reality by assessing the strategies deployed by developing countries to reduce the IMF's influence, and explores the potential consequences of the rise of middle-income nations for Law and Development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Flor Elena

Towards a New International Monetary Order

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

After the long phase of the financial crisis, followed by the sovereign debt crisis and the stagnation, the international economy was substantially stabilized, but at the cost of greatly divergent policies of central banks, which led to a high volatility in the exchange rates and laid the premises for acute currency turmoil that can affect the real economy. The action of the international organizations - and in particular of the IMF - was particularly effective in the first phase, with significant operative innovations such as the issue of securities of the IMF itself signed by the BRICS countries, and particularly by China.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Yoshiko Naiki

Trade and Bioenergy: Explaining and Assessing the Regime Complex for Sustainable Bioenergy

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 4, 129-159

We have recently observed the phenomenon of fragmented governance that comprises multiple coexisting regimes without the establishment of a single comprehensive agreement. The regulation of production, trade and the use of bioenergy is one such example. This article addresses multiple regimes for sustainable bioenergy that exist at the international, European Union and private levels. The arguments in this article draw mainly on the recent theory of 'regime complexes', focusing on the relationships between multiple coexisting regimes. The article discusses why a regime complex has emerged in the sustainable bioenergy domain and explains the features and consequences of the sustainable bioenergy regime complex. It concludes that this regime complex is generally functioning well and also proposes the ways in which it can be improved with a view to greater effectiveness and better governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lamy Pascal

What Future for the EU in the Global Trading System?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016, Pages 34-36

The recent phase of globalisation could be characterised as "wider", whereas the next phase to come will be "deeper".



This new phase is likely to prove bumpier than the previous one, as the issues now at stake will have more to do with values or ethics, the interpenetration of which will be both economically necessary and politically difficult. In the medium term, the growth of the European economies will become more dependent on external trade, and thus these policy challenges will need to be addressed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lengfelder Christina Sandra

Why Triangular Development Cooperation? Germany and the Emerging Powers

in German Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1 , 1-24

Triangular development cooperation (TriCo) is a relatively new form of technical cooperation (expert advice), which includes, besides the traditional actors of the donor and the receiver, a third country: the new provider. At first sight, OECD donors' engagement in TriCo cannot be explained by any of the traditional explanations for aid provision. On the one hand, donors pass on their strategically favourable position to the new providers, whereas on the other hand, from a practitioners' view, TriCo is not necessarily beneficial for receiving countries. Therefore, donors' participation in TriCo constitutes a stunning puzzle of international politics. An in-depth case study assesses why Germany has recently engaged in TriCo. Exploring this empirical riddle does not only contribute to understanding this specific cooperation modality, but it also reveals insights for the general study of international cooperation: emerging powers are changing the landscape of international relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kramarz Teresa

World Bank Partnerships and the Promise of Democratic Governance

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 26, Issue 1, January/February , 3-15

The World Bank promotes public–private partnerships as vehicles for democratizing environmental governance. This article presents an overview of their constitution in the World Bank, including what the Bank as an organization identified as their promise, and investigates what its partnerships for biodiversity conservation achieved. The article focuses on the institutional design of partnerships' governance structures, and assesses their democratic quality based on their potential to enable inclusion and empowerment of stakeholders. It examines nine global biodiversity partnerships between the World Bank and non-state actors from 1992 to 2008 and analyses the extent to which they have fulfilled the principled expectations expressed by the Bank. I find that partnerships have been organized through institutional arrangements that fail to promote inclusiveness and empowerment, which are minimum normative inputs for democratic decision-making in natural resource management. This suggests that World Bank partnerships are not sufficiently well poised to fulfil the democratic promise.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nicolas Hachez

'Essential Elements' Clauses in EU Trade Agreements Making Trade Work in a Way that Helps Human Rights?



in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 53 , 81-106

This article critically examines the EU policy of including 'essential elements' clauses in trade agreements as the principal avenue for the realization of the trade-human rights nexus required by the EU's treaty obligation to use its external relations for the promotion of its core values. After evaluating the anatomy of such clauses, the article sets out to analyze the criticism which they have generated regarding (i) the fact that such clauses are not contained in all EU trade agreements, (ii) their drafting and scope, and (iii) their monitoring and enforcement. The article then concludes with an assessment of the effectiveness and legitimacy of this policy, and of the way it impacts the credibility of the EU's normative external relations agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Darrell Driver

Burden sharing and the future of NATO: wandering between two worlds

in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 32, Issue 1 , 4-18

The US role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Alliance is a 65-year history of retrenchment and renewal. When Washington has sought a retrenchment from the world, it traditionally increased burden sharing pressure on Europe to do more. During times of increased global ambition, the USA reaffirmed its traditional leadership role in the Alliance and its commitment to NATO effectiveness and relevance. This cycle of NATO retrenchment and renewal, however, is halting. Though the USA will continue to go through periods of relative increases and decreases in security policy ambition, signs point to a permanent defense and security retrenchment in Europe. Germany is the ally singularly capable of filling the resulting security gap. If NATO is to avoid the drift toward irrelevance many critics have predicted, Germany will need to cast off old inhibitions toward security and defense leadership. These trends and their implications for NATO's future are explored through historical case studies and the shifting contemporary security environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Tomasz Paszewski

Can Poland Defend Itself?

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 2 , 117-134

Poland's strong stance at NATO headquarters in favour of collective defence has never been matched at home by efforts to develop the necessary capabilities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Magnus Lundgren

Conflict management capabilities of peace-brokering international organizations, 1945–2010: A new dataset

in *Cahiers d'études africaines* , 33 (2)

The expectation that international organizations (IOs) can play a role in the resolution of violent conflict has spawned a



process of institutional growth in the post-Second World War period. IOs at all levels have expanded existing instruments of conflict management and have gradually established new ones, such as mediation support units, early warning systems and standby military forces. Empirical research on this process has suffered from a lack of systematic, cross-temporal data. Seeking to rectify this weakness, this article introduces an original dataset on the institutional design of 21 peace-brokering IOs, organizations endowed with standing capabilities for conflict management interventions. The dataset contains yearly observations on 14 institutional variables during the 1945–2010 period, centered around three instruments of IO conflict management: mediation, economic sanctions and peacekeeping. It also includes observations on IO membership characteristics, power polarity and a set of security-related institutional features. This dataset provides scholars with a new source of variables for the study of institutional evolution, institutional heterogeneity and the impact of institutional characteristics on IO performance. A preliminary descriptive analysis shows that IOs display significant variation in terms of mandates, capabilities and rates of change. Using the data, the author also perform a re-appraisal of an earlier study on IO dispute resolution, demonstrating the analytic benefits of having disaggregated measures of institutional design.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

ROBERT J. ART

Creating a Disaster: NATO's Open Door Policy

in *Political Science Quarterly*, VOLUME 131 - NUMBER 2 , 341-363

ROBERT J. ART argues that an open door membership policy will destroy NATO and that there is a better alternative to create a security structure for Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin

Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion

in *International Security*, Volume 40, Issue 4 , 7–44

Did the United States promise the Soviet Union during the 1990 negotiations on German reunification that NATO would not expand into Eastern Europe? Since the end of the Cold War, an array of Soviet/Russian policymakers have charged that NATO expansion violates a U.S. pledge advanced in 1990; in contrast, Western scholars and political leaders dispute that the United States made any such commitment. Recently declassified U.S. government documents provide evidence supporting the Soviet/Russian position. Although no non-expansion pledge was ever codified, U.S. policymakers presented their Soviet counterparts with implicit and informal assurances in 1990 strongly suggesting that NATO would not expand in post-Cold War Europe if the Soviet Union consented to German reunification. The documents also show, however, that the United States used the reunification negotiations to exploit Soviet weaknesses by depicting a mutually acceptable post-Cold War security environment, while actually seeking a system dominated by the United States and opening the door to NATO's eastward expansion. The results of this analysis carry implications for international relations theory, diplomatic history, and current U.S.-Russian relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Maurizio Boni

**Il knowledge development della Nato quale complemento dell'intelligence militare
in Gnosis, n.4**

a comprensione della complessità dei moderni scenari di crisi, caratterizzati dalla presenza di attori militari e non, oltre che dalla molteplicità degli aspetti politici, economici e sociali che devono essere considerati nel corso delle operazioni, è agevolata anche dall'applicazione del Knowledge Development (Kd), branca funzionale introdotta nei comandi della Nato, che integra le attività dell'intelligence militare convenzionale a supporto dei processi decisionali. L'elaborato ne illustra le caratteristiche principali, sullo sfondo dell'approccio olistico adottato dall'Alleanza Atlantica per la gestione delle crisi.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Deschaux-Dutard Delphine

**La Lituanie entre PSDC et Otan dans le contexte du conflit ukrainien
in Revue Défense Nationale, n° 786, Janvier**

La Lituanie, membre de l'UE et de l'Otan, reste marquée par son histoire et considère la Russie comme une menace potentielle. De ce fait, elle privilégie l'Otan comme acteur de sa défense et donne la priorité à son partenariat avec les États-Unis.

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Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Fabien Gouttefarde

**L'invocation de l'article 42§7 TUE ou la solidarité militaire européenne à l'épreuve de la guerre contre le terrorisme
in Revue générale de droit international public, vol. 120, issue 1 , 51-67**

Il a fallu un évènement traumatique survenu sur le sol français, le 13 novembre 2015, pour que l'invocation, pour la première fois, de la clause d'assistance mutuelle de l'article 42§7 du traité sur l'Union européenne ait été rendu possible. Si une solidarité européenne contre le terrorisme peut dès lors prendre corps et bénéficier d'un cadre d'expérimentation, l'usage de cette clause peut sembler, pour le juriste européen, quelque peu étonnante. Au regard des évènements qui la justifie et au-delà d'un signal politique bienvenu, la clause d'assistance mutuelle de l'article 42§7 TUE peut paraître inopportune, notamment en raison des difficultés doctrinales à définir la guerre contre le terrorisme et des débats ancestraux qui déchirent la communauté internationale sur la notion « d'agression armée ». Ceci, d'autant qu'une autre clause, contenue, elle, dans le Traité sur le fonctionnement de l'Union européenne à son article 222, paraît, à sa lecture, tout autant adaptée aux attentats terroristes que la France a connu en cette fin d'année 2015. Cette invocation de la clause d'aide et assistance aura, à n'en pas douter, des conséquences sur le jus ad bellum et plus généralement sur la coutume en droit international, alors que d'autres mécanismes, tels que les clauses de solidarité des traités de l'Otan ou de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale, comparés au sein de ces article, auraient pu lui être préférés.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

David Scott

NATO and Japan: A strategic convergence? Post cold-war geopolitics: Russia, China, anti-piracy and anti-terrorism

in *International Politics* , Volume 53, Issue 3 , 324-342

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stephan Frühling & Guillaume Lasconjarias

NATO, A2/AD and the Kaliningrad Challenge

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 2 , 95-116

Kaliningrad's geography offers advantages not just to Russia, but also to NATO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hatzivassiliou Evanthis

Nixon's Coup: Establishing the NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, 1969–70

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 1 , pp.88-108

In early 1969 the new US President, Richard Nixon, suggested the expansion of allied political consultation, as well as the setting up of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) committee which would deal with environmental problems. The Americans stressed that their proposal did not involve merely the technical aspects of environmental protection, but also the need for modern governance to evolve in order to safeguard the 'quality of life', a prime aspect affecting the legitimisation of the political and social systems. The US proposal was not received enthusiastically by the allies, who had little desire for radical changes, and did not regard this as a proper subject for the alliance; some even feared that a NATO role in environmental questions might mask a US disengagement from European security, especially during an era of détente. However, after making sure that the new committee would be fully under the control of the Council (in accordance with NATO's inter-governmental character), the allies finally agreed to its creation. The NATO discussions on the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) point to the emergence of a new, more complex international agenda, and raise interesting questions regarding transatlantic relations during an era of wider transitions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

Searching for great strategy



in **CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, n.1 , 95-100

The United States no longer sees the United Kingdom as indispensably relevant in all their priority issues. This is notwithstanding the efforts of the United Kingdom to redefine relations with emerging powers, to maintain overall intervention inspite of limited resources and to maximize the benefits offered by their location within the Atlantic Alliance, the European Union and the United Nations. The international influence of the Kingdom seems in any case to depend on the success and dynamism of the British economy and, therefore, the possibility that the latter will be able to sustain strong economic growth

while continuing to pursue an ambitious policy of fiscal consolidation.

A future on the edge of an increasingly integrated euro zone may not necessarily mean disaster for the United Kingdom, as both positive and negative aspects of a possible exit from the European Union are difficult to

predict. In this context, little or nothing is certain, except the US concern for the inevitability of a weaker European Union in the aftermath of an exit by the

United Kingdom.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Julien Pomarède & Théo Schjødt

Security Identities and 'No More, No Less' Operations: On Making NATO's Involvement in Darfur Possible

in **Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding**, Volume 9, Issue 4 , 495-518

This article explores NATO's support mission to the African Union's peacekeeping operation in Darfur, Sudan between 2005 and 2007. NATO policies are commonly presented as functional responses to events, but how did a conflict on the African continent become the Atlantic Alliance's business? In this essay, a poststructuralist practice-oriented approach is used to understand the way in which discursive practices progressively establish a policy option as 'natural' in a given situation. It is argued that the normalization of NATO's support mission to the African Union in Darfur and the integration of this operation in NATO's security identity were the result of complex and conflict-ridden social interactions between different discursive practices supported by different actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

John R. Deni

Shifting locus of governance? The case of NATO's connected forces initiative

in **European Security**, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 181-196

In early 2012, NATO's then-Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, unveiled the Connected Forces Initiative (CFI), an effort designed to increase allied interoperability and readiness. Through three lines of effort – training and education, exercises, and better use of technology – the CFI is intended to help the alliance maintain the operational and tactical interoperability it developed in Afghanistan. At first glance, the CFI appears to represent an example of the claims of some neo-institutionalist scholars that there is a shift in the locus of governance from member states to NATO. However, this article takes a deeper look and concludes that in fact the locus of security governance is not shifting, at least not in this instance. Member states of the alliance retain several means of controlling and influencing NATO, thereby preventing it from developing a significant degree of autonomy, in contrast to the European Union or United



Nations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Marco Massoni

The NATO-African Union Partnership

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.7 , 39-49

For at least the last five years NATO has been facing the need to re-orient its strategy southwards, far beyond the Sahara across all the African Continent. The idea is to take into serious account not only the MENA region (Middle East & North Africa), but also the several threats coming from the Sahel, West Africa and East Africa

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Yanan Song

The US commitment to NATO in the post-Cold War period – a case study on Libya

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 83-113

The recent history of the US commitment to NATO has been dominated by economic pressures, squabbles over NATO's military performance in Afghanistan, and the apparent American preference for 'leading from behind' in Libya. The case study on Libya is especially important in exploring the Obama administration's understanding of the purpose of NATO in the context of current economic pressures, domestic US debates about post-War on Terror interventions, and of increasing American preoccupation with Pacific (rather than European) security. In the case of Libya, the US apparently hesitated to unfold military operations against Libyan military targets. It seems to be the first time that the US followed rather than led its European allies to a campaign. The reason why the US was reluctant to intervene in Libya at the very beginning; why it changed its mind to join the operation later; and why it transferred the Libyan mission to NATO and adopted the strategy of 'leading from behind', reflected on not only the redefinition of 'American way of war', but also the future of NATO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Overhaus Marco

US defence policy under Obama: trajectories in budgets, military deployments and force structures

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 47-55

This article assesses the major trajectories that have characterized US defence policy under the Obama administration. The use of US armed forces has been shaped by the interplay of President Obama's non-interventionist instincts and a deteriorating security environment – leading to incremental re-engagement in Afghanistan, the Middle East and Europe. By contrast, more structural planning decisions on the size of the military and on overseas defence posture have been characterized by longer-term and cyclical developments that do not neatly fit into the time-span of an individual



administration. The trajectories of US defence policy are also highly relevant for European policy-makers, as the wars in Eastern Ukraine and Syria have cast a new light on the security and defence role of the United States in Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barros Ana Sofia

Member States and the International Legal (Dis)order. Accounting for the Notion of Responsible Governance in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 12, n. 2 , 333-357

ABSTRACT: This article looks into the role of member States as governors of international organizations and explores the legal constraints imposed thereof for the purposes of the establishment of international responsibility. At its foundation lies the quest for an international legal order that effectively protects the interests of those affected by institutional operations. To set the scene for the discussion, the article begins by noting that, in adhering to international organizations, (member) States retain sovereign powers which assume the crucial function of steering their oversight duties over institutional operations. Embracing a constitutionalist paradigm, the article moves on to show how the principles of representativeness and responsiveness inform member State conduct as creators and participants in institutional undertakings. The procedural implications of these principles in institutional contexts are subsequently explored by resorting to due diligence as a standard to evaluate member State behaviour and thereby implement member State responsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barros Ana Sofia, Ryngaert Cedric, Wouters Jan

Member States, International Organizations and International Responsibility. Exploring a Legal Triangle in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 12, n. 2 , 285-292

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schmidt Dennis R.

Peremptory law, global order, and the normative boundaries of a pluralistic world in International Theory, vol. 8, issue 2 , 262-296

ABSTRACT: This article develops a socio-legal approach to theorizing the construction of peremptory norms in international relations. It argues that due to its focus on formalism and abstract notions of rights, traditional legal treatments have failed to acknowledge the socially constructed nature of higher order norms. To address this shortcoming, the article transfers the concept of jus cogens into the realm of International Relations. Drawing on insights from constructivism and English School theory, it situates law in the context of society and conceptualizes jus cogens as part of international society's constitutional structure. Proceeding from the assumption that the content and identity of jus cogens depends on the normative character of international society, the article then assesses two possible 'normative logics' through which the peremptory status of a norm may be generated. It rejects a solidarist logic, which sees



universal norms as the manifestation of cosmopolitan ideas about inalienable rights. Instead, it argues for a pluralist approach to ethics and order that depicts jus cogens as key to the development of international society towards a social site marked by diversity and respect for difference.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Beretta Silvio

"International Development Cooperation: an Overview of its History and Emergencies"

in Politico (II), n. 239-240, 2015 , 50-70

ABSTRACT: Nell' imminenza dell'attivazione, da parte delle Nazioni Unite, dei nuovi Obiettivi del Millennio per il quindicennio 2016-2020, i temi della cooperazione per lo sviluppo e le discussioni circa l'efficacia delle relative politiche originano tuttora dibattiti e controversie. Dichiarazioni autorevoli e impegnative al riguardo risalgono tuttavia agli anni immediatamente successivi alla prima guerra mondiale e si succedono lungo l'intero secolo. Esempi ne sono l'art. 22 del Covenant della Società delle Nazioni, il Discorso sullo stato dell'Unione pronunciato da Roosevelt nel 1941, la Carta Atlantica dello stesso anno e infine l'art. 55 della Carta delle Nazioni Unite del 1945. In tutti questi documenti si rinvencono affermazioni rilevanti circa la necessità di porre attenzione allo sviluppo dei paesi arretrati: sono tuttavia diverse, al passare del tempo e al mutare delle situazioni politiche e dei rapporti di potere, le modalità operative finalizzate a raggiungere tali obiettivi. Lend-Lease Act, UNRRA e Piano Marshall rappresentano inoltre altrettanti programmi intesi a fare fronte in primo luogo alle necessità di paesi europei belligeranti e, alla fine del secondo conflitto mondiale, a promuovere la ricostruzione dell'Europa, delle sue infrastrutture e della sua capacità produttiva, soprattutto industriale. Oltre che dalle vicende politiche, la cooperazione allo sviluppo è stata tuttavia condizionata dalla riflessione economica: dalle teorie della modernizzazione allo strutturalismo, alle teorie della dipendenza, al neoliberalismo e infine alla teoria dei basic needs l'articolo delinea il succedersi degli approcci analitici a partire dagli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso e le rispettive implicazioni per le politiche di cooperazione allo sviluppo. Gli Obiettivi del Millennio 2000-2015 segnano un punto di svolta in tali politiche, in ragione sia dell'universalità dell'approccio adottato sia del complesso sistema di finalità, obiettivi e indicatori attivato per rendere operative le politiche stesse. Anche nei confronti di queste, tuttavia, le critiche sono state e restano numerose, e di alcune di esse vengono sinteticamente esposte le principali motivazioni. È tuttavia nel permanere delle disuguaglianze che numerosi economisti individuano sia la lacuna più rilevante delle politiche poste in essere fino a oggi dal sistema delle Nazioni Unite, sia il problema più drammatico da affrontare nel prossimo quindicennio.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marek Hrubec

A Comparison of Models of Economic Democracy: Towards the World of Shared Sovereignty

in Perspectives on Global Development and Technology , Volume 15, Issue 1-2

The article focuses on a comparison of three models of economic democracy: participative democracy, enterprise (co-operative) economic democracy, and autonomous economic democracy. It analyzes the main characteristics of the models, and their advantages and disadvantages. It also stresses that, at the age of global interactions, we cannot develop economic democracy in a meaningful way only within a framework of nation states because they are too small to manage big macro-regional and global problems. That is why we have to face an issue of recognition of state



sovereignty, specifically absolute and shared (divided) kinds of sovereignty.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wullweber Joscha

A Grave Case of Myopia? Die globale Finanzmarktkrise und die Internationale Politische Ökonomie

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 1, March 2016, 105-121

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Falkner Robert

A Minilateral Solution for Global Climate Change? On Bargaining Efficiency, Club Benefits, and International Legitimacy

in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 14, issue 1, march, 87-101

ABSTRACT: Gridlock in the multilateral climate negotiations has created growing scholarly and practical interest in the use of minilateral forums. A large variety of climate club proposals have been developed in recent years, which promise more effective bargaining among the main climate powers, better incentives to encourage mitigation efforts and discourage free-riding, and new ways to align international power asymmetries with the interests of the global climate regime. I investigate the three dominant rationales that underpin minilateralist proposals. I offer a critical review of their potential as well as their limitations in promoting global climate action. I argue that minilateralism is unlikely to overcome the structural barriers to a comprehensive and ambitious international climate agreement. However, climate clubs can enhance political dialogue in the context of multilateral negotiations and can provide a more conducive environment for great power bargaining. They can create club benefits that strengthen mitigation strategies and help reduce the dangers of free-riding for so-called coalitions of the willing. And they can help re-legitimize the global climate regime against the background of profound power shifts that have slowed down progress in the multilateral negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kuyper Jonathan W., Bäckstrand Karin

Accountability and Representation: Nonstate Actors in UN Climate Diplomacy

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 2, Special Section: Accountability in Global Environmental Governance, May, 61-81

Observer organizations in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) are clustered into nine constituency groups. Each constituency has a "focal point" (representative) to mediate between the Secretariat and the 1800 NGOs admitted during each Conference of the Parties meeting by collating information, coordinating interactions, offering logistical support, and providing collective representation. Drawing upon a series of interviews with constituency groups and other qualitative data, we explore how the focal point of each constituency group remains accountable to the observer organizations he or she represents. We make two major contributions. First, we map the



accountability mechanisms that exist between the observer organizations and focal points in each constituency. Second, we argue that variation in the usage of accountability mechanisms across constituencies corresponds to the existence of parallel bodies operating outside the UNFCCC. This article speaks to broader issues of accountability and representation in global climate governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kramarz Teresa, Park Susan

Accountability in Global Environmental Governance: A Meaningful Tool for Action?

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 2, Special Section: Accountability in Global Environmental Governance, May , 1-21

Global environmental governance (GEG) is characterized by fragmentation, duplication, dispersed authority, and weak regulations. The gap between the need for action and existing responses has led to demands for accountability. This has created a paradox: accountability mechanisms to improve GEG have proliferated while the environment deteriorates. We offer a two-tier explanation for this paradox. First, actors establishing GEG are not held to account for the design of their environmental interventions. Biases in public, private, voluntary, and hybrid institutions, which shape goals and determine what to account for and to whom, remain unexamined. Second, efforts to establish accountability focus on functional requirements like monitoring and compliance, leading accountability to be viewed as an end in itself. Thus, complying with accountability may not mitigate negative environmental impacts. The utility of accountability hinges on improving governance at both tiers. Turning the accountability lens to the goals of those designing environmental institutions can overcome the focus of justifying institutions over environmental problems.

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Balboa Cristina M.

Accountability of Environmental Impact Bonds: The Future of Global Environmental Governance?

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 2, Special Section: Accountability in Global Environmental Governance, May , 33-41

As the latest iteration of leveraging private resources to protect and sustain our natural resources, the environmental impact bond (EIB) reflects the growing trend in sustainable development that makes financing available to projects based on the verifiable results of an intervention. These new instruments in global environmental governance are not actually bonds but pay-for-success contracts, in which the risk of success is shouldered by the investor, and financial savings, pegged to the intervention outcome, are prioritized. This examination of EIBs through the lens of accountability aims to elicit debate on some areas of concern and consideration for the design and implementation of outcome-based financing for global environmental governance, including the prioritizing of private over public accountabilities and potential perverse incentives these instruments create. As both public and private accountability goals are evident in EIB, this governance tool runs the risk of exacerbating the paradox of increased accountability but decreased environmental gains.



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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Roger Charles, Belliethathan Satishkumar

Africa in the global climate change negotiations

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 91-108

The African Group of Negotiators (AGN) has become a much more significant bargaining coalition in the global climate change negotiations. It has been participating more proactively and on a much more significant scale, and, as a result, it has had a greater impact on bargaining outcomes, notably in Nairobi, Copenhagen and Durban. Yet, at present, the group remains poorly understood by both scholars and policymakers. Compared to other groups in the climate negotiations, such as the Group of 77 and Alliance of Small Island States, it has received relatively little attention. This paper fills this gap by tracking the evolution of the AGN over the course of the climate change negotiations. In the early years after the Earth Summit, it shows that the AGN faced tremendous difficulties pursuing regional objectives effectively, largely due to a number of “internal” barriers to participation, which compounded the structural barriers that the continent faced by making it difficult to use “low-power” negotiating strategies such as coalition building, agenda-setting and persuasion. However, in recent years, the group has become much more proactive as a result of greater access to material, ideational and institutional resources. These have relieved, somewhat, the internal barriers that the group faced, making it possible for the AGN to negotiate much more confidently and effectively than before.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lavanya Rajamani

Ambition and Differentiation in the 2015 Paris Agreement: Interpretative Possibilities and Underlying Politics

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 65, issue 2 , 493-514

The 2015 Paris Agreement represents a historic achievement in multilateral diplomacy. After years of deeply discordant negotiations, Parties harnessed the political will necessary to arrive at a climate change agreement that strikes a careful balance between ambition and differentiation. The Paris Agreement contains aspirational goals, binding obligations of conduct in relation to mitigation, a rigorous system of oversight, and a nuanced form of differentiation between developed and developing countries. This article will explore the key building blocks of the Paris Agreement—ambition and differentiation—with an eye to mining the text of the Agreement for its interpretative possibilities and underlying politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lavanya Rajamani

Ambition and Differentiation in the 2015 Paris Agreement: Interpretative Possibilities and Underlying Politics

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 65, issue 2 , 493-514

The 2015 Paris Agreement represents a historic achievement in multilateral diplomacy. After years of deeply discordant negotiations, Parties harnessed the political will necessary to arrive at a climate change agreement that strikes a careful balance between ambition and differentiation. The Paris Agreement contains aspirational goals, binding obligations of conduct in relation to mitigation, a rigorous system of oversight, and a nuanced form of differentiation between



developed and developing countries. This article will explore the key building blocks of the Paris Agreement—ambition and differentiation—with an eye to mining the text of the Agreement for its interpretative possibilities and underlying politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Le Nhina

Are Human Rights Universal or Culturally Relative?

in *Peace Review*, vol. 28, n. 2 , 203-211

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Deepak Nayyar

BRICS, developing countries and global governance

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 575-591

This article analyses the implications and consequences of the rise of BRICS for the developing world and for global governance. In doing so, it examines BRICS' increasing importance among developing countries and their growing significance in the world economy, situated in historical perspective, and considers the factors underlying the evolution of the group as an economic and political formation. This is followed by an analysis of the possible economic impact of future growth in BRICS on other developing countries, which could be complementary or competitive, positive or negative. In conclusion it discusses the potential influence of BRICS, extending beyond economics to politics, in the wider global context, with reference to international institutions and cooperation among developing countries.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chasek Pamela S., Wagner Lynn M.

Breaking the mold: a new type of multilateral sustainable development negotiation

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 397-413

Participants in the Open Working Group (OWG) on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were reminded time and again that there is no model for the process to develop the SDGs. They resolved to not repeat the closed process used to develop the Millennium Development Goals, but the OWG began work when failures to reach consensus and fatigue with multilateral environmental negotiations dominated delegates' minds, rather than examples of successfully negotiated outcomes. The OWG Co-Chairs were faced with the daunting task of guiding delegates' efforts to develop a proposed set of crisp SDGs and targets that all could agree to, and thus, had to accomplish the following goals: (1) reduce delegation rigidity, both of individual Member States and within coalitions; (2) maximize the sense of participation, transparency, and ownership to get the most buy-in at the end; and (3) develop a sense of trust that would change the relationship between Member States. To do this, the OWG Co-Chairs broke the mold of UN multilateral



negotiations that Member States and observers had become familiar with and created a different approach. This article examines how the OWG accomplished these goals and overcame the shortcomings of other multilateral negotiating processes on sustainable development to produce a widely supported consensus outcome at a time when governments have struggled to achieve agreement in many multilateral negotiation tracks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Adam K. Webb

Can the global South take over the baton? What cosmopolitanism in 'unlikely' places means for future world order

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 6, 1016-1034

As the West's centrality fades, the global South may have a decisive influence in shaping future world order. Will that future see a retreat from globalisation to hard-edged particularisms? Or will the emerging post-Westphalian global society let the global South take over the baton of cosmopolitan institution building in its own way? This article draws on a multi-country survey of educated youth to find promising signs of imagined common ground with other countries. It suggests the flavours of cosmopolitan integration that the global South is likely to support in coming decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Betz Joachim

China und Indien: (Keine) Wege aus dem Energie- und Klimadilemma
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12-13, 2016

Eine nachhaltige globale Energiepolitik, noch weniger eine nachhaltige Klimapolitik, ist ohne die verantwortungsbewusste Kooperation der Schwellenländer, vor allem der aufstrebenden Mächte China und Indien, schlechterdings unmöglich. Dies gilt unabhängig davon, wie klimafreundlich und energiesparend sich die klassischen Industrieländer der Organisation für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (OECD) verhalten. China kam 2013 für 22,4 Prozent der globalen Energienachfrage und 27 Prozent der weltweiten CO₂-Emissionen auf, Indien für jeweils 5,7 und 6 Prozent. Bis 2040 werden die Anteile dieser Staaten – auf der Basis relativ vorsichtig geschätztem wirtschaftlichen Wachstums und der bislang schon umgesetzten oder geplanten energie- und klimapolitischen Maßnahmen – voraussichtlich 23,4 und 25 Prozent (China) beziehungsweise 9,8 und 14,1 Prozent (Indien) betragen. Mittlerweile hat China die USA als größten Energiekonsumenten und Verursacher von Klimagasen überholt, Indien wird die USA voraussichtlich 2035 bei den Emissionen, nicht aber beim Energieverbrauch hinter sich lassen. Bei beiden Indikatoren wird fast das gesamte weltweite Wachstum bis 2040 auf das Konto Chinas und Indiens gehen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Simon Curtis

Cities and Global Governance: State Failure or a New Global Order?
in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 44 (3)



International society, so long the resolution to problems of collective political order, now appears to be failing in its capacity to deal with transnational challenges such as climate change, global security and financial instability. Indeed, the structure of international society itself has become a significant obstacle to such pressing issues of global governance. One striking response has been the reemergence of cities as important actors on the international stage. This article will show how these two issues are intrinsically linked. Cities have taken on new governance roles in the gaps left by hamstrung nation-states, and their contribution to an emerging global governance architecture will be a significant feature of the international relations of the 21st century. But do the new governance activities of cities represent a failure on the part of states, as some scholars have argued? Or are they a part of an emerging form of global order, in which the relationship between states, cities and other actors is being recalibrated? This article argues that the remarkable renaissance of cities in recent decades has been a result of a shift in the structure of international society, and assesses the causal drivers of this shift. It goes on to draw out some of the implications of the recalibration of the relationship between the city and the state for how we understand the emerging form of global order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chan Dan Koon-hong

City diplomacy and “glocal” governance: revitalizing cosmopolitan democracy

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 29, Issue 2, 2016 , 134-160

Diplomacy is in trouble. With globalization come global problems. While we live in a twenty-first-century world of interdependence, we face seventeenth-century Westphalian political institutions with defined boundaries and separated responsibilities of nation-states. When we think of diplomacy, we are thinking of state-to-state relations; however, with sovereign obligation and national interest obsession, state-to-state negotiations often fall into “gridlocks”; international policy-making also suffers from “democratic deficits”. David Held offered cosmopolitan democracy as the answer, but his “world government” thesis provides no realistic policy implications.

In very recent years, city-to-city (“trans-municipal”) networks have received significant international recognition as cities are able to cooperate, with concrete actions, on a range of global issues. Surprisingly, scholars of international relations have largely neglected the role of cities in global governance. This paper argues for city diplomacy and “glocal” governance to fill the theoretical gap. It has two purposes: (1) to break the “conceptual jail” of regarding nation-states as the legitimate subject to manage world affairs, and open the door for cities and (2) to revisit the condition of cosmopolitan democracy, and offer a realistic model to revitalize the concept while bypassing the infeasibility of world government. In Part I, as I revisit Confucian philosophy da-tong (great unity), Rosenau's “sovereignty-free” actors and Athenian democracy, I argue that cities are our best hope to transcend nationality for the common well-being of humanity, connect local citizens to global public policy, and move towards cosmopolitan democracy. In Part II, drawing on Dahl's democratic criteria and DeBúrca's “democratic-striving approach”, I will develop two “building blocks” of democracy at the global level – —equal participation and popular control. In Part III, with reference to the “building blocks”, I will conduct a qualitative analysis to evaluate the cosmopolitan characteristics of C40 and develop political justifications for “trans-municipal networks”.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Philip Liste

Colliding geographies: space at work in global governance



in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 199-221

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Friman Mathias

Consensus rationales in negotiating historical responsibility for climate change

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 285-305

This article explores strategies in consensus-making processes in international climate diplomacy. Specifically, it examines the consensus-making politics, in the case of negotiating historical responsibility within the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. In doing so, analytical concepts from the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe are utilized to look for rationales that underpin discursive structures as well as agreement. To conclude, three rationales have dealt with conflicts over historical responsibility. While the first rationale hid conflict behind interpretative flexibility, the second reverted to “reasoned consensus,” excluding perspectives commonly understood as political rather than scientific. The third rationale has enabled equivocal use of the concept of historical responsibility in several parallel discourses, yet negotiators still stumble on how to synthesize these with a potential to foster future, more policy-detailed, consensus with higher legitimacy. Understanding the history and current situation of negotiations on historical responsibility from this perspective can help guide policy makers toward decisions that avoid old pitfalls and construct new rationales that generate a higher sense of legitimacy.

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Meuwese Anne

Constitutional Aspects of Regulatory Coherence in TTIP: An EU Perspective

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 78, Number 4

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gulbrandsen Lars H., Auld Graeme

Contested Accountability Logics in Evolving Nonstate Certification for Fisheries Sustainability

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 2, Special Section: Accountability in Global Environmental Governance, May , 42-60

The rise of transnational nonstate certification programs has contributed to complex accountability relations surrounding efforts to hold companies accountable for their environmental and social impacts. Using the analytical lenses of internal and external accountability, we examine the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC)—a fisheries certification program—to assess how its decisions about goals, engagement of stakeholders, and accountability mechanisms have affected the



controversies facing the program and how it has sought to address them. We reveal a misalignment between environmental groups and the MSC. Both seek to advance sustainable fisheries, and the market campaigns of environmental groups have supported certification. However, the MSC has provided these groups limited influence over its governance; it has responded to external demands for accountability by focusing on internal accountability, and reforming its assessment and objection procedures. Environmental groups have responded by working to decouple their campaigns from supporting the MSC. Tracing the consequences of this misalignment therefore highlights the need to assess rival processes such as market and information campaigns to understand attempts to hold nonstate certification programs to account.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bilchitz David

Corporations and the Limits of State-Based Models for Protecting Fundamental Rights in International Law
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 23, issue 1 , 143-170

ABSTRACT: At the heart of international law lies a central tension. On the one hand, the fundamental rights recognized in international treaties protect the fundamental interests of individuals, obligating all actors who can affect these rights. On the other hand, international law has often been conceived of as a system in which the only legitimate actors are states. In turn, only states can be bound by the fundamental rights obligations in international treaties. To address this tension, two models have been proposed. The first is an “indirect duty” approach, whereby the state remains the primary duty-bearer and must itself “create” the obligations of nonstate actors. The second is an “expanded state” approach, which attempts to extend the idea of what falls within the domain of the state and includes the corporate sphere therein. I argue that neither succeeds. I contend rather that the state should be conceptualized as having a “wholly public” character, whilst corporations are “partially public, partially private” entities. Fundamental rights push us to recognize that the state can no longer be conceptualized as the sole preserve of concerns that have traditionally been classified as “public,” though it retains a distinct role from entities that have a private dimension. The “public” dimension of private actors such as corporations gives good reason to hold that they have direct fundamental-rights obligations under international law. That conclusion helps to chart the contours of a revised conception of statehood fit for the twenty-first century, where multiple overlapping forms of power impact upon the fundamental interests of individuals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tahseen Kazi

**Counter-Conduct and Critique of Critique: A Genealogy of Leadership Anxiety in “Global Governance”
Advocacy and Opposition**

in *Global Society*, Volume 30, Issue 2 , 340-359

Reading counter-conduct as a problematic mode of critique that sustains pastoralism, this article locates comparably governmentality-sustaining modes of critique in today’s anti-globalisation protests that share a leadership anxiety with the “global governance” discourses they target. Such leadership anxiety is prefigured by a revolutionary will to create new domains of public criticism, but this will is self-limited, infringing upon neither government, nor economic laws, nor principles of right. Through a history of leadership anxiety in English Revolutionary political discourse I show that, to the extent that it has been informed by transatlantic “republican” thought, protest today is administered according to



adaptations of Christian pastoral concerns for the care of each and all. The government of each ensures that equality rests on confession and dissection among subjects declared equals, and the government of all relies on flexible, indiscernible postulates of superiority. While billed as attempts to achieve societal “leaderlessness”, these anti-globalisation movements, similar to Foucault’s counter-conducts, sustain governmentality by presuppositions of equality and superiority.

Full text HTML

PDF

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boas Ingrid, Biermann Frank, Kanie Norichika

Cross-sectoral strategies in global sustainability governance: towards a nexus approach

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 449-464

The recent shift from the Millennium Development Goals to the much broader Sustainable Development Goals has given further impetus to the debate on the nexus between the multiple sectors of policy-making that the Goals are to cover. The key message in this debate is that different domains—for instance, water, energy and food—are interconnected and can thus not be effectively resolved unless they are addressed as being fully interrelated and interdependent. Yet while this overall narrative is forcefully supported in the new UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals that are the main part of this agenda, many Goals still remain sectoral in their basic outlook. This now requires, we argue, a new focus in both policy and research on the nexus between different Sustainable Development Goals, especially with a view to reforms in the overall institutional setting that is required to sufficiently support such a nexus approach. This article thus examines the nexus approach in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals and identifies multiple avenues for its institutionalisation in global governance.

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10784-016-9321-1>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gellers Joshua C.

Crowdsourcing global governance: sustainable development goals, civil society, and the pursuit of democratic legitimacy

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 415-432

To what extent can crowdsourcing help members of civil society overcome the democratic deficit in global environmental governance? In this paper, I evaluate the utility of crowdsourcing as a tool for participatory agenda-setting in the realm of post-2015 sustainable development policy. In particular, I analyze the descriptive representativeness (e.g., the degree to which participation mirrors the demographic attributes of non-state actors comprising global civil society) of participants in two United Nations orchestrated crowdsourcing processes—the MY World survey and e-discussions regarding environmental sustainability. I find that there exists a perceptible demographic imbalance among contributors to the MY World survey and considerable dissonance between the characteristics of participants in the e-discussions and those



whose voices were included in the resulting summary report. The results suggest that although crowdsourcing may present an attractive technological approach to expand participation in global governance, ultimately the representativeness of that participation and the legitimacy of policy outputs depend on the manner in which contributions are solicited and filtered by international institutions.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bauer Steffen, Pegels Anna

Das Pariser Klimaabkommen und die globale Energiepolitik

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 12-13, 2016

The full text is free:

<https://www.bpb.de/apuz/222984/das-pariser-klimaabkommen-und-die-globale-energiepolitik>

Am 12. Dezember 2015 haben die 196 Vertragsparteien der Klimarahmenkonvention der Vereinten Nationen (UNFCCC) in Paris ein neues Klimaabkommen verabschiedet, das zu Recht als historischer Erfolg gefeiert wird. Bis zuletzt war offen, ob die langjährigen zähen Verhandlungen zu einem bedeutungsvollen Abschluss gebracht werden können. Sollte das Abkommen nun konsequent umgesetzt werden, bedeutet es nichts weniger als den Anfang vom Ende des fossilen Zeitalters und somit den Ausstieg aus Kohle, Öl und Gas. Ob das Pariser Abkommen tatsächlich Geschichte machen wird, entscheidet sich also nicht zuletzt auf dem Feld der globalen Energiepolitik...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mares Radu

Decentering Human Rights from the International Order of States: The Alignment and Interaction of Transnational Policy Channels

in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies, vol. 23, issue 1 , 171-199

ABSTRACT: This article accounts for recent developments in corporate social responsibility, international trade and investment law, international human rights law, development aid, and the laws of home states reaching extraterritorially in order to advance a regulatory perspective on commerce and human rights. While these developments are remarkable, the analysis documents the prevalence of softer strategies and a corresponding scarcity of coercive legalization strategies. The question, then, is how to reason about these recent developments and their genuine potential for human rights protection. The article proposes two elements—a root-cause orientation and the interaction of policy channels—as indispensable for a regulatory and systemic perspective on business and human rights. To make corporate activities compliant with human rights, the emerging regulatory regime cannot afford to waste any source of leverage. In a less state-centric global order, this is a search for a multichannel, rights-holder-centered, transnational regulatory perspective that highlights alignment, interaction, and complementarity among international policy channels where strength can be achieved by creating a “rope” from weaker strands.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Efrat Asif, Newman Abraham L.

Deciding to Defer: The Importance of Fairness in Resolving Transnational Jurisdictional Conflicts
in *International Organization*, vol. 70, issue 2, spring , 409-441

ABSTRACT: The cross-border movement of people, goods, and information frequently results in legal disputes that come under the jurisdiction of multiple states. The principle of deference—acceptance of another state's exercise of legal authority—is one mechanism to manage such jurisdictional conflicts. Despite the importance of deference in international law and cooperation, little is known about the causes of variation in its use. In this article, we develop a theory of deference that focuses on the role that domestic institutions and norms play in ensuring procedural and substantive fairness. We test this theory in an original data set concerning accession practices in the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. Our findings offer considerable support for the idea that states evaluate partners on the likelihood that they can offer a fair legal process. Exploring empirically the efforts against parental child abduction, we offer a nuanced account of the link between domestic institutions and norms and international cooperation. This account suggests that greater attention should be paid to the use of deference as a mechanism to manage the conflicts posed by globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Robert McCorquodale

Defining the International Rule of Law: Defying Gravity?

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 65, issue 2 , 277-304

This article aims to offer a definition of the international rule of law. It does this through clarifying the core objectives of a rule of law and examining whether the international system could include them. It demonstrates that there can be a definition of the international rule of law that can be applied to the international system. This definition of the international rule of law is not dependent on a simplistic application of a national rule of law, as it takes into account the significant differences between national and international legal systems. It seeks to show that the international rule of law is relative, rather than absolute, in its application, is not tied to the operation of the substance of international law itself, and it can apply to states, international organizations and non-state actors. It goes further to show that the international rule of law does exist and can be applied internationally, even if it is not yet fully actualized.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Eyal Benvenisti

Democracy Captured: The Mega-Regional Agreements and the Future of Global Public Law

in *Constellations*, Vol. 23, Issue 1, March

The negotiations over the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) exemplify the efficacy and the consequences of fragmentation as a “divide and conquer” strategy. By choosing this negotiating strategy and by maintaining secrecy over the contents of the envisioned rules, the negotiators exclude diverse stakeholders in developed and developing countries who will be affected by agreements that are set to establish rules for the global economy. This Essay outlines the challenges to democracy – both at the domestic level and at the global level – posed by these negotiation processes and by their envisioned outcomes. It then moves on to assess the



potential institutional responses that might eventually arise and replicate, at the global level, checks and balances among stakeholders that have traditionally been secured domestically by national constitutions and enforced by national courts and legislatures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McArthur John W., Werker Eric

Developing countries and international organizations: Introduction to the special issue in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 11, n. 2, june , 155-169

ABSTRACT: We describe four megatrends since the end of the Cold War that relate to developing countries: a greater share of the global economy; more accessible technologies, particularly in communication; breakthroughs in global cooperation in tackling basic human needs; and the evolution of a complex set of problems in spite of the progress. We then examine potential political economy channels that might hinder the ability of international organizations to adapt to the new realities. Introducing the articles to the special issue, we argue for four distinct variables that affect the behavior and character of international organizations: power, norms, preferences, and problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Laurie Buonanno

Financial services regulation and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership agreement in Journal of Transatlantic Studies , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 1-25

Together, the EU and the USA dominate the global financial services industry. This dominance, coupled with the inherent risk of regulatory arbitrage, suggest that the financial services sector is an area ripe for transatlantic economic and regulatory cooperation. While historically transatlantic dialogue centred on market liberalisation, after the 2008 global financial meltdown the focus shifted to regulatory reform. The EU sees the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership as an opportunity to establish a transatlantic financial services regulatory council, while the USA opposes a shift from the current informal Financial Markets Regulatory Dialogue (FMRD). An analysis of post-2010 regulatory reforms finds that regulatory convergence has taken place without a tightly integrated transatlantic regulatory body. The study concludes that differences in political ideology, institutional structures, and regulatory capacity largely explain disagreement between the EU and the USA as to the most effective form transatlantic regulatory cooperation should take in the financial services sector.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Persson Åsa, Weitz Nina, Nilsson Måns

Follow-up and Review of the Sustainable Development Goals: Alignment vs. Internalization in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 59-68

Follow-up and review arrangements will play a critical role in ensuring that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)



are effectively implemented, much of which will need to happen at the national level. This article examines the nature of commitments that countries have made and if follow-up and review arrangements currently planned are consistent with those. In particular, we consider the need to encompass both the global SDG targets and the nationally defined targets foreseen. We also discuss the balance between following up and reviewing outcomes vis-à-vis behaviour to achieve those outcomes. Following a review of current plans for follow-up and review, we further draw lessons from principal-agent theory and from the two predecessors of the SDGs, Agenda 21 and the Millennium Development Goals. We conclude that increased attention and visibility of nationally defined and internalized targets is likely to enhance implementation effectiveness, and that they should therefore be accommodated in the follow-up and review systems. Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/reel.12150/epdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Backer Larry Catá

Fractured Territories and Abstracted Terrains: Human Rights Governance Regimes Within and Beyond the State

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 23, issue 1 , 61-94

ABSTRACT: The problem of representation has become a central element for the development of human rights norms, not just within international organizations, but within states as well. The problem has been made acute by two significant changes in the organization of power that became visible after the 1950s. On one hand, the idea of the individual became more abstract. Mass democracy became symptomatic of a general trend toward the dissolution of the individual within a mass population, which was incarnated as the aggregation of its group characteristics, its statistics, and data. On the other hand, states were becoming less solid; the constitution of states, and of state power, formerly quite distinct in their forms and secure within their territories, gave way to a polycentric order in which national territory no longer defined and contained a compulsory and singular legal order sitting atop a hierarchy of governance. These two trends have had a noticeable impact, not just on law and governance generally, but more importantly, on the way that representation is understood and practiced. Today, the representation of individuals has become more problematic at the national level as it gives way to other bases of sovereign power derived from international norms. At the international level the individual loses representative capacity. The will of the consensus of states has supplanted that of the citizens of the state in ways that may undermine the legitimacy of governance systems. This paper considers the problem of representation within these intertwined phenomena. To that end, the paper considers the manifestation of these two macro-trends in the context of the governance of global business and human rights regulatory regimes. In the context of the first trend, the problem of who legitimately represents is considered within international organizations producing norms for transposition to the domestic legal orders of states. The specific context will be the public forums of the U.N. Working Group on Business and Human Rights. In the context of the second, the problem of what is the object of representation is considered at the national level, now the site of transposition of international norms. The specific context is the rise of multiple legal regimes each with a fidelity to a distinct representational community. The boundaries of statehood have been redefined and with them the nature and object of representation. Where states once existed, territories serve as “bowls” in which several national legal orders may operate through individuals and entities. Where international organizations once served the community of states, they now serve as vessels that contain mass interests re-incarnated as representative organizations that produce or negotiate formal law and societal norms for self-application. Within this context, simpleminded projects, and in particular the move toward a single comprehensive public law treaty on business and human rights, becomes an anachronistic exercise.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boas Ingrid, Rothe Delf

From conflict to resilience? Explaining recent changes in climate security discourse and practice in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 613-632

The recent rise of resilience thinking in climate security discourse and practice is examined and explained. Using the paradigmatic case of the United Kingdom, practitioners' understandings of resilience are considered to show how these actors use a resilience lens to rearticulate earlier storylines of climate conflict in terms of complexity, decentralisation, and empowerment. Practitioners in the climate security field tend to reinterpret resilience in line with their established routines. As a result, climate resilience storylines and practices turn out to be much more diverse and messy than is suggested in the conceptual literature. Building on these findings, the recent success of resilience thinking in climate security discourse is explained. Climate resilience – not despite but due to its messiness – is able to bring together a wide range of actors, traditionally standing at opposite ends of the climate security debate. Through resilience storylines, climate security discourse becomes something to which a wide range of actors, ranging from security to the development field, can relate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chasek Pamela S., Wagner Lynn M., Leone Faye, Lebada Ana-Maria, Risse Nathalie

Getting to 2030: Negotiating the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 5-14

The United Nations Member States set a very high bar for themselves at the Rio+20 conference in June 2012: reaching agreement among 193 countries on a broad 'post-2015' sustainable development agenda that could enhance international coordination on all aspects of human and planetary well-being. However, at a point in history when States were increasingly failing to reach consensus on key decisions, they made history by agreeing on a course that could 'transform our world', through 'an agenda of breathtaking ambition and scope'. This article reviews the two negotiating tracks to develop the post-2015 outcome – the work of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which originated out of the decision taken at Rio+20; and the agreement to launch a post-2015 development agenda to replace the Millennium Development Goals. The final outcome from these two processes represents a fine balance among competing interests and concerns. The article sets the stage for a closer examination of the results of these negotiations. We begin our examination of the 'original intent' of the post-2015 agenda by reviewing the negotiation of the SDGs and the post-2015 development agenda, with attention to their similarities and differences. The article concludes with a focus on challenges for the implementation stage, based on the themes that emerged during the negotiations.

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Harvey Rubin, Saidel Nicholas



Global Governance Structure for Infectious Disease: An Enforceable Strategy

in Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs, vol. 60, n. 2, spring

ABSTRACT: Emerging trends suggest a more inclusive and collaborative approach to addressing international infectious disease issues, but without an overarching governance structure and judicial forum in place, outcomes will remain suboptimal. This essay outlines and analyzes several initiatives currently underway and proposes a new comprehensive global governance structure for infectious disease. This proposed structure has built-in incentives for states—from both the developed and developing world—to meet their regulatory obligations and integrates the myriad non-state actors operating in this space, including NGOs and the private sector. It also incorporates an adjudicative body that is able to enforce compliance and resolve issues of contention. Lastly, this essay identifies innovative funding mechanisms and contemplates the venue best suited to host and administer this new global governance structure for infectious disease with a focus on UN-based models.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Padovani Claudia, Pavan Elena

Global governance and ICTs: exploring online governance networks around gender and media

in Global Networks, vol. 16, issue 3, july , 350-371

ABSTRACT: In this article, we address transformations in global governance brought about by information and communication technologies (ICTs). Focusing on the specific domain of 'gender-oriented communication governance', we investigate online interactions among different kinds of actors active in promoting gender equity in and through the media. By tracing and analysing online issue networks, we investigate which actors are capable of influencing the framing of issues and of structuring discursive practices. From the analysis, different forms of power emerge, reflecting diverse modes of engaging in online interactions, where actors can operate as network 'programmers', 'mobilizers', or 'switchers'. Our case study suggests that, often, old ways of conceiving actors' interactions accompany the implementation of new communication tools, while the availability of a pervasive networked infrastructure does not automatically translate into meaningful interactions among all relevant actors in a specific domain.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Galaz Victor, Österblom Henrik, Bodin Örjan, Crona Beatrice

Global networks and global change-induced tipping points

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 189-221

The existence of "tipping points" in human–environmental systems at multiple scales—such as abrupt negative changes in coral reef ecosystems, "runaway" climate change, and interacting nonlinear "planetary boundaries"—is often viewed as a substantial challenge for governance due to their inherent uncertainty, potential for rapid and large system change, and possible cascading effects on human well-being. Despite an increased scholarly and policy interest in the dynamics of these perceived "tipping points," institutional and governance scholars have yet to make progress on how to analyze in which ways state and non-state actors attempt to anticipate, respond, and prevent the transgression of "tipping points" at large scales. In this article, we use three cases of global network responses to what we denote as global change-induced "tipping points"—ocean acidification, fisheries collapse, and infectious disease outbreaks. Based on the



commonalities in several research streams, we develop four working propositions: information processing and early warning, multilevel and multinetwork responses, diversity in response capacity, and the balance between efficiency and legitimacy. We conclude by proposing a simple framework for the analysis of the interplay between perceived global change-induced “tipping points,” global networks, and international institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Palmujoki Eero, Virtanen Pekka

Global, National, or Market? Emerging REDD+ Governance Practices in Mozambique and Tanzania

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 59-78

This article examines emerging governance practices in the REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) initiative. We examine three different general governance practices (neoliberal, post-national, and government-led practices) that have been applied in the interaction between international organizations and two REDD target countries: Mozambique and Tanzania. In these countries, we find that emerging REDD+ governance practices are a mixture of international organizations’ procedural practices and the target country’s established governance practices, whereas neoliberal practices are weakly expressed. These findings call into question the simplified assumption of reduced state authority.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zawahri Neda A., Dinar Ariel, Nigatu Getachew

Governing international freshwater resources: an analysis of treaty design

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 307-331

International rivers create complex relationships between their riparian states, which can contribute to economic, political, and social losses. Treaties provide a means for states to coordinate their actions in managing international river disputes to minimize these losses. However, there is little knowledge about treaty content and the factors influencing treaty design. We test whether a relationship exists between the challenges of negotiating, complying, and distributing the gains in bilateral, multilateral, and basin-wide negotiation contexts and the depth of cooperation along with the degree of institutionalization. While the great challenges confronting multilateral or basin-wide negotiations can produce treaties that focus on joint gains and shallow cooperation to secure the signature of riparians, we find that they can also provide opportunities for deeper, more behavior-altering, cooperation. To manage the difficulties of maintaining multilateral cooperation, we find a higher degree of institutionalization. We also find that bilateral negotiations provide states with opportunities for deeper cooperation, but a lower degree of institutionalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moore Scott, Squires Dale

Governing the Depths: Conceptualizing the Politics of Deep Sea Resources

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 2, Special Section: Accountability in Global Environmental Governance, May , 101-109



The deep sea, defined as those parts of the ocean below 200 meters, is increasingly the site of intensive resource exploitation for fish, minerals, and other uses, yet little thought has been given to effective governance by either scholars or policy-makers. This article provides an overview of existing deep-sea governance arrangements, as well as a description of the barriers to developing a more effective institutional framework, with particular focus on the unique status of the deep sea as part of the common heritage of mankind, the logistical challenges inherent in monitoring resource exploitation in the deep sea, and the lack of available scientific data. We call for greater engagement by political scientists and environmental studies scholars in addressing these challenges and protecting one of Earth's last true frontiers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McAfee Kathleen

Green economy and carbon markets for conservation and development: a critical view

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 333-353

Green economy aims to use economic rationality and market mechanisms to mute the most ecologically damaging effects of globalized capitalism while reviving economic growth in the global North, fostering development in the South, and decoupling economic growth from environmental decline. An archetypal application of green economy is transnational trade in ecosystem services, including reduced emissions for deforestation and degradation (REDD+). By compensating developing countries for maintaining forests as carbon sinks, this approach is meant to transcend politics and circumvent conflicts over the responsibilities of industrialized and 'less-developed' countries that have stymied global climate policy. However, carbon-offset trading is unlikely to result in lower greenhouse gas emissions, much less combined conservation and development gains. The troubled record of payment for environmental services and other schemes or commodification of nature illustrates that living ecosocial systems do not fit the requirements of market contracts. Disputes over proto-REDD+ projects point to the dangers that REDD+ will disadvantage or dispossess rural communities and distract attention from underlying causes of forest and livelihood loss. Two decades of all-but-futile climate negotiations have shown that global warming cannot be managed by means of technocratic expertise nor dealt with separately from the politics of inequality and the paradox of economic growth. The deceptive promise of greening with growth can blind us to these realities. Counter-hegemonic discourses to growth-centered green economy under the headings of *buen vivir*, mainly in the global South, and degrowth, mainly in the global North, therefore merit attention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walker Neil

Human Rights and Global Public Goods: The Sound of One Hand Clapping?

in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies, vol. 23, issue 1 , 249-265

ABSTRACT: Each operating in a presumptively general or universal register, "public goods" and "human rights" are among the most popular and visible contemporary carriers of ideas of global law and governance and are therefore prime sources for any broader project of global justice. Their combination, moreover, holds out the prospect of a fertile engagement between the two core concerns of modern political morality—our collective requirements and potential (public goods) and our individual dignity and well-being (human rights). Yet for all their ambition, public goods and



human rights each face the formidable challenge of placing considerations of political authority and political morality in productive balance. Exploring both, we face the frustrating phenomenon of one hand clapping—a failure to reconcile authority and morality in a satisfactory manner. The discourse of global public goods presupposes rather than provides grounds for the relevant “public” and so suffers from a general deficit of political authority. In turn, this reinforces the incompleteness of its claim in political morality. The discourse of human rights, perhaps surprisingly, reveals stronger authoritative roots; however, these are locally situated, and the soil becomes very thin as we move away from the state to the broader global environment and the familiar yet ethically abstracted moral discourse of universal entitlement. In conclusion, I argue, it is precisely because both of these dimensions of global ethics—public goods and human rights—face the same type of difficulty of the grounding political authority that their conjunction in a single scheme does not allow either to compensate for the deficiencies of the other.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Casini Lorenzo

I vestiti nuovi del leviatano: la Global Polity

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1491-1495

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wessel Ramses A., Dekker Ige F.

Identities of States in International Organizations

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 293-318

ABSTRACT: In academic debates on the responsibility of international organizations and their member States the different identities of States play a crucial role. However, apart from the difficulty to clearly separate ‘State’ and ‘member State’ identities, it is even more complex to distinguish between the different roles ‘member States’ may have in the framework of international organizations. As a general introduction to this special forum, this essay aims to clarify the different identities and roles States may have in relation to international organizations, especially in the context of the responsibility of international organizations. As the subsequent contributions reveal, the law on the international responsibility of international organizations takes account of the possible responsibility of their members. By mapping the different identities States may have in different settings, this contribution argues that such differentiations may be crucial for the further development of adequate international rules on the responsibility of international organizations and their members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wessel Ramses A., Dekker Ige F.

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Omaggio Vincenzo

Il diritto nel governo del mondo

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1483-1490

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sinaï Agnès

Il teatro delle ombre dei negoziati internazionali

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXVI, n. 1, 31 gennaio

Full text available online at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Agnes-Sinai.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Charalampos Efstathopoulos

India and global governance: The politics of ambivalent reform

in *International Politics* , Volume 53, Issue 2 , 239-259

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ochieng R. M., Visseren-Hamakers I. J., Arts B., Brockhaus M., Herold M.,

Institutional effectiveness of REDD+ MRV: Countries progress in implementing technical guidelines and good governance requirements

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 61, July , 42-52



The UNFCCC requires REDD+ countries wishing to receive results-based payments to measure, report and verify (MRV) REDD+ impacts; and outlines technical guidelines and good governance requirements for MRV. This article examines institutional effectiveness of REDD+ MRV by assessing countries' progress in implementing these technical guidelines and good governance requirements, from three dimensions. Ownership of technical methods examines whether countries own technical methods for forest area and area change measuring, and for estimating forest carbon stocks; and whether national MRV systems cover all forests, land uses and carbon pools. Administrative capacity examines development of administrative competence to implement MRV. Good governance examines whether countries espouse norms of good governance in their MRV systems. We apply these dimensions to assess and compare progress in 13 REDD+ countries, based on a review of national and international documents. Findings show that REDD+ countries have high to very high ownership of technical methods. However, majority ranks only low to moderate on administrative capacity and good governance. This means that although countries have started developing technical methods for MRV, they are yet to develop the competence necessary to administer MRV and to inculcate good governance in MRV. The article explain the scores and suggest ways of improving implementation of REDD+ MRV.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

D'Aspremont Jean

International Responsibility and the Constitution of Power. International Organizations Bolstered in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 12, n. 2 , 382-400

ABSTRACT: This article contests mainstream accounts of international responsibility and argues that the act of subjecting certain forms of conduct to the regime of international responsibility has a constitutive dimension. It argues that international responsibility constitutes, rather than constrains, power. More than legal personality, it is international responsibility that makes international organizations huge hubs of power. This article starts with some introductory remarks on the extent to which responsibility ought to be understood as a set of formal modes of legal reasoning through which the determination and allocation of the burden of compensation is debated, as well as a few reminders of the political choices that informed the design of its main formal modes of legal reasoning. After showing how the rules regarding the responsibility of States are constitutive of the power of States, attention turns to the claim that the regime of responsibility of international organizations similarly constitutes the power of international organizations and their member States. This article ends with some remarks on the divergent constitutive roles of personality and responsibility, and on the consequences of a shift in perspective from accountability to power in studies on international responsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Henrik Palmer Olsen

International courts and the doctrinal channels of legal diplomacy in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 6, issue 3-4 , 661-680

In this article I identify and analyse the legal instruments that allow international courts to contribute to the development of international law. I explain how these contributions are linked to a process that I call 'autonomisation', the process by which international courts form and sustain an autonomous interpretation of what the law is within their jurisdiction. The aim of this analysis is to be able to identify the legal format that international courts use to respond doctrinally to the overall socio-political context of the legal disputes they aim to settle through their decisions. I claim it is in this cross-field



between law and politics that courts unfold a specific form of diplomacy that has been referred to as 'legal diplomacy'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Desautels-Stein Justin

International legal structuralism: a primer

in *International Theory*, vol. 8, issue 2 , 201-235

ABSTRACT: International legal structuralism arrived on the shores of international thought in the 1980s. The arrival was not well received, perhaps in part, because it was not well understood. This essay aims to reintroduce legal structuralism and hopefully pave the way for new, and more positive, receptions and understandings. This reintroduction is organized around two claims regarding the broader encounter between international lawyers and critical theory in the 1980s. The first was a jurisprudential claim about how the critics sought to show how international law was nothing more than a continuation of international politics by other means. The second was a historical claim about how the critics wanted to show that international law had never been anything but politics, and that it always would be. In the view of this essay, both of these claims about international legal structuralism were wrong, and they are still wrong today. For despite the tendency to think of it as a cover for postmodern nihilism or relentless deconstruction or both, legal structuralism offers international theorists an enriching and edifying method for rethinking the relation between law and politics on the one hand, and law and history on the other. It is in the effort to carry a brief for a reawakened legal structuralism that the essay brings focus to some of the early works of Koskenniemi and Kennedy, identifies the semiotic foundations of that work, and ultimately suggests the possibility of a second generation of international legal structuralism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zorob Anja

Internationale Sanktionen gegen Syrien: Was haben sie bewirkt?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 8, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/221170/internationale-sanktionen-gegen-syrien-was-haben-sie-bewirkt>

Seit 2011 tobt in Syrien ein Bürgerkrieg mit inzwischen weit über 250.000 Opfern. Mehr als die Hälfte der Bevölkerung befindet sich auf der Flucht. Viele andere harren aus in teils unvorstellbarer Not, unter Belagerung und alltäglichen Angriffen des Regimes, seiner Verbündeten oder mit ihm verfeindeter oppositioneller Milizen. Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und die Europäische Union waren im Frühjahr 2011 die ersten aus den Reihen der Internationalen Gemeinschaft, die Sanktionen gegen das syrische Regime verhängten.

Zum übergeordneten Ziel der Maßnahmen erklärten die Sanktionsgeber, die Gewalt des Regimes gegen die eigene Bevölkerung zu stoppen und diejenigen zu bestrafen, die dafür verantwortlich sind. Da der syrische Bürgerkrieg jetzt in sein fünftes Jahr geht und es keine Anzeichen dafür gibt, dass die brutale Gewalt in irgendeiner Weise abnimmt, stellen sich folgende Fragen: Welche Sanktionen wurden ergriffen? Welche negativen Nebenwirkungen verursachten diese Maßnahmen möglicherweise? Können Sanktionen überhaupt ein probates Mittel sein, ein Regime wie das syrische



unter Druck zu setzen?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elaine Fahey

Joining the dots: external norms, AFSJ Directives and the EU's role in the global legal order

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 41, issue 1 , 105-121

This article considers how external norms, i.e. instruments of public international law, including but not limited to conventions, agreements and treaties qua norms "internalise" into 17 proposed and adopted Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) Directives of the last legislative cycle of the EU, from 2009 to 2014. The article considers select Directives, namely (1) the first EU criminal law Directive; (2) the first AFSJ Directive struck down by the Court; (3) a Directive employing a norm common to internal and external rule-making; (4) UN Conventions in AFSJ Directives; and (5) Directives omitting the promotion of any external norms. The study of the promotion of external norms is argued to reveal much about the relationship between the "external" and "internal" of EU law and policy, and the evolution of its AFSJ. The EU's participation in these external norms is also relevant for the study of the EU's role in the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Davika Hovell

Kadi: King-Slayer or King-Maker? The Shifting Allocation of Decision-Making Power between the UN Security Council and Courts

in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 79, issue 1 , 147-166

This note analyses the twelve-year span of the Kadi litigation in the European courts. The litigation raises the textbook question of the relationship between international and municipal legal orders, yet demonstrates that it is high time to move the description of this relationship beyond the orthodox yet outdated monist/dualist dichotomy that was seen to provide the answer in less complicated times. The note examines the different approaches taken at the three key phases of the litigation: the 'supremacy' position adopted by the Court of First Instance in 2005, the 'subversive' approach of the European Court of Justice in 2008 and the 'subsidiarity' position of the Court of Justice of the European Union in 2013. Ultimately, the note invites attention to the 'Solange equivalence' approach taken by the Advocates-General and argues that this strikes the best balance in normative terms for an enduring approach to power-sharing between legal orders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Calamia Pietro

L'apertura politica del G7 alla Russia

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 82, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 499-520

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel Rezai Shaghaji

L'exercice de la compétence universelle absolue à l'encontre des crimes graves de droit international afin de protéger les intérêts généraux de la communauté internationale dans son ensemble

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 1 , 1-30

Apart from the possibility of the exercise of universal jurisdiction against serious crimes under international law committed outside the forum State, how to exercise universal jurisdiction to protect the general interests of the international community as a whole, is an important question. In this context, it is questionable whether States can exercise absolute universal jurisdiction, namely the exercise of universal jurisdiction even if the foreign suspect is not present and/or in custody in the territory of the forum State. In our opinion, States exercising universal jurisdiction against serious crimes of international law, respect their erga omnes obligation of protection arising from peremptory human rights norms, and act on behalf of the international community as a whole. In this regard, States can exercise universal jurisdiction even in cases where the alleged perpetrator of jus cogens crimes is not in detention and/or present in their territory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

De Giovanni Biagio

La Global Polity e la ricerca dell'araba fenice

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1467-1482

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

José A. Estévez Araujo

La creación y aplicación del derecho en la gobernanza: el caso del Open Method of Coordination (omc)

in *Sociologia del diritto* , No. 3 , 63-69

In questo testo si analizzano le caratteristiche e il funzionamento del cd. Metodo Aperto di Coordinamento (OMC nell'acronimo inglese) dell'Unione Europea. Si tratta di un meccanismo indirizzato a mediare fra gli Stati membri dell'Unione nel campo della politica sociale, attraverso l'utilizzo di metodi di soft law. Il discorso teorico dell'OMC ne esalta la legittimità, sotto il profilo tanto degli input (partecipazione, trasparenza, responsabilità) quanto degli output (efficacia). Nel saggio si sostiene che il funzionamento reale dell'OMC ha rivelato che si tratta di un meccanismo di scarsa efficacia e con gravi deficit di legittimità. Inoltre, si svolgono alcune considerazioni di carattere prospettico sul futuro di questo meccanismo di governance dell'Unione nell'ambito della Strategia Europa 2020.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stefano Nespore

La lunga marcia per un accordo globale sul clima: dal protocollo di Kyoto all'accordo di Parigi

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 1 , 81-121

The Paris Outcome, approved in Paris in December 2015 by the Conference of the Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change, consists of two separate documents: an Agreement and a Decision Together, they are the conclusion of negotiations developed over many years of "climate diplomacy". The Agreement, the only document binding upon the Parties, replaces the Kyoto Protocol, the failure of which was already clear during the first (and last) period of its implementation.

After a brief exposition of the negotiations preceding the Paris Outcome, this paper outlines the most important and innovative parts of the Agreement and the strategy adopted to achieve its goals. In particular, this strategy focuses primarily on voluntary and ambitious obligations, the implementation of which is guaranteed not by means of sanctions, but rather through a commonly accepted transparency and information framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luz Muñoz Marquez, Pere Vilanova Trias

La politización de las organizaciones internacionales como proceso: una aproximación conceptual a sus determinantes y dinámicas

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, NÚMERO 40 , 139-158

El objetivo de este artículo es profundizar en la comprensión del creciente fenómeno de politización de las organizaciones internacionales (OOII) y contribuir a su conceptualización. Este tema es importante en un contexto de creciente escrutinio social y descontento en torno a la autoridad y legitimidad que tienen estas organizaciones, particularmente en el diseño de políticas públicas que afectan directamente a la vida cotidiana de los ciudadanos. El artículo contribuye a entender la politización en la esfera internacional, específicamente de las OOII, conceptualizando politización como un proceso definido por tres dinámicas independientes: 1) el funcionamiento del sistema político mundial y las normas internas de las OOII; 2) la movilización social; y 3) la expansión del conflicto o el incremento a la atención prestada a un tema relativamente cerrado que se abre al debate público y entra en diferentes agendas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gaëlle Demelemestre

Le droit cosmopolitique légitime-t-il un droit à la migration ?

in *Droit et société*, no. 92 , 99-116

La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme de 1948 affirme que chaque homme a le droit de quitter son pays, sans reconnaître le droit équivalent à entrer dans un autre pays. La migration est dès lors présentée sur le mode de l'évidence comme un phénomène banal, où l'admission est laissée à la discrétion des pays d'accueils. L'immigration



clandestine à destination des pays occidentaux nous confronte pourtant à une question que nous ne pouvons plus éluder. De quel droit les États limitent-ils l'installation sur leur territoire de personnes étrangères ? La liberté de mouvement ne fait-elle pas partie de ces droits fondamentaux permettant aux hommes d'échapper à l'oppression, à la misère ou à l'exploitation ? Le présent article étudie les ressources offertes par la doctrine classique du droit des gens et le droit cosmopolitique pour répondre à cette question, avant de revenir plus spécifiquement sur les thèses contemporaines de l'égalitarisme cosmopolitique.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Egeland Kjølsv

**Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems under International Humanitarian Law
in Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 85, issue 2 , 89-118

ABSTRACT: Robots formerly belonged to the realm of fiction, but are now becoming a practical issue for the disarmament community. While some believe that military robots could act more ethically than human soldiers on the battlefield, others have countered that such a scenario is highly unlikely, and that the technology in question should be banned. Autonomous weapon systems will be unable to discriminate between soldiers and civilians, and their use will lower the threshold to resort to the use of force, they argue. In this article, I take a bird's-eye look at the international humanitarian law (IHL) pertaining to autonomous weapon systems. My argument is twofold: First, I argue that it is indeed difficult to imagine how IHL could be implemented by algorithm. The rules of distinction, proportionality, and precautions all call for what are arguably unquantifiable decisions. Second, I argue that existing humanitarian law in many ways presupposes responsible human agency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bergamaschi Isaline, Soulé-Kohndou Folashadé

**Los emergentes del Sur ante la gobernanza mundial de la ayuda al desarrollo: estrategias reformadoras,
rivalidades y tentativas
in Foro Internacional**, vol. LVI - n. 1

This paper analyzes the composition of global governance of development aid and the place currently being occupied by the so called "emerging" donors from the Global South, such as China, India, and Brazil. The paper compares the actions and strategies of these emerging donors in the Development Assistance Committee (dac) of the oecd and in the system of the United Nations. The emerging powers of the Global South are participants in the fragmentation of the global governance of aid, and in establishing a governance of multiple pathways. Their strategies for reform become a means for establishing and legitimizing the South-South agenda for development assistance.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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El G20 y los países emergentes

Maihold Günther , Villamar Zirahuén

in Foro Internacional, vol. LVI - n. 1

The countries of the Global South are not homogenous; the individual characteristics of each and their relationship with the rest of

the world are increasingly varied. The category of “emerging countries” includes countries of systemic importance, and with an interest

in actively participating on the stage of global politics and commerce.

These emerging countries are grouped, formally or informally with those of the Global South and with other developed countries in “clubs” that aspire to provide the advantages of global governance (such as the G20). These groupings have revealed in recent years the tensions between emerging countries and the others, at the same time as such groups proliferate, reconfigure and promote new international scenarios.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gupta Aarti, Pistorius Till, Vijge Marjanneke J.

Managing fragmentation in global environmental governance: the REDD+ Partnership as bridge organization

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 355-374

This article analyzes the increasing institutional and organizational complexity and fragmentation surrounding the international financing mechanism REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries and related forest activities), now being negotiated within the UNFCCC. We focus, in particular, on critically assessing the prospects of managing such fragmentation. We do so by analyzing whether and how (what we conceptualize here as) a “bridge organization”—the voluntary, multi-stakeholder REDD+ Partnership bringing together state and non-state actors from global to local scales—has aided in managing fragmentation in this realm, through exercising four enabling functions (enhancing transparency, participation, knowledge sharing, and coordination). Our analysis shows that the REDD+ Partnership has partially succeeded in furthering such procedural aims, but that this has not resulted in a “scaling up of REDD+ action and finance,” its overarching substantive aim. In contrast to dominant views of a bridge organization’s modus operandi, we conclude, based on our analysis, that its value lies not in overcoming persisting geopolitical conflicts around climate mitigation and providing a “depoliticized” context within which to manage fragmentation. Instead, its success lies in permitting dialogue and exchange even in the face of persisting political conflicts over its *raison d’être* and functions. In making these arguments, the article extends recent debates on the prospects to manage fragmentation in global environmental governance and provides a critical assessment of the role therein for bridge organizations.



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Nico Schrijver

Managing the global commons: common good or common sink?

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 7, 1252-1267

The global commons, comprising the areas and resources beyond the sovereignty of any state, build upon the heritage of Grotius's idea of *mare liberum* – an idea that aimed to preserve the freedom of access for the benefit of all. However, the old *mare liberum* idea digressed into 'first come, first served' advantages for industrialised countries. Especially at the initiative of developing countries, it has now been replaced by a new law of international cooperation and protection of natural wealth and resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. The global commons have thus served as the laboratory for testing new legal principles and the rights and corollary duties emanating from them. Occasionally path-breaking innovations in regulation have been practised, most notably the imposition of a ban on whaling, penalties for the production and use of ozone-depleting substances and the freezing of claims to sovereignty over Antarctica.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blokker Niels

Member State Responsibility for Wrongdoings of International Organization. Beacon of hope or delusion?

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 12, n. 2, 319-332

ABSTRACT: It is the aim of this contribution to demonstrate why it is necessary that international organizations are themselves responsible for their own wrongful acts and why there is and should be only a secondary, rather limited role for member state responsibility, as reflected in the 2011 ILC Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations. Two examples from practice are discussed in this context: judgments by Dutch courts relating to the 1995 Srebrenica genocide, and the ICAO principle of 'ultimate State responsibility' in the light of the attribution of powers to Regional Safety Oversight Organizations. In addition, it is argued that it is in the long-term interest of both international organizations and their member States to create and develop appropriate, tailor-made accountability mechanisms where necessary. A proposal is made to use the Permanent Court of Arbitration as a general forum for claims against international organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Brölmann Catherine

Member States and International Legal Responsibility. Developments of the Institutional Veil

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 12, n. 2, 358-381

ABSTRACT: The 'institutional veil' of international organizations is the linchpin for legal analysis and appraisal of the role and interrelation of international organizations, member States and organs. Through this lens the article examines in semi-broad strokes the position of international organizations' member States in the legal framework of international responsibility, with reference to pertinent provisions in the ILC ARIO. This leads to the finding that in (the discourse on)



the establishment of responsibility there are four possible legal contexts, which have the institutional veil of the organization work out in different ways: subsidiary responsibility of member States (the proverbial 'piercing of the corporate veil'); the attribution of conduct to member States; the 'attribution of responsibility' to member States; and the bypassing of the institutional veil to establish independent responsibility of member States, which is then connected by a material link to the wrongful act of the organization or to the injurious circumstances originally at issue. While in the context of subsidiary responsibility the institutional veil can be seen as consistently impermeable since the 1980s Tin Council cases, in the context of attribution of conduct the institutional veil of organizations appears to be increasingly contested, engaged with and challenged for transparency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Engelbrekt Kjell

Minilateralism matters more? Exploring opportunities to end climate negotiations gridlock in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 399-410

Multilateral negotiations to reach a universal, binding international agreement on measures that curb greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions have repeatedly failed since a scientific consensus on global warming formed in the late 1970s. The 1997 Kyoto Protocol was famously never ratified by the United States, the biggest emitter, and the 2009 Copenhagen conference only produced a narrow deal between the USA, China, India, Brazil and South Africa. Numerous attempts to involve international financial institutions or the G7/G8 have also been unsuccessful. Given the present crisis of multilateralism it can be argued that the time is ripe to engage fully in minilateral climate diplomacy, conferring ownership of the process to the main stakeholders. An informally orchestrated, minilateral diplomacy based on rationalist insights from conventional game and negotiation theory would then sway polluters to press ahead with measures that mitigate and adapt to the anticipated repercussions of climate change. Only after a political deal has been struck between major stakeholders may opportunities arise for ex post authorization and agenda control mechanisms involving the wider international community.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bußjäger Peter

Multi-Level-Governance als Gegenstand und Herausforderung des Öffentlichen Rechts in Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht, Band 71, Heft 2, Juni , 307-330

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bull Reeve T., Mahboubi Neysun A. , Stewart Richard B., Wiener Jonathan B.

New Approaches to International Regulatory Cooperation: The Challenge of TTIP, TPP, and Mega-Regional Trade Agreements

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 78, Number 4



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Goychayev Rustam

On International Cooperation in Nuclear and Cyber Security

in Peace Review, vol. 28, n. 2 , 220-229

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lindahl Hans

One Pillar: Legal Authority and a Social License to Operate in a Global Context

in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies, vol. 23, issue 1 , 201-224

ABSTRACT: The claim that businesses have a social license to operate acquires concrete form in the second pillar of the U.N. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs) in the fundamental distinction between “compliance with all applicable laws” and “respect for human rights.” The aim of this paper is to critically examine the presuppositions that undergird this distinction and to explain how and why moving beyond state-centered thinking about law, in response to violations of human rights by globally operating businesses, requires acknowledging that there is one pillar that embraces states and businesses: the legal obligation to comply with international human rights law. Arguing that legal order can best be conceptualized as authoritative collective action, the paper develops the one-pillar thesis along two fronts. The first argues that there can be no credible social license to operate in a global context absent authorities that uphold and regulate joint action as regards what is to count as a global collective’s bounded common good and as its bounded common place. Yet, it is this authoritative dimension of a social license to operate that the UNGPs preclude by proclaiming that the corporate responsibility to respect human rights does not itself create a legal obligation. The second argues that both states and globally operating businesses are legal orders in their own right. From the firstperson plural perspective of authoritatively mediated collective action, nothing justifies separating a state’s obligation to uphold human rights, as per the first pillar of the UNGPs, from a business’s responsibility to respect human rights, as per the second pillar.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walter Andrew

Open economy politics and international security dynamics: Explaining international cooperation in financial crises

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 22, n. 2, june , 289-312

ABSTRACT: Why do states cooperate during international financial crises? A prominent account of such phenomena is provided by the Open Economy Politics approach, which advocates a methodological reductionism that focuses on domestic interests and institutions as explanatory drivers of foreign economic policy. I argue that the appropriateness



and utility of this approach diminishes in two important contexts: when levels of economic interdependence and international institutionalization are both high; and when international insecurity is rising. Since the second condition has greater generality in international relations, I test it by focusing on a period when international economic institutionalization was much lower than today: the pre-1914 gold standard system. I show that as levels of interstate rivalry and insecurity rose in the years before 1914, so too did the role of strategic considerations in the international financial policies of the major European powers. The utility of the Open Economy Politics approach for explaining foreign financial policy is therefore contingent on an evolving international context. The argument is of considerable relevance to the contemporary era, when a rapidly evolving international political environment is again reshaping international financial policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nasiritousi Naghmeh, Linnér Björn-Ola

Open or closed meetings? Explaining nonstate actor involvement in the international climate change negotiations

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 127-144

When do states allow nonstate actors (NSAs) to observe negotiations at intergovernmental meetings? Previous studies have identified the need for states to close negotiations when the issues under discussion are sensitive. This paper argues that sensitivity alone cannot adequately explain the dynamic of closing down negotiations to observers. Questions that have received little attention in the literature include which issues are considered sensitive and how the decision is made to move the negotiations behind closed doors. This paper examines the practices of NSA involvement in climate diplomacy from three analytical perspectives: functional efficiency, political dynamics, and historical institutionalism. Based on interviews and UNFCCC documents, this paper suggests that to understand the issue of openness in negotiations, institutional factors and the politics of NSA involvement need to be better scrutinized. The paper shows that each perspective has particular advantages when analyzing different dimensions of the negotiations, with implications of how we understand the role of NSAs in global environmental governance.

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10784-014-9237-6>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Abbott Kenneth W., Green Jessica F., Keohane Robert O.

Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance

in International Organization, vol. 70, issue 2, spring , 247-277

ABSTRACT: The institutions of global governance have changed dramatically in recent years. New organizational forms—including informal institutions, transgovernmental networks, and private transnational regulatory organizations (PTROs)—have expanded rapidly, while the growth of formal intergovernmental organizations has slowed. Organizational ecology provides an insightful framework for understanding these changing patterns of growth. Organizational ecology is primarily a structural theory, emphasizing the influence of institutional environments, especially their organizational density and resource availability, on organizational behavior and viability. To demonstrate the explanatory value of organizational ecology, we analyze the proliferation of PTROs compared with the relative stasis of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Continued growth of IGOs is constrained by crowding in their dense institutional



environment, but PTROs benefit from organizational flexibility and low entry costs, which allow them to enter “niches” with limited resource competition. We probe the plausibility of our analysis by examining contemporary climate governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peer Zumbansen

Parole magiche di successo? Costruendo e decostruendo una prospettiva di diritto privato sulla sussidiarietà in *Politica del diritto*, no. 3 , 381-417

Sommario: 1. Introduzione. - 2. La sussidiarietà, ovvero le inclinazioni del diritto privato. - 3. Perché la sussidiarietà? Il sogno di una sovranità dal basso in ordinamenti giuridici frammentati. - 4. La politica del diritto privato. - 5. Un diritto del lavoro transnazionale per catene di produzione globali? - 6. I sogni di empowerment e l'elusiva promessa di autoregolazione delle imprese.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Balsiger Jörg, Prys Miriam

Regional agreements in international environmental politics

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 239-260

Global agreements to mitigate climate change, conserve biodiversity, or combat desertification typically take center stage in scholarly discussions about international environmental politics. Even though the United Nations Environment Programme reported 10 years ago that regional agreements make up two-thirds of all international treaties, regional cooperation has by comparison either received scant attention or been conceptually and empirically lumped together with global treaties. This lack of knowledge about the historical and current scope of regional governance is a serious obstacle to understanding the architecture of global environmental governance and to overcoming current bottlenecks in international environmental cooperation. In response, we report on the outcome of a descriptive analysis that complements the most comprehensive database on international environmental agreements (iea.uoregon.edu) with variables for analysis at the regional level. We introduce a multidimensional typology of regional agreements based on contiguous/noncontiguous agreement membership, contiguous/noncontiguous spatial ambit, and whether membership and ambit are adjoining and/or coextensive. We discuss the theoretical and empirical relevance of the different types of agreements and the nature and prevalence of special cases. Given the previous lack of research in this area, our primary purpose is to present a systematic account of regional environmental governance, leaving causal analysis to our own and others' future research. Our analysis, nevertheless, helps us to identify a number of knowledge gaps and analytical directions in the conclusion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

James H. Mittelman

Repositioning in global governance: horizontal and vertical shifts amid pliable neoliberalism

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 665-681



This exploratory case study of repositioning focuses on changing relations among actors and the structures of global governance. It examines interactions between formal institutions, particularly the IMF, and informal networks of authority manifested in global forums, such as the G7/G8 and G20. The core argument is that global repositioning may be best understood in terms of increasing pliability in neoliberal globalisation. Pliable neoliberalism encompasses elasticity in practices and the stretching of spatial and institutional networks, plus pushback in the global North and South. It has two axes, one lateral and the other longitudinal. The former constitutes changes in global governance institutions; the latter turns on the resilience of neoliberalism and challenges to it. Horizontal shifts in global governance, as in changes in membership organisations, are made possible by verticality – hierarchies in social power relations. The evidence is drawn from documentary research and semi-structured discussions with global governance officials in Africa, Europe and North America.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dauvergne Peter, Clapp Jennifer

Researching Global Environmental Politics in the 21st Century

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 1-12

This forum article highlights three major research trends we have observed in the journal *Global Environmental Politics* since 2000. First, research has increasingly focused on specific and formal mechanisms of global environmental governance, contributing to more elaborate and refined methodologies that span more scales and levels of analysis. Second, research increasingly has concentrated on the rise of market-based governance mechanisms and the influence of private actors, reflecting a broader shift among policymakers toward liberal approaches to governance. Third, over this time empirical research has shifted significantly toward analyzing issues through a lens of climate change, providing valuable insights into environmental change, but narrowing the journal's empirical focus. These trends, which overlap in complex ways, arise partly from shifts in real-world politics, partly from broader shifts in the overall field of global environmental politics (GEP), and partly from the advancing capacity of GEP theories and methodologies to investigate the full complexity of local to global governance. This maturing of GEP scholarship does present challenges for the field, however, including the ability of field-defining journals such as *Global Environmental Politics* to engage a diversity of critical scholarly voices and to influence policy and activism.

Full text available at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/GLEP_e_00333

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sandulli Aldo

Sabino Cassese e il multiverso del diritto amministrativo

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1495-1500

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

De Sanctis Francesco M.



Sabino Cassese e la Global Polity

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1463-1497

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nelson Travis, Cottrell Patrick M.

Sport without referees? The power of the International Olympic Committee and the social politics of accountability

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 22, n. 2, june , 437-458

ABSTRACT: As governor of the world's pre-eminent sporting event, the International Olympic Committee exercises considerable power on the world stage. It has also been widely accused of corruption, corporate greed, and hypocrisy. However, for all of the media attention that the International Olympic Committee receives, it has seldom been examined theoretically and in the context of global governance. Why have so few stakeholders, including the states that host the events and field the teams, engaged in serious efforts to hold it accountable for its actions? In addition, what can the experience of the International Olympic Committee tell us about accountability in global governance more generally? Drawing from conceptual treatments of accountability, we argue that the challenges of the International Olympic Committee are rooted in the organization's social position and social power. The IOCs position in international society dilutes the base of potential accountability holders and exacerbates collective action problems, while its social power allows it to maintain a reputational shield to guard against meaningful accountability efforts. The article concludes by considering whether these dynamics ripple beyond the experience of the International Olympic Committee into other areas of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gupta Joyeeta, Vegelin Courtney

Sustainable development goals and inclusive development

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 433-448

Achieving sustainable development has been hampered by trade-offs in favour of economic growth over social well-being and ecological viability, which may also affect the sustainable development goals (SDGs) adopted by the member states of the United Nations. In contrast, the concept of inclusive development emphasizes the social, ecological and political dimensions of development. In this context, this paper addresses the question: What does inclusive development mean and to what extent is it taken into account in the framing of the SDGs? It presents inclusive development as having three key dimensions (social, ecological, and relational inclusiveness) with five principles each. This is applied to the 17 SDGs and their targets. The paper concludes that while the text on the SDGs fares quite well on social inclusiveness, it fares less well in respect to ecological and relational inclusiveness. This implies that there is a risk that implementation processes also focus more on social inclusiveness rather than on ecological and relational inclusiveness. Moreover, in order to de facto achieve social inclusiveness in the Anthropocene, it is critical that the latter



two are given equal weight in the actual implementation process.

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10784-016-9323-z>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gippner Olivia

The 2 °C target: a European norm enters the international stage—following the process to adoption in China in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 49-65

“The 2 °C target—a European norm enters the international stage” is an empirical, qualitative study, using the case of China to illustrate the role played by the EU as a leader and forerunner pushing for a 2 °C target using diffusion mechanisms of persuasion and socialization. In order to better understand and evaluate how international and European climate norms enter the global and domestic discourse, the article details the nascent theoretical debate and critically assesses the role of the scientific community as translating medium. In the field of climate change China has been an increasingly important member of the UNFCCC process and a key target of European engagement policies. Process tracing shows that British scientific and political personalities took central roles introducing the discourse about the 2 °C target in China. The article aims to set an example of possible trajectories a norm can follow and will require further testing in the future.

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Drayton Richard

The Commonwealth in the 21st Century

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 105, Issue 1 , pp. 21-27

The Commonwealth in the Twenty-First Century finds itself in a difficult predicament. Neither in the 'Global North' nor the post-colonial 'South' do its stakeholders invest in the organisation as a key instrument for international governance. The space which it once occupied as a mediator between rich and poor nations has either closed or been taken over by other entities. But might the Commonwealth find a new role for itself by returning to its roots as a vehicle for the exploration of the commonweal, in particular as a focus of contemporary attempts to democratize the international system? The story of the Commonwealth itself, from its origins as project for a racial imperial oligarchy in the nineteenth century to struggles for its renegotiation as a space of equality, first of 'white dominions' with Britain, and second in the era of Decolonization, is a parable of how rights and participation can be widened. Might the Commonwealth in the Twenty-First century not drive new global conversations about inequality, social and economic rights, and different cosmopolitan futures?

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hof A. F., den Elzen M. G.J., Mendoza Beltran A.

The EU 40 % greenhouse gas emission reduction target by 2030 in perspective

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 375-392



We assess the fairness and ambition level of the EU's Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) of reducing domestic greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40 % relative to 1990. For this, we calculate which reduction targets for other major emitting economies are comparable to the EU target, given widely diverging effort-sharing approaches. We introduce a novel approach in which the EU target is taken as starting point for allocating emission reductions to other regions. Under this approach, the global emission level is an outcome of the analysis, contrary to standard effort-sharing approaches in which the global climate goal is specified. We find that the INDC of the EU, if other regions take on comparable targets based on a differentiated convergence per-capita approach, could be sufficient for a global 2 °C pathway. However, if emissions are allocated according to a historical responsibility approach, the global emission level in 2030 is much higher than the level of 2 °C pathways. Furthermore, we conclude that India, Mexico, and Brazil have more ambitious INDCs than the EU according to both a differentiated convergence per-capita approach and a historical responsibility approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wiener Jonathan B. , Alemanno Alberto

The Future of International Regulatory Cooperation: TTIP as a Learning Process Toward a Global Policy Laboratory

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 78, Number 4

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kim Rakhyun E.

The Nexus between International Law and the Sustainable Development Goals

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 15-26

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets did not emerge from, and were not inserted into, a normative vacuum. They are grounded in international law and made consistent with existing commitments expressed in various international legal instruments. Naturally, a nexus exists between international law and these global priorities. This article explores how to harness that nexus for sustainability. It examines to what extent the SDGs might be instrumental in orchestrating international institutions towards the common objective of sustainable development, and how international law provides a normative environment for the SDGs. The article argues that, although self-proclaimed as integrated and indivisible, the SDGs and targets reflect the fragmented structure of international law, and therefore would have limited utility for orchestration. The article then discusses how international law, despite its fragmented nature, provides integration tools that could address trade-offs between competing targets in a principled manner. A clear, long-term vision for sustainable development beyond 2030 is a necessary but absent leverage point in the SDG framework. It would define the point where the interacting SDGs and targets should ultimately converge.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nicola Fernanda G.

The Politicization of Legal Expertise in the TTIP Negotiation

in Law and contemporary problems, Volume 78, Number 4

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gordon David J.

The Politics of Accountability in Networked Urban Climate Governance

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 2, Special Section: Accountability in Global Environmental Governance, May , 82-100

Cities are increasingly seen as essential components of the global response to climate change: setting targets, taking action, and rendering themselves accountable to global audiences for their efforts. Why cities are making themselves globally accountable in the absence of compulsion or obligation, and what it means for cities to operate simultaneously as global and locally accountable actors, constitute important puzzles for scholars of global climate politics. In this article I set out the basic parameters of this phenomenon, and offer a conceptual framework with which to parse the politics of accountability in networked urban climate governance. I apply this framework to identify three distinct forms of accountability present in the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group: an external politics of recognition; a network politics of ordering, and; an internal politics of translation. The article explores each for their distinct political processes, orientation, and power dynamics, and offers some propositions with respect to how they interact, and what it means both locally and globally when cities make themselves globally accountable.

Full text available online at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/GLEP_a_00357

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

O'Neill Eoin

The Pope and the environment: Towards an integral ecology?

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 749-754

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09644016.2016.1159603>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rietig Katharina

The Power of Strategy: Environmental NGO Influence in International Climate Negotiations



in **Global Governance**, vol. 22, n. 2, april-june , 268-288

ABSTRACT: Surprisingly little is known about how government representatives pay attention to the input of nongovernmental organizations in international negotiations. This article presents an analytical framework and illustrates, with findings from the climate change negotiations 2009–2012, the conditions under which government representatives pay attention to the input from transnational advocacy networks like the Climate Action Network. Demonstrations and lobbying attempts on the international level are frequently ignored, given that negotiation mandates with little leeway are agreed on beforehand. This requires a longer-term perspective toward changing government positions for the next round of negotiations following high media attention. Governments value NGO involvement because they grant legitimacy and signal public support. Successful lobbying requires policy entrepreneurial strategies, close networks, and early input on the domestic level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ryngaert Cedric

The Responsibility of Member States of International Organizations. Concluding Remarks

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 12, n. 2 , 502-517

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tony Porter & Liam Stockdale

The Strategic Manipulation of Transnational Temporalities

in **Globalizations** , Volume 13, Issue 3 , 270-284

While it is now widely recognized that globalization is socially constructed, time is often still seen as a natural unalterable force. Drawing on the literature on the social construction of time, we explore the role of human agency in the interaction of time and globalization by developing the concept of temporal systems. These systems are assemblages that bring together temporal artefacts such as clocks and schedules, the temporalities of the natural world and the body, and social practices involving agency, power, and organization. We then explore, through four illustrative examples, how such systems interact with and constitute globalization. These examples are: the initial emergence and contemporary operation of world standard time; the manipulation of the future and speed in global financial markets; the rise of informal international organizations in global governance; and the role of temporality in the strategic behaviour of multinational corporations.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alfonso Iozzo

The Time is Ripe for an International Currency Reserve

in **International Spectator (The)**, Volume 50, Issue 4 , 41-43



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Spilker Gabriele, Koubi Vally

The effects of treaty legality and domestic institutional hurdles on environmental treaty ratification in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 223-238

We study the effects of treaty design and domestic institutional hurdles on the ratification behavior of states with respect to multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). Specifically, we examine whether (1) strong legality mandated by a treaty such as precisely stated obligations, strong monitoring/enforcement mechanisms, and dispute resolution procedures, and (2) high domestic constitutional hurdles such as requirements for explicit legislative approval deter countries from ratifying a treaty. To test our theoretical claim, we use a new time-series-cross-sectional dataset that includes information on the ratification behavior of 162 countries with respect to 220 MEAs in 1950–2000. We find that treaties that are characterized as ‘hard’ indeed deter ratification. Furthermore, explicit legislative approval requiring supermajority also makes treaty ratification less likely.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Böhmelt Tobias, Spilker Gabriele

The interaction of international institutions from a social network perspective in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 67-89

The literature increasingly acknowledges that international institutions do not exist in isolation, but regularly interact with each other. This interplay might induce influence, affecting institutions’ development and performance. The following research adds to this debate by systematically analyzing the quantitative evidence on how institutional interaction drives institutional design from a network perspective. Using dyadic cross-sectional data on international environmental agreements in 1952–2000, the authors find support for their theoretical argument that regimes’ similarity in design as captured by their degree of legalization strongly depends on institutions’ interaction. However, while “soft law” disseminates between regimes that are well connected through direct or indirect links, this does not apply to “hard law.” The authors explain this divergence with states’ concerns about binding-law commitments and sovereignty costs associated with the latter. This research may have important implications for studies of international institutions and of network analysis in general.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anderl Felix

The myth of the local. How international organizations localize norms rhetorically in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 11, n. 2, June , 197-218

ABSTRACT: Debates about the diffusion of international norms have increasingly focused on norm appropriation, highlighting the agency of local actors. The proliferation of international organizations in the Global South raises the



question of whether and how they practice local norm appropriation. This article uses ethnographic methods to investigate the appropriation of development norms in an intergovernmental development organization located in Bangladesh. Established theories like localization and sociological institutionalism would expect local actors to allude to a global norm but not to adhere to it. On the contrary, this study finds that, while development organizations may allude to local development norms and dismiss UN-led initiatives as “Western,” their practices remain in line with global concepts such as the Millennium Development Goals and the Human Development Index. These actors perform to localize, but the rhetoric is not matched by their everyday practices. The local therefore functions as a myth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lagerkvist Johan

The ordoliberal turn? Getting China and global economic governance right

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 411-419

In recent commentary on global economic governance seeking to explain the outcome of the huge recession of 2008, arguments abound about the remarkable staying power of American hegemony and the formidable resilience of the liberal international order. This somewhat myopic argument seriously neglects Sino-western collaboration – within the framework of what I contend is an ordoliberal turn. Two questions were posed. First, why was the US-led order and the global neoliberal project not pushed back during the worldwide financial crisis of 2008? Second, why does contemporary global capitalism continue to be infused by neoliberal thinking, despite the 2008 crisis? It is argued that China must be conceptualized as neoliberal, albeit in a state-capitalist form, otherwise the surprising robustness of the global neoliberal project is exaggeratedly credited to the United States. Moreover, China's evolving ordoliberal political economy is a crucial part of mutual interdependence and global economic governance supporting the project of neoliberal practices after 2008. Finally, it is argued that the workings of Chinese ordoliberalism could propel within-order change of the values and ethos of the American-led world order.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2015.1077610>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Aakre Stine

The political feasibility of potent enforcement in a post-Kyoto climate agreement

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 145-159

To be effective, a post-Kyoto climate agreement must secure significant greenhouse gas emissions reductions by all (key) emitters. Potent participation and compliance enforcement will be required to make it in every key emitter's best interest to participate in, and comply with, an agreement which specifies deep emissions reductions for all its signatories. This article considers the conditions under which potent enforcement would likely be politically feasible. Based on assessments of the current political landscape, and on the sets of constraints that characterize negotiations over enforcement systems, the article firstly finds that neither type of enforcement would be politically feasible if agreement is sought among all key emitters. Secondly, because participation enforcement is perceived as less legitimate than compliance enforcement, the coalition of countries prepared to accept the former is likely smaller than the coalition prepared to accept the latter. Thirdly, participation enforcement likely places stricter requirements on the coalition's membership and size. Thus, while compliance enforcement should in principle always be politically feasible



among some coalition, reaching agreement on participation enforcement is less likely. To the extent that participation enforcement is politically feasible, however, an agreement which enforces the cooperation of all key emitters may be attainable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nasiritousi Naghmeh, Hjerpe Mattias, Linnér Björn-Ola

The roles of non-state actors in climate change governance: understanding agency through governance profiles

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 109-126

Globalization processes have rendered non-state actors an integral part of global governance. The body of literature that has examined non-state actor involvement in global governance has focused mainly on whether and how non-state actors can influence states. Less attention has been paid to the comparative advantages of non-state actors to answer questions about agency across categories of non-state actors, and more precisely what governance activities non-state actors are perceived to fulfil. Using unique survey material from two climate change conferences, we propose that different categories of non-state actors have distinct governance profiles. We further suggest that the different governance profiles are derived from particular power sources and that agency is a function of these profiles. The study thereby contributes to a strand in the literature focusing on the authority of non-state actors in climate governance and broadens the methodological toolkit for studying the “governors” of global governance.

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10784-014-9243-8>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stevens Casey, Kanie Norichika

The transformative potential of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, Thematic Issue: Making the SDGs Succeed, June , 393-396

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10784-016-9324-y.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Augenstein Daniel

To Whom It May Concern: International Human Rights Law and Global Public Goods

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 23, issue 1 , 225-248

ABSTRACT: Public goods and human rights are sometimes treated as intimately related, if not interchangeable, strategies to address matters of common global concern. The aim of the present contribution is to disentangle the two notions to shed some critical light on their respective potential to attend to contemporary problems of globalization. I distinguish the standard economic approach to public goods as a supposedly value-neutral technique to coordinate economic activity between states and markets from a political conception of human rights law that empowers individuals



to partake in the definition of the public good. On this basis, I contend that framing global public goods and universal human rights in terms of interests and values that “we all” hold in common tends to conceal or evade conflicts about their proper interpretation and implementation. This raises important normative questions with regard to the political and legal accountability of global ordering in both domains. The public goods approach has responded to this problem by extending the scope of political jurisdiction over public goods to encompass all those “affected” by their costs and benefits. This finds its counterpart in attempts in the human rights debate to legally account for the global human rights impacts of public goods through extending human rights jurisdiction beyond state territory. By way of conclusion I contend that both approaches are indicative of a “horizontal” transformation of statehood under conditions of globalization aimed at recovering the public good beyond the international order of states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Yoshiko Naiki

Trade and Bioenergy: Explaining and Assessing the Regime Complex for Sustainable Bioenergy in European Journal of International Law, vol. 27, no. 1 , 129-159

We have recently observed the phenomenon of fragmented governance that comprises multiple coexisting regimes without the establishment of a single comprehensive agreement. The regulation of production, trade and the use of bioenergy is one such example. This article addresses multiple regimes for sustainable bioenergy that exist at the international, European Union and private levels. The arguments in this article draw mainly on the recent theory of ‘regime complexes’, focusing on the relationships between multiple coexisting regimes. The article discusses why a regime complex has emerged in the sustainable bioenergy domain and explains the features and consequences of the sustainable bioenergy regime complex. It concludes that this regime complex is generally functioning well and also proposes the ways in which it can be improved with a view to greater effectiveness and better governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Julian M. Beach

Transatlantic (F)RANDs and Converging Standards: Finding Balance Between Jurisdictions in International Standard Setting

in Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, vol. 54, issue 2 , 454-501

The Microsoft v. Motorola cases in U.S. federal court and transformative developments in enforcement activity by the European Commission antitrust authorities have created a new dynamic intersection between competition and intellectual property law. This legal juncture focuses on a patent holder's "reasonable and non-discriminatory," or RAND, commitments to standard setting organizations. These organizations play a vital role as global platforms for innovation, partnerships, creation of efficiencies, and reduction of costs through agreement on standards across borders. How courts, scholars, and regulators interpret RAND language and enforce the agreements influences the distribution of liability between parties, the commercial incentives to develop technologies and participate in collaborative standards, and ultimately the continued viability of international standard setting regimes. This Note analyzes emerging quantitative and qualitative understandings of RAND and makes two connected, resulting contentions. First, it argues that any legal framework consistent across judicial and regulatory spaces must promote a flexible model for licensing negotiation that properly considers the incentives of standard essential patent holders as it binds them to license at fair rates. Second, it



considers opportunities for reconciliation between the developing regimes for license negotiations in the United States and the European Union and asserts that convergence in practice should motivate further evolution of this crucial cross-border intersection of market regulation, law, and technological innovation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zhiyuan Wang Affiliated with Binghamton University (SUNY) Email author

Treaty Commitment as a Signaling Device: Explaining the Ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

in *Human Rights Review*, vol. 17, number 2 , 193-220

ABSTRACT: This study investigates the determinants of the ratification of International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). To do so, it proposes an explanation that postulates that states employ treaty ratification as a device to signal their resolve to implement policies required by the treaty at issue in order to appease demanding domestic constituencies, predicting that states with lower compliance capacity tend to commit faster than states with higher compliance capacity. Applying this explanation to the ICESCR leads to two expectations. First, the larger government spending a proxy of high compliance capacity is hypothesized to delay the ratification process. Second, states with the unitary system are expected to ratify the ICESCR more promptly because the centralized power structure in unitary states significantly restricts the pursuit of the policy autonomy by minorities at local level that the right to self-determination entails. The Cox proportional hazard analysis lends support to both hypotheses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zhiyuan Wang Affiliated with Binghamton University (SUNY) Email author

Treaty Commitment as a Signaling Device: Explaining the Ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

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ABSTRACT: This study investigates the determinants of the ratification of International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). To do so, it proposes an explanation that postulates that states employ treaty ratification as a device to signal their resolve to implement policies required by the treaty at issue in order to appease demanding domestic constituencies, predicting that states with lower compliance capacity tend to commit faster than states with higher compliance capacity. Applying this explanation to the ICESCR leads to two expectations. First, the larger government spending a proxy of high compliance capacity is hypothesized to delay the ratification process. Second, states with the unitary system are expected to ratify the ICESCR more promptly because the centralized power structure in unitary states significantly restricts the pursuit of the policy autonomy by minorities at local level that the right to self-determination entails. The Cox proportional hazard analysis lends support to both hypotheses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gaudillière Jean-Paul

Un nouvel ordre sanitaire international? Performance, néolibéralisme et outils du gouvernement



médico-économique

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 52, Les mises en économie de L'environnement , 107-126

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gray C. Boyden

Upgrading Existing Regulatory Mechanisms for Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 78, Number 4

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Arnold Sina, Bischoff Sebastian

Wer sind wir denn wieder? Nationale Identität in Krisenzeiten

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 14-15, 2016

The full text is free:

In der aktuellen "Flüchtlingskrise" offenbart sich auch eine allgemeine Krise der deutschen Gesellschaft und ihrer Identitäten: Die Debatten um "Obergrenzen" und Kontingente, die zivilgesellschaftliche "Willkommenskultur" oder die Forderung nach Schusswaffengebrauch an der Grenze, das politische Ringen um Asylrechtsverschärfungen und die Diskussionen darüber, ob "wir" "das" schaffen, sind Ausdruck von Aushandlungsprozessen über zentrale Leitbilder, Wertvorstellungen und Selbstverständnisse der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Nicht nur wird verhandelt, wie mit "denen" umzugehen ist, sondern immer auch geht es um das "Wir": Schaffen wir das? Und wer sind wir eigentlich? Ein Einwanderungsland? Mittlerweile ja – aber wer kann dazu kommen?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Philip Andrews-Speed and Xunpeng Shi

What Role Can the G20 Play in Global Energy Governance? Implications for China's Presidency

in *Global Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 2 , 198–206

The prevailing architecture of global energy governance is fragmented, uncoordinated and failing to yield the required outcomes. This article examines the argument that the Group of 20 (G20) can provide a leadership role to improve the quality of global energy governance. Energy has characteristics of a global public good and the energy system resembles a complex adaptive system. These observations imply that the global governance of energy should be polycentric and this, in turn, entails a high level of coordination and trust between governing actors. Clubs and networks



are institutions that can usefully enhance coordination and trust. In this respect, the G20 can be seen as a club at the hub of networks that can play a key role in improving the global governance of energy and China's presidency of the G20 in 2016 provides a unique opportunity for the G20 to prove its worth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stewart Patrick

World Order: What, Exactly, are the Rules?

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 39, Issue 1 , pp. 7-27

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barbara Stark

expanded the Commission 's powers to investigate cases which it believes to be of critical importance to the objectives of competition law through an ex officio investigative power. The modernization of the state aid regime challenges West European Member States' to retool their state-industry relations, and most have. This pressure is felt in both CMEs and LMEs, but most acutely in SIMEs.

in *Columbia human rights law review*, vol. 47, issue 1 , 151-197

This Essay takes issue with the recent characterization of "antidiscrimination law as an American invention" by the AALS Workshop on Transnational Perspectives on Equality Law. It begins by pointing out the antidiscrimination provisions included in earlier international and regional human rights instruments and describing the global human rights and anti-colonial movements that inspired American civil rights activists.

Recognizing the international roots of antidiscrimination law is not just a matter of giving credit where credit is due. Framing antidiscrimination law as an American invention preempts consideration of the economic inequality that has been at the core of international human rights from the very beginning. Economic rights, such as the right to health and the right to an adequate standard of living, have always been key to international antidiscrimination law. These rights remain anathema to many in the United States. The 2012 Republic Party Platform characterized the Affordable Care Act (ACA), for example, as "an attack on our Constitution."

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Amitav Acharya

'Idea-shift': how ideas from the rest are reshaping global order

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 7 , 1156-1170

An 'idea-shift' is taking place that may be of greater consequence for global governance than is the ongoing 'power shift' or the rise of new powers. A number of non-Western thinkers and practitioners - who may be called idea-shifters - have contributed to new concepts and approaches that have radically altered the way we think about development, security



and ecology, among other areas. Their ideas are often dismissed or downgraded in the West as imitation, or the product of the Western education of their creators, or of partnership with Western collaborators, governments, donor agencies and multilateral institutions dominated by the Western powers. Challenging this view, this essay holds that ideas from the postcolonial world, its thinkers and policymakers have played an important role in the making of the postwar norms of governance, such as universal sovereignty, human rights, international development and regionalism. Moreover, some of the important recent ideas about development (human development from Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen), security (responsible sovereignty from Francis Deng and colleagues) and ecology (sustainable development from Wangari Maathai) have come from people who, while trained in the West, are deeply influenced by their local context or point of origin. Appreciating how much this local origin and context matters allows us to consider these as 'ideas-from-below' and a powerful driver of the unfolding global idea-shift.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gozde Turan

'Responsibility to Prosecute' in an age of global governmentality: The International Criminal Court in Cooperation and Conflict, 51 (1) , 20-37

This paper critically examines the discursive power of the International Criminal Court (ICC), which was established in 2002 with unprecedented jurisdiction in terms of both crimes being prosecuted and territorial scope. What evokes a critical engagement is not only the criminalization of certain acts in international law, but also the evolution of a permanent international criminal court with forms of power enabling the sanctioning, prosecution and punishment of these acts. Analysing how current international criminal law developed and is being shaped brings to the surface particular power structures embedded in legal texts and practices. By subjecting the discourse of the ICC to a Foucauldian analysis and arguing for the utility of Foucault's concepts in analysing contemporary international criminal legal discourse, the paper contributes to our understanding of novel techniques and procedures of contemporary global governmentality, and how the 'international community' is constituted as both a subject and an object within this recent power modality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Di Comite Luigi, Girone Stefania

"Migrazioni e globalizzazione: il caso del Mediterraneo" in Politico (II), n. 239-240, 2015 , 172-193

ABSTRACT: In the field of demography, the globalization processes have led worldwide to an increasingly emphasized territorial mobility of populations – i.e. in other terms to migration phenomena considered in their multiple aspects – and even the Mediterranean Basin, indifferently of its definition, does not escape this fact. In comparison to the entire globe, this area has an advantage – at least when considered in its narrow definition – of not comprising countries at very low level of economic development and with traditional demographic assets. Nevertheless, this area is currently involved – as it is occurring in the rest of the World as well – in heavy "South-North" migration inflows that, generally, transfer populations from countries (some of which even extra-Mediterranean) at very low level of economic development and high demographic growth toward rich countries living mainly demographic decline and/ or stagnation.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lorenzo Fioramonti

A Post-GDP World? Rethinking International Politics in the 21st Century

in *Global Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 1, 15–24

In contemporary politics, the power and status of a country are intimately connected with its economic wealth. In particular, GDP has become the benchmark by which the global pecking order is defined. Initially designed as a mere survey of a nation's income, GDP has become an ordering principle in international governance. Yet the convergence of socioeconomic, environmental and energy crises currently questions the sustainability of GDP maximization and its political relevance, strengthened by a growing consensus among policy makers and experts that GDP is an inadequate metric of economic success. As countries move beyond GDP and new indicators are introduced, the overall international political order may also change. In particular, some non-G7 countries may emerge as global leaders in wellbeing, prosperity and sustainable development. We may be witnessing a gradual shift to a new Bretton Woods, possibly leading to a profound restructuring of globalization with the emergence of new forms of supranational regionalism in which more equitable and sustainable economies will play a leading role.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Yanqiu Rachel Zhou & William D. Coleman

Accelerated Contagion and Response: Understanding the Relationships among Globalization, Time, and Disease

in *Globalizations*, Volume 13, Issue 3, 285-299

The rapid global transmission of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003 raises questions about the intersections of globalization, time, and diseases. Viewing it as a disease of speed, this article examines SARS as a case of emerging infectious diseases in the context of contemporary globalization. We contend that the SARS crisis exposed the limitations of traditional spatiality-based approaches to infectious diseases, disease control, and health governance. When the advances in information and communication technologies (ICTs) in recent decades have accelerated the diffusion of pathogens, actors at all levels of global public health are pressed to keep up with the new temporalities. While cognitive and organizational innovations arising from technological changes show some hope for addressing these issues on a global level, other temporality-related challenges—such as differential capacities of the affected countries to respond to the simultaneity of the crisis—are yet to be tackled.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Patrick Bond

BRICS banking and the debate over sub-imperialism

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 4, 611-629

Funded at \$100 billion each, the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA) and New Development Bank (NDB)



represent 'sub-imperial' finance, insofar as, by all indications, they fit into – instead of providing alternatives to – the prevailing world systems of sovereign debt and project credits. Balance of payments constraints for BRICS members will not be relieved by the CRA, which requires an IMF intervention after just 30% of the quota is borrowed. In this context the NDB would appear close to the Bretton Woods Institution model, promoting frenetic extractivist calculations based on US dollar financing and hence more pressure to export.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Qiu Larry D., Zhan Chaoqun

China's Global Influence: A Survey through the Lens of International Trade

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2016 , pages 45–71

One of the most impressive changes in the global economy in the past half-century has been China's high and sustained growth and its integration into the global economy. This phenomenal change not only brings huge benefits to the Chinese people, but also exerts a tremendous influence on the rest of the world. How large is China's influence on the global economy? How are various countries/regions affected differently? How are various industries in a country affected differently? Answering these questions is not simple. In this paper, we review the recent literature that attempts to answer these questions. The findings of the survey conducted in this study aim to provide a complete picture of China's global influence and to identify issues that require further analysis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ma Yuan, Overbeek Henk

Chinese foreign direct investment in the European Union: explaining changing patterns

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 441-454

In the post-financial crisis period, new patterns have emerged in the development of Chinese foreign direct investment (OFDI) in the EU. This article examines these changes by analysing mergers and acquisitions (M&A) data from the Thomas SDC database in the period 2002–2014. Our initial analysis has suggested four significant developments. First, Chinese M&A in the EU shows rapid growth after 2008. Second, the core member states of the EU are still the main destination, but semi-peripheral and peripheral member states are new targets for Chinese OFDI. Third, investment goes to more diversified sectors. Fourth, state-owned companies remain significant but private companies and sovereign wealth funds are becoming increasingly prominent investors. These changes are tentatively explained by two sets of factors. The forced privatization of (undervalued) assets in the EU due to the Eurozone debt crisis, as well as a relatively friendly investment environment, are pull factors, attracting Chinese investors to the EU; the main push factors are the Chinese efforts to reduce dependence on export and reliance on the US dollar, as manifested in the Chinese government's Going Global Policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Anya Kleymenova, Andrew K. Rose, Tomasz Wieladek



Does Government Intervention Affect Banking Globalization?

in *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies*, Volume 40 , 43-58

Using data from British and American banks, we provide empirical evidence that government intervention affects the global activities of individual banks along three dimensions: depth, breadth and persistence. We examine depth by studying whether a bank's preference for domestic, as opposed to external, lending (funding) changes when it is subjected to a large public intervention, such as bank nationalization. Our results suggest that, following nationalization, non-British banks allocate their lending away from the UK and increase their external funding. Second, we find that nationalized banks from the same country tend to have portfolios of foreign assets that are spread across countries in a way that is far more similar than those of either private bank from the same country or nationalized banks from different countries, consistent with an impact on the breadth of globalization. Third, we study the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) to examine the persistence of the effect of large government interventions. We find weak evidence that upon entry into the TARP, foreign lending declines but domestic does not. This effect is observable at the aggregate level, and seems to disappear upon TARP exit. Collectively, this evidence suggests that large government interventions affect the depth and breadth of banking globalization, but may not persist after public interventions are unwound.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tobias D. Ketterer

EU Anti-dumping and Tariff Cuts: Trade Policy Substitution?

in *World Economy*, Volume 39, Issue 5 , 576-596

The world trading system in its current form aims at reducing multilateral trade barriers across the board. Indeed, the last successfully concluded multilateral trade negotiations led to substantial tariff concessions on the part of most developed economies. What, however, happened to other forms of import protection? Have substantial tariff concessions subsequently been replaced by the use of alternative forms of import protection? In this paper we empirically investigate the relationship between negotiated external tariff cuts and the subsequent use of anti-dumping actions by the EU. Evidence is found for larger Uruguay Round tariff cuts increasing the probability of subsequent anti-dumping investigations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fritz Martin, Koch Max

Economic development and prosperity patterns around the world: Structural challenges for a global steady-state economy

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 38, May , 41-48

Taking a global perspective this paper sets out to theoretically and empirically identify prosperity patterns for four groups of countries at different levels of economic development. It conceptualizes 'prosperity' in terms of ecological sustainability, social inclusion, and the quality of life and contextualizes this definition in global perspective. Subsequently, it operationalizes and measures these dimensions on the basis of data from sources such as the World Bank, the Global Footprint Network and the OECD for 138 countries and by applying dual multiple factor analysis. Building on earlier research that suggested that higher development levels in terms of GDP per capita are capable of



providing social and individual prosperity but at the expense of environmental sustainability, we ask whether other interrelations between prosperity indicators exist on other levels of economic development. Empirically distinguishing between 'rich', 'emerging', 'developing' and 'poor countries' the paper finds that social and individual prosperity indicators largely increase with economic development while ecological sustainability indicators worsen. Our analyses further reveal that 'social cohesion' can be established under different economic and institutional conditions, that subjective wellbeing increases with income rises at all levels of economic development and that a decoupling of carbon emissions from the provision of prosperity is, in principle, achievable, while a reduction of the global matter and energy throughput poses a much greater challenge. The paper concludes by highlighting the repercussions of these findings for the trajectories that countries at different levels of economic development would need to undertake.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Liu Li-Gang

Europe and China in the Global Economy in the Next 50 Years: A Partnership for Global Peace and Stability in Intereconomics, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 37-42

With huge debt levels, high unemployment and low growth, it appears that the European economy will continue to stagnate for the foreseeable future. China, on the other hand, has emerged as the largest trading nation in the world and become the second largest economy in the world. China's economic rise presents a rare opportunity for Europe. However, to fully take advantage of these opportunities, both economies will need to overcome some economic frictions and trade protectionism tendencies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kemfert Claudia

Globale Energiewende: 'Made in Germany'?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12-13, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/222980/globale-energiewende-made-in-germany>

Die deutsche Energiepolitik ist mittlerweile im internationalen Sprachgebrauch angekommen: Nahezu überall in der Welt kennt man nach den Worten "Kindergarten" und "German Angst" auch das Wort "Energiewende". Die Industrie-Musternation Deutschland hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, Atomstrom abzuschalten und die Energieversorgung mittelfristig auf erneuerbare Energien umzustellen. Dabei wird das gesamte Energiesystem umgebaut, das Stromsystem immer dezentraler, intelligenter und flexibler, die Mobilität nachhaltiger und das Energiesparen wichtiger. Der Anteil erneuerbarer Energien liegt mittlerweile schon bei über 30 Prozent an der Stromerzeugung, der Anteil von Atomstrom sinkt kontinuierlich: 2015 lag er unter 15 Prozent, bis 2022 soll er auf null sinken. Allerdings ist der Anteil von Kohlestrom noch immer hoch, 45 Prozent des Stroms wird mit Kohlekraftwerken generiert. Der eingeleitete Wandel bringt enorme wirtschaftliche Chancen, schafft Innovationen und stärkt die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit. Durch die Investitionen entstehen Wertschöpfung und Arbeitsplätze. Aber bietet Deutschland damit auch ein attraktives Beispiel für eine globale Energiewende?



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bagheri Mahmood, Ghanbari Jahromi Mohammad Jafar

Globalization and extraterritorial application of economic regulation: crisis in international law and balancing interests

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 41, Issue 2, April 2016 , 393-429

There are two developments the combination of which has led to new challenges to international law: the growth of economic regulations and globalisation. While the modern economies are associated with the proliferation of regulatory laws which are rooted in the national economic and social policies, the loosening of the national borders and globalisation has led to conflicts of economic regulations. Such developments have posed various risks of violations of national economic regulations by the economic actors and could lead to tension among national states which have jurisdiction over multinational enterprises in one way or another. The private parties involved in such a situation could somehow avoid such risks by their own initiatives and contractual arrangements but in most cases such measures do not work and the conflict has to be resolved through the cooperation between the countries involved. The paper investigates the potentials for public international law to come up with rules, principles and norms to resolve such complex disputes which touch up issues such as non-intervention, equality of sovereign states, state immunity, self-determination and other principles of international law. Unlike certain area of international law such as law of sea where a few factors involved and the disputes could be resolved by relying on simple facts and rules, the application of national economic regulations extraterritorially creates tensions among the nation states in respect of the demarcation of national jurisdictions. It is here that public international faces a new challenges and need to come up with new approaches such a balancing of interests of the states involved in the conflicts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

ANDREW J. NATHAN and ANDREW SCOBELL

Globalization as a Security Strategy: Power and Vulnerability in the “China Model”

in *Political Science Quarterly*, VOLUME 131 - NUMBER 2 , 313-339

ANDREW J. NATHAN and ANDREW SCOBELL analyze the gains and losses to Chinese security from the country's embrace of globalization in the post-Mao period. They argue that while China has grown richer and more influential, it has also been penetrated by global forces that it does not control and become enmeshed in complex relationships of interdependence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Robert G Patman, Laura Southgate

Globalization, the Obama administration and the refashioning of US exceptionalism

in *International Politics* , Volume 53, Issue 2 , 220-238

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Blomfield Megan

Historical Use of the Climate Sink

in **Res Publica**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special issue on Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources, March , 67-81

In this paper I discuss a popular position in the climate justice literature concerning historical accountability for climate change. According to this view, historical high-emitters of greenhouse gases—or currently existing individuals that are appropriately related to them—are in possession of some form of emission debt, owed to certain of those who are now burdened by climate change. It is frequently claimed that such debts were originally incurred by historical emissions that violated a principle of fair shares for the world's natural resources. Thus, a suitable principle of natural resource justice is required to render this interpretation of historical accountability complete. I argue that the need for such a principle poses a significant challenge for the historical emission debt view, because there doesn't appear to be any determinate answer to the question what a fair share of climate sink capacity would have been historically. This leaves the historical emission debt view incomplete and thus unable to explain a powerful intuition that appears to motivate the view: namely, that there is something unjust about how the climate sink has historically been used. I suggest an alternative explanation of this common intuition according to which historically unequal consumption of climate sink capacity, whether or not wrongful in and of itself, is a symptom of broader global injustice concerning control over and access to the world's natural resources. This broader historical injustice will be harder to quantify and harder to repair than that which the historical emission debt purports to identify.

Full text available online <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11158-015-9312-z>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Faccini Renato, Mumtaz Haroon, Surico Paolo

International fiscal spillovers

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 99, March 2016 , Pages 31-45

A two-country business cycle model featuring nominal rigidities, countercyclical mark-ups, rule of thumb consumers and government spending reversals is used to identify inequality predictions that are robust across a range of empirically plausible parameterizations. These robust inequality restrictions are imposed onto a regime-change factor model for the United States and its main trade partners to estimate the international fiscal spillovers. The effects of U.S. government spending on foreign real activity are found to be sizable and significant, operating mainly by lowering real interest rates rather than boosting trade balances. In contrast, there seems to be only limited evidence of state dependence in the international transmission of fiscal policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Robinson William I.

Introduction: Globalization And Race In World Capitalism



in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. XXII, n. 1

ABSTRACT: Scholars of world-systems and global political economy have wrestled for decades with the genesis of 'race' as a social construct and its historical significance for the system of world capitalism. Transformations in the world capitalist system pose a new challenge to Western theories of race. Older colonial structures may be giving way in the face of capitalist globalization. Racial or ethnic dimensions of the relations of exploitation in the capitalist world-system need to be reconceptualized. This symposium aims to generate debate and interchange among scholars on such a reconceptualization and to contribute to real world struggles against racial inequities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Oltmer Jochen

Kleine Globalgeschichte der Flucht im 20. Jahrhundert

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 26-27, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/229817/kleine-globalgeschichte-der-flucht-im-20-jahrhundert>

Migrantinnen und Migranten streben in der Regel danach, ihre Handlungsmacht durch einen dauerhaften oder temporären Aufenthalt andernorts zu vergrößern. Das gilt für die Suche nach Erwerbs- oder Bildungschancen ebenso wie für das Streben nach Autonomie, Sicherheit oder die Wahrung beziehungsweise Umsetzung spezifischer Selbstkonzepte. Formen von Gewaltmigration (Flucht, Vertreibung, Deportation) lassen sich dann ausmachen, wenn staatliche, halb-, quasi- und zum Teil auch nichtstaatliche Akteure (Über-)Lebensmöglichkeiten und körperliche Unversehrtheit, Rechte und Freiheit, politische Partizipationschancen, Souveränität und Sicherheit von Einzelnen oder Kollektiven so weitreichend beschränken, dass diese sich zum Verlassen ihrer Herkunftsorte gezwungen sehen. Gewaltmigration kann dann als eine Nötigung zur räumlichen Bewegung verstanden werden, die keine realistische Handlungsalternative zuzulassen scheint...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zimmermann Olaf

Kulturwirtschaft und Globalisierung: Vom Nischenmarkt zum internationalen Freihandel

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 20-22, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/227645/kulturwirtschaft-und-globalisierung?p=all>

Im Herbst 2015 erschien Episode VII von "Star Wars", jener Weltraumgeschichte, die vor der Zeit spielt. Der mit einem Millionenbudget produzierte Film spielte mehr als zwei Milliarden Dollar ein, insgesamt spielten die sieben "Star Wars"-Filme sechs Milliarden Dollar ein. Ein erheblicher Teil dieses Ergebnisses geht auf Merchandisingprodukte zurück. "Star Wars"-Erfinder George Lucas hat nicht nur eine Geschichte und eine Welt erdacht, die offenbar weltweit verstanden und vermarktet werden kann, er ist zugleich ein reicher Mann geworden. 2012 verkaufte er die "Star



Wars"-Rechte an Walt Disney.

Ebenfalls im Herbst 2015 wurde von Kulturstaatsministerin Monika Grütters erstmals der Deutsche Buchhandelspreis verliehen. Mit dem Preis wurden inhabergeführte Buchhandlungen mit Sitz in Deutschland ausgezeichnet, die sich in besonderer Weise engagieren – ein literarisches Sortiment führen, ein kulturelles Veranstaltungsprogramm bieten oder sich für die Lese- oder Literaturförderung einsetzen. Über Hundert Buchhandlungen wurden ausgezeichnet und erhielten Preisgelder zwischen 7.000 und 25.000 Euro, acht unter ihnen auch ein Gütesiegel.

Was aber hat "Star Wars" mit Buchhandlungen zu tun? Wie hängen Milliardengewinne durch Merchandising und Rechteverkauf mit Preisgeldern in Höhe von 7.000 bis 25.000 Euro zusammen? Beide, Disney und die Buchhandlung um die Ecke, agieren auf den gleichen Märkten: auf dem Kulturwirtschaftsmarkt, dem Aufmerksamkeitsmarkt und dem Rechtemarkt. Auf diesen Märkten ist der Wind nicht zuletzt durch die Globalisierung rauer geworden. Sie werden zunehmend von Handelsabkommen geprägt, seien es multilaterale im Rahmen der Welthandelsorganisation (WTO) oder bilaterale wie etwa das derzeit zur Diskussion stehende Abkommen zwischen der EU und Kanada (CETA) oder das Abkommen zwischen der EU und den USA (TTIP). Der Handel mit Gütern und Dienstleistungen findet zu großen Teilen längst auf der internationalen oder mit Blick auf Deutschland zumindest auf der europäischen Ebene statt...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Andrea Pin

L'America balla da sola? I fattori di resistenza dell'ordinamento statunitense al costituzionalismo globale in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, No. 1 , 79-118

This article explores the main components of the American constitutional culture that resist the contemporary globalizing trends. It singles out four features of this resistance: the role of the Constitution in shaping the country's identity; the common law tradition and the status of *stare decisis* that attaches to it; the legacy of political constitutionalism that still pervades its understanding of jurisdiction; and the reluctant adherence to the law of nations more broadly. The article uses these features as proxies to investigate the nature of global constitutionalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alexy Robert

Menschenwürde und Verhältnismäßigkeit

in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts , Volume 140, Number 4, October 2015 , 497-513

In the debate over the normative structure of human dignity, two conceptions stand in opposition, an absolute and a relative conception. According to the absolute conception, the guarantee of human dignity counts as a norm that takes precedence over all other norms in all cases. This implies that balancing is precluded. For this reason, the absolute conception is incompatible with proportionality analysis. The relative conception, by contrast, says that the question of whether human dignity is violated is a question of proportionality. With this, the relative conception is not only compatible with proportionality analysis, it presupposes it. My thesis is that the relative conception is correct but that there exist some features of human dignity that move in the direction of absoluteness. The basis of my argument is principles theory.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gilles Lhuillier

Minerais de guerre. Une nouvelle théorie de la mondialisation du droit ?

in *Droit et société*, no. 92 , 117-135

Le droit des minerais de guerre (blood minerals), c'est-à-dire des minerais en provenance de République démocratique du Congo, à l'origine du conflit le plus sanglant depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale, est le premier droit véritablement global de l'histoire du commerce. L'examen de cette régulation reposant sur le product shopping – dernier volet d'une recherche qui a retracé l'organisation juridique de l'industrie extractive africaine – est l'occasion d'esquisser une nouvelle théorie de la mondialisation du droit dite théorie des « espaces normatifs » en opérant un décentrement de l'analyse, c'est-à-dire en n'examinant plus l'État national, objet traditionnel des sciences juridiques, mais le sujet et ses pratiques, nouvel objet de ces global legal studies au carrefour des sciences du droit, de l'homme et de la société.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

van der Hel Sandra

New science for global sustainability? The institutionalisation of knowledge co-production in Future Earth

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 61, July , 165-175

In the context of complex and unprecedented issues of global change, calls for new modes of knowledge production that are better equipped to address urgent challenges of global sustainability are increasingly frequent. This paper presents a case study of the new major research programme "Future Earth", which aims to bring 'research for global sustainability' to the mainstream of global change research. A core principle of Future Earth is the co-production of knowledge with extra-scientific actors. In studying how the principle of co-production becomes institutionalised in the emerging structure of Future Earth, this paper points to the existence of three distinct rationales (logics) on the purpose and practice of co-production. Co-production is understood as a way to enhance scientific accountability to society ('logic of accountability'), to ensure the implementation of scientific knowledge in society ('logic of impact'), and to include the knowledge, perspectives and experiences of extra-scientific actors in scientific knowledge production ('logic of humility'). This heterogeneous conception of knowledge co-production provides helpful ambiguity allowing actors with different perspectives on science and its role in society to engage in Future Earth. However, in the process of designing an institutional structure for Future Earth tensions between the different logics of co-production become apparent. This research shows how logics of accountability and impact are prominent in shaping the development of Future Earth. The paper concludes by pointing to an essential tension between being inclusive and transformative when it comes to institutionalising new modes of knowledge production in large research programmes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Razmi Arslan

North-south interactions in the presence of trade in environmental permits: a structuralist investigation

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 40 Issue 2 March 2016 , 541-574

This article develops a structuralist framework to analyse a world where production requires emission permits.



International agreements bind Northern output whilst leaving room for the South under the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibilities'. Act I considers the effects of reducing Northern output through tighter emission regulations. In the short run, traditional structuralist results such as a negative effect on Southern terms of trade and accumulation follow. In the long run the impact of Northern regulation is 'bottled up' within that region. This latter property vanishes once Act II allows for the creation of international permit markets. Permit trade relaxes the Northern output constraint whilst also establishing a channel through which the North directly influences Southern permit prices. The result in the short run is to reverse the effects of tighter Northern regulation on relative Southern terms of trade and accumulation, which now increase. In the long run, international permit trade leads to increased variability in the (1) global distribution of capital in response to tighter Northern regulation, and (2) intensity of Northern emissions in response to tighter Southern regulation. Thus, globalised permit exchanges generate new trade-offs between the global distribution of capital and environmental efficiency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Julia Schulze Wessel

On Border Subjects: Rethinking the Figure of the Refugee and the Undocumented Migrant in Constellations, Vol. 23, Issue 1, March

Using Arendt and her central categories as a starting point for describing refugees between the two world wars, the author bases her analysis on present-days studies on undocumented migrants in order to conceptualize the figure of the contemporary refugee more precisely. In particular, the author introduces in this essay the term "border subject", which includes the transformation of the border.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Blätte Andreas

Politische Steuerung im Migrations-Integrations-Dilemma
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 1, March 2016, 79-86

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Diritto globale e metodologia comparativa: verso un approccio verticale?

Roberto Scarciglia

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4, 1011-1026

Different forms of global phenomena and pluralism involve reconsidering the adequacy of the methods in comparative law. To what extent comparative law and comparative methodology are instrumental to the formation of a lawyer? What is the role of the Supreme Courts with respect to global law? Do Courts use comparative methodology? Though the horizontal comparison is certainly a widespread tendency for comparative analyses, from a methodological point of view, we need to consider the importance of forms of vertical comparison, both a top-down and bottom-up approach.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aysun Uluc

Searching for the source of macroeconomic integration across advanced economies

in *Oxford Economic Papers*, Volume 68 Issue 2 April 2016 , 316-339

This article estimates a two-country open economy DSGE model by using US and euro area data. The baseline model, where the two regions are linked only through the trade of goods and risk-free bonds, fails to replicate the high cross-regional macroeconomic correlation in the data. I search for the determinants of this correlation by reconfiguring the model's shock processes in two ways. First, I include shocks that symmetrically affect each region. Second I allow for the transmission of shocks between the two regions. Whilst both of these changes considerably improve the model's performance along the international dimension, common shocks appear to be the main drivers of cross-regional correlation. Under both specifications, comovements of variables are mostly determined by demand and financial shocks. Productivity, cost-push, and exchange rate shocks, by contrast, play a limited role.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

VanHoose David

Should financial regulators engage in international policy coordination?

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 2, April 2016 , 319-338

This paper examines issues associated with the design and implementation of regulatory policymaking in interconnected financial markets. The paper explains why international interdependence among nations' financial markets and regulations can provide an incentive for national financial supervisory agencies to contemplate coordinating their regulatory policies. It also assesses, in the context of a review of recent research on the part of banking and financial economists, ways in which interdependence among financial systems can create a potential for international regulatory policy conflicts. In addition, the paper evaluates whether such conflicts are insurmountable or might be somewhat mitigated at least somewhat via bargains among regulatory authorities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Daniele Conversi

Sovereignty in a Changing World: From Westphalia to Food Sovereignty

in *Globalizations* , Volume 13, Issue 4 , 484-498

This article traces the shifting meaning of the notion of sovereignty from the modern age to the age of globalization and its aftermath, envisaging new constellations of sovereignty taking shape across the globe. Observing the term's centrality in the configuration of the modern nation-state and its epochal semantic shifts, it briefly examines the concept's 'decline' during the era of globalization. It then introduces the notion of 'liquid sovereignty' in the context of rapidly changing ideas of territoriality, power, and inter-dependence. This in turn, it is argued, is connected with the surfacing of new forms of sovereignty centred on aliments, nutrition, and survival, encapsulated in the notion of 'food sovereignty'.



The article suggests that the food sovereignty movement has helped in the recovery of basic aspects of sovereignty in a world threatened by climate change and neo-liberal globalization, as the cosmopolitical dimension merged with ethno-political claims, particularly amongst Indigenous Peoples in the Americas and, to a lesser extent, Western sub-state nationalist movements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ishak Kara Gazi

Systemic risk, international regulation, and the limits of coordination

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 99, March 2016 , Pages 192-222

This paper examines the incentives of national regulators to coordinate capital adequacy requirements in the presence of systemic risk in global financial markets. In a two-country model, correlated asset fire sales by banks generate systemic risk across national financial markets. Absent coordination, national regulators choose inefficiently low levels of macro-prudential regulation. Thus, symmetric countries always benefit from relinquishing their authority to a central regulator that establishes uniform regulations across countries. I also consider the separate case of asymmetric countries: while there is a limit to coordination when countries are sufficiently asymmetric in a single dimension, existence of asymmetries in multiple dimensions might actually relax this limit or even eliminate it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Franco Spoltore

The Dangers of Climate Change: Another Reason to Build Europe Now

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVII, n. 3

The world's countries have been trying, since 1992, to stipulate binding international agreements designed to limit greenhouse gas emissions.

"It's a fraud... There is no action, only promises. As long as fossil fuel remains the cheapest energy option, it will be used." This is how American scientist James Hansen, one of the first to raise awareness of man-made climate change and to conduct studies of the phenomenon,[1] tersely summed up the results of COP21.

The main topic on the agenda at the Paris conference was that of decarbonisation, i.e. the reduction of energy consumption resulting from the use of fossil fuels.

Science has made us well aware of the climate change-related risks faced by mankind. We have also seen the introduction of technological innovations that make it possible to envisage the phasing out of fossil fuels and their replacement with other sources of energy.

To make the world safer from the climate point of view, it is not enough to develop the policies, admittedly good and necessary, that already exist; what is needed is the establishment of a framework of governance that overcomes the current impasse and allows proper management of the problems facing the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jakobsen Tor Georg, Isaksen Joachim Vogt; Skavhaug Gunn Kari O., Bakkan Hilde Anderssen



The Turning Point of Tolerance: Ethnic Attitudes in a Global Perspective

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 1 , 80-104

Is diversity associated with ethnic aversion? To address this issue we employ a theoretical perspective to explain global patterns in individual ethnic attitudes. We suggest that there is a turning point of tolerance, and this could be why earlier studies differ in their conclusions. In short, we argue that up until a certain point more intergroup contact will lead to increased tolerance. However, when this threshold is reached, any further diversity will lead to less tolerance. This study applies data from all five waves of the World Values Survey, combined with the updated ethnolinguistical fractionalisation index and relevant controls. Our models reveal a threshold effect in non-Western societies, and that ethnically polarised societies are most tolerant. This finding supports the argument that conflicts taking place along ethnic lines are not caused primarily by ethnic hatred, indicating that ethnicity might be used as an instrument to create violent conflict.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marie-Louise Djigbenou-Kre, Hail Park

The effects of global liquidity on global imbalances

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, Volume 42 , 1-12

This paper examines whether global liquidity has effects on global imbalances. To this end, we estimate Panel-VARX models using data from the G5 (United States, United Kingdom, Euro area, Japan, and Canada) and 20 emerging countries. The empirical results show that the effects on global imbalances of global liquidity, especially the US monetary aggregate, are significant. The foreign exchange reserves of emerging economies are also found to play a significant role related to global imbalances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Garmendia Eneko, Urkidi Leire, Artoa Iñaki, Barcena Iñaki Barcena, Bermejo Roberto, Hoyos David, Lago Rosa

Tracing the impacts of a northern open economy on the global environment

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 126, June , 169-181

The globalization of the world economy has increased resource flows around the planet, raising pressures on the environment. Historically, northern industrialized economies have been responsible for the majority of resource consumption, while developing countries have suffered the associated social and environmental impacts. This article analyzes the extra-territorial responsibility of the Basque economy (Europe), to illustrate the responsibility of northern open economies towards the global environment. To do this, we: (i) analyze the material and energy flows of the Basque economy, their source and impacts on other regions of the world, (ii) study the impact of the economic and investment activities of Basque companies abroad, and (iii) examine, together with other paradigmatic examples, three case studies from Latin-America, East Africa and Southeast Asia that represent the liabilities of northern economies in the Global South. This approach allows us to connect production and consumption processes in affluent countries with associated socio-ecological impacts in the extraction frontiers in order to better understand and potentially transform current economic patterns and their consequences. In addition, the study indicates how to bridge the gap between local and global scales, creating a useful approach to raising social awareness and informing public policies in resource intensive



societies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Newman Abraham, Posner Elliot  

Transnational feedback, soft law, and preferences in global financial regulation

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 123-152

Pre-crisis global governance of finance was marked by considerable preference alignment between the two regulatory great powers, the US and the EU. The article's explanation of this surprising pattern in regulatory preferences takes the institutional context of global finance seriously. It highlights the endogenous, temporal effects of inter-national institutions at the core of global economic governance: transnational regulatory networks and the soft law they produce.

Transnational soft law is not simply an articulation of a focal point, we demonstrate, but also a political resource that may be employed by reform-minded agents dissatisfied with their domestic policy status quo. We label such feedback processes 'templates-as-disruptors,' meaning that the establishment of transnational soft law by regulatory networks at t1 creates policy templates that disrupt pre-existing internal (e.g. domestic) political contests at t2. In addition to improving an understanding of historical events and great power preference alignment, the paper highlights the temporal effects of informal cooperation and domestic--international interaction in global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kacowicz Arie M., Mitrani Mor

Why Don't We Have Coherent Theories of International Relations About Globalization?

in Global Governance, vol. 22, n. 2, april-june , 189-208

ABSTRACT: This article offers a systematic and critical attempt to consider the question of why the discipline of international relations is at something of a loss to deal with the concept of globalization at a theoretical level. The article discusses this theoretical deficit by raising the following questions: How should we cope with globalization from an IR perspective? Why don't we have coherent theories of IR about globalization? What should we do about that? We argue that although there is a theoretical need to theorize globalization in the framework of conventional IR theories, there are serious impediments that preclude us from developing coherent IR theories about globalization, mainly due to the inherent incompatibility between the features of conventional IR theories and the concept and realities of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kacowicz Arie M. , Mitrani Mor,

¿Por qué no tenemos teorías cohe rentes de relaciones internacionales sobre la globalización?

in Foro Internacional, vol. LVI - n. 2 , Arie M. Kacowicz y Mor Mitrani,

This article constitutes a serious attempt to consider the question of why the discipline of international relations is at something of a loss dealing with the concept of "globalization" at the theoretical level. The article discusses the theoretical deficit vis-a-vis explaining globalization by raising the following



questions:

How should we cope with globalization from an IR perspective?

Why don't we have coherent theories of IR about globalization?

What should we do about that? Our main argument focuses on

the need to emphasize the political linkages between interna

tional relations and globalization, as embodied by the role of

states as the prevalent agents of change in the processes of globalization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Susan Kneebone

Comparative regional protection frameworks for refugees: norms and norm entrepreneurs

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 153-172

This article analyses the strengths and limits of regional approaches to refugee protection. It compares three regions; namely the EU, Latin America and the Southeast Asian (SEA) region. It refers to two refugee protection crises to highlight the importance of regional approaches to refugee protection: namely the Rohingya “boat people” crisis which unfolded in the Indian Ocean in May 2015 and the advance of Syrian refugees towards Europe which escalated from the same period. It identifies the norms of refugee protection which have been “internalised” in the three regional contexts and contextualises the regional processes. It argues for the importance of looking closely at the underlying norms, and the identities and activities of the relevant “norm entrepreneurs” at the regional level. It concludes that regional solutions for refugee protection will be most effective when the norms have been solidly embedded in legal systems and institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Michael Giudice

Conceptual analysis, legal pluralism, and EU law

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 3-4 , 586-607

My objective is to advance a general conclusion about the methodology of analytical legal theory, that conceptual analysis, still a popular method in the philosophy of law, can only ever form the beginning and never the end of a theoretical explanation of the nature of law. The strategy I propose to adopt is focused and limited in the following way: I aim to support this general conclusion by assessing a particular and prevalent conceptual explanation of European Union (EU) law. This is the legal pluralist view which supposes that the ultimate source of validity of EU laws is relative to the particular legal systems of the EU (namely, the legal systems of the Member States and the legal system of the EU itself). I argue that this view fails on philosophical grounds, but more importantly, its failure yields important lessons for the methodology of analytical legal theory.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes



David Kosa³⁴⁵; and Lucas Lixinski

Domestic Judicial Design by International Human Rights Courts
in *American journal of international law*, vol. 109, issue 4 , 713-760

The European and Inter-American human rights courts are increasingly moving beyond their original mandates and making determinations about the design of national courts. They have judicialized new areas of the law, empowered national courts over other branches of government, and encouraged changes in judicial administration. By empowering domestic judiciaries, these regional human rights courts have also (intentionally or not) empowered themselves.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Fouquin Michel, Hugot Jules

La régionalisation, moteur de la mondialisation

in *Lettre du CEPII*, N°365, mai 2016

Historiens et économistes identifient généralement deux périodes modernes de mondialisation commerciale : la première s'étendrait de la fin du XIX^{ème} jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale ; la seconde aurait débuté au milieu des années 1970. Ces périodes se caractérisent par une forte baisse des coûts de transaction, dynamisant les échanges commerciaux entre les pays. À partir d'une base de données inédite, la plus complète à ce jour sur le commerce bilatéral, cette Lettre suggère une amorce plus précoce de la Première Mondialisation, dès le début du XIX^{ème} siècle. Celle-ci serait donc antérieure aux grandes innovations technologiques telles que le bateau à vapeur et le télégraphe, comme aux politiques de soutien au commerce telles que les traités de libre-échange ou l'étalon-or. Ces deux vagues ont surtout été alimentées par une intensification du commerce intra-régional. De quoi confirmer le paradoxe selon lequel plus le commerce se développe, plus la distance compte.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Abatan Ella, Spies Yolanda

African solutions to African problems? The AU, R2P and Côte d'Ivoire

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 23, issue 1 , 21-38

ABSTRACT: The African continent is inextricably linked to the development of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm and the latter's ethical interpretation of the duties associated with state sovereignty. With the African Union (AU) having institutionalised R2P in its legal-institutional foundation of 2000, the stage seemed set for the new African Peace and Security Architecture to demonstrate the continent's ramped-up interventionist approach to security. One of the first cases that presented an opportunity to do so was the humanitarian crisis that erupted after the 2010 elections in Côte d'Ivoire. As the crisis unfolded, however, it became clear that the AU was not only unable to operationalise its institutionalised R2P mechanisms, but indeed reluctant to invoke R2P explicitly. This raises serious concerns about the AU's willingness to intervene in its member states when humanitarian atrocities are perpetrated by governments against their own people, and throws into serious doubt the AU's promise to provide 'African solutions to African problems'.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nelson Michael Byron

Africa's Regional Powers and Climate Change Negotiations

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 16, Issue 1, February , 110-129

Two pillars underpin Africa's approach to climate change negotiations: One is the "African Common Position," and the other is the development of a negotiating coalition for presenting that position. This report explores the roles that Africa's regional powers—Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa—play in supporting this African approach. These regional powers do not share the same interests as the rest of the continent. Not only do they differ based on energy production (Nigeria) and consumption (South Africa), but also in terms of their general vulnerabilities and readiness to face climate change. Even where they share interests, they often view these negotiation processes as serving goals other than solving the problems of climate change. Despite such issues, Africa still needs its regional powers to play a role in ongoing global negotiations, and the world will likely continue to focus on at least some of them as continental representatives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Polemis Michael L.

Does Monopolistic Competition Exist in the MEBA Region? Evidence from the Banking Sector

in **Bulletin of Economic Research**, Volume 67, Issue S1, December 2015 , S74-S96

The goal of this paper is to empirically assess the level of banking competition in selected Middle East and Northern African (MENA) countries. The analysis employs the estimation of a non-structural indicator (H-statistic) introduced by Panzar and Rosse and draws upon a panel dataset of eight MENA countries (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates) over the period 1997–2012. The empirical findings are robust towards three different panel data econometric techniques (Ordinary Least Squares, Pooled Generalized Least Squares with Fixed Effects, and Generalized Method of Moments) and consistent with other similar studies, providing sufficient evidence in favour of a banking monopolistic competition regime. Furthermore, the estimation of three other alternative measures of competition (Lerner index, adjusted Lerner index, and conduct parameter) provides similar results, revealing that the banking sector in the MENA region is characterized by a low level of Significant Market Power (SMP). Overall, the analysis shows that, despite similarities in the process of financial regulatory reforms undertaken in the eight MENA countries, the observed competition levels of banks vary substantially, with Algeria and Morocco consistently outperforming the rest of the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Andreas K. Wendl

International Water Rights on the White Nile of the New State of South Sudan

in **Boston College International and Comparative Law Review**, vol. 39, issue 1 , 1-45

The birth of South Sudan falls directly in the demarcation zone of the rivalry between downstream and upstream riparian states on the waters of the Nile River. The downstream states—Egypt and Sudan—stress their "natural and historic" rights to the entire flow of the Nile based on the 1959 Nile Agreement and older colonial treaties, while the upstream



African states refuse to be bound by colonial treaties and claim their equitable share of the Nile River by promoting South Sudan's accession to the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). The Nile River Basin lacks an international binding water agreement that includes and satisfies all the riparian states. This Article analyzes the status quo of South Sudan's water rights to the Nile River by addressing the following questions: Is the new state bound by any rights and obligations established by the 1959 Nile Agreement? Is it advantageous for South Sudan to accede to the CFA, which provides for modern principles of international water law? The Article applies the customary international law of state succession to South Sudan's secession from Sudan to determine if the 1959 Nile Agreement is binding between the two states. It concludes that South Sudan succeeded Sudan with regard to territorial rights and obligations established by the 1959 Nile Agreement, as customary international law recognizes that legal obligations of a territorial nature remain unaffected by state succession. South Sudan should enter into negotiations on a binding water agreement to allocate the 18.5 billion cubic meters of water granted to it under the 1959 Nile Agreement. The Article concludes that South Sudan should accede to the CFA within its allotted portion of the Nile waters under the 1959 Nile Agreement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Lorenzo Fioramonti and Frank Mattheis

Is Africa Really Following Europe? An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

Since the establishment of the AU (African Union) in 2002, there have been indications that Africa may be following in Europe's footsteps in the process of regional integration. But is this really so? This article argues that, while there is an increasing focus on comparative regionalism in scholarly debates, we have not yet developed frameworks for empirical comparative research in this field. This often leads analysts to draw general conclusions from cases of institutional isomorphism, thus neglecting other critical dimensions. By applying an integrated framework, which takes into account the multi-dimensional aspects of old and new regionalisms, this article shows that the most critical features of the European regionalization process, from the gradual stepwise approach towards shared sovereignty to the focus on trade integration and social cohesion, are largely absent from Africa's regionalism, which presents unique characters that are often overshadowed by traditional analyses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nam Jacky Fung Wai

Jurisdictional Conflicts between the ICC and the African Union-Solution to the Dilemma
in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 44, No. 1, Fall

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Hartmann Christof

Leverage and linkage: how regionalism shapes regime dynamics in Africa
in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 10, Issue 1 Supplement, February 2016, 79–98



Abstract

Differences in African regime dynamics are clustered in sub-regions and thus might not be driven entirely by domestic variables such as the coercive capacity of states or the cohesion of ruling parties. The main argument of the paper is that leverage by regional organisations and by regional hegemon as well as specific types of regional linkages matter for domestic political developments. There is huge variation in terms of the competencies of regional organisations to influence democratisation processes, a varying availability of hegemon to enforce regional democratic standards and varying degrees of leverage vis-à-vis member states, which partly explain the regional patterns of regime dynamics. In the African context regional linkage is important in explaining how leverage is used by regional organisations and hegemon.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Standaert Samuel, Rayp Glenn

Multilateral trade agreements in Africa. Exploring the role of rent-seeking behavior

in **Economics of Governance**, Volume 17, Issue 1, February 2016 , 11-45

This paper explores the motives behind the formation of intra-African regional integration agreements (RIAs). We focus specifically on rents because they can explain the drive for integration even in the absence of a positive effect on welfare. Whether they are meant to foster rent-seeking or to suppress it, the level of corruption is posited to have a positive effect on the willingness to enter into RIAs. However, empirical studies into this effect have come to contradictory conclusions. We find that corruption has a positive effect on the willingness of African countries to join trade agreements. This result remains significant when controlling for endogeneity and heteroskedasticity, as well as the indicator of corruption used. While small, the effect of corruption outperforms most economic variables. Nevertheless, distance and other geographical factors remain the strongest explanatory forces of African integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dinar Ariel, Ortiz Correa Javier, Farolfi Stefano, Mutondo Joao

Quantifying the Process and Performance of River Basin Water Management Decentralisation in Sub-Saharan Africa

in **Journal of African Economies**, Volume 25 Issue 2 March 2016 , 267-299

This article identifies determinants of the decentralisation processes and performances of river basin management decentralisation in Sub-Saharan Africa, using an institutional analysis framework applied to primary data from twenty-seven river basins in the region. Main findings suggest that water scarcity is a major stimulus to the reform; that water user associations, if not well prepared and trained, may deter the decentralisation process and being part of an existing treaty over an international basin helps foster the process for domestic basins that are part of an international basin. Conditions improving decentralisation process performance include: scarcity of water resources, longer period of implementation, bottom-up creation and appropriate budgetary support of the river basin organisation. Due to the sample size our findings can be seen as suggestive for decentralisation policy in remaining river basins across the continent and elsewhere.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Onzivu William

Rethinking Transnational Environmental Health Governance in Africa: Can Adaptive Governance Help?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 107-122

This article explores options to strengthen environmental law to maximize its health impact in the developing world. A review of environmental treaties, including their domestic implementation, reveals the weak synergies between health and environmental objectives. The article advances adaptive governance as a framework for rethinking international environmental law to improve health in Africa, but argues that it has its limits. It analyses these strengths and limits in the context of evolving regional environmental health governance in Africa, and proposes four principles – environmental justice, multi-sectoral collaboration, evaluation and environmental ethics – to reinforce its potential to improve health and the environment in Africa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Bagnai Alberto, Rieber Arsène, Tran Thi Anh-Dao

Sub-Saharan Africa's growth, South–South trade and the generalised balance-of-payments constraint

in Cambridge Journal of Economics, Volume 40 Issue 3 May 2016 , 797-820

Using the post-Keynesian balance-of-payments constrained growth approach, we investigate the recent increase in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) growth, focussing on the contribution of South-South trade. The model is estimated by panel co-integration on a sample of 20 low- and lower-middle-income SSA countries, using annual data from 1990 to 2008, and considering three partner areas: SSA itself, developing Asia and the rest of the world. The results show that in the past decade the balance-of-payments constraint of SSA has been relaxed. This shift has occurred through different channels of transmission: the other SSA countries contributed through the real growth effect, developing Asia through the market share effect and the rest of the world through the terms of trade effect. These results help reconcile puzzling evidence on the pattern of SSA external indebtedness and provide new insights on the role of 'Asian drivers' on SSA growth, as well as on the sustainability of SSA growth recovery.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Joseph Hongoh

The Asian-African Conference (Bandung) and Pan-Africanism: the challenge of reconciling continental solidarity with national sovereignty

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 70, Issue 4 , 374-390

The 1955 Asian-African Conference (Bandung) has been hailed as a turning point in the emergence of the Global South solidarity movement and a pivotal moment in southerners' collective quest both to liberate themselves from colonialism and to reforge the international order on more inclusive and emancipatory foundations. In this article, the author



demonstrates how, in Africa, these aspirations were undermined by nationalist ambitions that privileged self-contained sovereign statehood over potentially more progressive continental solidarity under the Pan-African spirit. The author does so by analysing how the absorption of the Bandung spirit within the Pan-African movement reinforced opportunities for the pursuit of national interests, the affirmation of colonial geographies and economies, and the intensification of forms of solidarities built on the imagined fruits of independence at the expense of a shared history of colonialism. For many African countries, the enduring lessons of the Bandung spirit reside in the challenges of resolving the tensions over the appropriate context for pursuing self-determination and transforming the international order. Thus, while the Bandung spirit delivered the means for newly independent states to engage in international politics through interstate solidarities, it also helped to accelerate the foreclosure of alternative possibilities for intervening in and reshaping the prevailing international order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Moore Dickerson Claire

The OHADA Common Court of Justice and Arbitration: Exogenous Forces Contributing to Its Influence in Law and contemporary problems, Volume 79, Number 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Thuo Gathii James

Variation in the Use of Subregional Integration Courts between Business and Human Rights Actors: The Case of the East African Court of Justice

in Law and contemporary problems, Volume 79, Number 1

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Mai, Joseph; Stoyanov, Andrey

The effect of the Canada‐US Free Trade Agreement on Canadian multilateral trade liberalization in Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique, Volume 48, Number 3 , 1067-1098

In this paper show that the Canada‐US Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) tariff preferences have triggered a decline in Canadian external tariffs, explaining a two percentage point reduction in the average tariff between 1989 and 1998. Next, we found that industries that generate the least export rent to the US firms experienced deeper tariff cuts in Canada; this result provides evidence of cooperation in trade policies between the US and Canada. Finally, we estimate the effect of the CUSFTA on the intensity of industrial lobbying for trade policy in Canada and find no relationship between preferential trade liberalization and lobbying activity.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Caserta Salvatore, Madsen Mikael Rask

Between Community Law and Common Law: The Rise of the Caribbean Court of Justice at the Intersection of Regional Integration and Post-Colonial Legacies

in Law and contemporary problems, Volume 79, Number 1

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Pennetta Piero

Ancora un'esperienza associativa in America Latina: l'Alleanza del Pacifico. Considerazioni comparate con l'Unione europea

in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 489-514

Within the complex Latin American Regionalism, recently a new association experience has arisen: the Pacific Alliance. It was established by the Lima Declaration in 2011 and then institutionalized by the Framework Agreement of the Pacific Alliance in 2012. From a legal perspective, it cannot be regarded as an international organization yet, thus qualifying more properly as a complex multilateral agreement characterized by a limited institutional structure and a sizeable material law. After illustrating its main legal features, this paper aims at comparing the Pacific Alliance with the European Union in order to draw attention not only to obvious differences but also to relevant similarities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Liu Ming

BRICS development: a long way to a powerful economic club and new international organization

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 29, Issue 3, 2016 , 443-453

The year 2015 witnessed a bifurcated direction for BRICS and emerging economies: all BRICS members' economic growth slowed or stagnated, resulting in more gloomy forecasts for the future. But at the same time, the New Development Bank was set up. The progress of the preliminary institutionalization of the BRICS was mainly driven by China and Russia, which reflected their strong desire to advance a multilateral world order, and to form a new power base for the non-Western countries. The further substantial development of the BRICS depends upon its capability to overcome the structural obstacles among the five countries, amongst which the huge discrepancy between the economies and the heterogeneous nature of the membership are the most prominent ones.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Daniel Flandes, Rafael Castro

Colombia y Brasil frente a la Alianza del Pacífico y el Mercosur

in *Iberoamericana. America Latina – España – Portugal*, Vol. 15, Número 60 , 200-204

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

ACOSTA ZAPATA, Sebastián and MANFREDI, Luciana

INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES FOR THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: SOUTH KOREA - LATIN AMERICA.

in *Análisis político* , vol.28 no.83 , 5-18

This study aims to analyze institutionalization from the perspective of negotiation processes that foster the economic integration agreement that have served Colombia, South Korea and Mercosur as they integrate economically with other regions, considering bilateral negotiations or bloc negotiations. The present research is based in two main theories: new-institutionalism and constructivism, that serve as foundation to explain the main research question: How does the level of institutionalization impact the strategies of negotiation and design of agreements? Finally, is it better to negotiate bilaterally or as a bloc? Therefore, this paper accounts with two kinds of studies- a qualitative and a quantitative one-.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Brun Élodie, Alles Delphine, Albare Mélanie

Introducción: el sur y las transformaciones del multilateralismo: una perspectiva transdisciplinaria

in *Foro Internacional*, vol. LVI - n. 1

,

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Albaret Mélanie, Devin Guillaume

Los países del Sur en Naciones Unidas.

in *Foro Internacional*, vol. LVI - n. 1

The United Nations contributes to the invention of the Global South in its various manifestations. In parallel, the Global South is converted, as it is constructed, into a principle for organization, reference and positioning at the United Nations. It also aspires to form a factor for change in and by the international body. Although the UN

has offered countries in the Global South political



recognition, a platform for expression and self-assertion, and measures to make themselves heard and to alter the international order, it has not succeeded in fully integrating these parties. Their representation remains imperfect, and their demands unmet. As such, the benefits granted by the United Nations to the Global South have been ambivalent: the organization corrects the forms of domination, but does not put an end to them.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Lucas Soares

Processos de Pacificação e as missões de paz da ONU Uma oportunidade de cooperação entre Brasil e Colômbia

in *Iberoamericana. America Latina – España – Portugal*, Vol. 15, Número 60 , 190-194

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Stefania Eugenia Barichello

Refugee protection and responsibility sharing in Latin America: solidarity programmes and the Mexico Plan of Action

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 191-207

The aim of this article is to analyse the three solidarity programmes in the Mexico Plan of Action (MPA) – the responsibility sharing programme for regional resettlement, the integration of refugees into safe communities, and the development of border regions. The MPA is a step forward in strengthening the protection of human rights and the affirmation of the universality of human dignity. The MPA's objectives and programmes promote responsibility both at the regional level, through the notions of international solidarity and shared responsibility, and at the international level, as cooperation at a regional level could encourage similar initiatives in other regions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Mota Prado Mariana, Bertrand Vladimir

Regulatory Cooperation in Latin America: The Case of Mercosur

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 78, Number 4



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

ROJAS, Diana Marcela

THE ANDEAN REGION IN THE GEOPOLITICS OF STRATEGIC RESOURCES.

in *Analisis politico* , vol.28 no.83 , 88-107

In the economy of the early 21st century, world powers vie for access and control of strategic resources at the global level. By virtue of their natural endowments and the orientation of their current economic policies, the Andean countries play a significant role in this dispute. This position of importance has given rise to a dual challenge: of developing a diversification strategy for their economic relations with a view to take advantage of the current economic boom on the one hand, and on the other, of acquiring greater room for movement on the international stage in order to promote other points on their foreign agendas. However, there is no consensus regarding the best way to use these resources in pursuit of growth and sustainable national economic development in the long term, nor about how take advantage of the situation to improve the international position of the region as a whole.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Davies Mathew

A community of practice: explaining change and continuity in ASEAN's diplomatic environment

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 29, Issue 2, 2016 , 211-233

Despite change in the aims, institutions and informal diplomacy of ASEAN since 1997, the formal diplomatic code of conduct remains locked in a traditionalist mode first outlined in the 1970s. Existing approaches from mainstream International Relations theorising are unable to adequately explain this continuity and change. The recent 'practice turn' in theorising offers distinct explanatory advantage, which this article illustrates by arguing that the formation of an 'ASEAN rationality' between 1967 and 1997 fundamentally curtailed the ability of regional diplomats to revise ASEAN post 1997, resulting in the coexistence of new and old norms in ASEAN's organisation design.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sriprapha Petcharamesree

ASEAN and its approach to forced migration issues

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 173-190

The issue of forced migration has been a difficult challenge for ASEAN to address. Despite the number of international, regional and national frameworks in place, it is clear that within the international community, emigration is regarded as a right but immigration is seen as a matter of national sovereignty and security. Irregular migrants, especially migrant workers, asylum seekers and refugees, are not only forced to leave their own state but they are vulnerable to the whims of their host state, because they are considered to be secondary to citizens and national interests. The purpose of this article is to examine forced migration in the ASEAN context and how ASEAN member states have perceived and dealt with the issues so far. It also looks critically at how ASEAN as a group has been approaching forced migration and whether the establishment of the ASEAN human rights regime has contributed to changing ASEAN's approach to forced migration. ASEAN has some policies and frameworks in place for the protection of immigrants, including for those who



are forced, but are assumed to be voluntary. Although ASEAN has a number of regional frameworks which could be applied to protect the rights of those forced to migrate, it is regrettable that the overall policies and laws on migration are left to the will of national governments which, in many ways, may not comply with international human rights standards. Moreover, while the existence of the ASEAN human rights regime is significant, there are no guarantees that it will lead to the adoption of a common regional approach to forced migration. The fact that ASEAN has been upholding very strong working principles – respect of state sovereignty, non-interference in the international affairs of member states, consultation and consensus – weakens the existing ASEAN human rights system. In addition, although ASEAN is one organisation, it is made up of ten member states, each driven by their prevailing national approach to the issues. A regional approach like the one applied two decades ago, would be difficult to reach now, as the member states do not yet see forced movements and forced migration as a ‘crisis’. While ASEAN does react to issues, it is always reluctant to act before the issue becomes a ‘crisis’. However, even if ASEAN reacts, it might not be in support of the interests of those who are forced to leave their country.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Pham Quang Minh

ASEAN's Indispensable Role in Regional Construction

in Asia Pacific Review, Volume 22, Issue 2, 2015 , 82-101

The main objective of this paper is to answer the question why the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) should play a central role in constructing new security architecture in East Asia. The main argument of the paper is that, unlike other regions, a number of factors account for the complicated conditions observed in the East Asian region that provide a chance for ASEAN to be a central player in this process, promising because small and middle powers rarely can abuse power.

In order to achieve this objective, the paper is divided into three parts. The first part will analyze the major obstacles to the building of a constructive new China-Japan relationship akin to the post-World War II (WWII) ties between France and Germany. The second part analyzes the pivot to Asia by the United States to consolidate its role as regional facilitator. The third part shows why ASEAN can take the lead as a driving force or catalyst in fostering regional cooperation, because as mentioned above neither China nor Japan can do it at this stage. The paper concludes that despite the fact that ASEAN still faces many weaknesses and limitations, it continues to serve as a central player in an emerging architecture where, so far, no new alternative has appeared.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kerry Brown & Hannah Bretherton

Australian relations with China and the USA: the challenge of grand strategies

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 70, Issue 1 , 1-5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area



Donald S. Zagoria

**Building a Regional Order in East Asia: Community, Competition, Conflict
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Volume 37, Issue 5-6 , 251-252

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sun Zhe

**Building a Security Community in Asia-Pacific Region: Can China Contribute?
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Volume 37, Issue 5-6 , 279-287

The Asia-Pacific has seen the emergence of a new security dilemma, as geopolitical friction increases due to escalating crises. Significant tensions between China and many of its Asian neighbors have arisen due to maritime disputes, the North Korea nuclear crisis, and a military arms race. There are three main areas of the common security challenges in the Asia and Pacific region today: Chinese military growth, the U.S. military dominance and strategic “rebalance,” and conflicts or hot spots in the region. The future way out of the Asia-Pacific's current security dilemma depends heavily on how the U.S., China, and Japan can work together. This paper seeks to examine three issues: 1) the logic of China's military growth and how serious a threat it has posed to other countries in the region; 2) the major barriers that hold back military exchange programs between China and the U.S.; and 3) the intervening factor, the strengthening of a U.S.-Japan alliance and its repercussions for China. It will provide proposals to establish a collective framework including more specific security dialogues and cooperation in this region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Beeson Mark

**Can ASEAN Cope with China?
in Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs**, Vol 35, No 1 (2016)

The rise of China is the most important development in East Asia in recent times. It presents major opportunities and challenges, if not threats, for ASEAN as a collective entity, and for the individual countries that compose it. Whether ASEAN can develop a collective, let alone effective response is far from clear. This paper explores and analyses the forces that are likely to determine the outcome.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

K. Warikoo

**Central Asia and South Asia: Opportunities and Challenges
in India Quarterly**, vol. 72, no. 1 , 1-15

India and Central Asia have shared a geo-cultural affinity and a long tradition of historical contacts that dates back to



antiquity. There is convergence of views and interests between the Central Asian Republics and India, on fundamental issues such as; (a) need to maintain social harmony and equilibrium by promoting inter-ethnic harmony and peaceful co-existence; (b) commitment to secularism and democracy and opposition to religious fundamentalism; (c) recognition of threat to regional security and stability from trans-border terrorism, arms and drug trafficking, religious extremism and ethnic-religious secessionism; (d) commitment to the principles of territorial integrity of nation states and inviolability of state borders; (e) promoting economic, scientific and cultural cooperation and (f) ensuring peaceful and tranquil neighbourhood in Afghanistan.

The Central Asian Republics, being cautious and wary of dominating influence of the powerful neighbours like Russia and China look towards India as a friend and partner, which does not have any political or territorial ambitions in the region. India is also expected to play a balancing role in the big power games in Central Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Junianto James Losari

Comprehensive or BIT by BIT: The ACIA and Indonesia's BITs
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 15-45

The entry into force of the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA) in 2012 brought ASEAN closer towards the realization of the ASEAN Economic Community by 2015. Nonetheless, a new concern arises regarding the fate of twenty-six Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) that exist among the ASEAN governments. This may raise confusion for the ASEAN governments regarding the applicable standards of investment protection to grant investors. Indonesia was chosen as a case-study because its Investment Coordinating Board recognizes the importance of understanding Indonesia's obligations under the BITs within the context of the ACIA regime, and is in the midst of reviewing its BITs. This paper seeks to provide a better understanding of the interactions between and among these agreements to ensure that the ASEAN governments' policies comply with their legal obligations. It also provides recommendations on how they could streamline the standards and work towards a single regime of investment protection.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Paul De Grauwe and Zhaoyong Zhang

European Monetary Unification: A Few Lessons for East Asia

in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 63, Issue 1, February 2016 , pages 7–17

In this paper, I analyze the experience of European monetary and financial integration to shed some light on the question of the desirability and feasibility of monetary unification in East Asia. The experience of Europe shows that trying to fix the exchange rates when capital is freely moving is unsustainable and leads to frequent speculative crises. This leads to only two options: Either a monetary union or floating exchange rates. Monetary union requires very intrusive political unification. Given the complete absence of political unification in Asia, the only possible conclusion is that Asia will have to live with increasing exchange rate volatility.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Derek Inman

From the Global to the Local: The Development of Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights Internationally and in Southeast Asia

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 46-88

Despite a noticeable shift in recent years, indigenous peoples in Asia continue to experience many forms of human rights violations, with the most serious perhaps being the loss of traditional lands and territories. The purpose of this paper is to examine indigenous peoples' land rights and its application in Southeast Asia. To that end, the paper will provide an overview of the development of indigenous peoples' land rights internationally; offer regional perspectives from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights; analyze the concept of indigenous peoples in Asia, juxtaposing it with concurrent difficulties being experienced on the African continent; examine three countries (Cambodia, the Philippines, and Malaysia) that recognize indigenous peoples' land rights to some extent, whether through constitutional amendments, legislative reform, or domestic jurisprudence; and highlight the implementation gap between the rights of indigenous peoples in law and practice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kuik Cheng-Chwee

How Do Weaker States Hedge? Unpacking ASEAN states' alignment behavior towards China

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 25, Issue 100, 2016 , 500-514

The extant literature on alignment behavior has focused primarily on the macro dimensions, i.e. the typology, manifestations and implications of states' alignment choices vis-à-vis the great power(s). Relatively few studies have examined the micro aspects of alignment choices. This article attempts to fill in the gap by unpacking the constituent component of weaker states' alignment decisions, with a focus on ASEAN states' hedging behavior in the face of a rising China in the post-Cold War era. It contends that the enduring uncertainty at the systemic level has compelled the states to hedge by pursuing contradictory, mutually counteracting transactions of 'returns-maximizing' and 'risk-contingency' options, which seek to offset the potential drawbacks of one another, as a way to project a non-taking-sides stance while keeping their own fallback position at a time when the prospect of power structure is far from clear.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Migliavacca Paolo

Il contenzioso del Mar Cinese Meridionale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 183-193

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hartwell Christopher A.

Improving competitiveness in the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union: a blueprint for the next decade

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 28, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 49-71

The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) has made incredible strides in becoming an integrated body over the past 10 years, and is becoming part of a broader global process of economic regionalism that is shaping economic competitiveness. This paper applies a SWOT analysis to current and projected EAEU member states, and identifies where the difficulties and opportunities for the EAEU's member countries will be in improving competitiveness in the coming years. The key conclusions are that the EAEU's own institutional arrangements may foster competitiveness if it is able to remove some of the barriers to innovation that currently exist in the bloc's member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Matthew Koh

Indicators in the ASEANstats Statistical Regime: A Case-Study on the Need for Accountability, Participation, and Transparency in International Governance by Indicators

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 159-191

Indicators are an important but often underrated means of international governance, with the power to regulate the thinking and conduct of international actors. This power should not go unregulated or unsupervised. Hence, this paper seeks to analyze ASEAN indicators from the viewpoint of global administrative law, and to consider the ways in which ASEAN indicators may possess regulatory characteristics. The paper reflects on the need to ensure that ASEAN indicators are generated in a way that is sufficiently transparent and accountable, and that allows participation from their targets, so that such indicators may be used constructively within ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Alice M. Nah

Networks and norm entrepreneurship amongst local civil society actors: advancing refugee protection in the Asia Pacific region

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 223-240

Research on transnational advocacy networks has tended to focus on how non-state actors from developed countries interact with those from developing countries to pressure states, often by drawing in liberal Western states. This article adds a different perspective, focusing on how local civil society actors in different locales interact with each other to persuade their own governments 'from below'. It examines how these actors facilitate norm emergence amongst Asian states on issues with little domestic traction and for which there are well-developed international norms, standards and procedures. In studying the way local civil society actors conduct norm entrepreneurship, it is important to recognise the political, material and ideational conditions that constrain their work; their positionality and fragility in their own societies; and the way they relate to other actors working on the same issues. Focusing on the case of the Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, it is argued that working through a formalised network has changed the ways and the conditions under



which local civil society actors engage in norm entrepreneurship on refugee protection. It has changed the attributes of actors, helping them develop visibility, capacity and connectedness through the formation of a 'community of practice'; it has changed power relations between them and other actors – in particular, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; it has facilitated the development of 'regional imagination' and the practice of 'scale shifting', helping local actors move beyond domestic contexts to engage with state and non-state actors through regional and international fora. It has also introduced shifts in the dynamics of norm entrepreneurship by introducing a new actor – the network itself, which exercises agency through a Secretariat – and intra-network sensitivities, which need careful attention to prevent member disengagement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Wells-Dang Andrew

Prospects for Regional Cooperation on Environmental Impact Assessment in Mainland Southeast Asia

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 37, Number 3, December 2015, 406-431

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is a central process in sustainable development to mitigate the anticipated impacts of development projects. Every national government in mainland Southeast Asia has, or is in the process of developing, legislation on environmental governance and shares a common interest in implementing and enforcing EIA. Yet despite the fact that significant environmental impacts occur across borders, no multi-country EIA agreements have yet been passed and implemented. Increased regional cooperation could present an opportunity to address this gap, potentially linked to ASEAN or other regional organizations. Based on this hypothesis, a consultative research process under the auspices of the Mekong Partnership for the Environment interviewed 127 key stakeholders in five countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam) to assess the positions, levels of influence and readiness to cooperate on EIA principles and standards. Using a political economy approach, the research team found strong support among government and non-governmental stakeholders alike for reform of national EIA procedures, increased public participation and the development of regional EIA standards. At present, government officials in some countries favour increased cooperation, while others express reservations and concerns about the value of such cooperation. The article explores the underlying interests and incentives behind these varied standpoints and concludes with a discussion of possibilities for regional institutions, national governments and donor agencies to advance cooperation on environmental governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Srinivasa Madhur

Pursuing Open Regionalism for Shared Prosperity

in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, 8 (2), 216-246

In pursuing the aspirations embedded in Vision 2050, this article identifies some key areas for individual and collective action by the Central Asian countries to pursue open regionalism and outlines the crucial elements of a regional agenda. Central Asia's open regionalism will be a multispeed and multitrack process, prioritizing and sequencing of which will not be easy. Given the time horizon that is being considered in this article, it is important to note that not all collective actions proposed in this article are to be achieved in the immediate future, nor even over the next decade or so, but over



the next three and a half decades. Within this overall framework, the article takes stock of the state of play in terms of both intraregional and interregional integration, and addresses the imperatives, opportunities, and challenges in seven broad dimensions, not necessarily in order of relative priority: connecting countries and the region; integrating trade and production; cooperating on water and energy; cooperating on capital flows; managing migration; supporting regional institutions; and balancing national and regional interests—the leadership issue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Baba Gürol

Regional Commonalities and Regional Identities: Forging a Normative Understanding of Southeast Asian Identity

in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 35, No 1 (2016)

In the last two decades, most of the IR academia's attention on Southeast Asian regionalism utilised constructivism and/or realism and has focused on ASEAN and its derivatives. This article aims to skew this angle by elaborating a possible relationship between Asian values and a normative understanding of Southeast Asian identity. The major reason for this article's focus on a normative interpretation is that a practical application of Southeast Asian identity is not very achievable due to various ethnic, cultural, political, territorial, and historical diversities. While the region is diverse, there are also a number of commonalities among its states. Asian values, from a Confucian perspective, account for some of these commonalities. By using constructivists' claims on both the links between norms and identity and the dynamic interaction between values and norms, this article argues that Asian values could contribute to the development of Amitav Acharya's widely cited normative/ideational format of Southeast Asian identity. The article takes ASEAN identity as a case study and aims to show why a normative identity is more achievable than a practical identity among Southeast Asians, and how Asian values might contribute to the creation of this shared identity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Lawson Stephanie

Regionalism, sub-regionalism and the politics of identity in Oceania

in *Pacific Review (The)*, Volume 29, Issue 3, 2016, 387-409

Regional organization in Oceania has a history dating to the early post-war period while the rise of regional identities occurred somewhat later in the context of independence. This paper analyzes regionalization processes and accompanying discourses of regionalism relating to both pan-Pacific and more recent sub-regional developments. It pays particular attention to the dynamics of identity politics in the post-independence period and how these have played out in tensions within and between the varying exercises in regionalization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jasper K. Green

Rising Powers and Regional Orders: China's Strategy and Cross-Strait Relations

in *Globalizations*, Volume 13, Issue 2, 129-142



The neo-Gramscian approach has become popular within academic debates to theorize processes of global neoliberal convergence. But, it has also been challenged in the context of the ever more pronounced regionalizing tendencies of the current multipolar global order. This is especially so with the rise of China which introduces an alternative logic to regional social order formation processes from a typical neoliberal capitalist social order convergence. This paper argues, however, that a Gramscian approach can precisely account for such regional social order formation processes through the concept of regional historical blocs. This is demonstrated through a case study of the social order shaping effects that a Cross-Strait historical bloc forged between China's 'contender state'-wielding elite bureaucracy and Taiwan's ascendant social forces has had on fostering Taiwan's internationalization toward China. This illustrates that, in addition to a broader global social order convergence process, a neo-Gramscian approach is equally useful to explain similarly defined regional social order convergence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

O'Shea Paul

The East China Sea maritime and territorial dispute: a stand-off that suits everybody?

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 455-463

Over the past 20 years the East China Sea territorial and maritime dispute has become a key flashpoint in East Asia. Although the dispute has caused diplomatic and economic damage, its existence suits the key actors involved, thus reducing the incentive for resolution. The dispute undergirds the Chinese Communist Party's nationalist credentials and thus its legitimacy. The Abe Shinzō administration in Tokyo can use the dispute as an example of the "China Threat", justifying the need for Japan to continue its "normalizing" path. Finally, although the USA portrays itself as a stabilizing force, extending the US-Japan Security Treaty to include the islands while seeking simultaneously to temper Japan's behaviour, the dispute also provides part of the rationale for the controversial US Marine bases in Okinawa and indeed for the US-Japan alliance itself. These gains make resolution unlikely, but do not preclude alternative conflict-management measures which could be proposed by third-party actors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Nurdianto Ditya A., Resosudarmo Budy P.

The Economy-wide Impact of a Uniform Carbon Tax in ASEAN

in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 33, Number 1, April 2016 , 1-22

The main goal of this study is to analyse the benefits and losses associated with cooperation among ASEAN members in mitigating their CO2 emissions, particularly by implementing a uniform carbon tax across ASEAN. To achieve this goal, this paper uses a multi-country computable general equilibrium model for ASEAN, known as the Inter-Regional System of Analysis for ASEAN model. This study finds that the implementation of a carbon tax scenario is an effective means of reducing carbon emissions in the region. However, this environmental gain could come at a cost in terms of GDP contraction and reduction in social welfare, i.e. household income. Nevertheless, Indonesia and Malaysia can potentially gain from the implementation of a carbon tax as it counteracts price distortions due to the existence of heavy energy subsidies in these two countries.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tarr David G.  

The Eurasian Economic Union of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and the Kyrgyz Republic: Can It Succeed Where Its Predecessor Failed?

in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 54, Issue 1, 2016 , 1-22

Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan formed the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in order to create a single market. Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan all approximately doubled their average external tariffs, which were the Russian tariff, resulting in substantial transfers to Russia. Estimates show, however, that substantial progress in trade facilitation and reducing nontariff barriers could make the EAEU positive for all members. Moreover, the right to work for migrants or security arrangements with Russia may be the dominant issue for Armenia and the Kyrgyz Republic. So far, however, the EAEU has made little progress on reducing nontariff barriers or trade facilitation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Christine Daniels

The Pacific Alliance and Its Effect on Latin America: Must a Continental Divide be the Cost of a Pacific Alliance Success?

in *International and Comparative Law Review Loyola of Los Angeles*, vol. 37, issue 2 , 153-183

Ever since the calls of Simón Bolívar in the nineteenth century to unite the newly independent countries of Latin America into one powerful nation, there has been a desire to work together to achieve economic and social success. As the twentieth century unfolded, so did a series of attempts to unite Latin American countries through regional trade agreements. Groups such as the Andean Community in the late 1960s, and later the Bolivarian Alliance of the Peoples of Our America (ALBA, by its initials in Spanish) in the early 2000s, have managed to find common ground in ideological principles. Mercosur was established in 1991 as an organization to achieve free trade, but over time, it has become more politicized, especially with the inclusion of Venezuela in 2012. The Pacific Alliance, launched in 2011, has focused its energies upon advancing trade and integration while maintaining that the association is strictly apolitical—a first in Latin America. This note argues that while the Pacific Alliance will bring success to its member countries, this same success will divide Latin American nations. The division will in turn cause decreased trade amongst the nations and the region will lose the opportunity to engage in complementary growth. In order to mitigate these negative effects, the Pacific Alliance should make efforts to maintain enduring and meaningful relations with the rest of Latin America. On the eve of its possible expansion, it is essential however, that the Pacific Alliance maintain its focus on trade liberalization and not become another refuge for politically like-minded countries. Part II explains the different levels of integration offered by trade agreements and provides a brief history of regionalism in South America. In order to predict the future of the Pacific Alliance, the structure must be evaluated and the past must be contextualized. Part III presents the first argument of the paper, mainly that the Pacific Alliance will bring success to its member nations. The three factors required for a successful regional trade agreement are: common national characteristics, policies that foster long-run economic growth, and the establishment of both a supranational entity and an effective dispute resolution system. Part IV predicts what effect the Pacific Alliance success will have on the rest of Latin America. Part V gives recommendations that the Pacific Alliance can apply to promote continental harmony while, at the same time, maintain its focus on pragmatic free trade rather than idealistic political aspirations. Lastly, Part VI summarizes the analysis of this paper and offers conclusions about the Pacific Alliance's



future role in Latin America.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Paul De Grauwe and Zhaoyong Zhang

The Rise of China and Regional Integration in East Asia

in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 63, Issue 1, February 2016 , pages 1–6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Natalie Baird

The Role of International Non-Governmental Organisations in the Universal Periodic Review of Pacific Island States: Can Doing Good Be Done Better

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 16, issue 2 , 550-586

This article explores the benefits and challenges of involvement by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the Universal Periodic Review ('UPR') of 12 Pacific Island states before the United Nations Human Rights Council. An interesting feature of NGO involvement in the UPR for Pacific states is that, in most cases, the number of submissions from international NGOs exceeds the number of submissions from national Pacific NGOs. International NGOs therefore have a significant input into the UPR for Pacific states. This article queries whether the dominance of international NGOs has a distorting effect, such that Pacific perspectives on current human rights challenges are not being heard in Geneva. The article considers what steps might be taken so that international NGOs 'do good better' in order to contribute to the ultimate goal of the UPR - improving the human rights situation on the ground in the Pacific.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Noboru Yamaguchi

The Sino–Japanese Relationship and Its Implications for Regional Security in East Asia

in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 37, Issue 5-6 , 288-295

For the last ten years, Japan and China have tried to work together toward a “mutually beneficial relationship” based on common strategic interests but have failed to accomplish this for a number of reasons. The two historical neighbors are separated by no more than a strip of water and have come a long way to be the third and the second largest economies in the world, respectively. Along with political economic aspects, relations between the two countries are of critical importance in regional and global security contexts. With that in mind, the following paper will: (1) overview trends in Sino–Japanese relations over the last ten years; (2) look at trends in China’s military capabilities and activities and the implications; and (3) discuss key issues and courses of action for Japan.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Maria O'Sullivan

The ethics of resettlement: Australia and the Asia-Pacific Region

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 241-263

One of the key problems at the heart of refugee protection today is that there are large numbers of refugees attempting to seek asylum and insufficient political will in many asylum-host states to receive refugees in their territories. A proportion of these attempt to come to Australia to seek refuge – either by requesting a resettlement place through the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, or by arriving directly in Australian territory (by boat or plane). Asylum-seekers who arrive by boat are disadvantaged and penalised under Australian law in that they are excluded from Australian territory and processed offshore in third countries. Successive Australian governments justify these measures by emphasising that resettlement is the 'proper' mode for claiming asylum which ensures protection is given to those refugees who are most in need. This raises fundamental ethical questions: are those chosen by resettlement countries such as Australia necessarily the refugees who are most in need? Is resettlement as a concept ethical? And should resettlement be utilised to prevent and penalise spontaneous arrivals attempting to seek asylum in a country?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Mar Campins Eritja, Jaume Saura Estapà and Xavier Pons Rafols

Towards Improved Regional Co-operation over Water Uses in Central Asia: The Case of Hydroelectric Energy and Inland Fisheries

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 119-158

This paper analyzes one of the key factors for understanding the region of Central Asia: its distinctive relationship to water resources and how states in the region co-operate—or should do so—in order to achieve better management of this valuable resource. Section I introduces the general legal context and, after the presentation of factual data, examines the management of water resources in the region from the viewpoint of the obligation of co-operation established under general international law, including the realization of the right of access to water and sanitation by all citizens. Subsequently, we analyze how and to what extent current international co-operation tools might contribute to solving existing challenges. To this end, we explore both co-operation in the generation and distribution of hydroelectric power in the region, and regional co-operation in the management, conservation, and sustainable development of the inland fisheries of Central Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jones David Martin, Jenne Nicole

Weak states' regionalism: ASEAN and the limits of security cooperation in Pacific Asia

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 16 Issue 2 May 2016 , 209-240

Since the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) expanded its institutional outreach to span the broader Asia Pacific and new policy areas, a dominant orthodoxy has placed the organization at the center of the region's international order. More recently, uncertainty in the context of China's rise sheds doubt on ASEAN's apparent centrality



to its procedurally driven transformation of foreign relations across East Asia. While theories of cooperation explain why and when minor powers choose to pool their resources, the reverse logic has hardly been considered. This paper shows that the particular type of ASEAN regionalism is not only a product of weak states' cooperation but that the lack of capacity also sets the limits for the regional project. Two case studies on intramural security elicit the limited effectiveness of ASEAN's endeavor to develop into a security community. Meanwhile, as an examination of the South China Sea dispute demonstrates, its attempt to export its norms has rendered it vulnerable to the intervention of more powerful actors and increasingly side-lined by the evolution of great power rivalry.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Cruz Cesi, Gordoncillo Prudencian, Graham Benjamin, Madamba Jeanette Angeline, Cabardo Jewel Joanna

Who's Ready for ASEAN 2015? Firm Expectations and Preparations in the Philippines

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 89, Number 2, June 2016 , 259-285

New-new trade theory makes predictions regarding the types of firms most likely to benefit from increases in economic openness. This paper exploits the launch of the ASEAN Economic Community in 2015 to test predictions regarding the types of firms that are optimistic about, and prepared for, increased regional integration. We introduce data from an original survey conducted just prior to the launch of the AEC of over 300 mostly multinational firms operating in the Philippines. We find that firms' prior exposure to other economies in the region is a strong and positive predictor of both optimism and preparation. A firms' capabilities (i.e., size, profitability, and growth), on the other hand, predict preparation strongly and optimism only weakly. Of particular relevance to policy makers, we also find that firms' primary policy demand on the Philippines government is for more information and communication, and that even highly capable firms make this demand. Our findings suggest that, despite outreach efforts by the Philippines government, a lack of information continues to impede firms' abilities to seize the new opportunities associated with regional integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jürgen Rüländ

Why (most) Indonesian businesses fear the ASEAN Economic Community: struggling with Southeast Asia's regional corporatism

in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 6 , 1130-1145

By the end of 2015 the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) had ushered in a common market, the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). However, the groups most affected by it – small businesses – were bypassed in the decision-making process. They are the victims of a selectively inclusive state corporatism which member countries have transferred from their domestic political system to the regional level. In this article I argue that the decision to create the AEC was promoted by ASEAN governments together with foreign economic and local corporate interests. This coalition was able to frame the AEC in a way that small businesses perceived it as a win-win scheme. Empirically the article focuses on Indonesia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area



Poole Avery

“The World is Outraged”: Legitimacy in the Making of the ASEAN Human Rights Body

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 37, Number 3, December 2015 , 355-380

Why did ASEAN create a regional human rights body? The 2008 ASEAN Charter includes the “promotion and protection” of human rights among ASEAN’s Principles and Purposes. It also declared that ASEAN would establish a human rights body. This raises an empirical puzzle given the prevailing ASEAN norm of “non-interference in the internal affairs of one another”, which traditionally has meant that human rights records are excluded as a criterion of membership of ASEAN, and as a topic for (official) dialogue. Member states have refrained from publicly criticizing one another in regard to human rights. This article argues that regional norms are shaped by competing perceptions of legitimacy. Members’ interpretations of the legitimacy of ASEAN and its norms as perceived by those outside the region — “external regional legitimacy” — were crucial in shaping the decision to establish a regional human rights body. This article makes the case that more attention should be paid to legitimacy in the study of regional norms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Philomena Murray

EU–Australia relations: a strategic partnership in all but name?

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 171-191

Any consideration of classifying the relationship between the European Union (EU) and Australia as a strategic partnership would not have entered the lexicon of either partner in past decades. This article traces the development and maturing of this relationship from decades of tension and recrimination to mutual understanding and engagement on issues of common interest. It illustrates that although the relationship cannot be regarded as a strategic partnership, there is evidence of increasing common ground as the two interlocutors are no longer worlds apart. There is less perception of the tyranny of distance and the burden of memory. The relationship may not be a strategic partnership, but it is a partnership that has elements that are comprehensive, reciprocal, empathetic, long-term oriented, regional and global.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

THOMAS HALE and MATHIAS KOENIG-ARCHIBUGI

Are Europeans ready for a more democratic European Union? New evidence on preference heterogeneity, polarisation and crosscuttingness

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 2 , 225–245

Some scholars and policy makers argue in favour of increasing democratic contestation for leadership and policy at the European level, for instance by having European-wide parties campaign for competing candidates for President of the European Commission ahead of European Parliament elections. But do such changes put the survival of the European Union at risk? According to the consociational interpretation of the EU, the near absence of competitive and majoritarian elements has been a necessary condition for the stability of the EU political system given its highly diverse population. This article contributes to the debate in two ways. First, it develops a more precise understanding of ‘problematic’



diversity by examining how three variables – the heterogeneity, polarisation and crosscuttingness of citizen preferences over public policies – affect the risk of democratic contestation generating persistent and systematically dissatisfied minorities. Second, it uses opinion surveys to determine whether the degree of diversity of the European population is problematically high compared to that of established democratic states. It is found that the population of the EU is slightly more heterogeneous and polarised than the population of the average Member State, although policy preferences in several Member States are more heterogeneous and polarised than the EU as a whole. Strikingly, however, policy preference cleavages are more crosscutting in the EU than in nearly all Member States, reducing the risk of persistent minorities. Moreover, policy preferences tend to be less heterogeneous and polarised, and nearly as crosscutting, in the EU as a whole as in the United States. For observers worried about how high polarisation and low crosscuttingness in policy preferences may combine to threaten democratic stability, these findings should be reassuring.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saputelli Gabriella

**L'evoluzione e la rivalutazione della cittadinanza europea nel processo di integrazione europea
in Italian Papers on Federalism, 1-2/2015**

This paper explores the evolution of EU citizenship in the European integration process, which is a peculiar federalising process.

In federal systems, the status of citizenship and the relationship between federal and national citizenships symptomatically express the tension of unity and diversity and the differences between unity/disunity and diversity/uniformity. After pointing out the meaning, the characteristics and the implications of the concept of citizenship in the European context (that is to say, the EU citizenship and its relationship with national citizenships), as well as the challenges which influence its role (such as the increase in the mobility of people and the rise of migrations), I will focus on the debate, the possible remedies, and the solution proposed by scholars and Institutions. Particular attention will be paid to the case law of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), considered to be the engine of the EU integration process. By drawing on some elements of comparison with the US historical experience, the analysis shows which model may function better in conjunction with the need to preserve the balance between unity and diversity in the EU system, considering that "United in diversity" is the motto of the EU and one of its fundamental values.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Largentaye Bertrand

**Some Critical Remarks on Alain Parguez's "Economic Theories of Social Order and the Origins of the Euro"
in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016, pages 25-32**

This article focuses on the developments following World War II that led to the creation of the single currency. It will point out how the initial diverging political and economic positions of France and Germany gradually moved toward a degree of convergence. After the death of President Pompidou, France discarded the approach stressing national sovereignty in monetary affairs that had been a feature of Gaullist foreign policy. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany found that the single currency was not just the natural adjunct of the single market, which, at the time, had been the main argument used to sponsor it: the single currency appeared as a way of anchoring Germany's future to



Europe and thus was instrumental in getting Germany's European partners, beginning with France, to endorse German reunification. The article examines how monetary union became divorced from the economic union that was supposed to accompany it. It looks at the way the monetary union has led to the adoption of deflationary policies in a number of European countries, and how this could be its death knell.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torcol Sylvie, Pierré-Caps Stéphane, Monjal Pierre-Yves

"Peuple ou Peuples européen(s)" - Première partie

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 595, février , 109-115

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baptiste Dericquebourg

Los dilemas de Syriza ¿Historia de una decepción?

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 261

El triunfo electoral de Alexis Tsipras en Grecia, a comienzos de 2015, generó múltiples expectativas en el interior y el exterior de Grecia, sometida a las consecuencias de la corrupción de las viejas elites políticas, los planes de austeridad y la presión de la troika. No obstante, sin un plan B frente a la presión de Bruselas, Tsipras decidió aceptar las condiciones del Tercer Memorando como una opción mejor que arriesgarse a las consecuencias de quedar fuera del euro. Pese a la decepción de muchos de sus seguidores, las opciones a la izquierda de la nueva Syriza no lograron calado electoral y muchos griegos prefirieron votar por Tsipras antes que arriesgarse al retorno de las viejas elites.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gialdino Carlo Curti

'To be or not to be together...' Il compromesso di Tusk per mantenere il Regno Unito nell'UE: una prospettiva ragionevole per l'integrazione europea?

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitris Skleparis

(In)securitization and illiberal practices on the fringe of the EU

in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 1 , 92-111



Illiberal practices of liberal regimes have been extensively studied by critical security studies. The literature on risk emphasises the idea of imminent dangers and the logic of worst-case scenarios, which eventually unsettle the balance between security and liberty by always favouring the former in its most coercive and exceptional forms. This paper, by drawing on (in)securitization theory, attempts to explain how particular illiberal practices with respect to the control and management of immigration on the fringe of the EU become normalised. It argues that (in)securitization of immigration and illiberal practices are effects of the very functioning of a transnational field of (in)security professionals that are produced through the structural competition between different actors of this field over the definition of security and the appropriate control and management of immigration. In this respect, it uses Greece as a case study and draws on material gathered through interviews with Greek security professionals in Athens, Lesbos, Orestiada, and Alexandroupoli, and analysis of their discourse in dissertations they prepared during their study in police academies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marianne Riddervold

(Not) in the Hands of the Member States: How the European Commission Influences EU Security and Defence Policies

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

The European Union's (EU) Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is run using special procedures. The Member States have not delegated powers to the supranational institutions. Yet a number of studies challenge the assumption that policy-making lies exclusively with Member States' governments. The Commission's putative influence within the CFSP, however, remains to be studied systematically from an analytical perspective. Aiming to fill this gap in the literature, this article asks how the Commission de facto influences EU foreign and security policies beyond its delegated powers. Two least likely cases are analysed: the launch of EU naval mission Atalanta and the adoption of an EU Maritime Security Strategy. By addressing this question, the article contributes to a better understanding of the level of EU foreign policy integration. It also adds knowledge on the possible causes of this development, and thus to the EU integration literature more generally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Egger Clara

A European comprehensive approach. The impact of intersectoral rivalries on European crisis management in Somalia

in *Politique européenne*, n. 51, 2016/1, 60 - 85

This article seeks to assess how the rivalries between European players within the external policy field have shaped a European model of crisis management in Somalia. Drawing on data collected in the field through interviews, this article advocates for taking into account the conflictual strategies of European actors in European foreign policy analysis. In this context, two results are elaborated to explain some of the specificities of the European approach, respectively on the autonomy of the humanitarian policy and on the strategic objectives of the EU's action in Somalia.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nelli Babayan

A Global Trend EU-style: Democracy Promotion in 'Fragile' and Conflict-Affected South Caucasus
in *Global Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 2, 217–226

This article examines the EU's democracy promotion in 'fragile' and conflict-affected states. The article discusses the EU's perception of state fragility, contrasts it to the evolving understanding of the concept in the literature, and discusses its actions in the conflict-affected states of the South Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The analysis demonstrates that while the EU has adjusted its democracy promotion policies following critical international junctures, it has not specifically addressed the perceived fragility or conflicts of states where it promotes democracy. While the EU's democracy promotion profile in the South Caucasus countries has become more visible, its involvement in the resolution of regional conflicts has remained marginal. Yet, by not following the trend of accentuating fragility, the EU may have proven itself as a more nuanced democracy promoter, attempting to take into consideration local perceptions and realities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aiginger Karl

A Strategy Change for Europe: Old Myths Versus New Roads
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016, Pages 28-33

Despite the substantial economic and political problems currently, it is important to recall that European integration has by and large been a success. However, restarting economic growth now should not follow the old trajectory, nor should it be built on old myths. It should start from a new vision with a much stronger emphasis on social and ecological investment.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Clemens Fuest, Friedrich Heinemann and Christoph Schröder

A Viable Insolvency Procedure for Sovereigns in the Euro Area
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

A mechanism to restructure the debt of an insolvent euro country is a missing element in the emerging institutional architecture of the euro area. The introduction of an insolvency procedure for sovereigns faces a dilemma: in the foreseeable future, its introduction would risk pushing Europe back into acute crisis; but the indefinite postponement of reform would impair the credibility of a future regime change. Against this background, this article reviews arguments and existing blueprints for sovereign insolvency procedures in the euro area and develops a Viable Insolvency Procedure for Sovereigns. This procedure avoids any sudden measures which could destabilize the present fragile situation but carefully designs an irreversible transition toward the new regime. The proposal comprises two pillars: an insolvency procedure for the long run and a credible bridge toward that system.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anneloes Hoff, Herman Lelieveldt and Ramon van der Does

A biased rapporteur or politics as usual? Reassessing the balance of interests in the EU food information labelling case

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 2

In this article we challenge Kurzer and Cooper's claim that the industry was able to get its way in the Food Information to Consumers Regulation by successfully lobbying the European Parliament and benefiting from an industry-friendly rapporteur. We scrutinize their findings through a comprehensive analysis of all amendments tabled in the environmental committee at first reading and a process tracing of the 12 most salient issues. Our results indicate a rather balanced rapporteur and show that both the ENVI committee and the plenary EP changed the regulation in favour of consumer interests on a significant number of points, with key victories for the industry being the result of pressure from the Council, not from the European Parliament. We explain these results on the basis of earlier work examining the role-behaviour of rapporteurs and the functioning of Parliament committees.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luca Lionello

A clash of Courts: German and European judge dispute the role of the ECB (and the future of the integration process)

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVII, n. 3

The German court considered the OMT programme to breach the ECB's mandate to deal exclusively with monetary policy, and also saw it as an infringement of Art. 123 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which prohibits the ECB from providing member states with monetary financing.

Echoing some of the arguments formulated by the Advocate General Cruz Villalón and developing others, the European court rejected the position of the German judges, ruling that the OMT programme, in fact, complies with the TFEU. As regards the alleged breach, by the ECB, of its mandate to focus solely on monetary policy, the ECJ rejected the German court's claim that OMT constitute covert economic policy measures.

This debate between the European Court of Justice and the German Constitutional Court is extremely important not only because it provides an opportunity for assessing whether the OMT programme really is compatible with the European Treaties, but also because it allows us to see how national and European case law is reacting to the transformations taking place within the Economic and Monetary Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oshri Odelia, Sheaffer Tamir, Shenhav Shaul R.

A community of values: Democratic identity formation in the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 114-137

Has the European Union (EU) succeeded in socializing citizens to support the democratic values it claims to promote? On the face of it, the prevailing skepticism precludes any expectation of a successful socialization of EU citizens to the EU values. Yet, according to the socialization hypothesis, citizens' support for these values is expected to increase as



countries accumulate more years of the EU membership. Using survey data to isolate distinct dimensions of democratic values, we examine differences among countries in this regard, as well as changes within countries over time. Results confirm the socialization hypothesis, showing that support for democratic values is generally higher in countries with more years of the EU membership, and that this support trends upwards over time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schimmelfennig Frank

A differentiated leap forward: spillover, path-dependency, and graded membership in European banking regulation

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3 , 483-502

ABSTRACT: The banking union constitutes not only a major advance in supranational economic integration but also increases differentiated integration among the member states of the European Union. Although the banking union is open to all EU member states, only euro area countries participate. Other member states have been opponents, bystanders, or interested non-participants. This article explains the variation in participation as a result of path-dependency arising from the original differentiation between euro area countries and the rest of the EU. In the euro crisis, these two groups of member states were subject to differential pressure to integrate further. In addition, the banking union reinforced the causes that had led to the original differentiation of the monetary union. This path-dependency overrides variation in sector-specific economic interests, governance capacity, and policy paradigms that might otherwise explain governmental preferences in banking regulation. These factors can, however, partly explain variation in preferences among the non-euro area countries.

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Bernardo Cortese

A la recherche d'un parcours d'autoconstitution de l'ordre juridique interindividuel européen: essai d'une lecture pluraliste 50 ans après Van Gend en Loos et Costa

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 2 , 271-315

In this paper, the Author tries to assess the establishment of an interindividual legal system in the EU by resorting to the theoretical assumptions of dualism (or pluralism). He assumes that pluralism is not only the best key to assess in general the relationship between international law and interindividual systems of law, but also helps very much in giving a correct appraisal of the contributions given by the ECJ, on one side, and national courts, on the other side, to the establishment of that interindividual legal system. Further, it is suggested that the effective establishment of such a legal system has produced a real modification of sovereignty in Europe. This has to be understood not as a direct consequence of the EU Treaties, nor of ECJ case law. Rather, at the centre of the stage is the auto-constituting process that took place in line with ECJ pretensions, thanks to the "retraction" of State sovereignties and the effective "occupation" of the field by the EU through the activities of its Institutions and Organisms, combined with the "Europeanization" of a part of Member States' apparatuses. Such a process, it is submitted, has happened not only as for the sectors in which EU law is directly administered by the EU Commission, and upon which judicial control is centralized at the ECJ level. Also when the task of administering direct applicable EU law is left to member States' authorities, and even in case of non directly applicable provisions of EU law, a decisive role is played by the structural



principles of effectiveness of judicial protection, as a limit to the procedural autonomy of Member States in jurisdictional and enforcement tasks, and of internal (civil) liability of the State for the violation of EU law, as a conceptual limitation to the absolute character of sovereignty. The paper's assumption is that, thanks to the abovementioned principles, and to the effective operation of the preliminary reference procedure - shaped by the ECJ case law and accepted by the national judiciaries, essentially as a federal tool - an independent EU system of interindividual law not subject to member States sovereignties operates in all areas where EU competences have been effectively implemented. Furthermore, the latitude and quality of EU law development, and the effective resort to its provisions by citizens of Member States and of third countries even against the strongest choices of Member States political organs, and despite final decisions by their courts, causes in the Author's view the effective appearing of a true relationship of allegiance between individuals in the EU and the Union. The system in place, however, substantially lacks transparency and democracy. Recognition of the present state of the art of the European integration, on one side, and consequent reshaping of the governance in a truly (pan-European) democratic sense, on the other, are outlined in the conclusion as the obliged path the EU, its member States, and its citizens have to follow, in order not to see their common house collapse.

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Rosén Guri

A match made in heaven? explaining patterns of cooperation between the Commission and the European Parliament

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 409-424

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Commission saw the European Parliament (EP) as an immature and irresponsible actor lacking appropriate competence on international trade matters. Why then did the Commission become an ardent advocate for extending the EP's role in trade during the European Convention resulting in a significant increase in the EP's trade powers? Three potential explanations are investigated: that the Commission saw the EP as a strategic ally, that it wanted to avoid interinstitutional conflict, and that it sought to make EU policy more legitimate. All contribute in accounting for the Commission's support, but the latter in particular sheds light on both the timing and the form of its change in position. It is suggested that the Commission will emphasise systematic cooperation with the EP when there is external normative pressure, but the article also underscores the extensive pragmatic relations between the EP and the Commission.

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Natalie C. Girke

A matter of balance: the European Union as a mediator in Yemen

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 509-524

The mediation efforts of the European Union (EU) Delegation in Yemen started with the uprising in 2011 which led to the conclusion of the National Dialogue Conference in 2014. This article examines the EU's understanding of mediation vis-à-vis its practice. The case of Yemen lends itself to trace EU mediation capabilities from the implementation of the "Concept on Strengthening Mediation and Dialogue Capacities" to a more systematic approach because the Mediation Support Team (MST) of the European External Action Service took office in 2011. Building on an analytical framework of mediation as a tool of EU foreign policy, this article demonstrates how EU mediation presents itself along a political and



a technical dimension. The collaboration of the MST and the EU Delegation personnel in Yemen fostered an increase in mediation awareness. However, it could not develop its full potential as the UN Special Advisor sidelined the EU and other members of the Group of Ten Ambassadors through his proactive approach. Despite those difficulties of standing up to established actors in the field, this study argues that EU mediation is about balancing its political and technical dimension. For now, the political seems to outweigh the craft of mediation in the case of Yemen.

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Rovisco Maria

A new 'Europe from below'? Cosmopolitan citizenship, digital media and the indignados social movement in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 4, July, 435-457

ABSTRACT: This article asks whether the Indignados social movement can be seen as a counterpublic that is capable of fostering genuine forms of cosmopolitan citizenship. It is argued that via the artful use of the possibilities of digital media (for example, social networking Websites, live video, blogs), the Indignados social movement goes on to devise new forms of public discourse and organized protest, as well as shared ways of thinking and acting that are capable of fuelling cosmopolitan solidarity. It is suggested that the movement serves as a springboard to analyse how new forms of public communication can foster both a shared sense of European solidarity and cosmopolitan publics. Looking at examples of protest camps in various European settings and their public communication, the article puts forward the claim that the movement's self-definition as leaderless, global, inclusive and non-hierarchical owes much to its performative dimension. This latter dimension is visible, for instance, in the theatricality of the protest camps, ludic forms of protest (for example, the carnivalesque use of the V for Vendetta Guy Fawkes' mask), and forms of public debate and decision making that are underpinned by embodied practices (for example, silent gestures) as much as by the procedural legitimacy of rational-critical discourse. In targeting the political and financial elites (including those associated to the EU), the performance of protest offers new insights on what it means to be a European citizen against the backdrop of the EU debt crisis, the emergence of unelected governments in Italy and Greece, and the so-called 'dictatorship of the markets'. We will see that this transnational movement goes on to engender radical modes of citizen participation that while locally rooted are also powerfully shaped and informed by the creative appropriation and reinvention of a shared repertoire of European symbols, meanings and values.

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Uttley Matthew H., Wilkinson Benedict

A spin of the wheel? Defence procurement and defence industries in the Brexit debates in International Affairs, vol. 92, issue 3, May, 569-586

ABSTRACT: Whether a 'Brexit' would threaten the United Kingdom's national security has become a central theme in the run-up to the in/out referendum on EU membership. Although national security has been a central facet of both the 'Remain' and 'Leave' campaigns thus far, there has been little mention of the implications of a Brexit for UK defence industries or defence procurement, let alone formal debate or analysis. The article addresses this gap by analysing the potential implications of a Brexit for defence procurement and industries in the UK and the EU member states. The first section analyses the policy context for a Brexit by exploring existing levels of EU defence procurement integration in the UK's and Europe's defence industries. The second section draws on Jozef Batora's 'institutional logics' framework to



identify two pro-Brexit and two pro-Remain narratives, each employing differing assumptions on the relative benefits of national sovereignty and closer EU integration. The final section analyses the way in which these 'logics' or narratives will be deployed by their advocates in the run-up to the UK's EU referendum. The article concludes that the national security battleground in the 2016 referendum will be fought over competing narratives and arguments, partly because there is a dearth of data and evidence concerning UK and EU defence procurement and industries, which renders this crucial area of national security vulnerable to the politics of spin.

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Daniela Gabor

A step too far? The European financial transactions tax on shadow banking
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 6

This paper focuses on the European Commission's proposals to include the repo market – a market systemic to European (shadow) banking – in the financial transactions tax (FTT). It asks why the FTT governments negotiating under the enhanced co-operation procedure quickly removed the repo market from the scope of the FTT. It argues that the European repo market, rather than a shadow market energized by regulatory arbitrage, as it is customary to portray it, grew out of a public–private joint venture before the crisis. Thus, regulators became deeply embedded – through their government bond markets and policy frameworks – in (repo) market-based finance. This convergence in public and private interests creates new trade-offs and ambiguous preferences that allow private finance to successfully mobilize resistance to reform, creating coalitions with public actors such as the European Central Bank.

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Daniele Santoro

AD ANKARA PIACE L'EUROPA A#768; LA CARTE
in *Limes*, 3/16

L'accordo sui migranti vendica anni di umiliazioni da parte di Bruxelles e da#768; smalto a Erdo#287;an. Passata la sbornia europeista, la Turchia punta sulle partnership bilaterali, specie con la Germania, e gioca le sue carte in Medio Oriente e nel Caucaso.

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Bauer Michael W., Becker Stefan

Absolute Gains Are Still Gains: Why the European Commission Is a Winner of the Crisis, and Unexpectedly So. A Rejoinder to Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 1, 101-106

Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt's sophisticated comment on our analysis of the European Commission's role in economic governance notwithstanding, we stand by our conclusion that the Commission emerges as an 'unexpected winner' from the current crisis. It wins by significantly gaining competences in absolute terms — and unexpectedly so, given the



constant murmur about the Commission being in decline. We agree, however, that further research is needed to fully grasp the complex institutional implications of the still ongoing crisis for the Commission.

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Pirker Benedikt

Access to Justice in Environmental Matters and the Aarhus Convention's Effects in the EU Legal Order: No Room for Nuanced Self-executing Effect?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 81-91

This article examines two recent decisions by the Court of Justice of the European Union on the effect of the Aarhus Convention in the European Union legal order. Compared to earlier case law, the Court missed an opportunity to nuance its approach towards the self-executing character of the Convention's provisions. As a consequence of the Court's overly rigid jurisprudence, a provision of the Convention cannot serve as a benchmark to review the very same Convention's implementing measure at the EU level, the Aarhus Regulation. Sceptical of this outcome, the article suggests a more nuanced approach and provides arguments in support of this approach.

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Pye Steve, Dobbins Audrey, Baffert Claire, Brajković Jurica, Deane Paul, De Miglio Rocco

Addressing Energy Poverty and Vulnerable Consumers in the Energy Sector Across the EU

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 378, 2015/4 - 2015 , 64 à 89

Member States are increasingly confronted with issues of energy poverty, a situation where individuals are not able to adequately heat their homes or meet other energy service needs at affordable cost, as a result of rising energy prices, recessionary impacts on national and regional economies, and poor energy efficient homes. This paper explores how Member States define issues of energy poverty and vulnerable consumers, and the measures that have been implemented in response.

Drawing on work undertaken by the INSIGHT_E consortium, it highlights the quite distinctive approaches across Europe, resulting from strong subsidiarity in this area of policy making, different perspectives on the issue and levels of recognition, and widely varying national circumstances. The resulting fragmented EU level response highlights a necessary role for the European Commission in coalescing efforts to meet the challenge of vulnerability in the energy markets and that of energy poverty. To do this, the Commission and Member States will need to address a deficit in understanding, more robustly define the issues, and look beyond internal energy markets at the broader issue. This paper sets out a number of recommendations that provide a basis for how this could be achieved.

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Christiansen Thomas

After the Spitzenkandidaten: fundamental change in the EU's political system?

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 5 , 992-1010



ABSTRACT: The appointment of the President of the European Commission in 2014 occurred in the context of a novel environment: in constitutional terms, the Lisbon Treaty had introduced a small but significant change, namely the requirement for the candidate proposed by the European Council to be elected by the European Parliament. Politically, the 2014 European elections took place against the background of the eurozone crisis which had polarised opinions about the direction of European integration across the member states. This article develops a framework to assess the impact of this changed environment along two crucial dimensions of EU politics – interinstitutional relations and party politics. Based on this analysis, the article argues that while there has been gradual change in certain respects, the impact of the Spitzenkandidaten system did not lead to a transformation of the EU's political system. Indeed, rather than creating new opportunities for party political competition, the cooperation between centre-right and centre-left in the election of the Commission President and subsequent decision-making further strengthened the long-standing 'grand coalition' in the European Parliament.

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Alexandrova Petya, Rasmussen Anne, Toshkov Dimiter

Agenda responsiveness in the European Council: public priorities, policy problems and political attention in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 4 , 605-627

ABSTRACT: The existence of political responsiveness in multi-level systems like the EU remains an open question despite significant recent research on the topic. This article studies whether the European Council responds to the shifting policy priorities of European citizens. More specifically, it explores the synchronic and diachronic associations between what people consider to be the most important problems and the political attention devoted to these issues from 2003 to 2014. The economic crisis after 2008 appears to have made the ranking of public concerns and the European Council agenda more alike. However, a detailed examination of the shifts in prioritisation of single issues over time reveals little evidence for dynamic issue responsiveness. Recently the European Council has paid more attention to the issues that the public considered the most pressing problems but the convergence could possibly be driven by the intensity of the underlying policy problems.

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Caggiano Giandonato

Alla ricerca di un nuovo equilibrio istituzionale per la gestione degli esodi di massa: dinamiche intergovernative, condivisione delle responsabilità fra gli Stati membri e tutela dei diritti degli individui in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 459-488

The current migration crisis has shown that the completion of the Common European Asylum System (2013) was not enough to ensure the effective harmonization of Member States' asylum systems. In fact, the development of a complex international protection system at the European stage was not coupled with a strengthened solidarity among Member States on asylum issues and the prioritization of burden sharing mechanisms. This backdrop highlights the need for a new institutional balance to manage upcoming mass inflows of migrants. The rethinking of the normative foundation of EU asylum policy implies a search for different equilibriums between States' prerogatives and individual rights, while the reform of its applicative premises entails a more effective cooperation among Member States and the concrete modification of (if not the relinquishment to) the Dublin system. The present paper aims at analysing the checks and



balances the EU Commission proposed in its 2015 Agenda on Migration and to highlight its pitfalls and benchmarks, in order to come up with some general conclusion on the direction where the EU asylum policy is headed.

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Engel Sascha

An Alternative Approach to the Institutional Economics of the Eurozone Crisis

in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 50, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 145-164

I argue that the Eurozone crisis is neither a crisis of European sovereigns in the sense of governmental over-borrowing, nor a crisis of sovereign debt market over-lending. Rather, it is a function of the “sovereign debt market” institution itself. Crisis, I argue, is not an occurrence, but an element fulfilling a precise technical function within this institution. It ensures the possibility of designating — in the market’s day-to-day mechanisms rather than analytical hindsight — normal (tranquil, undisturbed) market functioning. To show this, I propose an alternative view on the institutional economics of sovereign debt markets. First, I engage literature on the emergent qualities of the institutions “market” and “firm” in product markets, concluding that the point of coalescence for markets is the approximation of an optimal observation of consumer tastes. I then examine the specific institution “financial markets,” where the optimal observation of economic fundamentals is decisive. For the specific sub-institution “sovereign debt market,” I conclude that the fundamentals in question — country fundamentals — oscillate between a status of observable fundamentals outside of markets and operationalized fundamentals influenced by market movements. This, in turn, allows me to argue that the specific case of the Eurozone crisis is due to neither of the two causes mentioned above. Rather, the notion of “crisis” takes on a technical sense within the market structure, guaranteeing the separation of herd behavior and isomorphic behavior on European sovereign debt markets. By the same token, the so-called Eurozone crisis ceases to be a crisis in the conventional sense.

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Elgström Ole, Delputte Sarah

An end to Nordic exceptionalism? Europeanisation and Nordic development policies

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union’s Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 28-41

The Nordic countries have traditionally been praised for their generous and advanced development policies. Recently, however, it has been claimed that the Nordic model has faded: that the Nordic donors have become more similar to other European donors. One possible reason for such trends is influences from EU policies, that is, Europeanisation. This article critically evaluates such claims by presenting arguments for and against Europeanisation effects. We argue that changes have indeed taken place. The Nordic exceptionalism has been eroded. At the same time, a convergence of European aid policies has occurred. The question is if this is the consequence of Europeanisation – or is it rather a result of Nordicism (the Nordic countries influencing the EU), or perhaps like-mindisation (a broader set of progressive member states having impact upon EU policies)? We suggest that Europeanisation has been extremely weak while there is strong evidence of Nordicism but also, and increasingly, of like-mindisation. Today, a core group of mainly northern member states, including the Nordics, are the main driving forces behind European aid convergence.



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Theresa Kuhn, Erika van Elsas, Armen Hakhverdian, Wouter van der Brug

An ever wider gap in an ever closer union: Rising inequalities and euroscepticism in 12 West European democracies, 1975–2009

in *Socio-Economic Review*, Volume 14 Issue 1 , 27-54

This article asks whether the trend towards greater inequality in European countries has led to an increase in euroscepticism. Traditionally amongst the most equal societies, West European countries have recently witnessed a stark increase in income inequality. European integration is often presented as one of the main driving factors of this development. This raises the question whether Europeans blame the EU for the widening gap between the rich and the poor, and consequently develop eurosceptic attitudes. A multilevel analysis of 79 pooled Eurobarometer survey waves across 12 countries from 1975 to 2009 confirms that increasing income inequality boosts euroscepticism especially amongst the low educated. The findings are consistent with previous research on the link between income inequality and democratic legitimacy. They also provide empirical support for a new educational divide in the wake of European integration and globalisation, and deepen our knowledge on the predictors of EU support.

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Jeremy Green

Anglo-American development, the Euromarkets, and the deeper origins of neoliberal deregulation

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 42 - Issue 03 , 425-449

This article challenges existing accounts of the development of the Euromarkets by arguing that their emergence constituted the foundational moment in the advent of a postwar Anglo-American developmental field. The account contends the notion of a postwar order shaped predominantly by the outward expansion of American financial power, by deprivileging the exclusivity of American power and arguing that co-constitutive Anglo-American developmental processes were the generative force that produced the Euromarkets. Drawing upon new archival material, the article suggests that an Anglo-American developmental sphere, in which Britain continued to play a crucial but subordinate role, was key to the unfolding of postwar financial globalisation. The Anglo-American developmental processes occasioned by the Euromarkets gave rise to a 'transatlantic regulatory feedback loop' that stimulated deregulation on both sides of the Atlantic and placed Anglo-American capitalist interdependence at the centre of the politics of globalisation. The deeper origins of financial deregulation lie in the transformation of Anglo-American finance during the 1960s.

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Marchianò Francesco

Ascesa e caduta de "L'Altra Europa con Tsipras". Storia, cultura politica e voto alle elezioni europee

in *Democrazia e diritto*, fasc. 3 , 19-43



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Trauner Florian

Asylum policy: the EU's 'crises' and the looming policy regime failure

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 311-325

What has been the impact of the European Union (EU)'s multifaceted crisis on asylum law and policy development? The article argues that the EU has sought to safeguard the core of its asylum policy by adding new layers of policy instruments in response to both the financial and economic crisis post-2008 and the refugee crisis starting in 2015. These instruments have had the overarching aim of providing EU member states facing high migratory pressures and/or financial constraints with additional support. Their efficiency, however, has remained questionable, reflected by a widening gap between the EU's asylum laws and actual asylum practices of member states. By avoiding a paradigm shift in asylum policy, the EU has come to face a difficult situation: the implementation of the existing EU asylum rules may overburden southern member states while the perpetuated ignorance of these rules risks overburdening northern member states.

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Cremer Wolfram

Auf dem Weg zu einer Europäischen Wirtschaftsregierung?

in *Europarecht*, Heft 3, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Charles Woolfson & Jeffrey Sommers

Austerity and the Demise of Social Europe: The Baltic Model versus the European Social Model

in *Globalizations* , Volume 13, Issue 1 , 78-93

This article draws on the experience of the imposition of radical austerity measures in the Baltic states. It challenges the myth that austerity can be achieved in a socially and economically 'costless' manner. Baltic-style austerity has now become a template of 'successful adjustment' and a recipe for recovery of the Eurozone. The authors argue contra such 'myth-making' that austerity is compromising the longer run sustainability of societies that follow this path, while simultaneously ending prospects of the adhesion of a European 'Social Model' in the post-communist periphery. The article is a contribution to an emerging debate in academic and policy circles concerning the viability and future of Europe's 'Social Model' in an age of austerity.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischler Franz

Babylon ist überall. Zur Zukunft der EU

in *Europäische Rundschau*, 44. Jahrgang, Nummer 1 , 27-32

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniela Gabor and Cornel Ban

Banking on Bonds: The New Links Between States and Markets

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

This article examines a neglected structural transformation in European finance: the growing importance of government debt as collateral for Europe's repo markets, where banks borrow cash against collateral. Seduced by the promises of repo market-driven financial integration, the EU institutions and Member States encouraged private finance to generate its own architecture for the European repo market in the early years of the euro, sidelining known problems about systemic fragilities. These fragilities materialized after Lehman Brothers' collapse and were exacerbated by the ECB's collateral policies. The European sovereign debt crisis shows that governments, just like private asset issuers, can rapidly become vulnerable to repo pro-cyclicality and collateral crises.

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Deeg Richard, Donnelly Shawn

Banking union and the future of alternative banks: revival, stagnation or decline?

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3 , 585-604

ABSTRACT: Banking union challenges the institutional mechanisms that alternative banks use to retain their status, goals, identity and carry out their operations. Yet the impact of banking union on them varies considerably and systematically: those alternative banks that held most closely to the traditional model fared best in the recent financial crises and have been impacted the least by banking union. In contrast, those banks that strayed from the traditional model and sought rapid expansion into new geographic or financial product markets fared much worse under the adverse conditions of recent years and, consequently, ended up under the full weight of banking union provisions. But even where alternative banks hewed to their traditional model and remain a significant part of national financial systems, we find that the crises and subsequent strengthening of the EU's financial role have reduced the scope for national control over all banks, not just those directly supervised by the ECB.

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Spendzharova Aneta B., Bayram Ismail Emre

Banking union through the back door? How European banking union affects Sweden and the Baltic States

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3 , 565-584



ABSTRACT: Swedish decision-makers opted out of the European banking union (EBU) despite the large cross-border presence of Swedish banks in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The three Baltic states, on the other hand, have already joined the eurozone and are part of the EBU. This article identifies three important domestic considerations that have shaped Sweden's position. Firstly, Swedish decision-makers were concerned that member states outside the eurozone would not fully participate in EBU decision-making. Secondly, they were reluctant to pay for the recapitalisation or resolution of distressed non-Swedish banks in other EU countries. Thirdly, Sweden preferred to retain regulatory autonomy in crisis management. The article relates Sweden's position to the overall cautious approach of other non-eurozone members such as the UK and Denmark. Nevertheless, it highlights the enhanced role of the European Central Bank (ECB) in banking supervision not only for eurozone insiders such as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania but also for member states outside the Eurozone such as Sweden.

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Léonard Sarah, Kaunerta Christian

Beyond Stockholm: in search of a strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 143-149

The development of the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice (AFSJ) has been identified by the Lisbon Treaty (2009) as one of the key objectives of the European Union (EU). Recent events have also highlighted the saliency of several of the policy issues at the heart of the AFSJ. Amongst them, one can mention the terrorist attacks in 2015 in Paris and the ongoing refugee crisis in the Mediterranean region. At the same time, the end of the Stockholm programme, which provided the strategic framework for the development of the AFSJ between 2010 and 2014, has been followed by the adoption of new 'strategic guidelines', which can only be described as a short, vague, and general document. It is therefore paradoxical that, at a time when AFSJ matters – such as asylum, migration, borders, terrorism, policing, and judicial cooperation – have never been so salient, the EU finds itself, for the first time ever, devoid of any significant, over-arching strategy for the development of its AFSJ.

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Jacqué Jean Paul

Brexit

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4 , 683-687

No abstract available

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Vivien Pertusot

Brexit : les risques du référendum

in *Politique Etrangère*, n°1, printemps 2016



Le Premier ministre britannique a annoncé la tenue d'un référendum sur le maintien du Royaume-Uni dans l'Union européenne. La décision de David Cameron fait peser des risques sur les équilibres dans les partis politiques britanniques, la cohésion du Royaume-Uni et l'avenir du projet européen. En Angleterre, la montée de l'euroscpticisme et du nationalisme est palpable. La perspective d'un Brexit ne peut être exclue.

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François Heisbourg

Brexit and European Security

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 13-22

Europe's troubles will impose themselves uninvited onto a post-Brexit United Kingdom, because Britain is where it is.

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Matthew Harries

Brexit and Political Malpractice

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 31-40

Starting with David Cameron's decision to promise a referendum, Britain's politicians have contrived to make Brexit worryingly possible.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lawrence Freedman

Brexit and the Law of Unintended Consequences

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 7-12

Extracting the United Kingdom from the European Union could leave both in a much weaker position

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Whitman Richard G.

Brexit or Bremain: what future for the UK's European diplomatic strategy?

in *International Affairs* , vol. 92, issue 3, may , 509-529

ABSTRACT: A major public debate on the costs and benefits of the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union is presently under way. The outcome of the referendum on 23 June 2016 will be a pivotal moment in determining whether the EU has a future as a component of the UK's European diplomatic strategy or whether there is a major recalibration of how the UK relates to Europe and more widely of its role within international relations. Since accession to the European Economic Community the UK has evolved an uncodified, multipronged European diplomatic strategy.



This has involved the UK seeking to reinforce its approach of shaping the security of the continent, preserving a leading diplomatic role for the UK in managing the international relations of Europe, and to maximize British trade and investment opportunities through a broadening and deepening of Europe as an economically liberal part of the global political economy. Since accession the UK's European diplomatic strategy has also been to use membership of the EU to facilitate the enhancement of its international influence, primarily as a vehicle for leveraging and amplifying broader national foreign and security policy objectives. The strategy has been consistent irrespective of which party has formed the government in the UK. Increasing domestic political difficulties with the process of European integration have now directly impacted on this European strategy with a referendum commitment. Whether a vote for a Brexit or a Remain, the UK will be confronted with challenges for its future European strategy.

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Chaltiel Florence

Brexit ou l'histoire tumultueuse de la Grande-Bretagne avec l'Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 596, mars , 129-130

No abstract available

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Nigel Inkster

Brexit, Intelligence and Terrorism

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 23-30

An EU that did not have the UK as a core component of its counter-terrorism and security efforts would arguably be much weaker, leaving the UK facing greater risks.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Erik Jones

Brexit's Lessons for Democracy

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 41-49

The campaign has already taught us important lessons about direct democracy, European integration and political communication.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Alice Engl

Bridging borders through institution-building: the EGTC as a facilitator of institutional integration in cross-border regions



in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 143-169

This article examines cross-border integration at the sub-state level in the frame of a European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC). The EGTC is a supranational and directly applicable EU legal instrument that regulates the creation of cross-border 'associations' with legal personality between public authorities. Thus, it represents a policy tool that can have an effect on the institutional frame of cross-border cooperation and potentially enhance cross-border institutional integration at the sub-state level. The aim of this article is to examine the potential effect of this EU instrument on cross-border institutional integration by studying the institutional architecture of selected EGTCs. This is done on the basis of an analytical grid that defines elements of a possible integration process based on an institutional-oriented approach. This analytical grid is applied to four case studies: the Eurométropole Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai, the EGTC Ister-Granum, the Pyrenees-Mediterranean Euroregion and the European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino. The empirical analysis shows that despite the considerable improvement of the legal basis for cooperation, the possible effect of the EGTC for further institutional cross-border integration is still rather limited due to a narrow design of institutions and a low level of actor involvement.

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Burnay Matthieu, Hivonnet Joëlle, Raube Kolja

Bridging the EU-China's gap on the Rule of Law?

in **Asia Europe Journal**, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 95-106

As the European Union (EU) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) celebrate 40 years of bilateral relations, the partnership continues to develop inter alia with the launch of a new Legal Affairs Dialogue, announced during the 17th EU-China summit (June 2015). As Rule of Law approaches greatly differ between the PRC and the EU and contain unbridgeable conceptual gaps, the new Legal Affairs Dialogue might further contribute to changes in the EU's strategy of external Rule of Law, faced with the PRC's own narrative and approach to the Rule of Law. On the other hand, the new dialogue might offer room for agreement and convergence on various global, bilateral and domestic levels. Recent domestic adjustments in the PRC and a manifest interest in reforming its legal system at a time when the EU is itself re-thinking its strategy of external rule of law offers a great potential for significant exchanges and an opportunity to bridge the Rule of Law gap between the PRC and the EU.

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Carlo Di Giorgio

Business Cycle Synchronization of CEECs with the Euro Area: A Regime Switching Approach

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 2

This article investigates the possible business cycle linkages between CEECs (Central and Eastern European countries) that were candidates to enter the EMU and the euro area for the period 1993 to 2014. We analyse business cycle (a)symmetries for these countries by using Markov switching autoregressive models and synchronization tests. By analysing the correlations between the cyclical fluctuations for these countries, we examine the existence of common features between the individual cycles. By distinguishing between different regimes, we show that the indications of



business cycle synchronization are quite high in the recession regime, but lower in the normal and high growth regimes, with the exceptions of Hungary and Poland.

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Raube Kolja, Burnay Matthieu, Wouters Jan

By way of introduction: the rule of law as a strategic priority for EU external action-conceptualization and implementation of EU law and policies

in Asia Europe Journal, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 1-6

The rule of law is a principle of governance which signifies that decisions by the government should be taken according to the law and that the government itself should be subject to the law. Therefore, historically, the rule of law has acted as the ultimate barrier against the arbitrary power of the ruler and served to oppose the 'unbridled, unaccountable royal power of the Monarchs' (Bingham 2011, p. 12). While the concept finds its origins in Ancient Greece, where it contributed to the 'self-definition of the political community of the City' (Harris in May 2012, p. 240), Europe has since acted as the centre of the construction of the rule of law. This may be seen particularly through the development of the traditions of the French *état de droit*, the German *Rechtsstaatlichkeit* and the English rule of law. It is therefore unsurprising that the European Union (EU) was later qualified as a 'Community based on the rule of law'.

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Giorgio Oikonomou

Bypassing a Centralized State: The Case of the Greek Subnational Mobilization in the European Union

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 73-94

For over 25 years successive administrative reforms have taken place in Greece, with a view to modernizing the subnational institutions. The European pressures come across as an influential factor inducing the process of change. But what has been the subnational responsiveness related to the rationalization initiatives? The aim of this paper is to investigate the Greek subnational authorities' mobilization in the European arena, providing evidence of their bypassing the central state from a multi-level governance perspective. Building on the division between 'financial' and 'regulatory' mobilization, empirical data are drawn from the EU's environmental policy financial mechanism and the subnational representation and networking in Brussels. The figures show that only a few Greek subnational authorities financially mobilize; the vast majority show inertia. Moreover, their regulatory mobilization is hardly evident. It is argued that although the EU offers substantial incentives for mobilizing, domestic institutional capacity also accounts for much variation.

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Cossiri Angela

Cantiere aperto per l'armonizzazione della legislazione elettorale europea



in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 1, 2016, marzo , 130-132,

Section C) Regional integration processes

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NICK WITNEY

Carta de Europa: Después de París, ¿cuál es el precio de la defensa europea?

in *Política Exterior*, nº 169

Al invocar el compromiso de apoyo mutuo de la UE recogido en el Tratado de Lisboa, Francia ha puesto las cosas claras: la Política Común de Seguridad y Defensa no puede seguir siendo un fiasco.

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Viljam Engström and Mikaela Heikkilä

Challenges and complexities in the protection of fundamental rights in the EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 53 , 107-130

It is well known by now that the uneasy coupling of freedom, security and justice in the former third pillar of the European Union often has turned out detrimental to the protection of fundamental rights. In the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ), being one of the most rapidly developing areas of European integration, security matters seem almost by definition to be prioritized over fundamental rights concerns. While the 'Lisbonization' of the AFSJ brought with it both institutional and substantive improvements, several fundamental rights challenges still remain. The Treaty of Lisbon can therefore be said to have resulted in something of a dual image in respect of fundamental rights protection. The article aims at identifying the most important current challenges. These challenges range from systemic concerns (such as the coherence of EU action or inadequate mainstreaming of fundamental rights) to more concrete issues (for example, concerning the responsibilities of individual agencies). The article seeks to demonstrate that fundamental rights concerns are present at multiple levels. In addition, the article will consider the impact of certain recent developments in the AFSJ on the protection of rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Marchetti Maria Cristina

Cittadinanza europea e cittadinanza nazionale. Luci e ombre di un rapporto difficile

in *Società Mutamento Politica*, Vol 7, N° 13 (2016) , 139-155

The relationship between European citizenship and national one is since the first formulation the main topic of the debate on its statute. At the present time, the short circuit between European citizenship and national one produces differentiated effects: the freedom that member States have to assess the criteria for the acquisition of citizenship produces a contrast between 'citizens non-resident' and 'non-citizens resident'.



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Thurid Hustedt and Markus Seyfried

Co-ordination across internal organizational boundaries: how the EU Commission co-ordinates climate policies
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 6

Through an analysis of climate policy-making in the European Commission (EU), this article argues that co-ordination in the Commission displays the same characteristics as the co-ordination across ministries in central governments, i.e., the properties of negative co-ordination. The article is based on a survey among Commission officials. Overall, the article reveals that a public administration perspective on the Commission proves invaluable to gain insights on how decisions are made at the European Union level. The article contributes to the emerging literature viewing the Commission as an ordinary bureaucracy – as opposed to a unique supranational organization.

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Den Heijer Maarten, Rijer Den, Rijpma Jorrit, Spijkerboer Thomas

Coercion, prohibition, and great expectations: The continuing failure of the Common European Asylum System
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 3 , 607-642

ABSTRACT: This contribution explains the European asylum policy crisis from three structural weaknesses of the Common European Asylum System: its reliance on coercion within the EU, its unrealistic expectations of what borders can achieve and the premise of prohibition of refugee movement in its external dimension. The article then critically reviews the proposals that the EU has submitted since the publication of the European Migration Agenda in May 2015, in the light of recent developments.

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Carta Maria Cristina

Coesione territoriale e principio di insularità nell'ordinamento dell'Unione europea
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 599-622

The present paper aims at examining the relationship between the EU policy of economic, social and territorial cohesion and the principle of insularity before and after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. In this context the public service obligations (PSO) meet the need to find a balance between a general liberalization and a policy that tends to ensure compatibility with the European treaties of the aids which are granted to ensure the conduct of services of general economic interest. Starting from a critical analysis of the Altmark case law, this paper highlights that even today the principles – although not always consistently applied – provided by the Treaties in this matter, are not sufficiently respected as they should. This in order to ensure the insular regions the territorial continuity they deserve.

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Pier Domenico Tortola

Coming Full Circle: The Euro Crisis, Integration Theory and the Future of the EU
in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 2 , 125-140

Europe's woes mark a new chapter in the longstanding theory/history nexus in European studies. The euro crisis has brought integration theory back onto the scholarly agenda and highlighted the value of neo-functionalism – and more precisely its key 'spillover' mechanism – as a framework for interpreting current politico-institutional dynamics in the European Union. We are, however, at a particular point of the neo-functionalist narration, in which the transition from low to high political integration has opened a phase of political fluidity that makes ideas and political leadership crucial in determining the future course of integration. In this phase, the positive scheme of neo-functionalism and the normative one of federalism come together, bringing the intellectual trajectory begun after WWII to full circle. Whether this new encounter will result in further integration depends primarily on the content of new federalist ideas, the emergence of an effective European leadership, and the presence of a favourable international environment. For all three factors, the record so far has been mixed at best.

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Jiří Malenovský

Comment tirer parti de l'avis 2/13 de la Cour de l'Union européenne sur l'adhésion à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 119, issue 4 , 705-742

Le désaccord que la Cour de justice manifeste par l'intermédiaire de son avis 2/13 trouve son origine dans la tension évidente qui existe entre la volonté du constituant de l'Union, telle qu'exprimée au Protocole n° 8, et le résultat des négociations, tel que reflété dans le texte de l'Accord d'adhésion. L'Accord d'adhésion institue certaines innovations conçues pour adapter le contrôle juridictionnel exercé par la Cour européenne à la participation de l'Union. Toutefois, celles-ci ne s'avèrent ni suffisantes, ni assez cohérentes, si bien que le texte tel qu'il a été négocié manque d'équilibre, dès lors qu'il privilégie l'exigence d'assimilation par rapport à la nécessité de préserver les caractéristiques spécifiques de l'Union et de son droit.

L'Accord d'adhésion constitue une œuvre pleine d'improvisation, dépourvue de précédent en droit international, qui, partant, risque d'avoir des conséquences imprévisibles. Il s'efforce de créer les conditions propices à la participation d'une organisation supranationale à un instrument conventionnel qui, à son origine, a été exclusivement consacré aux États, mais il le fait, tout d'abord, en sacrifiant largement la personnalité juridique propre de l'Union, ensuite, en dérogeant à plusieurs principes pertinents de droit international en matière de responsabilité des organisations internationales, et, enfin en laissant dans l'incertitude l'avenir du système juridictionnel de l'Union, en particulier du renvoi préjudiciel, véritable « clef de voûte » du droit de l'Union, avec pour conséquence l'affaiblissement possible de la capacité de la Cour de justice à assurer l'interprétation uniforme du droit de l'Union.

Les négociateurs de l'Accord d'adhésion devraient désormais entamer une nouvelle discussion dans le but d'aboutir à un projet qui soit à la fois plus fidèle à la volonté du constituant de l'Union et plus compatible avec l'exigence de l'autonomie de l'Union et de son droit. Dans ce contexte, l'hypothèse du maintien de la jurisprudence Bosphorus mérite une attention particulière. Cet éventuel maintien aurait plusieurs avantages, notamment en ce qu'il ne perturberait pas, contrairement au principe d'assimilation, les mécanismes de contrôle conventionnel tels qu'ils sont pratiqués par la Cour européenne à l'heure actuelle.



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Çarkoğlu Ali, Glüpker-Kesebir Gitta

Comparing public attitudes on EU membership in candidate countries: the cases of Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey from 2004 to 2011

in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 16, n. 2 , 255-274

Past enlargements of the European Union (EU) have demonstrated that public attitudes on European integration can influence the course of accession processes. Beyond the literature on public EU support in member states and former candidates, the dynamics that shape public attitudes on EU membership within recent candidate countries have not been systematically examined. Analysing nine Eurobarometer (EB) surveys from 2004 to 2011, we argue that evaluations of EU membership in Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey are shaped by utilitarian considerations, belief in various political institutions as well as the fear of losing national identity. The economic crisis of 2008 has changed public opinion towards EU membership in all three countries, but Turkey appears to have been affected the most compared to Croatia and Macedonia.

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Botta Marco

Competition policy: safeguarding the Commission's competences in State aid control

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 265-278

The article analyses the impact of the financial crisis on the decision-making and content of State aid control. The urgency and the extraordinary size of the subsidies committed by member states to save national banks in 2008 let the Commission modify its ordinary decision-making practices and adopt a new set of soft law, which represented an important change in the goals of this sub-policy in comparison to the pre-crisis period. Once the urgency of the crisis disappeared in mid-2009, the Commission returned to its ordinary decision-making and forced the financial institutions to be restructured, as under the pre-crisis rules. Therefore, by accommodating the initial requests of the member states which demanded the Commission to 'speed-up' its review approach and to enforce State aid rules in a more lenient way, the Commission managed to safeguard its exclusive competence in State aid control.

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Jano Dorian

Compliance with EU Legislation in the Pre-accession Countries of South East Europe (2005–2011): A Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 1 , 1-22

Compliance with European Union (EU) law and the related causal factors have been theoretically argued and empirically tested in the case of EU member-states and pre-accession countries of Central Eastern Europe. The article examines several theoretical and empirical conditions under which candidate countries of South East Europe (SEE) plausibly



comply with EU legislation. Based on the fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis, three factors were found to relate systematically with pre-accession compliance in SEE countries, namely EU membership credibility, low political constraints and government resonance. These factors are almost always necessary conditions for EU accession and jointly can sufficiently explain compliance performance.

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Lacey Joseph

Conceptually Mapping the European Union: A Demoi-cratic Analysis

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 1 , 61-77

This article identifies demoi-cracy as the most robust category for understanding the European Union, and three tasks are undertaken to contribute towards this conceptualisation. First, it is explained how demoi-cracy differs from other popular categories that have been used to describe the EU and why it stands out as the most accurate. Second, contrary to the view that places demoi-cracy in contrast to political systems existing with a singular demos, it is argued that this concept is best understood as being capable of capturing cases where a weaker demos exists alongside strong sovereign demoi. Finally, the idea of demoi-cracy is broken into two further concepts (deep diversity and dual compound regime) and elaborated upon at length with a view to further specifying the nature of the EU.

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Smith Michael

Conclusions: Europeanisation, globalisation or (re)nationalisation? Revisiting development policy in the European Union

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 136-141

This Conclusion revisits the key ideas put forward in the Introduction, examines the evidence presented in the articles as a whole, and identifies some avenues for further exploration. It focuses on four areas: first, the extent of agency evident in EU development policies at the level of the EU itself; second, the mediating factors that can modify, reinforce or undermine EU policies at the national or the global level; third, the variable impact of the EU framework on policy, polity and politics at the national level; fourth, the extent and depth of the transformation brought about by EU development policies. It is suggested that processes of globalisation and (re)nationalisation are at least as important as EU development policies in shaping the pattern of development assistance in the EU, and that linkages between the three levels are likely to form a fertile basis for future research in this area.

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Stef Wittendorp

Conducting Government: Governmentality, Monitoring and EU Counter-Terrorism

in *Global Society*, Volume 30, Issue 3 , 465-483



This article draws on Foucault's concept of governmentality in order to challenge the view of EU counter-terrorism as simply a response to terrorism. Rather than focusing on the policies directly targeting terrorism, it is concerned with technologies designed to improve the governance process. The article examines three technologies designed for shaping the conduct of government. These technologies are not value-free but underpinned by specific assumptions of what governing can achieve and, as such, they are implicated in the (re)production of insecurity rather than, as institutionalist accounts do, locating the source of insecurity as external to these institutions. In other words, insecurity is in part brought about by the governance process. The article looks at three technologies targeting the gap—this latter term referring to the difference between a current state of affairs diagnosed as undesirable and the ideal situation (lagging policy implementation for instance). The technologies—the action plan, the timetable and the Counter-Terrorist Coordinator—are premised on the understanding of bridging the gap as instrumental to the provision of security. This mode of governing fuels a circular logic whereby the need to perform better leads to calls for improved monitoring and vice versa.

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Erik Jones

Confronting Europe's Single Market

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 1 , 59-67

The European Union's problems do not originate in money or migrants; they stem, ultimately, from the single market itself.

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Smeets Sandrino

Consensus and Isolation in the EU Council of Ministers

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 1 , 23-39

When and how are member states in a small minority or isolated position able to prevail in the EU Council of Ministers? The Council is known for its ability to avoid vetoes and votes. However, we lack a causal mechanism that explains how such a consensus is commonly reached. We argue that while domestic and normative constraints are necessary elements of an explanation of negotiating success, they are insufficient to solve the puzzle of isolation. We claim that success in isolation depends on the ability to avoid exposure at Council level, which in turn is related to the lower levels' effectiveness in preventing matters from reaching the ministers. We test this conjecture by means of a process tracing analysis of three cases of isolation. By analysing how the Council has dealt with situations of twenty-six against one, we come closer to understanding the internal dynamics behind the consensus-reflex.

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Esther Ademmer and Ferdinand Dreher

Constraining Political Budget Cycles: Media Strength and Fiscal Institutions in the Enlarged EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3



This article revisits institutional constraints to political budget cycles (PBCs) in the enlarged European Union (EU). Based on a panel of 25 Member States, we show that governments frequently fiscally stimulate the economy prior to elections. We argue that the occurrence of PBCs in the enlarged EU can be well explained by a peculiar interaction of two prominently discussed institutional constraints: fiscal institutions and media strength. Fiscal rules only help to limit the extent of PBCs in countries where the media is relatively weak, whereas they fail to do so in countries that host a strong press. Suggesting that this may be due to the usage of creative accounting practices in weaker media environments, we conclude that a powerful press remains key to eradicating PBCs in the EU.

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Jones Alun, Clark Julian

Contemporary Geopolitical Positionings of Iceland Towards 'Europe' and the Nordic States

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 107, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europe and its others, April , 147-161

In the context of the spatialities of Europeanisation, we demonstrate the manoeuvrability of states through the selection and deployment of geopolitical positioning strategies. Specifically, we highlight how geographic quantities (territory, location, resources, natural conditions) are bundled together to substantiate a mutable national interest as well as underpin the advocacy by states of particular geopolitical positionings. We argue that the diplomatic use of geographic quantities in state-led efforts to structure and shape international interactions has demonstrable geopolitical consequences. Using the case study of Iceland, one of the first casualties of the international financial crisis, we examine this state's geopolitical repositioning towards 'EUrope' through use of geographical uniqueness and concomitant reaffirmation of Nordic closeness. We expose the diplomatic challenges to the use of geographical categories such as uniqueness in geopolitical (re)positioning towards the emerging 'EUropean' order.

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Ferraris Luigi Vittorio

Contro il terrorismo l'Europa della libertà

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 54-70

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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Gijs Jan Brandsma and Jens Blom-Hansen

Controlling delegated powers in the post-Lisbon European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 4

Most European Union rules are made by the Commission, not the Council of Ministers or the European Parliament. But although the Commission is an important rule-maker, it is not autonomous. The member states have always taken care to install committees to control the Commission (comitology). However, the Lisbon Treaty introduced alternative control



mechanisms (delegated acts) and a reform of the comitology system (implementing acts). This article investigates how the post-Lisbon control system works in daily legislative practice. It represents the first investigation of the institutional preferences of the Council, the Parliament and the Commission in the new system. Further, it utilizes better data than previous studies. The analysis is based on data on the control preferences of all actors before the first trilogue meeting for a large number of cases in the period 2010–13. The results indicate that the institutional battle over the control of delegated rule-making is far from over.

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Dunne Niamh

Convergence in competition fining practices in the EU
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 53, issue 2 , 453-492

ABSTRACT: The need for increased convergence in the decentralized processes for public enforcement of EU competition law has received much recent attention. Yet, this debate lacks a convincing explanation as to why the goal of effective enforcement warrants further harmonization. Focusing on fining practices for competition infringements, this article explores possible justifications to explain convergence; the legal or other means by which harmonization could be achieved; and the choice of converged practices that might be implemented. Whilst the strict necessity for convergence is less obvious, the evolving structure of decentralized enforcement would arguably benefit from increased alignment. Key concerns identified are the need to balance consistency with flexibility, and the reflection of an EU-wide consensus on fining practice.

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Alexander M. Weaver

Convergence through the Crisis: State Aid Modernization & West European Varieties of Capitalism
in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, vol. 21, issue 3 , 587-614

Historical distinctions among varieties of capitalism in Western Europe have been protected from European influence through a consistent focus on political autonomy at the Treaty level. These varieties of capitalism, expounded in a text of the same name, frame an analysis of Western European political economy that explains how and why differences among developed nations have emerged, as well as their role in modern European governance. Varieties of Capitalism outlines the ever-present dichotomy of systems: liberal market economies (LMEs) and coordinated market economies (CIEs). A third category, state-influence market economies (SIMEs), has emerged as an important sub-variety of CME in further explorations of the original framework.

State aid policy serves as a prime example of how European economic integration has proceeded despite differences among the economic systems of Member States. Though the state aid Treaty provisions have not changed, they have been reinterpreted to cover all aid regardless of size. The Union, through the Commission, has delegated away some of this power, but not before attaching conditions which advance the internal market project. Through a combination of conditional exemptions and expanded investigatory power, the modernized state aid regime guides states away from historical state-industry relations. Out of the cauldron of the recent financial crisis, this regime has promoted state response directed small-scale aid measures which target common European goals. At the same time, this new state aid modernization program has expanded the Commission's powers to investigate cases which it believes to be of critical



importance to the objectives of competition law through an ex officio investigative power. The modernization of the state aid regime challenges West European Member States' to retool their state-industry relations, and most have. This pressure is felt in both CMEs and LMEs, but most acutely in SIMEs.

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Christopher C. Leite

Cooperation in EU disaster response and security provision: circulating practices in European Security, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 560-578

There is a profound disconnect between the practice and scholarly study of security in Europe. The 2010 Internal Security Strategy added disasters such as forest fires, earthquakes, and floods to the list of European Union (EU) internal security concerns, expanding on the more traditional anxieties over militaries, border protection, and the effects of poverty. This article explores how evolving practices of disaster response, a policy area once separate from EU security discourse, have become part of the EU's wider security provision and with what implications. Based on interviews conducted at the Directorate-General (DG) for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO), it provides a detailed study of three EU disaster response practices – monitoring, training, and information co-ordinating – and their circulation to the wider field of EU internal security provision. It uses this case to outline that new understandings of what it means to “voluntarily co-operate” in European security projects have been radically under-theorized.

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Duwicquet Vincent, Mazier Jacques

Crise de la zone euro, asymétries et politiques budgétaires
in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Vol. 126, 2016/2 , Page 285 à 315

No abstract available

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Stefanie Walter

Crisis Politics in Europe Why Austerity Is Easier to Implement in Some Countries Than in Others
in *Comparative Political Studies* , 49 (7) , 841-873

When countries face balance-of-payments crises, their policy responses vary widely. This article argues that the choice between the two main options of internal adjustment (i.e., austerity and structural reforms) and external adjustment (i.e., exchange-rate devaluation) depends on how costly each of these strategies is for a country overall. Although the choice of adjustment strategy is thus structurally determined, the level of political conflict associated with crisis management depends on both the national vulnerability profile and partisan interests. Moreover, irrespective of the adjustment strategy, all governments design the specific reforms in ways that shelter their own voters. Empirically, this article uses qualitative case studies and survey data to examine the significant variation in crisis responses, crisis politics, and distributive outcomes of the 2008-2010 global financial crisis in eight Eastern European countries. The article concludes



with a discussion of the implications of the Eastern European experience for crisis politics in the Eurozone crisis.

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Jones Jason

Cross-Border Banking in the Expanded European Union

in Eastern European Economics, Volume 51, Issue 6, 2013 , 54-74

Cross-border banking directed toward the new member states (NMS) of the European Union has grown substantially in the last ten years. Aligning politically and economically with the rest of Europe through membership in the European Union and the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) has played an important role in this expansion. The channels through which the creation of the euro led to increased cross-border banking among the original members of the EMU help but do not fully explain the increased flow of cross-border banking from the EMU to the NMS. This indicates that for the NMS, joining the European Union and eventually the EMU changes the perceptions of EMU banks regarding the benefits of expanding. The improved perception leads to almost an immediate expansion of banking from the EMU at a rate that is higher than it would be if only pure market effects were taken into account.

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Frątczak-Müller Joanna, Mielczarek-Żejmo Anna

Cross-border partnership – the impact of institutions on creating the borderland communities (the case of Spree-Neisse-Bober Euroregion)

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 77-97

The aim of the paper is to present the cooperation nets generated as a result of the operation of an organization of a cross-border scope and impact, and such is the Spree-Neisse-Bober Euroregion, and to evaluate and assess their role in creating the bonds among the inhabitants. The main research area is the role that the SNBE plays in creating social connections. The authoresses will pay close attention to: the characteristics of Polish-German relations in the borderland; existing social networks within the frames of created partnerships, and the role of the Euroregion as an institution fostering the development of transborder community. The analysis presented here is the result of the research project "Trust beyond Borders. Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion in Perspective of Integrating Processes in Polish-German Borderland". Conducted in 2013, it used content analysis, survey (800 respondents) and unstructured interviews (70 experts from Poland and Germany) methods.

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Guiso Luigi, Herrera Helios, Morelli Massimo

Cultural Differences and Institutional Integration

in Journal of International Economics, Volume 99, Supplement 1, March 2016 , Pages S97-S113

If citizens of different countries belonging to an economic union adhere to different and deeply rooted cultural norms, when these countries interact they may find it impossible to agree on efficient policies, especially in hard times. Political



leaders are bound to follow policies that do not violate their country's cultural norms. This paper provides a simple positive theory and a compelling case study of the Euro area crisis to highlight the importance of cultural clashes when economies integrate. We also provide a normative argument about the desirability of institutional integration: a political union, with a common enforcement agency, is the more beneficial the greater is cultural diversity in an economic union.

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Wolf Holger

Currency boards as a path towards the Eurozone: lessons from the Baltics

in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 45-57

In the early 1990s, the three Baltic states adopted de jure (Estonia 1992, Lithuania 1994) or de facto (Latvia) currency boards. After operating under boards for two decades, Estonia (2011), Latvia (2014) and Lithuania (2015) exited to the Eurozone. The paper takes a qualitative look at their experience through the lens of the currency board literature. Viewed over the entire period of operation, the boards delivered on the inflation stabilization objective with little evidence of a growth or trade penalty. The high average performance was however accompanied by high volatility on both the nominal and the real side. While the boards avoided both currency and sovereign debt crises, they contributed to vulnerabilities, notably the 2004–2010 boom-bust cycle. The Baltic experience re-enforces policy lessons from earlier crisis under fixed exchange rates: vigilance and timely response to incipient vulnerabilities associated with short-term capital-inflows and over-heating.

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Gianniti Luigi

Dal Rapporto dei 4 Presidenti del 2012 a quello dei 5 Presidenti del 2015: prime note sull'evoluzione della governance economica dell'Unione

in Diritto pubblico, numero 1, 2016, gennaio-aprile , 389-420

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Christina Voulgarelli-Christidou

Dangers of an Urban Crisis within the European Union: Fueling Xenophobia and Undermining Democracy in Perspectives on Global Development and Technology

in Perspectives on Global Development and Technology , Volume 15, Issue 1-2

The global economic and financial crisis of 2007-08 has further intensified a social and urban crisis that undermines democracy and economic institutions internationally. Specifically, the economic crisis and the consequent austerity measures have resulted in greater exploitation in the labor market and job discrimination, in capital flight and undermined political and social institutions that provide for citizens. Xenophobia becomes again a burgeoning problem that is plaguing the European Union (EU) and needs to be addressed thoroughly for it can again undermine the democratic tradition of the region. This article concentrates on perspectives on the current migration crisis within the



region of the EU that has spurred a spiral of xenophobic tendencies and a neo-liberal nationalist narrative. Particular emphasis is placed in the situations in Greece (the much attested “guinea pig” of the democratic experiment) and Italy.

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Geoffroy Lebrun

De l'utilité de l'article 47 de la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, no. 106 , 433-459

Cette étude propose de mesurer l'utilité de l'article 47 de la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne au regard des différents corpus européens que sont la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme et le droit de l'Union européenne. De ce point de vue, l'analyse menée révèle essentiellement que la valeur ajoutée de cette disposition apparaît très modérée.

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Hans Stark

De la question allemande à la question européenne

in *Politique Etrangère*, n°1, printemps 2016

Assiste-t-on au retour d'une « question allemande » qu'on croyait avoir enterrée avec l'unification ? Si cette « question allemande » a de profondes racines historiques, son retour marque surtout une crise européenne : fractures économiques, blocage des institutions, effacement relatif de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne des grands débats de l'Union. Seule une avancée de l'intégration européenne pourrait renvoyer l'Allemagne à une normalité dont elle ne cherche pas vraiment à s'extraire.

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Saatçioğlu Beken

De-Europeanisation in Turkey: The Case of the Rule of Law

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 133-146

This article investigates the political dynamics shaping the post-2010 'de-Europeanisation' of Turkey's judicial system, particularly regarding judicial independence and rule of law. The analysis suggests the limits of conventional Europeanisation accounts emphasising causal factors such as European Union (EU) conditionality and the 'lock-in effects' of liberal reforms due to the benefits of EU accession. The article argues that the Justice and Development Party's (AKP's) bid for political hegemony resulted in the reversal of rule of law reforms. De-Europeanisation is discussed in terms of both legislative changes and the government's observed discourse shift.

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Kaliber Alper

De-Europeanisation of Civil Society and Public Debates in Turkey: The Kurdish Question Revisited

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 59-74

This study discusses the dynamics of de-Europeanisation and the changing impact of Europe on the politically mobilised civil society involved in the public debates concerning Turkey's Kurdish question. The article first critically assesses how and in what ways the legal and constitutional reforms on the freedom of assembly required by the European Union (EU) changed the political structure in which civil society organisations (CSOs) operate in Turkey. It then examines the views of CSOs on the potential roles and limitations of the EU in the Kurdish question and the peace process which lasted between March 2013 and July 2015. It also delineates the reasons why the political context of Europeanisation is not seen as instrumental by these CSOs to framing and justifying their arguments.

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Cebeci Münevver

De-Europeanisation or Counter-Conduct? Turkey's Democratisation and the EU

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 119-132

Many Turkish and European scholars have been (re)producing texts that praise the normative impact of the European Union (EU) which has helped the political transformation of Turkey. Nevertheless, the recent deterioration of democracy in the country indicates that the EU has been losing its transformative influence on Turkey. This might be regarded as de-Europeanisation. However, this article argues that the conceptual framework of de-Europeanisation can only partially explain the current situation in Turkey and the EU's impact, and that an analysis based on counter-conduct, as produced by EU governmentality, may provide insight into a subtler dynamic at work in the country.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2016.1153996>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Aydin-Düzgün Senem

De-Europeanisation through Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of AKP's Election Speeches

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 45-58

This article takes issue with the question of whether Turkey has been turning away from Europe in recent years, by adopting a critical constructivist lens to understand how, rather than why, Turkey's presumed distance from the European Union (EU) is taking place. In doing that, it seeks to analyse the ways in which the political-societal transformation of the country as distanced from the EU is enabled by certain discursive practices which in turn contribute to the growing rift between Turkey and the EU. This is mainly conducted through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of texts produced by former Prime Minister and now President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on Europe and the EU during key election periods starting with the 12 June 2011 general election.



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Bast Jürgen

**Deepening Supranational Integration: Interstate Solidarity in EU Migration Law
in European public Law**, Volume 22 - Issue 02 , 289–304

The Treaties on which the EU is founded hardly ever mention the notion of solidarity between citizens. The type of solidarity owed according to the terms of the Treaties mostly concerns the relationship between Member States. This also holds true in the chapter providing the legal basis for the EU's migration policies. The present article discusses the concept of solidarity in the Dublin System for determining the State responsible for examining an application for asylum. This case is especially critical because the Dublin System has given rise to sharp conflicts pertaining to interstate solidarity. The Dublin example demonstrates that in EU law the principle of solidarity operates in a field of tension between a high degree of supranational integration and, simultaneously, a high degree of heterogeneity among its Member States. It aims to compensate an asymmetric distribution of burdens generated by further steps on the supranational path of European integration

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Adrien Thomas

**Degrees of Inclusion: Free Movement of Labour and the Unionization of Migrant Workers in the European Union
in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 2

This article discusses the shifting boundaries of inclusion and exclusion of migrant workers in trade unions. Drawing on the example of Luxembourg, an EU Member State with a long history of international migrations, the article examines the relationship between free movement of labour and the unionization of migrant workers before analysing the degree to which migrant workers' access to social rights is accompanied by their access to effective decision-making rights in trade unions. Trade unions have used European regulations on the free movement of labour as a legal infrastructure to develop services for migrant workers. At the same time, the free movement of labour and equality of treatment have come to permeate trade union strategies and rhetoric. However, with regard to the inclusion of migrant workers in decision-making processes and access to leadership positions, numerous obstacles to effective participation by migrant workers persist.

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Lo Bianco Santino

**Deliberating justice policy in the European Union: a discursive perspective on day-to-day decision-making in
European Union's criminal justice cooperation
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy ,
150-165

This paper argues that the adoption of new policy instruments of the European Union (EU) also emanate from everyday



decision-making. Changes in EU policies are not only the consequences of 'grand moments' of treaty and institutional changes. In order to identify and explain changes in everyday decision-making, one should complement the traditional strategic bargaining perspective on decision-making with a constructivist view on discourse or language as sources of change. With the insights of both constructivists and communication theorists, this study focuses on the identification of conditions and occurrences of deliberation in the daily running of decision-making in the EU that allow for changes facilitating the adoption of new policy instruments. In this light a study of two cases will be presented of which each has taken place in a different institutional setting. The main analysis of this study is on the drafting process of the Framework Decision on the European Evidence Warrant of 2008. The findings of this analysis will be compared to findings of another analysis. It concerns the negotiations on the Council Decision of 2008 regarding access for consultation of the Visa Information System by law enforcement authorities. Analysis of both cases learned that in certain circumstances instances of deliberation and ensuing progress towards a more reasoned understanding actually occurred.

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Martin Nilsson & Daniel Silander

Democracy and Security in the EU's Eastern Neighborhood? Assessing the ENP in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine

in *Democracy and Security*, Volume 12, Issue 1 , 44-61

This article explores the European Union's (EU) democratic and security objectives in the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) toward three post-Soviet states: Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. By discussing the ENP's objectives, this study concludes the following: first, despite long-term ENP democracy promotion, there have been very limited democratic developments in the partner states between 2005 and 2014; second, security challenges remain in partner states in the breakaway regions in Transnistria in Moldova, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, and Crimea, Donetsk, and Luhansk in Ukraine. Therefore, EU's Kantian view of security through democracy has failed, and its ambition to create a ring of Eastern friends has not led to improved relations in the Eastern neighborhood. On the contrary, the EU's push eastward has instead intensified insecurity in its partner states due to limited democratization.

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Meissner Katharina

Democratizing EU External Relations: The European Parliament's Informal Role in SWIFT, ACTA, and TTIP

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 2 , 269-288

ABSTRACT: Since 1958, the European Parliament (EP) has come a long way from being a talking shop to being a powerful legislative organ. In the European Union's external relations, the EP's role was initially very weak, when it was sometimes not even consulted on international agreements. The Lisbon Treaty strengthened the parliamentary role in external relations covering policies where the ordinary legislative procedure applies by ascribing the EP the right to ratification of international agreements. Formally limited to voting on final agreements, the EP has widely expanded its informal role in external relations since the Lisbon Treaty's entry into force in December 2009. Now, its role goes beyond the provisions as laid out in the Lisbon Treaty and even the role of national parliaments in international agreements. Since the negotiations on a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), the EP has been active at all stages of negotiations – negotiation directives, negotiation rounds, ratification of agreement, and implementation of agreement



– which activities reach as far as influencing the agreements' substance. Analysing with what strategies the EP has achieved this involvement – by providing original data from fifteen semi-structured interviews with EU officials – this article assesses the EP's informal role in the negotiation of international agreements since the Lisbon Treaty in three in-depth case studies: the SWIFT agreement, the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA), and the ongoing TTIP negotiations.

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Wiesner Claudia

Demokratie und Gewaltenteilung in der Euro-Finanzhilfenpolitik

in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 231-247

Abstract

Democracy and Balance of powers in the sovereign debt crisis

European integration has brought about a crucial change with regard to representative democracy and balance of powers in the EU multi-level system: they are no longer shaped either on the level of the member states or the EU level alone. Nowadays, also the vertical interplay between the different levels influences representative democracy and balance of powers in the whole of the multi-level system. This complex setting has been crucially influenced by the governance mechanisms that have been designed in the sovereign debt crisis. Already existing tensions have been intensified. Balances of powers have been changed on the EU level as well as on the national level and between the member states; and core institutions and mechanisms of representative democracy have been challenged. The article analyses the changes and the new imbalances and discusses their consequences for representative democracy and balances of powers in the whole of the multilevel system.

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Niklas I.M. Nováký

Deploying EU military crisis management operations: a collective action perspective

in European Security, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 491-508

This article will work towards a multi-level collective action approach for understanding the deployment of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) military operations. It is multi-level because it uses three levels of analysis: firstly, the international level, where events that create threats to certain values catalyze the process leading to the deployment of an operation; secondly, the national level, where EU governments formulate their national preferences towards prospective deployments based on utility expectations; and thirdly, the EU level, where EU member states negotiate and seek compromises to accommodate their different national preferences. The strength of the model will be demonstrated through empirical case studies on the deployment processes of EUFOR Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina and EU NAVFOR Atalanta off the coast of Somalia. The article will also provide an overview of the existing theoretical literature on the deployment of CSDP military operations.



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Thiele Alexander

Der Austritt aus der EU – Hintergründe und rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen eines „Brexit“
in *Europarecht*, Heft 3, 2016

No abstract available

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Stéphane J. Baele and Olivier C. Sterck

Diagnosing the Securitisation of Immigration at the EU Level: A New Method for Stronger Empirical Claims
in *Political Studies*, Volume 63, Issue 5 , 1120–1139

Has immigration been securitised at the EU level? The question has been hotly discussed, but no consensus has been reached. This article claims that two shortcomings – one methodological, one theoretical – in the empirical conduct of securitisation theory (ST) have provoked this lack of consensus. Taking this situation as an opportunity, a quantitative method is introduced that addresses these two shortcomings, thereby helping to reach a stronger claim on the securitisation of immigration at the EU level. By measuring the intensity of the security framing in EU legislation on immigration, the method helps avoid simplistic binary statements of (non-)securitisation and encourages the scholar to acknowledge the complex, multifaceted reality of vast political fields. The results contribute to accrediting the thesis according to which immigration has been securitised at the EU level, but nuances it by demonstrating a significant variation between the various subfields of the policy (e.g. asylum, legal immigration).

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Parguez Alain  

Did Agatha Christie Discover Who the Murderer Was? A Reply to My Enlightened and Bold Discussants
in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 40-45

In this reply, I strove first to emphasize the main questions raised by my three discussants and then to point why I very much agree with them. All have raised fundamental problems. First, Joseph Halevi explains why the project of a European monetary union could only have been born in France within the ruling class of state technocrats. I think that his definition of France as the last country with state monopoly capitalism is very appropriate. Secondly, I learned a lot from the very thorough historical analysis of Bertrand de Largentaye. I sought to explain why the Euro order architects were much more anti-Keynesian than anti-Marxist. Finally, Jesper Jespersen sustains my comments on the key role of the French ruling economics profession in shaping a system embodying limitless austerity and the dream of domination. All agree on the complete failure of the project.

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Germelmann Claas Friedrich



Die Energieunion – Eine neue Perspektive für die europäische Energiepolitik?

in *Europarecht*, Heft 1, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Münkler Herfried

Die Mitte und die Flüchtlingskrise: Über Humanität, Geopolitik und innenpolitische Folgen der Aufnahmeentscheidung

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 14-15, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/223912/die-mitte-und-die-fluechtlingskrise?p=all>

Der Begriff "Mitte" hat viele Bedeutungen: die soziale Mitte einer Gesellschaft, das mittlere Segment eines sich nach rechts und links erstreckenden Parteienspektrums, die geografische Mitte eines Raumes. Ist von der Mitte die Rede, so ist zunächst selten klar, welche Bedeutung gemeint ist: die soziologische, die politikwissenschaftliche oder die geografische. Semantische Eindeutigkeit ergibt sich fast immer erst aus dem Kontext; nur selten erklärt der Sprechende explizit, in welcher Bedeutung er den Begriff der Mitte verwendet. Er kann sich das leisten, weil alle divergenten Bedeutungen von Mitte einen gemeinsamen Sinn haben: Sie ist die Größe, die etwas zusammenhält, die dafür sorgt, dass es nicht auseinanderfällt oder sich in Einzelteile auflöst, gleichgültig, ob es sich dabei um eine Gesellschaft, das Spektrum parteipolitischer Optionen oder einen soziokulturellen Raum handelt. In welcher Bedeutung oder Funktion auch immer Mitte gedacht wird – sie ist der Ort beziehungsweise die Größe, ohne die ihre wie auch immer bestimmte Umgebung nicht gedacht werden kann...

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Rinke Andreas

Die letzte Europäerin. Auch in Krisenzeiten setzt Angela Merkel alles daran, die EU zusammenzuhalten

in *Internationale Politik*, März/April, 2016

ABSTRACT: Geduld, langen Atem und Überzeugungskraft – das braucht die deutsche Bundeskanzlerin sowohl in der EU als auch in der eigenen Union, um eines ihrer wichtigsten Ziele durchzusetzen: mehr Europa! Dabei geht es ihr nicht um Altruismus oder EU-Schwärmerei, sondern um die Durchsetzung nationaler Interessen und die Wahrung europäischer Werte.

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Chopin Thierry, Lequesne Christian

Differentiation as a double-edged sword: member states' practices and Brexit



in **International Affairs** , vol. 92, issue 3, may , 531-545

ABSTRACT: The reform of the eurozone and the concerns surrounding a potential 'Brexit' has given rise to a new debate about differentiation but also disintegration in the European Union. This article provides a theoretical and analytical approach to understanding how differentiation is related to the debate on distribution of competences across various levels government. It finds that differentiation has played an important role in the EU integration process since the 1950s, even though the risk of fragmentation has always existed. Facing the benefits and costs of differentiation, the member states have developed their own practices. Three ideosyncratic groups of member states can be identified in this regard: first, a group of Anglo-Scandinavian member states which refuse centralization of the EU; a Franco-German group which considers the integration through the promotion of a 'core Europe'; and, third, a group of central and east European member states who fear that differentiation would set their interests aside and relegate them to second-class status within the EU. Finally, Brexit is not only about the status of the UK in the EU, but casts deeper questions on how to clarify the nature of relations between the eurozone and the EU as a whole.

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Prosser Christopher

Dimensionality, ideology and party positions towards European integration

in **West European Politics**, vol. 39, n. 4 , 731-754

ABSTRACT: The rise of political contestation over European integration has led many scholars to examine the role that broader ideological positions play in structuring party attitudes towards European integration. This article extends the existing approaches in two important ways. First, it shows that whether the dimensionality of politics is imagined in a one-dimensional 'general left‒right' form or a two-dimensional 'economic left‒right/social liberal-conservative' form leads to very different understandings of the way ideology has structured attitudes towards European integration, with the two-dimensional approach offering greater explanatory power. Second, existing approaches have modelled the influence of ideology on attitudes towards European integration as a static process. This article shows that the relationship between ideology and European integration has changed substantially over the history of European integration: divisions over social issues have replaced economic concerns as the main driver of party attitudes towards European integration.

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Mendes Joana

Discretion, care and public interests in the EU administration: Probing the limits of law

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 53, issue 2 , 419-451

ABSTRACT: Recent high profile judgments of the European Court of Justice (ESMA and Gauweiler) have endorsed the expansion of the EU's executive powers, including those of its administration. Once such powers are attributed or judicially endorsed, how far may law reach in structuring the exercise of discretion by EU administrative actors? The article analyses the way the EU courts have reviewed administrative discretion in instances where they have performed a close scrutiny thereof. It argues that the EU courts downplayed the role law ought to have in structuring the exercise of administrative discretion, by overlooking the public interests that ought to be pursued by force of legal norms. By



contrast, the control of discretion by the European Ombudsman illustrates a different and normatively more demanding understanding of how law may operate in relation to discretion.

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Knud Erik Jørgensen

Discursively (de-)constructing European foreign policy: Theoretical and methodological challenges in Cooperation and Conflict, 50 (4) , 492-509

This article is about European foreign policy, specifically an examination of ways in which discourse analysis and foreign policy analysis can be brought together. The first aim of this article is to explicate the explanandum in some detail. Before we know what we are looking for, it gives limited meaning to consider procedures for methodological procedures. Once the explanandum has been identified, the article examines theoretical approaches and critically discusses their promises and limitations. Priority is given to the option of applying constructivist discursive theories that might (or might not) have been developed with a view to analysing foreign policy, including European foreign policy. In doing so, the article aims at bridging several sometimes very different fields of study: discourse theory, which is sometimes utterly unaware of or uninterested in foreign affairs; and foreign policy analysis, which is frequently descriptive in orientation and at times characterized by less-than-benign neglect of discourse theory.

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Lombardi Domenico, Moschella Manuela

Domestic preferences and European banking supervision: Germany, Italy and the Single Supervisory Mechanism

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3 , 462-482

ABSTRACT: What explains regulators' preferences concerning the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM)? The paper answers this question by providing an alternative account of the creation of the SSM using an institutionalist perspective. It is argued that the creation of the SSM does not simply reflect the material interests of governments and domestic financial firms, but that regulators' positions were also significantly affected by the institutional environment in which they operated. Two characteristics of domestic supervisory governance are identified: the institutional responsibilities of banking regulators (microprudential and/or macroprudential) and the fragmentation of supervisory and monetary policies. The empirical analysis demonstrates the relevance of these factors for shaping regulators' preferences both within and across countries.

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Maatsch Aleksandra

Drivers of political parties' voting behaviour in European economic governance: the ultimate decline of the economic cleavage?

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 4 , 648-666



ABSTRACT: The article examines the factors that determined the attitude of parliamentary parties towards eurozone anti-crisis measures. Using a statistical logit model, it demonstrates that, while all governing parties supported such measures, opposition parties were divided. The support of the former is explicable in terms of international obligations. The positions of opposition parties reflected their attitude towards European integration: Eurosceptic parties tended to oppose anti-crisis measures. Furthermore, whereas negative votes were less likely in countries marked by higher levels of popular trust in government and satisfaction with the problem-solving capacity of the EU, the likelihood of no votes increased as a function of the level of trust in national parliaments. The policy preferences of opposition parties, measured on the economic left–right scale, did not provide significant explanatory potential; nor did an additional test measuring the impact of extreme left–right positions.

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Michael Smith

EU Diplomacy and the EU–China strategic relationship: framing, negotiation and management in Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Volume 29, Issue 1, 78-98

This article focuses on the development of the EU’s strategic relationship with China, by exploring the balance amongst three key mechanisms mobilized by the EU: framing, negotiation and management. The article outlines these issues in general, relating them to relevant conceptual and theoretical concerns, and then applies them to the EU–China strategic relationship. Through an examination of the framing ideas embodied in key documents, the development of an EU–China “negotiated order”, and the management of cooperation and competition in sectoral and institutional contexts, the article identifies a number of key tensions and requirements for effective coordination, which affect the potential development of an effective EU strategy.

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Raul Ramos, Alessia Matano & Sandra Nieto

EU Immigrant Integration Policies and Returns on Human Capital in International Spectator (The), Volume 50, Issue 3, 78-87

In order to address skill shortages and the demographic challenges facing the EU, member states have to attract (and retain) the more skilled migrants. Nevertheless, foreign residents generally find a significant wage gap with respect to native-born workers when arriving in a host country. Favourable integration policies seem to improve the relative performance of immigrants in the labour market. Indeed, analysis of the role of favourable or unfavourable policies in supporting labour market mobility of recently arrived immigrants shows that wage discrimination between immigrants and natives is lower in those countries with more favourable policies and that this lower gap is associated with higher returns on experience and schooling.

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azowski Adam

EU Withdrawal: Good Business for British Business?



in **European public Law**, Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 115–129

In this article Adam &azowski argues that withdrawal of the UK from the EU is not good business for British business. It analyses two available modalities of EU withdrawal: a unilateral exit and a consensual divorce. Arguably neither of the two will free the UK from EU law. For that to happen, the British authorities would have to engage in the time consuming and resource thirsty exercise of clearing the UK legal orders from EU law. This, combined with uncertainty as to future relations with the EU, is destined to affect the UK business community and unlikely to bring desired efficiencies.

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Zeitlin Jonathan

EU experimentalist governance in times of crisis

in **West European Politics**, vol. 39, n. 5 , 1073-1094

ABSTRACT: This paper analyses the evolution of EU governance since the financial and eurozone crisis from an experimentalist perspective. It argues that EU governance in many key policy domains continues to take the form of an experimentalist decision-making architecture, based on a recursive process of framework goal-setting and revision through comparative review of implementation experience in diverse local contexts, which is well adapted to the Union's turbulent and polyarchic environment. The first part of the paper presents a synoptic theoretical account of the characteristics of experimentalist governance, and summarises the empirical evidence on its incidence and operation within the EU before the crisis. The second part of the paper examines two 'hard cases' from an experimentalist perspective, namely financial regulation and the European Semester of socio-economic policy coordination. The paper concludes that both cases illustrate the limits of centralised hierarchical governance under the diverse and polyarchic conditions of the EU, together with the continuing attraction of experimentalist approaches for tackling complex, uncertain problems like financial regulation and reform of national employment and welfare systems.

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Müller Patrick

EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 359-374

The financial crises and profound external relations challenges provide a window of opportunity to upgrade EU foreign policy. Yet, whilst multiple crises faced by the EU today play a prominent role in the Union's foreign policy discourse, escape from 'EU decision traps' at the policy level has often not been achieved. Changes were incremental in nature, were largely pre-structured by the 2009 Lisbon agenda, and resulted only in the marginal use of scale effects, synergies, and cost savings at the EU level. Rather than engaging in bold steps towards greater integration of EU foreign policy, EU countries have favoured technocratic reforms, closer cooperation among like-minded member states, reliance on NATO or national action. Though the EU has recently launched high profile review-processes of its foreign policy, it remains to be seen whether this will translate into tangible results.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Petrović; Nikola

EU ideology

in **Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 56-76

The idea of Europe was radically transformed after the accomplishment of the idea of European unification. The European Union (EU) and Europe at the beginning of the twenty-first century were defined by a broad common ideology that consists of ideologies such as antinationalism, social democracy, pacifism and environmentalism. These ideologies are presented by pro-EU scholars and politicians as ideologies rooted in European history and parts of European identity and as being mostly absent in the American policies. The emergence of EU ideology is traced in the relaunch of European integration in the mid-1980s and in Delors' conflict with Thatcher. It is argued that the emergence of EU ideology is the result of two long-term historical developments: the deepening and enlargement of European integration; and the changing relations between the USA and Europe. It is concluded that the emergence of EU ideology resembles the emergence of nationalism and national ideologies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bossong Raphael, Hegemann Hendrik

EU internal security governance and national risk assessments: towards a common technocratic model?

in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 226-241

In the context of the European Union's (EU) expanding role as internal security actor, all member states have been required to generate similar integrated national risk assessments by 2014. At first sight, this could be welcomed as a departure from the ad hoc or crisis-driven policy-making dynamics that have long been criticized by critical commentators of EU internal security policy. In particular, the evolution of risk assessments relates to wider efforts to forge an evidence-based approach to internal security and to advance broader concepts of risk prevention and resilience as guiding principles for its future role in internal security. However, there is also a need for critical reflection on this growing trend and its implications for the EU. Frameworks for risk assessment need to be contrasted with the varied or lacking risk management practices on the ground and deeper contestations of seemingly technical methods of risk assessment, going beyond the question of legal implementation that dominates the 'post-Stockholm' debate. This article elucidates the functional and political limits for the implementation of standardized risk assessments, but also shows how the adoption of common guidelines still serves as a political tool for the legitimization of further policy initiatives in EU internal security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christof Roos

EU politics on labour migration: inclusion versus admission

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 28, Issue 4 , 536-553

Two European Union (EU) directives on labour migration were adopted in 2009 and 2011. The EU scheme to attract



highly qualified migrants, the so-called 'Blue Card' directive of 2009, allows member states broad flexibility in implementation. In contrast, the directive on a single permit for migrant workers and their rights of 2011 is far less flexible. It does significantly reduce the scope for derogations at a national level to a minimum. How can this variance in output be explained? Institutional rules are shown to be a key factor. The involvement of the European Parliament as co-legislator alongside the Council limited member states' influence on legal outputs. The comparison of policy outputs between the two cases points to differences in actor orientations: rather than seeking to increase labour migration into the EU by defining expansive admission conditions, the common EU policy seeks to include migrant workers by defining their rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hardie Iain, MacCartney Huw

EU ring-fencing and the defence of too-big-to-fail banks

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3, 503-525

ABSTRACT: Bank ring-fencing is an important post-crisis regulatory response to the moral hazard dilemma surrounding too-big-to-fail banks. Since national governments bore the worst of the costs of rescuing the largest banks, it is reasonable to expect that the authorities would have the greatest incentive to promote tough ring-fence reform. However, in confrontation with the EU's Liikanen Group and the EU Commission, France and Germany established a weaker set of national reforms. This article asks why these national governments pursued legislation that was more accommodating to their largest banks than the EU proposals. It argues that France and Germany were defending market-based banking in their largest universal banks. They were defending the ability of their largest banks to hold large volumes of trading assets which, in the view of the EU Commission and others, was a major cause of the financial crisis. The conclusions suggest that the direction of change will continue to be towards further market-based banking, despite the associated costs revealed by the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bollen Yelter, De Ville Ferdi, Orbie Jan

EU trade policy: persistent liberalisation, contentious protectionism

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis, 279-294

How has EU trade policy responded to the protracted economic crisis starting in 2008? Unlike during the Great Depression of the 1930s, politicians have not resorted to protectionist measures to try to contain the downturn. The response has been just the opposite, with the dominant discourse arguing that in times of austerity and private deleveraging, trade liberalisation is indispensable for restoring growth. Adopting a historical-institutionalist perspective, we argue that the crisis has had an asymmetric effect on the two most important subsystems of EU trade policy. On the one hand, the EU took a leap forward on the path of bilateral free trade liberalisation by starting negotiations with the US, Canada and Japan. On the other hand, proposals to continue with permissive reforms for the adoption of trade defence measures and to give the EU more leverage vis-à-vis emerging economies have been blocked. We thus conclude that EU trade policy after the crisis has shown asymmetric continuity, where the liberalisation trend has been resumed more radically while accompanying defensive reforms to ease the potential pain of liberalisation have run into a stalemate.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niglia Leone

Eclipse of the Constitution {Europe Nouveau Siècle}

in *European law journal*, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 132-156

The Court of Justice of the European Union has come to adopt a peculiar mode of balancing, revolving around a set of 'general principles of law', which results in key social rights at the core of the postwar constitutional settlement no longer being sheltered from review by reference to supranational economic freedoms. It is submitted that this does not only imply a kind of ideological restyling of European law, as noted in the literature but, more fundamentally, the erosion of Europe's composite constitutional architecture (at once European and national) resulting from playing down social rights qua 'constitutional essentials'. As the new jurisprudence 'obscures' Europe's constitutional constellation, it is submitted that the Court should rule under the constitution and not over it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Özgüzer Gül Ertan, Oğuş-Binatı Ayla

Economic Convergence in the EU: A Complexity Approach

in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 54, Issue 2, 2016 , 93-108

This paper examines the effect of economic complexity on economic growth in the context of the EU countries. Our results suggest that a group of countries in the EU whose economic complexity exceeds a certain threshold tend to converge to levels of income corresponding to their measured complexity. On the other hand, the interaction of the current account deficit with economic complexity has important effects on growth for a second group of countries with lower levels of complexity. Since we also find that income convergence is faster within the first group, we argue that convergence is much faster for countries whose economic complexity exceeds a certain threshold.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitris Kallioras & Anna Maria Pinna

Economic Integration and Vulnerability in the EU Neighbourhood

in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 3 , 60-77

In 2004, the EU launched the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), a unified policy framework towards its neighbours in the external EU periphery, aiming at strengthening prosperity, stability and security around its geopolitical borders. However, in-depth empirical analysis provides clear-cut evidence that, while the size and composition of trade flows between the EU and the ENCs may be growing, they are not favourable for the ENCs from the perspective of export diversification, in terms of either products or number of destinations. This condition increases their exposure to volatility in international markets. These results provide valuable insight into economic integration theory and for policymaking.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Adamski Dariusz

**Economic Policy Coordination as a Game Involving Economic Stability and National Sovereignty
in European law journal**, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 180–203

The economic crisis has paved the way for reconsideration of the Eurozone's constitutional design. This paper shows that what may seem as a massive empowerment of European institutions at the cost of national economic sovereignty in actual constitutional practice has left economic policy coordination largely unchanged. By means of conceptualising its previous and current patterns as a game between supranational and national institutions, it is shown that the scale of change has been widely exaggerated. The new Eurozone design has mitigated in practice the extent to which national economic sovereignty has been undermined, but only at the cost of shifting to the European Central Bank the burden of shoring up the stability of the common currency; such burden the ECB is bound to prove unable to sustain in the long run.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parguez Alain

**Economic Theories of Social Order and the Origins of the Euro
in International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 2-16

This paper explores how the Euro project became a reality as a result of conflicting political and economic forces. The idea was born in the interwar period in France, among a circle of Traditionalist elites and conservative intellectuals, politicians, and businessmen. They dreamed of restoring an allegedly genuine social order that would guarantee social stability and the rule of reason against what they considered to be the abomination of the American lawless society. Since then, the Euro project has never ceased to reflect such conservative and inherently anti-Keynesian impulses, which are now perfectly expressed in the Stability and Growth Pact. But if the design of European integration was inspired by a desire for an "ordered society," it resulted in generalized instability, as we witness today. This paradox is at the root of the inability of European elites to understand the causes of the euro's crisis and of their stubborn reliance on the same deadly provisions that contradict their intentions of strengthening Europe, in what appears increasingly to be a collective denial of reality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andreas Nölke

**Economic causes of the Eurozone crisis: the analytical contribution of Comparative Capitalism
in Socio-Economic Review**, Volume 14 Issue 1 , 141-146

The article discusses advances and limitations of Comparative Capitalism scholarship on the causes of the Eurozone crisis. It explains the crisis by highlighting four basic mechanisms: first, the absence of a system of coordinated wage bargaining has been made responsible for the loss of cost competitiveness. Second, the specialization in price-sensitive medium-quality goods and the corresponding loss of market shares to emerging markets has been attributed to the weak innovation systems of Southern economies. Third, the loss of competitiveness has been masked temporarily by a



strong increase of public indebtedness and, fourth, private household indebtedness. These four explanations do not put the blame for the Eurozone crisis on a single government or a single type of actors, but rather highlight the systemic causes for the crisis, brought about by the construction of a common currency for institutionally very heterogeneous economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Behnke Nathalie

Effekte der Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrise auf die bundesdeutsche Ministerialbürokratie – Weitere Zentralisierung und funktionale Politisierung

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 179-194

Effects of the financial and economic crisis on the German ministerial bureaucracy – further centralization and functional politicization

Abstract

As a reaction to the financial and economic crisis, since 2011 European institutions extended existing mechanisms of EU-wide coordination and control of national policies considerably; this shifted also the vertical and horizontal balance of powers in the EU multilevel system. At national level, we observe shifts from the legislature to the executive and within the executive towards the core executive. Starting from the assumption that the new European mechanisms of governance create an enhanced pressure for coordination for national executives, this study analyses the effects on the German federal ministerial bureaucracy. On the one hand, within the executive, competences of decision-making are shifted towards the Chancellor's Office, resulting in a hierarchization of cabinet; on the other hand, within the departments, the administrative elite increasingly acts upon a logic of functional politicization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

JOSÉ M. DE AREILZA CARVAJAL

El más y el menos liberal de la UE

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n.156

El ecuador del seminario estuvo reservado a la perspectiva europea, ahí la amistad impecable de su autor de la que disfrutamos en Nueva Revista le llevó a responder a las demandas de la convocatoria, sin dejar de trazar por ello, en contadas palabras, las claves de gobierno europeas. Areilza viene siendo un excelente conocedor español de las múltiples dimensiones de la ue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tulli Umberto



Electing the European Parliament: Some Historiographical Notes
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 1 , pp. 214-228

Despite the growing literature on the history of European integration, scholars have not reached a general consensus on the rationale for the introduction of direct elections to the European Parliament. This review article analyses representative books and articles through three levels of analysis: the evolution of the European Community institutional framework; the role of national governments; and the contribution of European federalist movements. In doing that, the article highlights the lack of a clear synthesis and the need to investigate the role and perception of the European Parliament before its direct elections. Indeed, the controversy over direct elections demonstrates that, far from being a useless talking shop, the European Parliament was a creative institution and a target for both federalists' hopes and national governments' fears. The former considered the introduction of elections as a trigger to democratise and federalise Europe; the latter suspected to lose their power as the only depositaries of national sovereignty.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael W. Mosser

Embracing “embedded security”: the OSCE's understated but significant role in the European security architecture

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 579-599

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is perhaps the world's least-known major security organization. However, the same characteristic which puts the OSCE seemingly continually on the verge of irrelevance with respect to the other actors in European and global security is in fact what has allowed it to endure and is in fact its greatest asset. That is, the OSCE's distinct combination of modern and postmodern characteristics in both its composition and its activities allows it to create what can be called “embedded security”. Tracing the evolution of one particular set of decision-making rules embedded within a normative framework which questioned the fundamental meanings of “security”, and exploring present-day activities, this article reinterprets the OSCE in the light of this new model. In so doing, it re-contextualizes both the OSCE's origins and its contemporary relevance. Instead of a modernist, functional, rule-driven interpretation which situates the OSCE on the periphery in a crowded field, this explanation puts the OSCE at the centre of the postmodern and normative European security architecture.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luengo Óscar G., Marín Javier G., Fernández-García Belén

Emergent anti-establishment political parties in Europe: exploring lessons from Southern Europe
in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 9, Issue 4, March 2016 , 251-266

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aydın-Düzgit Senem, Kaliber Alper



Encounters with Europe in an Era of Domestic and International Turmoil: Is Turkey a De-Europeanising Candidate Country?

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 1-14

This article provides a novel conceptual framework to understand the impact of the European Union on Turkish politics and policies in the aftermath of the opening of accession negotiations in 2005. It argues that the post-2005 developments in Turkey not only attest to lesser and more limited Europeanisation, but also entail a process that is increasingly gaining momentum in the country and which is referred to as 'de-Europeanisation'.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2016.1155282>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Philip Arestis and Peter Phelps

Endogeneity Analysis of Output Synchronization in the Current and Prospective EMU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

The sustainability of European EMU (economic and monetary union) remains an important issue in light of existing plans for enlargement. This article conducts an endogeneity analysis of output synchronization, based on panel data estimation from 1994 to 2013, for different country-groups, including core, periphery, central and eastern European countries, northern European countries and the prospective candidate countries, which are expected to adopt the euro over the coming years. The quantification of trade-related and direct spillover channels associated with monetary integration provides insight into the relative importance of direct and indirect synchronization gains arising from EMU membership. The use of amplitude and concordance measures of synchronization and a range of estimators enhances robustness. Important endogeneity implications emerge from our analysis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Slominski Peter

Energy and climate policy: does the competitiveness narrative prevail in times of crisis?

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 343-357

There is little research on how the economic crisis has affected the EU's climate and energy policies. Addressing this research gap, this article argues that the economic crisis has not fundamentally changed the broad trajectory of EU energy and climate policy. Broad policy objectives and the preferences of EU member states have remained stable. However, within these broad parameters the main impact of the economic crisis has been on the EU energy and climate discourse that, in turn, has influenced the EU decision-making process and policy outcome in two ways, both of which have led to a certain decline of ambition in EU climate policy. First, it has changed the hierarchy of priorities of EU policy-makers to paying more attention to economic problems rather than climate change, renewables or energy efficiency. Secondly, the crisis has strengthened the concerns of cost implications of climate measures. While both developments impede an ambitious climate policy, we also found evidence that measures which are designed to stimulate economic recovery may also facilitate policy reform and further integration in the field.



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Natalia Chaban, Michèle Knodt

**Energy diplomacy in the context of multistakeholder diplomacy: The EU and BICS
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 50 (4) , 457-474**

This paper examines a supranational actor, the European Union (EU), as a producer of energy diplomacy. This study uses a comparative analytical framework of state-centred vs. multistakeholder diplomacies to explore EU energy diplomacy towards the 'emerging' powers of Brazil, India, China and South Africa (BICS). It also elaborates the multistakeholder model by advocating the inclusion of a new element – a consumer of diplomatic actions – into its conceptualization. In this way the paper suggests a new synthesis of the concepts of multistakeholder and public diplomacies. Advancing the notion of energy diplomacy, our analysis suggests that this type of diplomacy goes beyond state actors as producers of diplomatic outcomes, and is no longer confined to the norms of security of supply and competitiveness; EU energy diplomacy is a complex blend of multistakeholder and state-centred diplomacies, participants (producers and consumers) and communication modes. This comprehensive approach to diplomacy – led in the EU's case by norms of sustainability, competitiveness and security of supply – is a response to the challenges of global governance, multipolarity and multinational cross-sectoral networks.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Petsinis Vassilis

**Ethnic Relations, the EU, and Geopolitical Implications: The Cases of Estonia and Croatia
in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 15, Issue 2 , 230-244**

This study is a comparison between the patterns for managing ethnic relations in Croatia and Estonia within the context of the EU's eastward enlargement. It sets in context how internal and external actors impact upon the management of ethnic relations in both states. Systemic transformation has generated the circumstances towards the formulation of a consistent and extensive legislation on minority rights in Croatia. Meanwhile, in Estonia, the emphasis on national survival and safeguarding the 'Estonian' character of the republic has halted more substantial developments despite the state of social stability.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

POL MORILLAS

**Europa en 2020, tres escenarios
in *Política Exterior*, nº 169**

La crisis de Grecia, la llegada de refugiados y la posible salida de Reino Unido seguirán siendo los grandes problemas de la UE en 2016. El éxito o fracaso en su resolución no está escrito de antemano. La forma en que la UE los afronte dará lugar a tres dinámicas distintas.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bagnoli Paolo

Europa implosa tra retorica e crisi

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 3, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonio Moreno Juste, José Luis Neila Hernández

Europa tres décadas después de la caída del Muro

in *Revista de Occidente*, Número 418 , 36-57

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bielefeld Ulrich

Europa: Vergesellschaftung jenseits des Nationalstaates - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 14-15, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/223925/europa-vergesellschaftung-jenseits-des-nationalstaates>

Europa sei klinisch tot. So fasste die französische Zeitung "Le Monde" die Lage im Rahmen der aktuellen Flüchtlingskrise Ende Februar 2016 zusammen. Sollte dies der Fall sein, haben unterschiedliche Akteure aktive Sterbehilfe geleistet oder verweigern die erforderliche Nothilfe. Europa aber kann nicht sterben. Sprachen, Kulturen, Gemeinschaften, Nationen, Beziehungen, Industrien, die Leute, die lange Geschichte – alles wird es weiter geben. Die Europäische Union als eine politische Form der Selbstorganisation dieses großen Ensembles, als neue und eigenständige Form politischer Vergesellschaftung, Europa als politische Gesellschaft jedoch kann beendet werden, kann untergehen. Es gibt viele Gründe, sich gegen diesen möglichen Untergang zu wehren – politische, ökonomische, kulturelle, soziale.

Die europäische Gegenwart ist geprägt von der Existenz eines spezifischen Herrschaftsverbandes. In diesem kommt es auf das Verhältnis von Einheit und Einigung, von Souveränität und Solidarität an. Setzen die Nationalstaaten auf Einheit und Souveränität, so agiert Europa als Gesellschaft mittels immer riskanter Einigung und endemisch auszuhandelnder Solidarität. Einheit und Souveränität müssen beständig in ein Verhältnis zu Einigung und Solidarität gebracht werden. Krise war und ist die Normalität eines solchen Verbandes. Es ist, so möchte ich argumentieren, die faktische politische, rechtliche und soziale Möglichkeit des Untergangs, des Ermattens Europas als Gesellschaft, die seine Sonderstellung, seine Andersheit, ja die Logik seiner Form der politischen Vergesellschaftung ausmacht. In den existenziell gewordenen



Krisen zunächst des Geldes und nun der Flüchtlinge, das heißt der Aufnahme oder Nichtaufnahme von Menschen, stehen beständig Grundlagen der politischen Form nicht nur zur Diskussion, sondern zur Disposition. Europa als – politische – Gesellschaft hat für alle Mitgliedstaaten immer eine vorhandene Alternative, den Nationalstaat und seine Institutionen...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ciuffoletti Zeffiro

Europa: fallimento del progetto costituzionale e crisi d'identità

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio, 179-190

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Johansson Karl Magnus

Europarty Influence and Its Limits: The Case of the European People's Party and the Amsterdam Treaty

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 1, 79-94

This article explores the conditions for Europarty influence. Europarties can be expected to matter when they are in numerical ascendance, relatively cohesive and able to mobilize their networks of political parties and leaders. The explanatory power of this argument is tested empirically through an in-depth case study: the role of the centre-right European People's Party (EPP) in the negotiations leading to the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997. The article submits and documents that there is a transnational dimension to such treaty reform, that there is Europarty influence but clear limits to such influence. The case demonstrates how factors pertaining to domestic politics, especially in Germany where chancellor Kohl was severely constrained in the search for a compromise over the new treaty, limited the scope for the EPP to more significantly shape the outcome of the treaty negotiations. Accordingly, domestic political context condition Europarty influence.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balme Richard

Europe from a Global Perspective. The successive configurations of regional integration

in *Politique européenne*, n. 50, 2015/4, 262 à 282

What are the factors founding the specificity and the singularity of European Integration? To what extent does the European experience shed light on regionalization patterns observed in other parts of the world, and vice-versa? In order to be properly assessed, regionalization processes need to be contextualized. By this we mean that the spatial, temporal and cultural dimensions shaping the political interests, meanings and behavioral investments in regionalization are at the core of their understanding. The following pages develop the implications of this claim in the perspective formalized in particular by Charles Tilly and Robert Goodin. Variations in regional institutions across continents largely stems from the impact of local circumstances. What are these contextual effects and how do they operate? This what



we try to clarify in the European case. Effects of location and temporality jointly combine to explain in this perspective the unicity and singularity of regional integration in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

Europe in Crisis: the Responsibilities of Politics

in Federalist Debate (The), XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

I feel particularly honoured to receive the degree honoris causa that you have generously conferred; and even more honoured to see my name alongside those of eminent Italian and foreign personalities who have, over time, received this high distinction before me. These include above all Luigi Einaudi, my most distant predecessor in the seven-year term of President of the Republic, but the one I feel closest to for his example for my work at the Quirinale. And I would also like to recall the names of Altiero Spinelli and Amartya Sen, about whom I would like to briefly talk and offer my personal tribute.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hauke Brunkhorst

European Constitutionalization Between Capitalism and Democracy

in Constellations, Vol. 23, Issue 1, March

According to the author the EU was not founded as an international association of States. On the contrary it was founded as a community of peoples who legitimated the process of European unification directly and democratically through their combined, but still national, constitutional powers. At the same time and with the same funding act, these peoples, acting in plural, constituted a single European citizenship. Therefore, from the very beginning, the treaties were not just intergovernmental agreements but legal documents with a constitutional quality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Björn Jindra, Sohaib S. Hassan, Jutta Günther and Uwe Cantner

European Integration and Outward FDI from Central and Eastern Europe – Is There Any Evidence of Knowledge-seeking?

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 53, Issue 6

The European Union (EU) Member States in central and eastern Europe (CEE) witnessed a surge in outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) between 2000 and the start of the global financial crisis. This article investigates whether the European integration process altered the relative importance of host country location factors. In particular, we investigate to what extent knowledge-seeking is a relevant investment motive, which has been documented as a key determinant for OFDI from other emerging economies. We apply a discrete choice approach to model foreign location choice of firms from CEE countries (CEECs) within the EU 27 (1996–2010). We find that the EU integration process is related with increasing importance of market access and less emphasis on labour cost advantages. We find



heterogeneity in the valuation of foreign knowledge-related assets. The location probability within the EU15 is positively associated with knowledge-seeking. It also plays a role for technology-intensive industries and larger firms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Åslund Anders

**European Integration from Washington's Perspective   **

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 43-44

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mekaa Eltion

European Integration, Democratic Consolidation, and Democratic Regression in CEE: An Institutional Assessment

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 2 , 179-194

The European integration of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) was supposed to bring democratic consolidation in the region. Post-accession, however, we have been witnessing democratic regression in a number of cases. Thus, an interesting question has risen as a result of this puzzling outcome. This paper attempts to provide an institutional argument for the post-accession divergent patterns of CEE by tying post-accession performance to political competition during the pre-accession process. Using the effective number of parliamentary parties, this article argues that the pre-accession process of the Eastern enlargement was more conducive to democratic consolidation under those democracies with a higher number of effective parties. Additionally, the paper shows that more fragmented party systems exhibited higher levels of party-based euroskepticism. The dual nature of the argument suggests that the more fragmented and euroskeptic a party system during the pre-accession process, the higher the likelihood of democratic consolidation in the post-accession period.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Alison Johnston and Aidan Regan

European Monetary Integration and the Incompatibility of National Varieties of Capitalism

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

The Varieties of Capitalism literature offers two competing hypotheses on institutional resilience. One argues that globalization promotes convergence towards a neo-liberal system. Another stipulates that diverse capitalist regimes promote different comparative advantages, enabling diverse political economies to co-exist. In this article, we argue that the compatibility of diverse models of capitalism is contingent upon monetary regime. We examine how different currency regimes influence the mutual co-existence of export-led growth models (euro core) and domestic demand-led growth models (euro periphery). Under EMU, we find that these two models have become increasingly incompatible, as unsustainable divergences in external balances have emerged between them. We hypothesize that external imbalances



between these two growth regimes did not emerge prior to EMU because of the presence of two inflation adjustment mechanisms in the real exchange rate; the nominal exchange rate (in soft currency regimes) and national central banks' promotion of inflation convergence (in hard currency regimes).

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Avdikos Vasilis, Chardas Anastassios

European Union Cohesion Policy Post 2014: More (Place-Based and Conditional) Growth – Less Redistribution and Cohesion

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 4, Issue 1 , 97-117

The paper argues that the European Union Cohesion Policy 2014–2020 is re-oriented, away from the traditional goal of promoting balanced socio-economic development, towards a regional growth-policy perspective that puts the issue of competitiveness as a prerequisite for regional convergence. Through the analysis of two sets of reforms of the new Cohesion Policy, namely the place-based approach and the conditionalities, thematic priorities and the performance reserve, we show that the new Cohesion Policy provides a novel policy context that is likely to exacerbate the already existing disparities in economic performance amongst the European Union territories and augment existing uneven spatial relations.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21622671.2014.992460>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Drent Margriet, Zandee Dick

European defence: from strategy to delivery

in Global Affairs, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 69-78

The new Global Strategy should provide the overall direction for the European Union's foreign and security policy in a world of multiple and complex challenges and threats. A stronger Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is indispensable for a secure Europe and necessary to underpin the EU's role as a security provider. However, without credible armed forces the EU will remain a paper tiger. A European Defence White Book has to translate the Global Strategy into CSDP ambition levels, military objectives and capability needs. It should also define a new process as to how to deliver these. Voluntarism and free riding has to be replaced by political peer pressure, assessment and the accountability of the member states' efforts to improve required capabilities for solving Europe's shortfalls. All financial incentives should be used, including those offered by the Union budget to support the development of dual-use capacities in areas like communications, intelligence, reconnaissance and protection.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2016.1152447>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agirdag Orhan, Phalet Karen, Van Houtte Mieke

European identity as a unifying category: National vs. European identification among native and immigrant pupils



in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 285-302

This article investigates whether European identity is a feasible and functional alternative to national identity. We examine the extent, determinants and consequences of national and European identification among (immigrant) Turkish and native Belgian pupils, with data gathered from 1629 pupils across 68 Belgian schools. The results show that immigrant Turkish pupils identify more strongly with Europe than with Belgium. The groups are closer to each other with respect to their European identification, while the latter is not in conflict with national identification. Moreover, European identity is less ethnically and more civically defined than national identity. Importantly, European identification was moderately related to academic achievement, though it is hard to make a causal claim.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hampshire James

European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty: introduction to the special issue

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 537-553

The papers in this Special Issue address various facets of this complex and evolving field, including the EU's migration relations with non-EU countries, its interactions with international organisations, the structure of European asylum policies, and national-level labour migration policy-making. While each paper examines dynamics that are particular to the sub-field in question, collectively the papers aim to provide an overarching analysis of the shape and substance of European migration governance six years after the Treaty of Lisbon. The Issue explicitly reflects the increasingly multilevel nature of European migration governance, which incorporates supranational, international, national, and sub-national authority structures, and the increasingly complex array of actors operating at—and often across—each level. While not all levels or actors are equally important across different migration policy sub-fields, there is no longer an iota of migration policy that does not involve complex interactions between European, national, and international institutions and actors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boşnak BÜke

Europeanisation and De-Europeanisation Dynamics in Turkey: The Case of Environmental Organisations

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 75-90

While Europeanisation of civil society in Turkey has received considerable attention, there has been much less interest in how environmental organisations, as key civil society actors, have been affected by Europeanisation/de-Europeanisation dynamics. Interviews with civil society representatives and European Union (EU) and Turkish policy-makers indicate that the EU impact on environmental organisations has been ambivalent, and that Europeanisation dynamics are intertwined with the adverse consequences of these processes. While Turkey's EU candidacy has empowered civil society through both EU-isation and Europeanisation, there has also been a remarkable rise of scepticism towards the EU's civil society strategy and the EU has lost its attractiveness as a normative context in



environmental debates.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Furness Mark, Olsen Gorm Rye

Europeanisation and the EU's comprehensive approach to crisis management in Africa

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 105-119

This article asks to what extent the European Union (EU) and its member states actually pursued and implemented comprehensive approaches in relation to crisis management in Africa. It also asks what can explain the lack of full implementation of the comprehensive approach in the cases of South Sudan, Mali and the Central African Republic. It is shown that EU member states saw the added value of the common EU approach while at the same time they pursued national interests at odds with the common goals of the EU. The flaws in implementation of the comprehensive approach are mainly explained by member states' preoccupation with taking care of national interests rather than joining ranks with other member states and the EU institutions. There appears to be an exception to the rule: when Europe's security is perceived as being high on the agenda, the implementation of the comprehensive approach may follow policy declarations more closely. The comprehensive approach nevertheless indicates an emerging Europeanisation norm influencing policy approaches to the sensitive nexuses that link security, development and crisis response. Evidence from country-level interventions reveals that this norm is yet to impact on the member state political will required to Europeanise country-level implementation where important national interests are perceived to be at stake.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbehöna Marlon

Europeanisation as Discursive Process: Urban Constructions of Europe and the Local Implementation of EU Directives

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 2 , 163-177

Constructivist approaches to European integration maintain that the meaning of 'the EU' is a variable artefact contingent upon context-specific social practices. However, in Europeanisation scholarship, this premise has not yet settled, with the EU typically being treated as an objective reality constituting either adaptational pressures or windows of opportunities for domestic politics. This applies also to the research on the Europeanisation of cities which neglects what Europe means locally. This article addresses this question by proposing a discourse-analytical conceptualisation which investigates the interdependency of urban discursive practices and the political processes of dealing with EU directives. Using the empirical examples of Frankfurt and Dortmund, it is shown how 'the EU' is discursively constructed and how these constructions constitute specific spaces of possibilities for implementing the EU directive on ambient air quality. The analysis reveals that cities feature distinct stocks of knowledge which help to explain the locally varying processes of Europeanisation.

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Brazys Samuel, Lightfoot Simon

Europeanisation in Aid for Trade: the impact of capacity and socialisation

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 120-135

This paper explores the extent bilateral adoption of Aid for Trade (AfT) norms in Europe is the result of a Europeanisation process. Using three case study countries (Germany, Ireland, Czech Republic) we examine the level of Europeanisation across policies, politics and polities. We highlight the roles played by socialisation and capacity within this field, which forms an important test case for the Europeanisation of development policies as it blurs the distinction between the European Union (EU)-member state shared competences of development with the EU single competence of trade. We find significant variation in both the depth and speed in adapting the EU AfT norms. Our investigation into the AfT Europeanisation process in Germany, Ireland and the Czech Republic found this variation to be a function of both capacity and socialisation with the caveat that capacity appears as a more influential explanatory factor in the depth of Europeanisation while socialisation may promote a speedier process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delputte Sarah, Lannoo Steven, Orbie Jan, Verschaeve Joren

Europeanisation of aid budgets: nothing is as it seems

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 74-89

In 2002 the European Union (EU) decided to gradually increase its official development assistance (ODA) towards the '0.7% norm' by 2015. Both in terms of policy and in terms of procedures, this constituted a remarkable integrationist shift in EU development policy. However, it is unclear to what extent this integrationist shift (bottom-up) has effectively enhanced the EU's influence over its member states (top-down). More than 13 years after the EU's explicit goal to Europeanise the ODA issue, this article aims to assess to what extent it has been successful. More specifically, it analyses the impact of the EU's '0.7% norm' on the national aid budgets. Through an inductive analysis involving 15 member states over a large time span, a comprehensive assessment of Europeanisation is provided. The conclusion reads that nothing is like it seems: ostensible compliance with EU targets appears mostly unrelated to the EU, while the EU might have contributed to non-compliance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yılmaz Gzde

Europeanisation or De-Europeanisation? Media Freedom in Turkey (1999–2015)

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 147-161

The European Union (EU) has successfully been exercising its transformative power through both its enlargement and its neighbourhood policies for decades. Nonetheless, transformation towards a more European model of governance through Europeanisation is not a linear process, but a differentiated one. Adverse consequences for Europeanisation (i.e. de-Europeanisation) have often been neglected. The case of media freedom in Turkey, with a deteriorating trend



across time, exemplifies such an outcome. This article explores media freedom in Turkey in the last decade. It argues that media reforms have been reversed over time in a de-Europeanising trend, with the EU losing its position as a reference point for reforms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Felice Damiano de

Europeanisation should meet international constructivism: the Nordic Plus group and the internalisation of political conditionality by France and the United Kingdom

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 58-73

This article is a plausibility probe for the significance of international constructivist 'mediating factors' to explain variation in Europeanisation outcomes. It applies a most similar systems design (or Mill's method of difference) to show that the UK has internalised political conditionality to a larger extent than France at least partially because it has been the object of stronger socialisation pressures within the 'Nordic Plus' group. The article contributes to the literature on Europeanisation and development cooperation in two important ways. First, it enlarges its scope of analysis, both geographically (beyond new European Union member states) and thematically (beyond simple measures of aid quality and/or quantity). Second, it emphasises the importance of international (versus domestic) mediating factors. The empirical analysis focusses on three cases of aid sanctions in response to human rights abuses and democratic setbacks: Zimbabwe 2002, Madagascar 2009 and Mozambique 2009.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cumming Gordon D.

Europeanisation through the prism of regime complexity: the case of French aid

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 12-27

The challenge of isolating the impact of Europeanisation is an arduous one, which explains why analysts have preferred complex rather than parsimonious explanations of this phenomenon. Given this predilection among scholars, it is surprising that the concept of regime complexity has not been meaningfully applied in the Europeanisation literature. This article lays some initial groundwork for assessing whether regime complexity has weakened or reinforced the impact of Europeanisation, with reference specifically to French aid. This article begins by highlighting the limited impact of Europeanisation on French assistance in the early decades of European integration. Next, it demonstrates how the climate became more propitious as from the late 1990s following domestic reforms, increased European Union (EU) pressures and the emergence of an aid regime complex. Drawing on elite interviews, it shows how France has become more receptive to Europeanisation, while also using regime complexity to reframe EU norms. Finally, it explains why and how France has resisted Europeanisation and explores the wider significance of the French case and of regime complexity.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kyriakos Moumoutzis and Sotirios Zartaloudis

Europeanization Mechanisms and Process Tracing: A Template for Empirical Research
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

While the literature on Europeanization has exhibited considerable awareness of the methodological challenge of establishing causal relations between non-binding EU stimuli and domestic change, less work has been done on how this challenge might be met. This article contributes to the literature's attempts to meet this challenge by: 1) reformulating four explanations of Europeanization based on four distinct causal mechanisms (instrumental learning, social learning, naming and shaming and peer pressure); 2) specifying their observable implications for three intervening steps between EU stimuli and change in national policy (the definition of the policy problem, the alternative courses of action considered and the manner in which they were assessed); 3) defending process tracing against critiques of its usefulness for research on Europeanization; and 4) providing practical guidelines on how process tracing can be used to test these four explanations empirically, using examples from employment policy, where non-binding EU stimuli feature most prominently.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Barslund Mikkel, Gros Daniel

Europe's Place in the Global Economy — What Does the Last Half Century Suggest for the Future?
  

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016, Pages 5-11

When *Intereconomics* was founded 50 years ago, the world was very different. In this contribution, we describe some of the major developments in the global economy and provide an outlook for the medium-term future until 2030. We assess broad demographic trends for major regions of the world, then look at GDP growth and trade, before we turn to human capital and innovation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krotz Ulrich, Maher Richard

Europe's crises and the EU's 'big three'

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 5, 1053-1072

ABSTRACT: This article examines the impact and significance of the Crimea–Ukraine–Russia and the eurozone crises on relations among and between the EU's three biggest member states – Britain, France and Germany – as well as their individual influence and roles within the EU. The Ukraine and eurozone crises have revealed and intensified three longer-term developments in contemporary European politics: Germany's rise as the EU's most powerful member state and its role as Europe's indispensable policy broker; the resilience and centrality of Franco-German bilateralism, despite the growing power imbalance separating the two; and Britain's diminished and diminishing role in EU affairs. To put the current period of turmoil in perspective, this article also aims to contribute to a better understanding of the operating logic of crisis, continuity and change in the relations of the EU's big three member states.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laffan Brigid

**Europe's union in crisis: tested and contested
in West European Politics**, vol. 39, n. 5 , 915-932

ABSTRACT: This special issue explores how Europe's Union is tested through crises but also faces explicit contestation in troubled times. Crises are 'open moments' that impact on rulers and ruled, testing existing paradigms, policies, politics, institutional roles and rules. The papers in this special issue test the resilience of the Union in crisis conditions, the post-functionalist interpretation of contemporary integration, the legacy of the crisis for politics and institutions in Europe and the impact of the crisis on key bilateral relations. Four thematic issues are addressed: the resilience of the EU, multilevel politics, patterns of continuity and change and the relationship between the whole (EU) and the member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bright Jonathan, Garzia Diego, Lacey Joseph, Trechsel Alexander

**Europe's voting space and the problem of second-order elections: A transnational proposal
in European Union Politics** , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 184-198

This article offers an empirically driven critical consideration of the idea of transnationalising Europe's voting space, which would mean allowing European citizens to vote for a party from any member state at the European Parliament elections. We argue that such a move would reduce the second-order problem in European elections, as it would force political parties to move away from campaigning solely on national issues. We also claim that it would improve the extent to which Europeans are represented in their parliament and would be particularly welcomed by citizens currently dissatisfied with the state of their national democracy. We offer evidence to back up these claims, based on data on the political preferences of almost half a million Europeans and 274 European parties.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lembke Ulrike

**Europäisches Antidiskriminierungsrecht in Deutschland
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 9, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/221575/europaeisches-antidiskriminierungsrecht-in-deutschland>

Vor zehn Jahren, im August 2006, trat das Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (AGG) in Kraft. Es verbietet Diskriminierungen aufgrund der ethnischen Herkunft, des Geschlechts, der Religion oder Weltanschauung, einer Behinderung, des Alters oder der sexuellen Identität sowie rassistische Diskriminierungen. Das AGG ist das zentrale



Regelungswerk zur Umsetzung der europäischen Antidiskriminierungsrichtlinien in Deutschland. Mit seinem Erlass waren Befürchtungen bezüglich gewachsener nationaler Rechtsstrukturen ebenso verbunden wie große Hoffnungen auf effektive Gleichheit und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe. Antidiskriminierungsrecht ist in Deutschland mittlerweile etabliert; den europäischen Standard erreicht es aber nicht...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Busek Erhard

Europäisches Sozialmodell versus Globalisierung

in *Europäische Rundschau*, 44. Jahrgang, Nummer 1 , 19-22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brandstaller Trautl

Europäisches Sozialmodell versus Globalisierung

in *Europäische Rundschau*, 44. Jahrgang, Nummer 1 , 23-26

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kropp Sabine, Buzogány Aron

Europäisierung informaler Regierungskontrolle. Informationsgewinnung im deutschen, schwedischen und ungarischen Parlament

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 215-230

Abstract

Europeanisation of Informal Parliamentary Scrutiny. Information gathering in the German, Swedish and Hungarian Parliament

This paper analyses informal strategies of information-gathering used by national parliaments in controlling and co-steering their governments in EU affairs. Based on an empirical study of the German, Swedish and Hungarian parliament, we show that individual MPs and party groups have established numerous informal channels to obtain relevant information and that these are undergoing a process of institutionalization. Informal channels are mainly used to obtain politically relevant information (in contrast to highly specialized expertise) that is ready to use in the parliamentary context. Informal strategies of information-gathering can be thus seen as a central requirement for efficient checks and balances in the European multi-level system.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beaupain Renaud, Durré Alain

Excess liquidity and the money market in the euro area

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 47, Part A, March 2016 , Pages 33-44

This paper assesses the impact of the fixed-rate full-allotment procedure implemented by the European Central Bank (ECB) in October 2008 on the functioning of the interbank money market. More specifically, our work examines whether the excess liquidity positions of financial institutions observed during the fixed-rate full-allotment period have altered the activity and the liquidity of the overnight segment of the euro area money market. In normal times, the limited amount of excess liquidity makes the dynamics of the money market insensitive to it. In contrast, the introduction of the fixed-rate full-allotment procedure – as one prominent unconventional measure of the ECB – has made the dynamics of the money market growingly dependent on the time-varying level of excess liquidity in the euro area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicole Rae Baerg Mark Hallerberg

Explaining Instability in the Stability and Growth Pact The Contribution of Member State Power and Euroskepticism to the Euro Crisis

in *Comparative Political Studies* , 49 (7) , 968-1009

The Stability and Growth Pact clearly failed to prevent the euro crisis. We contend that the failure was due largely to the ability of the Member States to undermine the Pact's operation. The European Commission served as a "watchdog" to monitor fiscal performance. The Member States themselves, however, collectively had the ability to change the content of the reports for individual states. We confirm the expectation that powerful Member States had the most success in undermining the role of the Commission. Perhaps more surprisingly, we find supporting evidence for our argument that governments with euroskeptic populations behind them were also more successful in weakening the Commission's warnings. These results have broader theoretical implications concerning which mechanisms explain country-specific outcomes under a shared rule. Another contribution is the creation of a new data set of European Commission assessments of Member State economic programs and Council of Minister revisions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christer Karlsson

Explaining constitutional change: making sense of cross-national variation among European Union member states

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 2

This study examines how European Union member states have undertaken constitutional change to adjust to the new conditions that follow from membership in this supranational organization. The article seeks to explain what factors determine why constitutional reform induced by EU membership is sometimes brought about by changing the wording of the constitutional document (explicit change), and sometimes by changing the meaning of the constitution while leaving the constitutional text itself unaltered (implicit change). The current study provides new insights regarding constitutional



change by formulating and testing a number of rival hypotheses about what explains cross-national variation in the use of different methods for achieving constitutional reform. The results show that three factors stand out as important determinants for EU-induced constitutional change: constitutional rigidity; public opinion; and the number of cabinet parties.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mahr Ewa, Ringe Nils

Explaining the European Parliament's Legislative Clout

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 1, March 2016, 25-47

The full text is free:

<http://link.springer.com/journal/41358/26/1/page/1>

This article investigates which factors shape the European Parliament's (EP) bargaining success under the codecision procedure, focusing on three sets of predictors that operate at the levels of the rapporteur and the responsible EP committee: ideological distances to the Council of Ministers, qualifications of MEPs, and institutional factors. Our results indicate that greater ideological distance between EP delegates and the Council depresses bargaining success; that inter-institutional contestation becomes more focused on the left-right dimension over time; that several factors that one might expect to benefit EP bargaining success in fact show a negative correlation; and that rapporteur-level variables are the most important predictors during the 1999–2004 EP term, while committee-level predictors matter from 2004–2009 – a difference we ascribe to successively greater oversight of rapporteurs by their parent committees.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reynolds Stephanie

Explaining the constitutional drivers behind a perceived judicial preference for free movement over fundamental rights

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 3, 643-667

ABSTRACT: The ECJ's use of a breach/justification methodology to adjudicate tensions between free movement and fundamental rights has led to criticism that it prioritizes the former over the latter. While this article agrees that the structural presentation of fundamental rights as a "defence" to a prima facie restriction of free movement under the current adjudicative framework is problematic, it rejects the argument that this is evidence of some contestable subjective attitude on the part of the ECJ. Rather, it develops the position that the breach/justification model is the product of free movement's historical and ongoing significance within EU law. Crucially, it explains the specific constitutional drivers – such as the expansion in free movement's material and personal scope, the extension of its direct effect, and the strengthening of a decentralized enforcement system – that brought free movement into more frequent and more abrasive contact with fundamental rights. It is these developments that rendered the previously unproblematic breach/justification methodology a cause for concern.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

van der Schyff Gerhard

Exploring Member State and European Union Constitutional Identity

in European public Law, Volume 22 - Issue 02 , 227–241

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Erik Jones, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier

Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration

in Comparative Political Studies , 49 (7) , 1010-1034

The European Union (EU) project of combining a single market with a common currency was incomplete from its inception. This article shows that the incompleteness of the governance architecture of Europe's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) was both a cause of the euro crisis and a characteristic pattern of the policy responses to the crisis. We develop a "failing forward" argument to explain the dynamics of European integration using recent experience in the eurozone as an illustration: Intergovernmental bargaining leads to incompleteness because it forces states with diverse preferences to settle on lowest common denominator solutions. Incompleteness then unleashes forces that lead to crisis. Member states respond by again agreeing to lowest common denominator solutions, which address the crisis and lead to deeper integration. To date, this sequential cycle of piecemeal reform, followed by policy failure, followed by further reform, has managed to sustain both the European project and the common currency. However, this approach entails clear risks. Economically, the policy failures engendered by this incremental approach to the construction of EMU have been catastrophic for the citizens of many crisis-plagued member states. Politically, the perception that the EU is constantly in crisis and in need of reforms to salvage the union is undermining popular support for European integration.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomas Hemmelgarn, Gaëtan Nicodème, Bogdan Tasnadi, Pol Vermote

Financial Transaction Taxes In The European Union

in National Tax Journal, Volume 69, issue 1 , 217-240

The merits and demerits of financial transaction taxes have been heavily debated among economists, who remain divided on the effects of the taxes on trading volumes, market liquidity, and quotes volatility. In 2011, the European Commission put forth a legislative proposal for a common system of financial transaction taxes in the European Union. The proposal did not gather unanimity among all Member States and eleven asked to go ahead under the so-called enhanced cooperation procedure. In parallel, countries such as France and Italy have introduced their own taxes, while others of the group of eleven already had an FTT in place (Belgium and Greece). Discussions between Member States on the final design of the financial transaction tax are progressing, but to date no final decision has been made. This paper reviews the most recent economic literature on the effects of financial transaction taxes, with a focus on those recently introduced. It also details the proposals made by the European Commission.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kudrna Zdenek

Financial market regulation: crisis-induced supranationalization

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 251-264

This article reviews the crisis-induced reforms of financial market regulation in the European Union (EU) from the perspective of the joint-decision trap and the orders of change frameworks. It argues that although the legislative response of the EU was quick and substantial, most reforms were lower-order changes that expanded existing regulatory tools and introduced several new ones. Only the banking union can be classified as a paradigmatic change, because its adoption required overcoming a long-lasting joint-decision trap. The crisis had changed the default condition of this trap by threatening a Eurozone break-up, which induced member states to reconsider their policy preferences and accept the supranationalisation of banking supervision that they have been refusing for two decades. Therefore, the lasting institutional consequence of the crisis will be the empowerment of supranational actors, especially the European Central Bank.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hobolt Sara B., Tilley James

Fleeing the centre: the rise of challenger parties in the aftermath of the euro crisis

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 5 , 971-991

ABSTRACT: The eurozone crisis has altered the party political landscape across Europe. The most visible effect is the rise of challenger parties. The crisis not only caused economic hardship, but also placed considerable fiscal constraints upon a number of national governments. Many voters have reacted to this by turning their back on the traditional parties and opting instead for new, or reinvigorated, challenger parties that reject the mainstream consensus of austerity and European integration. This article argues that both sanctioning and selection mechanisms can help to explain this flight from the centre to challenger parties. First, voters who were economically adversely affected by the crisis punish mainstream parties both in government and in opposition by voting for challenger parties. Second, the choice of specific challenger party is shaped by preferences on three issues that directly flow from the euro crisis: EU integration, austerity and immigration. Analysing both aggregate-level and individual-level survey data from all 17 Western EU member states, this article finds strong support for both propositions and shows how the crisis has reshaped the nature of party competition in Europe.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Josselin Droff & Renaud Bellais

Fleet management in European integration: the case of military helicopter support

in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 32, Issue 1 , 19-35

The article focuses on both economics and spatial issues related to Maintenance Repair and Overhaul (MRO) of



defence platforms in Europe. Using facts and figures related to costs, trends and fleet sizes evolution, the authors discuss the interest of a spatial reorganisation of MRO production. Given the fiscal situation of the main European countries with a modern army, the relevant scale to consider the reorganisation is certainly Europe. Through the example of defence helicopters fleets of a selection of European countries, the authors address the question of cooperation of the MRO. A greater cooperation in the support of fleets would lead to a spatial reorganisation of MRO. On one side economies can be expected from this reorganisation, but, on the other hand, new problems arise. Specifically, a number of costs associated with different forms of “distances” – geographical, operational and political distances – limit the potential savings that could be expected. This work provides insights on these important issues for the construction of a European defence, both in its political, military and industrial dimensions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Astrid Zei

Forme e limiti del controllo parlamentare nella lotta europea al terrorismo in Nomos, 3/2015

Il 17 novembre 2015, all'indomani degli attentati terroristici di Parigi, il Ministro della Difesa francese Le Drian, nell'ambito del Consiglio per la Difesa dell'Unione Europea, ha invocato la “clausola per la difesa comune” iscritta nell'art. 42, co. 7 del Trattato sull'Unione europea, sollecitando gli Stati membri a “prestargli aiuto e assistenza con tutti i mezzi in loro possesso” nella lotta al terrorismo. Il ricorso a questa base giuridica da parte del governo francese, anziché a quella offerta dall'art. 222 del Trattato sul funzionamento dell'Unione europea – che però avrebbe richiesto una deliberazione all'unanimità dei Capi di Stato e di Governo – ovvero all'art. 5 del Trattato sul Nord Atlantico, è stato da subito oggetto di dibattito in Europa.

L'art. 42, co. 7 TUE impegna gli Stati membri, e non l'Unione europea, a collaborare con il Paese che sia oggetto di una “aggressione armata” nel suo territorio, sulla base di “accordi bilaterali”, “in conformità con l'art. 51 della Carta delle Nazioni Unite”.

Considerando anche la mancanza di precedenti atti a circoscrivere sia la nozione di “aggressione armata” disciplinata dal TUE, sia il novero delle misure che potrebbero essere adottate dagli Stati, lo stesso Parlamento europeo ha sottolineato che la delibera del Consiglio per la Difesa del 17 novembre costituirà un precedente al fine di “definire dispositivi e orientamenti pratici per la futura attivazione della clausola di difesa reciproca” [Risoluzione del Parlamento europeo del 21 gennaio 2016 sulla clausola di difesa reciproca (articolo 42, paragrafo 7, TUE), punti 7-8; cfr. anche la proposta di Risoluzione presentata il 13 gennaio 2016 dal PPE: 2015/3034(RSP), punto 2].

L'art. 222 TFUE è stato espressamente concepito, dopo gli attentati di Madrid del 2004, per assicurare assistenza allo Stato che sia oggetto di un “attacco terroristico”, prefigurando un intervento degli Stati membri e dell'Unione europea sul suo territorio, e a presidio dello stesso.

Ai sensi dell'art. 42, co. 7 TUE, invece, il Ministro della Difesa francese ha già chiesto agli Stati membri di cooperare alle operazioni militari in Siria e in Iraq, ovvero di offrire supplenza ai contingenti francesi impegnati in altre aree. La disposizione non contempla espressamente ed esclusivamente un intervento di natura militare da parte degli altri Stati (l'aggettivo “militare” venne stralciato nell'ambito dei lavori preparatori); inoltre, l'espressione “assistenza e aiuto” consente un certo margine di apprezzamento circa la natura e l'entità dell'intervento che potrà essere concordato su base bilaterale; infine, essa stabilisce espressamente che non verrà pregiudicato “il carattere specifico della politica di sicurezza e di difesa di taluni Stati membri”.



In questa maniera vengono in rilievo, da un lato, i principi costituzionali degli Stati membri riguardo alla loro politica militare, e dall'altro, sul piano procedurale, l'esistenza di riserve parlamentari sulle determinazioni dei Governi nazionali. In Germania si è aperto difatti immediatamente un dibattito, che ha riguardato non solamente la base giuridica invocata già nella serata del 16 novembre dal Presidente Hollande, ma anche la misura e l'intensità del controllo parlamentare sugli impegni assunti dal Governo federale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicolas Fescharek

Forward Procrastination? Afghanistan's Lessons about Europe's Role as a Security Provider in International Spectator (The), Volume 50, Issue 3 , 43-59

If the St Malo process implicitly carried potential to develop European 'strategic actorness' and some European security autonomy, throughout the Afghan experience Europeans have, despite occasional opt-outs, largely converged around a role of complementing the US' security leadership. With respect to the Europeans' collective presence in the international security arena, the rhetoric of 'shaping' global events seems to have given way to a rather passive-reactive attitude vis-à-vis Europe's security concerns, and the Afghan case exemplifies this dynamic. The combined lack of ambition and capability in member state and EU security contributions makes one wonder if the Europeans' security role is really about offering solutions to the fires on their southern and eastern surroundings, or rather about 'forward procrastination' and reactive containment.

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Menz Georg

Framing competitiveness: the advocacy of migration as an essential human resources strategy in Europe in Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 625-642

This paper examines how competitiveness has been framed rhetorically and politically by interested actors in France, Germany, and the UK. Skilled rhetorical advocacy clothes particular political demands in the language of competitiveness and purported exigencies of the global economy, thus advancing political goals more easily that might otherwise encounter significant political opposition. In theoretical terms, the paper analyses the ideational framing of policy discourses. Empirically, the emphasis rests on exploring how governments, organised business, and business think tanks have attempted to advance demands for liberalised labour migration schemes in Europe by linking them rhetorically to the prerogative of economic competitiveness. Despite an adverse political climate, sceptical public opinion, and persistent unemployment, it has thus been politically possible to liberalise the regulation of labour migration considerably.

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Georg Menz

Framing the matter differently: the political dynamics of European Union labour migration policymaking



in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 28, Issue 4 , 554-570

Most of the scholarly literature on European Union immigration policymaking has emphasized the predominance of governmental actors. The major changes entailed in the 2009 Lisbon Treaty, however, imply a significant increase in supranationalism and necessitate rethinking earlier conclusions. Exploring the concomitant rise of policy entrepreneurship traits in the actions taken by the European Commission, this article emphasizes the role of discourse structuration in managing policymaking in a contested and controversial policy domain. The Commission is thus gaining more influence and importance, partially facilitated by institutional changes in the Lisbon Treaty, but mainly due to astute policy entrepreneurship in facilitating consensus. Framing problems in a fashion that maximizes potential agreement by member state governments facilitates political agreement regarding potentially divisive policy proposals. Discursive elements are created and circulated that are designed to appeal, render political implementation at the national level unproblematic and, in some cases, are deliberately bipartisan in nature. Thus, great rhetorical emphasis is placed on linking policy with competitiveness, economic growth and the Europe 2020 agenda to appeal to centre-right concerns, but in the case of temporary migration links are also constructed to centre-left issues, including enhancing migrant rights, avoiding exploitation and creating benefits for sending countries. Empirically, the article focuses on the politics surrounding the genesis of the directive on highly qualified migrant workers (the so-called Blue Card) and the migrant seasonal workers directive.

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Halevi Joseph

France as the Epicenter of Austerity: Sympathetic Thoughts About Parguez's Contribution on the Origins and Nature of the Euro

in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 17-24

This paper outlines the way in which during the Mitterrand years the French Socialist technocratic elites built up the institutional framework of austerity centered on competitive disinflation. It then argues that the French template was absorbed by the European Monetary Union in 1999, thereby enshrining wage deflation as the glue holding the Eurozone together. The paper ends by listing the gains that the French ruling elites hoped to obtain from such a Europe-wide "austrian" framework. It also stresses the toxic social and political damages resulting from those policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefano Giubboni

Free Movement of Persons and European Solidarity Revisited

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 3 , E1-E18

This paper analyses the case-law of the European Court of Justice on the scope and limits of cross-border access of economically inactive Union citizens to national systems of social assistance. The author de-constructs and challenges the weak rhetoric of transnational solidarity generously deployed by the Court of Justice at the beginning of the expansive cycle of its case-law on the transnational social protection rights of mobile EU citizens. The most recent case-law shows, in fact, a spectacular retreat from this rhetoric in tune with the neo-nationalistic and social-chauvinistic moods prevailing in Europe.



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Salamońska Justyna

Friend or Foe? Attitudes Towards Immigration from Other European Union Countries

in **Società e Politica**, Vol 7, N° 13 (2016) , 237-253

Over the decades Europe has become a destination for different groups of migrants, including mobile citizens from the European Union Member States. At the same time European citizens have become more mobile with a growing number of cross-border practices connecting them to places and people abroad through migration, travel, social networks or consumption practices. The main contribution of this study is in analysing to what extent processes of Europeanization, at an individual and country level, matter for sentiments towards immigration. Data suggest that social globalization processes may produce a sense of threat, but individual transnationalism seems to provide a remedy against prejudice.

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Alpan Bakır

From AKP's 'Conservative Democracy' to 'Advanced Democracy': Shifts and Challenges in the Debate on 'Europe'

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 15-28

Following the AKP's victory in the 2002 general elections, 'conservative democracy' has emerged as a trademark in Turkish politics, focusing on cosmopolitanism and European integration. In the late 2000s, the party's favourite notion was 'advanced democracy', this time underlining Turkey's leadership claim in the region and displaying a more critical approach to 'Europe'. In this paper, I aim to show how different narratives on 'Europe' emerged within the context of these empty signifiers. The paper claims that the difference in the two narratives on 'Europe' in two different periods does not point to a complete and fully fledged de-Europeanisation trend.

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Dawson Mark, de Witte Floris

From Balance to Conflict: A New Constitution for the EU

in **European law journal**, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 204–224

As the crisis (and the Union's response to it) further develops, one thing appears clear: the European Union post-crisis will be a very different animal from the pre-crisis EU. This article offers an alternative model for the EU's constitutional future. Its objective is to invert the Union's current path-dependency: changes to the way in which the Union works should serve to question, rather than entrench, its future objectives and trajectory. The paper argues that the post-crisis EU requires a quite different normative, institutional and juridical framework. Such a framework must focus on reproducing the social and political cleavages that underlie authority on the national level and that allow divisive political choices to be legitimised. This reform project implies reshaping the prerogatives of the European institutions. Rather



than seeking to prevent or bracket political conflict, the division of institutional competences and tasks should be rethought in order to allow the EU institutions to internalise within their decision-making process the conflicts reproduced by social and political cleavages. Finally, a reformed legal order must play an active role as a facilitator and container of conflict over the ends of the integration project.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chabanet Didier, Anacleto Nelson Filipe, St-Arnault Maxime, Freire Guillaume, Skoczek Xavier

From Crisis to Crisis: Requiem for Europe?

in Politique européenne , n. 50, 2015/4 , 100 à 119

If the European institutions have always been able to overcome the crisis they face, the current difficulties seem particularly serious. Since the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, three major problems arise. On the one hand, the question of the European democratic deficit. On the other, the narrowing of the space for political choices offer to citizens, which is increasingly subject to economic constraints. Finally, the failure of the European social model. These factors largely intertwined are the breeding ground from which Euro-skepticism spread among public opinion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Öberg Marja-Liisa

From EU Citizens to Third Country Nationals: The Legacy of Polydor

in European public Law , Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 97-114

This article considers the possible effects of 'Brexit' on British nationals who would no longer be EU citizens. Any Member State withdrawing from the Union is unlikely to cut all ties to the Internal Market. It is almost inevitable that a departing State would need to set up a bilateral or multilateral arrangement for the purpose of continuing to participate in the Internal Market. The analysis compares the legal status of the citizens of a withdrawing state vis-à-vis EU citizens and examines whether and under what conditions third country nationals are conferred rights and obligations in the EU Internal Market which are equal to those enjoyed by EU citizens. In this context, the possibility of using the Polydor doctrine to empower third country nationals to an extent comparable to EU nationals is explored.

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Bistis George

From Karamanlis to Tsipras: The Greek Debt Crisis through Historical and Political Perspectives

in Mediterranean Quarterly , Volume 27, Number 1, March , pp. 30-54

The year 2015 started with a great promise for austerity- harmed people in Greece, but within a few months the promise began to fade as reality sunk in. It was a year that the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) achieved a historic electoral triumph in Greece. SYRIZA came to power promising to end the austerity era. However, from its first days in office, the new government realized that keeping this promise would be a far greater challenge than winning the election. Cancellation of the austerity measures required renegotiation of Greece's bailout loans, loans that were



conditional on Greece's implementation of these measures. Given that the European lenders had their reasons for setting things up this way, it was not long before Greece's strong anti- austerity drive set the country on a collision course with the eurozone. The negotiations between the two sides are examined in this essay through the perspective of Greece's half- century- long relationship with the European Union and against a backdrop of personal observations and comment, relevant public sentiments, and critical events defining each period discussed.

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Krampf Arie

From transparency to ambiguity: the impact of the ECB's unconventional policies on the EMU
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 455-471

There is no disagreement that during the crisis the EMU has gone through an institutional change. However, there is no agreement concerning the type of change and its drivers. This article focuses on the impact of the ECB's unconventional policies on the EMU at large. The article draws on the historical institutional theory of gradual change, and argues that the ECBs policies led to processes of conversion and displacement in the EMU. The article concludes, therefore, that during the crisis the EMU was not simply 'completed' but it had its institutional path altered.

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Benz Arthur

Föderale Demokratie und das Problem der Gewaltenbalance
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 37-51

Abstract

Federal Democracy and the Problem of Balancing Powers

The European multilevel system constitutes a federation of democratic states constituted as parliamentary governments. At the European level, democracy is based on a dual representation of the European demos and national demoi. The division of power established in this federation refers to three dimensions: the accountability relation between executives and parliaments, the relations between the EU and member state governments and power structure between inside member states. Such a federal polity is vulnerable to instability due to over-integration, an excessive power of the executive causing de-parliamentarization at all levels, or the disintegration of the EU through a process of re-nationalization.

The article shows that the EU has developed mechanisms designed to counter these destabilizing tendencies, like parliamentary monitoring, subsidiarity control and inter-parliamentary relations. In view of the current crisis threatening the balance of power, these mechanisms need to be reinforced.

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Biscop Sven

Game of zones: power struggles in the EU's neighbourhood

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 369-379

In the 25 years since the end of the Cold War there has rarely been a year without conflict in one or other of Europe's neighbours. In 2015 many crises are coinciding, which reduces the bandwidth that European leaders can devote to any one of them, and thus creates a pervasive sense of continually running behind the facts. The European Union (EU) feels ill at ease in this "game of zones". With an assertive Russia trying to establish an exclusive zone of influence in the East and the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) taking control of a large zone in the South, this clearly is a game for high stakes. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the EU's framework for dealing with its six eastern as well as its southern neighbours, has obviously been unsuccessful in stabilizing Europe's periphery. But is Europe really as ill-equipped to play the game as it feels? In spite of policy failures in its eastern and southern neighbourhoods, which do demand a strategic reappraisal, the EU is intrinsically well placed to assume long-term responsibility for security in its own neighbourhood – if it finds the political will.

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Collyer Michael

Geopolitics as a migration governance strategy: European Union bilateral relations with Southern Mediterranean countries

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 606-624

The significance of regional consultative processes in the field of migration is well documented. Their popularity for states is typically explained by the opportunity they provide for largely non-binding discussions around sensitive, sovereignty-laden issues such as border control. Since the mid-1990s, a variety of intergovernmental meetings have been sponsored by the EU with the aim of discussing migration with neighbouring countries. European policy frameworks have specifically excluded the countries to the South from the possibility of membership, yet they are now absolutely crucial to the realisation of the EU's migration ambitions. Since the 1999 Tampere European Council relations with these states have been managed through a discourse of 'partnership', emphasising the regional 'Euro-Mediterranean' character of this relationship. This paper analyses EU relations with Southern Mediterranean states as a specific attempt to construct a geopolitical region—the Euro-Mediterranean area—from and through migration management strategies. It concludes that the development of policy in this area results from a huge number of poorly focused and sometimes contradictory initiatives that collectively make up a far more haphazard approach than the common externalisation critique suggests. This haphazard approach helps to explain the range of unintended consequences of this policy but may also lead to its limited successes.

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Wigell Mikael, Vihma Antto

Geopolitics versus geoeconomics: the case of Russia's geostrategy and its effects on the EU

in *International Affairs* , vol. 92, issue 3, may , 605-627



ABSTRACT: Geopolitics and geoeconomics are often addressed together, with the latter seen as a sub-variant of the former. This article shows the usefulness of differentiating them at a conceptual level. By juxtaposing traditional geopolitics and geoeconomics, we suggest that they have remarkably different qualities and implications for their targets, on both national and international levels. Importantly, these include the formation of alliances, and whether they are driven by balancing, bandwagoning or underbalancing dynamics. An analysis of Russia's shifting geostrategy towards Europe shows these differences in practice. Russian geoeconomics has long been successful as a 'wedge strategy', dividing the EU. As a result, the EU has underbalanced and its Russia policies have been incoherent. The observable tendencies in 2014–15 towards a more coherent European approach can be explained by the changing emphasis in Russia's geostrategy. Russia's turn to geopolitics works as a centripetal force, causing a relative increase in EU unity. Centripetal tendencies due to heightened threat perception can be observed in the economic sanctions, emerging German leadership in EU foreign policy, and discussion on energy union. The analysis calls for more attention to the way strategic choices—geopolitics versus geoeconomics—affect the coherence of threatened states and alliance patterns.

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Federico Steinberg and Mattias Vermeiren

Germany's Institutional Power and the EMU Regime after the Crisis: Towards a Germanized Euro Area?
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

In this article we examine the constraints on Germany's influence over reforms of the Economic and Monetary Union's (EMU) macroeconomic governance regime. Drawing on the insights of historical institutionalism, we show that the German government's control over the process is constrained by the increased sunk costs of European monetary integration and the unintended negative spillovers from its management of the eurozone crisis. While the German government attempted to promote the domestic societal interests underpinning its creditor preferences by deflecting the burden of macroeconomic and institutional adjustment onto the debtor countries, negative feedback loops linked to the pursuit of these preferences induced it to accept a less orthodox and increasingly accommodative central bank to make the EMU sustainable.

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Hellmann Gunther

Germany's world: power and followership in a crisis-ridden Europe
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 1, 3-20

EUrope and Germany face unprecedented crises. Given its role as EUrope's "central power" the article explores how Germany looks at its environment and how the world looks back. I offer five cuts of Germany's world, that is, how its power, place and ambition might be described from different angles. First, I examine a "structural" interpretation of EUrope's setting which shows a certain affinity with German visions of a rules-governed world. Next I reconstruct how Germany's changing role is described from the outside and the inside. The stark contrast between images of overbearing "hegemony" and facilitating German "leadership" lay the ground for a third cut which examines how German leadership has fared in three recent EUropean crises. In a fourth cut I analyse Germany's leadership challenges against the foil of US leadership globally. The difficulties highlighted in Germany's world of "shaping powers" and tough love



diplomacy, my fifth cut, leave it, and EUrope, in an unenviable position indeed.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23340460.2016.1148829>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Tömmel Ingeborg

Gewaltenteilung in der EU – Problem oder Baustein demokratischer Ordnung?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 53–67

The separation of powers in the EU: deficit or building block of its democratic order?

Abstract

Scholars often see a democratic deficit of the EU in its insufficient and anomalous separation of powers. In contrast to this criticism, this article claims that the EU is characterized by a specific form of separation of powers: that between political initiative and binding decision-making. This specific separation of powers is constitutive for the functioning and the democratic legitimacy of the European polity, as the respective powers represent the most fundamental interests in the process of European integration. However, the separation of political initiative and binding decision-making is only fully developed in legislative decisions; in executive decisions, it is at best partly realized; in constitutional decisions it is completely lacking. Furthermore, this form of separation of powers is increasingly being dismantled; this in turn results in power asymmetries between EU institutions and also among the member states. The article concludes that the specific separation of powers in the EU is an indispensable building block of its democratic constitution; instead of dismantling it further, it should be stabilized and improved.

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Lauth Hans-Joachim

Gewaltenteilung und Accountability: Konzeptionelle Grundlagen zur Kontrollfunktion der Gewaltenteilung in Mehrebenensystemen

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 17-35

Abstract

Arising out of the perspective of the wide debate on accountability in Comparative Politics, a modification to the understanding of classical separation of power will be suggested. The functional description of control refines the understanding of separation of power as a complex interaction, which includes information, accountability, and sanctions. With a distinction between legal and political control the idea of accountability will be systematically developed. Next to the aspect of governmental accountability, the aspect of justification of political action has gained central importance. Based upon the foundation of these conceptual considerations, mechanisms of accountability in the European Multi-Level System will be looked at and assessed. In so doing the strengths and weaknesses of the control possibilities within the EU will be highlighted. Finally, some reflections will be outlined in order to include new developments in the decision-making power of societal forces in the analysis.



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Hartlapp Miriam, Wiesner Claudia

Gewaltenteilung und Demokratie im EU-Mehrebenensystem

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 3-16

Balance of powers and democracy in the EU multilevel system

Abstract

Balance of powers and democracy are key concepts in political science, and as such, they are closely related normatively and empirically: representative democracies that fulfil democratic standards must be based on a political system that is marked by a balance of powers. In most representative democracies this normative standard has been translated empirically into a separation of legislative, executive and judicative powers, which allows for their mutual control and balancing. But this relationship of balance of powers and democracy has seen substantial changes over the last decades. One central challenge emanates from the European integration process, which is responsible for numerous changes in its member states and particularly in their political systems. This introductory article briefly discusses the concepts of democracy and balance of powers, before introducing three core features characterizing balance of powers in representative democracies. Based on this sketch, we turn to the specific relationship between balance of powers and democracy in the EU multilevel system and conceptualize this relationship along three dimensions: the internal split within one power, as well as horizontal and vertical balances of powers. The article closes with an overview on the contributions in the special issue.

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Hartlapp Miriam, Wiesner Claudia

Gewaltenteilung und Demokratie im EU-Mehrebenensystem

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 3-16

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Önal Leyla

Gezi Park and EuroMaidan: social movements at the borders

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 16-40

Both Turkey and Ukraine are located at the external borders of the European Union (EU), and are seen as important partners of the EU, especially in terms of economic relations and strategic partnership. Both countries experienced en masse protest events in 2013: the Gezi Park protests and EuroMaidan, starting, respectively, in May 2013 and November 2013. Although these protests started initially for different reasons – the brutal eviction of a sit-in organized



for protecting the trees in Taksim Gezi Park and the Ukrainian government's abandonment of EU trade agreement talks – and seem spatially, temporally and ideologically separate, they both include claims related to a “more just and transparent system”. Such claims are not purely political and are closely linked to a social dimension, especially in terms of local and European space-making. This article aims to understand the importance of Gezi Park and EuroMaidan within the framework of new social movements in terms of space-making and the perception of human rights, democracy, justice, identitarian politics and consensual social relations as Euro-concepts or European ideals.

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Thierse Stefan

Going on record: Revisiting the logic of roll-call vote requests in the European Parliament in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 219-241

While many contributions on legislative politics in the European Parliament rely on recorded votes, the motivations behind the decision to record a vote remain somewhat arcane. This article frames roll-call vote requests as a minority right which offers party groups an opportunity to shape the voting agenda and signal commitment to a policy proposal. The analysis adds to our understanding of legislative behavior by linking the committee stage to the plenary stage. Party groups which do not support a floor proposal drafted by the lead committee are found to be more likely to request a roll-call vote in plenary. The quantitative evidence is supplemented by interview data which shed light both on the actors' motivations and the internal decision-making processes preceding the decision to go on record.

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Rodríguez Javier Lorenzo, Madariaga Amuitz Garmendia

Going public against institutional constraints? Analyzing the online presence intensity of 2014 European Parliament election candidates in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 303-323

Political parties and candidates have not been immune to the changes that the Internet and social media have introduced in electoral campaigns. Yet, as the use of digital media by political elites is becoming a norm in the United States, in Europe, the decision to develop an online presence depends on the cross-national differences regarding candidates' constraints and incentives. European Parliament elections present an exceptional comparative opportunity to measure this potential diversity. Using an original database on the online presence of more than 5000 candidates competing under the label of incumbent parties in 2014, we demonstrate that there are two relevant groups of nonadopters, and that candidates' online campaign intensity varies significantly depending on incumbency and the ballot structure in their country.

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Ecohard Pierre

Governance economia europea e coordinamento delle politiche economiche: il "semestre europeo" in Istituzioni del federalismo, Numero Speciale , 55 - 66



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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David M. Woodruff

Governing by Panic The Politics of the Eurozone Crisis

in Politics & Society, 44 (1) , 81-116

The Eurozone's reaction to the crisis beginning in late 2008 involved not only efforts to mitigate the arbitrarily destructive effects of markets but also vigorous pursuit of policies aimed at austerity and deflation. To explain this paradoxical outcome, I build on Karl Polanyi's account of a similar deadlock in the 1930s. Polanyi argued that a society-protecting response to malfunctioning markets was limited under the gold standard by the prospect of currency panic, which bankers used to push for austerity, deflationary policies, and labor's political marginalization. I reconstruct Polanyi's "governing by panic" theory to explain Eurozone policy during three key episodes of sovereign bond market panic in 2010–12. By threatening to allow financial panics to continue, the European Central Bank promoted policies and institutional changes aimed at austerity and deflation, limiting the protective response. Germany's Ordoliberalism, and its weight in European affairs, contributed to the credibility of this threat.

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Ruben Andersson

Hardwiring the frontier? The politics of security technology in Europe's 'fight against illegal migration'

in Security Dialogue, 47 (1) , 22-39

Migration controls at the external EU borders have become a large field of political and financial investment in recent years – indeed, an 'industry' of sorts – yet conflicts between states and border agencies still mar attempts at cooperation. This article takes a close look at one way in which officials try to overcome such conflicts: through technology. In West Africa, the secure 'Seahorse' network hardwires border cooperation into a satellite system connecting African and European forces. In Spain's North African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, advanced border fencing has joined up actors around a supposedly impenetrable divide. And on the EU level, the 'European external border surveillance system', or Eurosur, papers over power struggles between agencies and states through 'decentralized' information-sharing – even as the system's physical features (nodes, coordination centres, interfaces) deepen competition between them. The article shows how such technologies, rather than 'halting migration', have above all acted as catalysts for new social relations among disparate sectors, creating areas for collaboration and competition, compliance and conflict. With these dynamics in mind, the conclusion sketches an 'ecological' perspective on the materialities of border control – infrastructure, interfaces, vehicles – while calling for more research on their contradictory and often counterproductive consequences.

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Becker Stefan, Bauer Michael W.

Horizontale Gewaltenteilung in der EU-Haushaltspolitik – Determinanten des Einflusses des Europäischen



Parlaments

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 99-114

Horizontal checks and balances in EU budget politics – Determinants of EP influence

Abstract

Regarding the unrelenting rise of the European Parliament, the EU budget is a remarkable exception. In a unique reform amid the progressive parliamentarization of the EU, the Lisbon Treaty has effectively weakened the Parliament's formal standing in budgetary matters. The question remains, however, whether the marginal influence of the Parliament on recent budget negotiations can be sufficiently explained by this reform. This article shows that the checks and balances between the Council and the Parliament in budgetary matters are indeed dependent on formal stipulations, but the analysis of recent negotiations reveals further factors with explanatory power. Decreasing internal coherence, weak organizational capacities, a crisis-ridden political environment and the absence of coalition opportunities weakened the Parliament's bargaining position. It was, however, partially successful with a strategy of issue linkage. As these factors are subject to change, it remains possible that, even without further treaty change, the Parliament will again become more influential in EU budget politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Becker Stefan, Bauer Michael W.

Horizontale Gewaltenteilung in der EU-Haushaltspolitik – Determinanten des Einflusses des Europäischen Parlaments

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 99-114

Horizontal checks and balances in EU budget politics – Determinants of EP influence

Abstract

Regarding the unrelenting rise of the European Parliament, the EU budget is a remarkable exception. In a unique reform amid the progressive parliamentarization of the EU, the Lisbon Treaty has effectively weakened the Parliament's formal standing in budgetary matters. The question remains, however, whether the marginal influence of the Parliament on recent budget negotiations can be sufficiently explained by this reform. This article shows that the checks and balances between the Council and the Parliament in budgetary matters are indeed dependent on formal stipulations, but the analysis of recent negotiations reveals further factors with explanatory power. Decreasing internal coherence, weak organizational capacities, a crisis-ridden political environment and the absence of coalition opportunities weakened the Parliament's bargaining position. It was, however, partially successful with a strategy of issue linkage. As these factors are subject to change, it remains possible that, even without further treaty change, the Parliament will again become more influential in EU budget politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lee Mihye

How Did Financial Development Affect the Performance of European Firms Before and After the 2008 Credit Crisis?

in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 53, Issue 6, 2015 , 514-528

The recent credit crisis led to a serious downturn in the United States and the rest of the world. This article analyzes the relationship between the crisis and financial development based upon European firm-level data. It studies how the level of financial development interacts with a firm's dependence on external financing, as well as its size and age, in determining a firm's earnings. It also tries to identify which factors explain the spread of shocks and their impacts on different firms during the crisis period. The results show that financial development is positively related to a firm's earnings. Surprisingly, however, it can also exacerbate the impact of a crisis.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Klaus Armingeon, Kai Guthmann, David Weisstanner

How the Euro divides the union: the effect of economic adjustment on support for democracy in Europe
in *Socio-Economic Review*, Volume 14 Issue 1 , 1-26

As often pointed out in the literature on the European debt crisis, the policy programme of austerity and internal devaluation imposed on countries in the Eurozone's periphery exhibits a lack of democratic legitimacy. This article analyses the consequences these developments have for democratic support at both the European and national levels. We show that through the policies of economic adjustment, a majority of citizens in crisis countries has become 'detached' from their democratic political system. By cutting loose the Eurozone's periphery from the rest of Europe in terms of democratic legitimacy, the Euro has divided the union, instead of uniting it as foreseen by its architects. Our results are based on aggregated Eurobarometer surveys conducted in 28 European Union (EU) member states between 2002 and 2014. We employ quantitative time-series cross-sectional regression analyses. Moreover, we estimate the causal effect of economic adjustment in a comparative case study of four cases using the synthetic control method.

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Katsanidou Alexia, Otjes Simon

How the European debt crisis reshaped national political space: The case of Greece
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 262-284

Where some authors saw a limited impact of Europeanisation on national party politics, others proposed that in addition to the pre-existing economic left-right dimension a separate European Union dimension structures the national political space. This article looks at the Greek bail-out during the European sovereign debt crisis to examine how Europeanisation can change the national political space. The bail-out came with memoranda that set the main lines of Greek economic policy for the coming years. Accepting these policies was connected with remaining in the Eurozone. This restructured the political space: the economic and European integration form one dimension. A second relevant dimension focuses on cultural issues. The economic/European dimension is a stronger predictor of vote choice than the cultural dimension.



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Paolo Biondi

Human security and external burden-sharing: the European approach to refugee protection between past and present

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 208-222

The discourse surrounding the link between human security and the European Union's policy on external burden-sharing is connected to the concept of securitisation developed in the 1990s, when the language of human security was first used to promote solutions in the regions-of-origin of refugees through external burden-sharing. External forms of burden-sharing, nevertheless, can be traced back to the UNHCR's use of its 'good offices' in the 1960s to promote regional solutions in Asia, and reflect a slow evolution since the adoption of the 1951 Convention. In order to understand this evolution this article adopts an analysis informed by policy mapping of targeted representative cases combined with a comparative approach towards those cases. It proposes for the subject to be addressed from the perspectives of the states; protection seekers; and the balance of refugees' rights and state security. This article argues that the concept of external burden-sharing is compatible with effective refugee protection and their more rational distribution, but only when it offers long-term solutions based on genuine protection and not as a surrogate to the granting of asylum in the European Union. According to the analysis provided, this article concludes that the current European Union policy on refugee protection is implicitly guided by a restrictive rationalisation of movements as a result of a slow evolution of a distorted and not effectively implemented version of external burden-sharing. First through promoting local solutions and then the human security concept. Yet, this policy cannot represent an acceptable long-term alternative to territorial asylum or an admissible form of external burden-sharing, because protection seekers' movements are guided by the safety and effectiveness of protection and the current European Union external approach does not offer such protection.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Clarich Marcello

Il riesame amministrativo delle decisioni della Banca centrale europea

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1513-1528

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferrari Lorenzo

Il 1974 e l'affermazione della Comunità europea come attore internazionale

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 83-102

1973-74 have often been seen as an end point for the European Community's attempt to assert itself as a distinct international actor. While not dismissing any setbacks, this paper points to the remarkable developments in European



cooperation in international affairs during 1974. These developments led to a clearer definition of the EC's profile as an international actor: its distinctive traits were highlighted; its range of activity was specified; its international personality was recognised by foreign countries; and the European Council was established.

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Vega Mocoora Isabel

Il futuro del sistema delle risorse proprie dell'UE: una riforma necessaria
in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 433-458

This study deals with the review of the current system of own resources as a system of financing the budgetary instruments. It appears necessary to address the principal criticism made presently on the lack of transparency and simplicity of the system. Its financial autonomy is limited vis-a-vis the national Treasuries and there is a need to reform the current budgetary imbalance correction mechanism which led to tensions among Member States due to a narrow accounting approach. The progress in the financial autonomy of the EU will depend on the new proposals to improve the current system of own resources. In this article we try to find solutions to the crises of the system of own resources. In the medium term, we propose to introduce new own resources in the system, which have an impact on the cause of the analysed problems offering a solution through a change in the structure of the current system in order to restore the principle of the EU financial autonomy. So, in accordance with the taxation principles adapted to the EU framework, we have done numeric evaluation of the potential formulas, so that we may point out the more solid candidates to make part of the new system.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mattarella Sergio

Il mondo ha bisogno di un'Europa unita
in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 31-32

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Capriglione Francesco

Il referendum UK e l'ipotesi di Brexit
in **Federalismi**, Anno XIV - Nr. 7

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martinelli Claudio



Il referendum brexit come «asso nella manica» di Cameron nel negoziato con l'Unione europea

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 1, 2016, marzo , 111-114,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Diverio Davide

Il ruolo degli Stati nella definizione del modello sociale europeo

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 515-546

After the well-known cases Viking and Laval, in which, for the first time, the social needs faced the economic freedom of circulation in the home-market, the Lisbon treaty has conferred, at least from a formal point of view, a social implication to the European Union, but without conferring new competences in that field. The Author draws on some recent judgments of the Court of Justice about public procurements, and in light of Lisbon's "social reformations" underlines the current role of the solidarity principle in the field of the internal market of the EU. The solidarity principle, that at the beginning was only suitable to leave out the application range of the UE Law in the field of competition and free circulation, is now at the basis of the model of society that the Union explicitly wants to protect. Above all, it seems that this principle is conferring on Member States a wide discretion to define its content and the real method to guarantee its protection, considering the shared nature of competences between EU and Member States in the fields of "internal market" and "social policy". The member States have therefore the possibility to exclude some prescriptions of the TFEU in the internal market to rule specific economic activities, applying the previously mentioned discretion principle to protect the needs of social solidarity. According to the Court of justice, this complies with the EU Law unless the member State t commits an abuse of rights, thus adopting a regulation regime that, in practice, does not allow to pursue effectively the objectives of the good of the community and budgetary efficiency.

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Arkan Zeynep

Imagining 'Europe': Constituting Turkey's Identity on the Path to Eu Membership

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 107, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europe and its others, April , 134-146

In the aftermath of the Cold War, Turkey, once the 'southern bastion of NATO', had to redefine its identity and geopolitical location in relation to not only the West and Europe, but also its neighbours to the East. In this period, the country's aspiration to join the European Union and its position vis-à-vis Europe proved to be determining factors in its identity transformation process, taking into consideration its traditional Western orientation. By specifically focusing on the last decade, this study analyses how Turkey's decision-makers constituted the identity of the state in relation to a specific conception of Europe. It argues that these decision-makers, through references to the distinctive history and geography of Turkey, reconceptualised the identity of the state in order to transform Turkey into an effective actor in the world and, in doing so, challenged the dominant inclusive, multi-cultural and normative characterisations of the European Union's identity.



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Gozzo Simona

Immigrati e cittadinanza. Una questione di accoglienza?

in **Società Mutamento Politica**, Vol 7, N° 13 (2016) , 323-340

This study analyzes the relationship between theoretical models of European integration and inclusion or exclusion of immigrants. The main hypothesis is that relations are key in understanding and explaining differences between material and formal integration, including propensity towards social involvement and focusing on the acquisition of citizenship. Data collected in an Italian local context are applied for an in-depth analysis.

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Demidova Andrey

In pursuit of common good? Understanding contestation over the partnership principle for structural funds in the new member states

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 117-132

The literature views contestation over the partnership principle for Structural Funds as a failure produced by either macro differences in administrative and institutional traditions of the member states or, conversely, micro variation across partnership encounters. Practical implementation of partnership is seen as especially problematic in the CEE member states. The article argues that the default analytical approaches cannot capture the rich dynamics of partnership implementation and suggests a new analytical framework for the study of contestation in Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia and Poland. It envisions contestation as enactment of specific meanings-in-use and relies on interpretive methodology. Empirical findings challenge the above-mentioned assumptions about the logic of contestation and suggest that it is divergence across three groups of actors—state officials, civil society organizations, and economic and social partners—rather than countries or micro contexts, that fuels contestation and produces new meanings of partnership.

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Geddes Andrew, Taylor Andrew

In the shadow of fortress Europe? Impacts of European migration governance on Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia

in **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 587-605

This article analyses European integration's effects on migration and border security governance in Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia in the context of 'governed interdependence'. We show how transgovernmental networks comprising national and EU actors, plus a range of other participants, blur the distinction between the domestic and international to enable interactions between domestic and international policy elites that transmit EU priorities into national policy.



Governments are shown to be 'willing pupils' and 'policy takers', adapting to EU policy as a pre-condition for membership. This strengthened rather than weakened central state actors, particularly interior ministries. Thus, in a quintessentially 'national' policy area, there has been a re-scaling and re-constitution of migration and border security policy. To support this analysis, social network analysis is used to outline the composition of governance networks and analyse interactions and power relations therein.

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Ismer Roland, Haussne Manuel

Inclusion of Consumption into the EU ETS: The Legal Basis under European Union Law

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 69-80

Traditionally discussed measures to prevent carbon leakage under the European Union (EU) emissions trading system, such as the free allocation of allowances or border carbon adjustments, either suffer from significant economic drawbacks or have seen their political, legal and administrative feasibility questioned. Recently, a novel approach has been proposed in the form of the inclusion of consumption into emissions trading schemes. Under this approach, a charge would be imposed on carbon-intensive products at the time of their release for consumption within the EU. After sketching this proposal, this article discusses the correct legal basis under EU law. It develops the argument that the inclusion of consumption may be based on Article 192.1 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU and thus be adopted without unanimity voting in the Council of the EU.

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Raitano Michele

Income Inequality in Europe Since the Crisis

in Intereconomics, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2016 , 67-72

Economic inequalities are engendered by a complex process, characterised by several steps and involving the interaction of several factors. The best indicator of individual economic well-being is disposable equivalised income. Evidence shows that welfare states retain a crucial function in Europe and that they have been central in limiting the detrimental effects of the financial crisis on disposable income distribution.

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GIULIA M. DOTTI SANI and BEATRICE MAGISTRO

Increasingly unequal? The economic crisis, social inequalities and trust in the European Parliament in 20 European countries

in European Journal of Political Research, Volume 55, Issue 2 , 246–264

The 2008/2009 economic crisis has been identified as an important element contributing to declining trust in institutions in Europe and worldwide. However, it is unclear whether this decline in trust is distributed homogeneously among citizens



or whether there are differences across social strata. This article applies multilevel models to six waves of European Social Survey (ESS) data to analyse changes in trust in the European Parliament (EP) from 2002 to 2012 in 20 European Union countries. Moreover, it investigates whether individuals with different socioeconomic backgrounds experienced different reductions in trust. The results indicate that trust in the EP declined the most in the peripheral European countries hit hardest by the economic crisis: Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Cyprus, Greece and Spain. Furthermore, the results suggest that the decline in trust was more pronounced among subjects with lower social status. The tightening of the link between social and political inequalities is especially preoccupying considering the importance of trust in institutions for citizens to actively participate in society, voice their needs and demand their place at the table. Hence, the worsening economic conditions, combined with declining levels of trust, are not only troublesome for the functioning of democracies as a whole, but they are also problematic at the individual level as they are likely to perpetuate the divide among subjects at different ends of the social ladder.

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Zwolski Kamil

Integrating crisis early warning systems: power in the community of practice

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 393-407

This paper argues the importance of integrating power considerations into the study of the communities of practice in European studies and International Relations (IR). Since its introduction, the 'community of practice' concept has been criticised for implying overly consensual relations of its members. Notably, the concept has been criticised for underplaying the relations of power affecting the structure and processes of the communities of practice. Drawing on this critique, this paper offers a framework for integrating the considerations of power into the study of the communities of practice in European studies and IR. The argument is illustrated with the case of crisis early warning systems, following the European Union's initiative to integrate them at the global level. While, the case analysis mainly serves the purpose of probing the suitability of the theoretical framework, it offers insights into some of the power-related challenges facing the community of crisis early warning practitioners.

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McPhilemy Samuel

Integrating macro-prudential policy: central banks as the 'third force' in EU financial reform

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3 , 526-544

ABSTRACT: In recent years, policy-makers and financial authorities have established an intricate, multi-level framework for 'macro-prudential' policy-making in the European Union. This article argues that central banks have acted as a 'third force' in this process, determining the balance between national and supranational authority and ensuring their own predominance in the macro-prudential policy field. The article demonstrates central banks' policy entrepreneurship through three phases in the creation of the macro-prudential framework: the negotiations surrounding the establishment of the European Systemic Risk Board in 2008–2010; the elaboration of a legal and organisational framework for the use of macro-prudential instruments in the banking sector in 2011–2012; and the creation of the Single Supervisory Mechanism in 2012–2014. Central banks' influence derived from their perceived expertise in relation to financial stability, their existing delegated authority, and specific advantages stemming from the networked structure of their interactions



with each other and supranational policy-makers.

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Howarth David, Quaglia Lucia

Internationalised banking, alternative banks and the Single Supervisory Mechanism in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 3 , 438-461

ABSTRACT: This paper sets out to explain the preferences of the seven northern euro area member states on the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) concerning the threshold set for direct European Central Bank (ECB) control over bank supervision. Building on the concept of the ‘financial trilemma’, it argues that different bank internationalisation patterns in the seven northern member states explain different preferences on the transfer of supervisory powers over less significant banks to the ECB. In particular, the reach of internationalisation into a national banking system – notably the extent to which even smaller banks were exposed to foreign banking operations – is shown to be the core factor explaining different national preferences on threshold. In the five countries with a large number of small and parochial alternative (cooperative and savings) banks, it is necessary to examine the system-specific structures of these banks to explain better the reach of internationalisation and national preferences on the threshold. Determined German opposition to ECB supervision of smaller alternative banks is juxtaposed with either less hostile or more positive support of at least four other countries despite the important presence of small alternative banks.

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Bruno Oliveira Martins

Interpreting EU–Israel relations: a contextual analysis of the EU’s Special Privileged Partnership proposal in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 151-170

This article analyses the background, content and implications of the EU proposal for ‘Special Privileged Partnership’ status to be granted to Israel and the future state of Palestine in the event of a successful conclusion to the peace process. It employs a sociological institutionalist perspective to assess the diplomatic manoeuvring in the broader context of EU–Israel relations. The analysis offers an identification and categorization of the constitutive components of the EU–Israel relationship into formal and social elements. It argues that differences in threat perception, Israel’s highly securitized ethos and different interpretations of the security versus legality equation are social, constitutive elements of the relationship that cannot be efficiently changed by a mere upgrade of the formal institutional setting, even if the economic incentives to do so were attractive. In other words, the sources of tension between the EU and Israel observed in recent decades are not likely to be overcome by a discursive or institutional upgrade around the concept of partnership.

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Julien Jeandesboz

Intervention and Subversion: The EU Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine in Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, Volume 9, Issue 4 , 442-470



By way of an inquiry into the European Union's border assistance mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM), this paper articulates two moves. Firstly, deploying intervention to study the relations of the European Union with its self-designated neighbours is heuristically relevant because such a move draws attention to the deployment of a patronizing rationale towards 'intervened populations'. This is captured in the paper by the notion of tutelage. Secondly, analyses in terms of intervention remain unsatisfying in how they account for the linkage between the planning and 'programming' of intervention and its effects. While they work with the idea that intervention like any other practice of rule is a perpetually failing activity, they have yet to articulate this observation analytically. This paper advances the discussion by arguing that the notion of subversion may provide such an articulation.

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Uwere Gisèle

Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) in Future EU Investment-Related Agreements: Is the Autonomy of the EU Legal Order an Obstacle?

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 15, n. 1, 102-151

ABSTRACT: Through the study of the Court's case law on dispute settlement, this article examines whether investor-State dispute resolution is compatible with EU law at all and, if so, under which conditions. It analyses the relevant Opinions delivered by the Court of Justice regarding external dispute settlement mechanisms and the autonomy of the EU legal order. The author then assesses the compatibility of investor-State dispute resolution within the system of legal protection guaranteed by the CJEU. It finally presents ways forward aiming at preserving the autonomy of the EU legal order. The author concludes that no realistic or viable propositions can be detected on the horizon. Therefore, as long as no veritable mechanism is found to render investor-State dispute resolution in line with the CJEU's jurisprudence, the insertion of an ISDS mechanism in those international agreements seems to be an ill-considered decision on the part of the European Commission.

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Moos Christian

Is Solidarity in Europe Fading?

in Federalist Debate (The), XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

No abstract available

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Christoph Hönnige and Diana Panke

Is anybody listening? The Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee and their quest for awareness

in Journal of European Public Policy, Volume 23, Issue 4

The Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) are two consultative



bodies in the European legislative arena. While they have privileged access to the European Parliament (EP) and the Council of Ministers through submitting opinions on draft European Union (EU) legislation, EU legislators do not always read the opinions and are consequently often unaware of what the CoR and the EESC propose. This article examines how and under which conditions consultative committees can secure the awareness of legislative bodies. Based on two case studies focusing on the European Citizens Initiative and the liberalization of the postal market, we find that the level of awareness of the work of the two committees is overall rather limited. However, awareness increases if the committees proactively promote their positions through extracurricular activities (e.g., seminars, participation in hearings, circulation of additional information) from early on, rather than simply formally submitting their opinions to the EP and the Council.

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Ivaldi Enrico, Bonatti Guido, Soliani Riccardo

Is there a two-speed Europe also in the well-being?

in *Economia internazionale*, 2016, Volume 69, Issue 1, 44-66

Eurostat databases provide forty indicators relevant to measure the well-being in different countries. In this paper we propose to identify different levels of wellbeing in two European areas, by the analysis of a sample of Centre-North Europe (Sweden, Germany, France, Britain and the Netherlands, which are among the most advanced states), and a sample of Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece). The goal of the research is to grasp and quantify the specificities of these countries in a phase when inequalities grow. We have represented welfare through 11 dimensions based on 77 variables and analyzed the differences in each of them between the countries in the two areas by Pena's Distance and MPI, two different methodologies – parametric and non-parametric – that allow the combination of variables in a way consistent with our objective.

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Carbone Maurizio, Cartapelle Lia

Italy's development policy and the domestic politics of Europeanisation: why Europe matters so little

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, 42-57

In spite of Italy's extraordinary ratio of foreign aid channelled through the European Union and its support for a common European approach to international development promoted by the European Commission, combined with significant Europeanisation pressures since the early 2000s, the 'impact of Europe' on Italy's development policy has been rather limited. Examining the issues of quantity and quality of aid between 2002 and 2014, and the process that led to the adoption of a new development law in 2014, this paper seeks to explain why Europe matters so little in the evolution of Italy's development policy. The central argument is that Italy's propensity to Europeanise its development policy depends on two key factors: domestic politics, in particular the different agendas of governing party coalitions; and the multilateralisation of aid, specifically the set of perverse effects it generates on the bilateral component of development policy, irrespective of changing governing coalitions.



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Larsson Olof, Naurin Daniel

Judicial Independence and Political Uncertainty: How the Risk of Override Affects the Court of Justice of the EU in International Organization, vol. 70, issue 2, spring , 377-408

ABSTRACT: There is broad agreement in the literature that international courts (ICs) make decisions with bounded discretion in relation to state governments. However, the scope of this discretion, and the determinants of its boundaries, are highly contested. In particular, the central mechanism in separation-of-powers models of judicial politics—the possibility of legislative override—has raised controversy. We argue that the uncertainty that judges face regarding the political reactions to their decisions has important and undertheorized implications for their behavior. On the one hand, cautious judges are likely to be attentive to signals that contain information about the probability of an unfavorable override. On the other hand, misjudgments of the political risks are likely to be made. Thus, the possibility of override is a significant factor affecting judicial behavior, but it is also a fairly blunt mechanism for balancing the independence and accountability of courts. The empirical study focuses on the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), which has long been at the center of theory development regarding the legalization of world politics and the rise of international courts. The results demonstrate a strong correlation between the CJEU's rulings and the political signals it receives, in a pattern that goes beyond legal merit, and that fits with the override mechanism. State governments are crucial parts of the broader audience that defines the political boundaries of judicial discretion.

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Moritz Weiss and Michael Blauberger

Judicialized Law-Making and Opportunistic Enforcement: Explaining the EU's Challenge of National Defence Offsets

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

This article seeks to explain how the European Union (EU) – by challenging national defence offsets – managed to move into a highly sensitive policy area under formerly exclusive Member State competence. Whereas major accounts of integration depict defence policy as a least likely case, our process-tracing analysis shows that the EU's recent challenge of defence offsets was a case of supranational self-empowerment. We theorize two consecutive strategies of judicial politics, which the Commission employed at different policy stages to overcome opposition from Member States and defence firms against domestic policy change: judicialized law-making and opportunistic enforcement. Both strategies depend on three scope conditions: expansive case law of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), its fit with policy priorities of the Commission and a credible threat of follow-up litigation.

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SALVADOR LLAUDES

Juncker, no es momento para lo de siempre

in *Política Exterior*, nº 169

Tras año y medio como presidente de la Comisión Europea, Jean-Claude Juncker ve frenado su empeño en galvanizar



el ejecutivo comunitario por una concatenación de crisis internas que han llegado a poner en duda la viabilidad del proyecto europeo

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Kranenpohl Uwe

Kompetenzgerangel oder Interpretationsdiskurs? Intrajustizielle Kontrolle im Mehrebenensystem

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 149-161

Turf battle or discourse on interpretation? Checks and balances in the European multi-level judicial system

Abstract

It is a common task of courts to examine political actions on rule of law. But also the courts themselves sometimes compete on their competences to overview the political process. Impressive examples are conflicts between national constitutional courts, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). Remarkably, the reasoning of the courts oscillates: On the one hand they refer on their own authority and deny these of the other courts; on the other hand they vie with each other for the appropriate interpretation of basic rights. Although the main cleavage formerly existed between national and European courts, nowadays controversies occur more frequently between the ECJ and ECtHR. Unfortunately, these conflicts could impair the rule of law in the European Union.

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Möller Almut

Kontinent der Verzagten. Was können wir gegen die Fliehkräfte in der EU tun?

in *Internationale Politik* , März/April, 2016

ABSTRACT: Wir sind Zeugen tiefer Risse – innerhalb von Gesellschaften und zwischen Staaten. Um diese zu überwinden, müssen wir uns daran erinnern, dass die EU eine Wertegemeinschaft ist und ganz praktisch an ihrem Verhalten gemessen wird. Denn die EU ist keine heilige Kuh, sondern ein Vehikel, mit dem aktuelle Herausforderungen bewältigt werden.

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Müller Thomas

Krise und Verfassung: Aktuelle Herausforderungen in der europäischen und nationalen Wirtschaftsverfassung

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, Band 71, Heft 2, Juni , 269-305

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Luzi Michela

L'Europa tra governance e modelli partecipativi

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 207-226

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Victor Louis

L'Union européenne de crise en crise

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, vol. 51, no. 2 , 335-348

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomas von Danwitz

L'Union européenne et l'adhésion à la Convention européenne des droits de l'Homme

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 2 , 317-337

The opinion 2/13 of the Court of Justice stating that the agreement on the accession of the EU to the ECHR is not compatible with the Treaties has been widely commented since its publication in December 2014. The first reactions having been rather negative, this paper takes up the debate on the accession of the EU to the ECHR and it provides the insight of a judge of the ECJ on this opinion 2/13. It examines in depth the different concerns identified by the Court regarding the specific characteristics and the autonomy of EU law, Article 344 TFEU, the co-respondent mechanism, the procedure for the prior involvement of the Court and judicial review in CFSP matters and places them in an overall perspective.

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Bruno Simili

L'Unione ripiegata su se stessa

in *Mulino (il)*, n.3 , 512-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jeannot Anne

L'influence de la France et de l'Allemagne dans la construction d'une Europe de la défense

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 596, mars , 142-150

Abstract online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51282.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niglia Federico

L'intesa distonica: il dialogo italo-tedesco nel quadro europeo

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 2 - Aprile/Giugno 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heribert Dieter

LA GERMANIA DICE 'EUROPA' MA NE PENSA TANTE

in *Limes*, 3/16

L'offensiva di Renzi irrita i tedeschi, contrari a un allentamento della disciplina fiscale. Merkel ha sbagliato sui migranti, ma ciò non giustifica le accuse di egoismo mosse a Berlino. L'unica soluzione è un'Ue a più velocità;

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Carlo Galli

LA GERMANIA UNITA DIVIDE L'EUROPA

in *Limes*, 3/16

Nell'Ue esistono uno spazio dell'euro, diviso fra debitori mediterranei e creditori afferenti alla sfera geoeconomica di Berlino, e diversi spazi geopolitici. Il loro intreccio genera instabilità. Nell'ordoliberalismo c'è tutta la storia tedesca. Le conseguenze della guerra globale.

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Chaltiel Florence

La COP21 et l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 595, février , 65-66



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stanislas Adam, Benjamin Cheynel, Frédérique Rolin

La Cour de justice, acteur multifonctionnel du développement du droit économique de l'Union

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, t. XXIX, 2015/4

Le présent article rassemble deux interventions présentées lors du colloque sur les « Fonctions de la procédure dans le droit économique européen ». Il a pour objet d'illustrer le rôle des procédures juridictionnelles pour la mise en œuvre du droit économique européen. Il ne s'agit pas exclusivement de mettre en exergue les fonctions classiquement reconnues aux procédures juridictionnelles en droit de l'Union, mais bien plus encore de mettre en lumière les potentielles implications politiques de ces procédures, intimement liées à l'articulation atypique du rôle, d'une part, des juridictions nationales en tant que juges de droit commun du droit de l'Union et, d'autre part, des juridictions de l'Union. En premier lieu, l'article aborde l'utilisation à des fins matérielles du renvoi préjudiciel par les juridictions nationales. En second lieu, il traite des recours directs devant les juridictions de l'Union, introduits tant par les institutions et les États membres que par les particuliers, et examine leur rôle pour le développement du droit économique de l'Union.

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Cagiati Andrea

La Russia e gli equilibri internazionali

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno, 71-76

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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ISABELLA THOMAS

La batalla por Reino Unido

in *Política Exterior*, nº 170

El 23 de junio de 2016 es ya una fecha en la cronología de la historia británica y europea. 'Brexit' se enfrenta a 'Bremain' (marcharse o permanecer). Los dos bandos apelan al pasado del país, al particularismo británico y a la economía: unos lo utilizan para el 'sí' y otros para el 'no'.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prouvèze Rémy

La coopération policière des États membres de l'Union européenne: quelle place pour les accords bilatéraux?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 598, mai, 268-273



Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-52654.htm#contents_01

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mayeur Carpentier Coralie

La coopération policière, judiciaire et douanière dans l'Union européenne - Quelles réalisations, quelle efficacité depuis le traité de Lisbonne?. Un bilan d'activité mitigé entre efficacité et souveraineté

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 598, mai , 267-268

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mengozi Pieralberto

La crisi dell'area euro e il perseguimento di un equilibrio tra stabilità, democrazia e diritti fondamentali

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 547-598

This essay starts with an analysis of the efforts made by the European Union in order to promptly react to the crisis in the Eurozone. Subsequently, the Author investigates a) the more significant intergovernmental initiative which brought to the creation of the ESM, with the approval of the Court of Justice in Pringle, b) the criticisms concerning the lack of democratic legitimacy and of respect of fundamental rights made to the macroeconomic and structural agreements concluded between the ESM, with the technical support of the Commission and the ECB, and the States asking for its financial assistance, c) the re-positioning of the Commission and of the ECB, thanks to the adoption of the TwoPack, after having been confined by the ESM and Pringle to mere instrumental positions and, d) the legal consequences as far as the protection of fundamental rights is concerned. Finally, in the light of the request for a preliminary ruling by the German Constitutional Court to the Court of Justice in Gauweiler (with reference to the OMT Program), the Author stresses the ECB's contribution to the overcoming of a pronounced distinction between the stability of the Eurozone and the stability of the euro.

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Simonetta Izzo

La dimensione esterna della cittadinanza europea: tutela consolare e protezione diplomatica nell'ambito dell'Unione europea

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 2 , 397-425

Article 23 TFEU provides for the right of EU citizens to diplomatic and consular protection by Member States other than the State of nationality in the territory of a third country. After an overview on the evolution of legal sources, the present paper focuses on some issues concerning the scope and the effectiveness of Article 23 TFEU, with special emphasis on the consular assistance. In particular, the study addresses the question of whether the EU citizen's right to assistance abroad is limited to an application of the principle of non-discrimination based on nationality. Moreover, attention is paid to the eventual and future diplomatic protection established by Article 23 TFEU. As final remarks, the paper analyses the



potential impact, on consular and diplomatic practice, of the new institutional settings in the domain of EU external representation and the growing empowerment of the Union in international relations after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliani Jean-Dominique

La défense de l'Europe avant l'Europe de la défense: revenir à la méthode Schuman
in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 499-508

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniele Grasso

La frontera es mía, Europa no es de nadie
in *Política Exterior*, nº 168

¿De qué manera pueden contribuir los medios de comunicación a derribar el discurso sobre la “fortaleza Europa” y elaborar el enfoque común que reclama la política de inmigración y refugio en la Unión Europea?

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beatriz Iñarritu

La nueva gobernanza económica de la Unión Europea: Propuesta de sistematización de elementos, procedimientos, mecanismos y herramientas
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 31, junio

All the recent changes introduced in the EU Economic Governance, EEG, leads us to reflect on the analysis and the classification of the different elements included in this redefined EEG. The point is to pose a new systematization that might help to clarify and understand the current Governance, and also the future one.

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Gaspare Fiengo

La nuova frontiera dei diritti sociali e della cittadinanza europea alla luce del Trattato di Lisbona
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 1029-1046

This study analyzes the main impacts made on the side of social rights, as a result of the enlargement of the European citizenship concept and the democratic principle, both redefined in the Treaty of Lisbon. Applied, particularly, to the proliferation of free movement right within the Union territories, considering also the interpretation of the Court of Justice



as an attempt to reconstruct the right to free movement as a fundamental one, overcoming the original economic purposes. This survey focuses on the dichotomy of European citizenship – social rights, particularly regarding the employment relationship as a central theme in Europe's social life.

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Alberto Priego and Gracia Abad

La parlamentarización del sistema político de la Unión Europea: sus consecuencias para la legitimidad
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 52 , 17-37

La unión europea es un sistema político rígido establecido con la creación de la ceca. La reforma del mismo es difícil ya que coexisten dos sensibilidades: la funcional/comunitaria y la constitucional. sin embargo, esa rigidez que limita la reforma entra en conflicto con la necesidad de la unión europea de reformar sus instituciones para adaptarse a las nuevas realidades, siendo la inclusión de elementos propios de los sistemas políticos clásicos —tanto presidencialistas como parlamentarios— la única vía posible de reforma. Hasta el momento han sido más los elementos de carácter parlamentario introducidos que los presidencialistas, algo que dado que en europa los sistemas parlamentarios son más comunes y, por ello percibidos como más legít

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Fruncillo Domenico

La partecipazione alle elezioni europee. Un contributo alla riflessione sul "significato" dell'Unione europea
in *Democrazia e diritto*, fasc. 3 , 78-112

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JUDY DEMPSEY

La paz europea hecha añicos; los valores amenazados
in *Política Exterior*, nº 171

Proteger los valores europeos y hacer la guerra parecen objetivos casi contradictorios. Sin embargo, ese es el reto que tiene la Unión Europea ante la realidad del terrorismo en el continente.

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Loïc Cadet

La procédure comme réponse à la crise institutionnelle dans l'Union. Quelques observations dubitatives
in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , t. XXIX, 2015/4



Si la procédure est parfois présentée comme une réponse à la crise institutionnelle dans l'Union, cette présentation doit être mesurée. D'abord, de quelle crise parle-t-on ? À supposer cette crise établie, la réponse n'est pas seulement procédurale et cette réponse, qui est de l'ordre de la juridictionnalisation au moins autant que de la procéduralisation, a une importante dimension constitutionnelle, c'est-à-dire politique. En vérité, une autre lecture de la procéduralisation est envisageable qui pourrait y voir, non pas un substitut à l'intégration politique défailante de l'Europe, mais un vecteur de la marchandisation de la justice elle-même, le marché du droit derrière le paravent de l'Union de droit, dans lequel les jugements doivent circuler aussi librement que les biens et les services.

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Cecilia Rizcallah

La protection des droits fondamentaux dans l'Union européenne: l'immuable poids des origines? Examen critique de l'existence et du fonctionnement d'un critère téléologique dans la détermination de l'applicabilité de la protection européenne des droits fondamentaux

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, vol. 51, no. 2, 399-427

No abstract available

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Le Bonniec Nina

La reconnaissance d'un droit fondamental à un environnement sain dans l'ordre juridique de l'Union européenne: simple possibilité ou réelle nécessité?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 597, avril, 211-220

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51888.htm

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Arnaud Van Waeyenberge

La transformation de la méthode communautaire

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, t. XXIX, 2015/4

L'étude de différentes politiques publiques européennes au moyen d'une approche pragmatique du droit centrée sur les instruments d'action publique démontre que la méthode communautaire se trouve actuellement concurrencée dans les faits par de nouveaux instruments qui, loin de constituer des initiatives isolées, participent d'un modèle alternatif de gouvernance communautaire qui la transforme en profondeur. Cette transformation de l'action publique européenne repose sur l'utilisation abondante de nouveaux instruments d'action publique – plus techniques que politiques et plus incitatifs que contraignants – qui impliquent systématiquement une collaboration entre acteurs publics et privés et où le mode de sanction est devenu de plus en plus une « contrainte par l'image » reposant sur la figure du « mauvais élève de la classe ». Cette évolution n'est pas sans conséquences sur la dynamique de production de droit de l'Union européenne dans la mesure où l'on constate des changements aussi bien au niveau de son contenu que de sa



production et de sa mise en œuvre.

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Robin Jean-Pierre

La véritable histoire de l'Euro

in *Politique internationale*, La Revue n°149 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Christian NOYER conduit par Jean-Pierre Robin

Christian Noyer, former Vice-President of the European Central Bank and then Governor of the Bank of France for twelve years, is the living memory of the euro. He has closely followed the ups and downs of the European currency for all these years, since its inauguration in 1999 through to the current Greek crisis. Even in the stormiest times, he points out, the ECB has always adjusted its policies to the needs of the moment. In this interview with Jean-Pierre Robin for *Politique Internationale*, he describes both establishments -the "start-up" in Frankfurt and the administrative behemoth in Paris- and compares their working methods, strengths, and weaknesses. When he first arrived at the Bank of France, Christian Noyer quickly saw the need to enhance its profitability and grow its productivity, which meant cutting costs and downsizing. As he hands over the keys to this venerable institution, Christian Noyer is bequeathing to his successor a more modern and effective instrument.

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Cristina Elías Méndez

Las instituciones europeas ante la crisis económica: análisis y propuestas para politizar y democratizar el proceso de toma de decisiones a nivel europeo

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 24

This essay analyzes the role of the European Institutions (in particular, European Central Bank, European Council, EU Council, Commission and Parliament) in the management of the economic crisis, in the context of the various legal instruments that have been approved and that mark the development of economic governance. Both the legal evolution in this field as the performance of each institution (legal framework, role during the economic crisis, transformations experienced and balance) are studied.

The analysis, which follows the methodology of the European Constitutional Law, is undertaken from the perspective of the European institutional framework as a complex structure, characterized by the representation and tension between the European and the national interests, in a multilevel context, and a dynamic of cooperation and / or competition among institutions, and of the intergovernmental trend led by the Treaty of Lisbon.

It is concluded that the changes experienced in the economic governance model and the determination of deepening the EMU require deepening political union. Far-reaching proposals, affecting the basic legitimacy of decision-making, as well as specific proposals, aimed mainly at increasing the involvement of Parliament in decisions on economic governance, but also to politicize and democratize the process of decision making at European level, are presented and discussed.

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JOSEF JANNING

Las tribulaciones de la UE con la crisis de refugiados
in *Política Exterior*, nº 170

Solidaridad, integración, valores, sociedades abiertas... Son muchos los conceptos básicos del proyecto europeo que han quedado vacíos ante la crisis de refugiados. ¿Cómo recomponer la Unión?

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Chaltiel Florence

Le Conseil européen, acteur central des crises européennes

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 597, avril, 193-194

No abstract available

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Schambeck Herbert

Le costituzioni degli Stati e il diritto dell'Unione europea

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, 1-2/2015

After the failure of the project for a "Constitution for Europe", it has managed to save its contents in the Lisbon Treaty, which, for its general objective and its nature, although not definable in terms of Constitution, it can be identified as the basic Treaty of the European Union.

The Lisbon Treaty has introduced a new quality of European cooperation. With its entry into force it has been created for national Parliaments new rights, which enable a direct participation in the European legislative process. Namely, through the Lisbon Treaty, national Parliaments are expressly included in the system of European Union law.

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Sylvie Torcol

Le droit constitutionnel européen, droit de la conciliation des ordres juridiques

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 105, 101-126.

L'internationalisation et l'eupéanisation du droit sont des phénomènes bien connus aujourd'hui même si une partie de la doctrine minimise ou déplore encore ce qu'elle ne peut plus nier... Peu important d'ailleurs les convictions personnelles, argumentées scientifiquement, ou encore les positions de principe, il paraît difficile de contester les faits, encore moins, évidemment, lorsque l'on appartient à un État membre de l'Union Européenne. Droit international, droit de l'Union, droit européen, les ordres juridiques étatiques sont pénétrés par un droit « externe », « extérieur », quelquefois qualifié d'« étranger ». Il n'est certes pas facile, (tout particulièrement en France, où la souveraineté au sens bodinien du terme est encore très prégnante), d'accepter de conditionner son droit à des règles supranationales.



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Le Moigne Mathilde, Saraceno Francesco, Villemot Sébastien

Le plan Juncker peut-il nous sortir de l'ornière?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, n°144 décembre 2015 , 357-386

Dans cet article nous effectuons un exercice quantitatif simple permettant d'évaluer l'impact du plan Juncker au sein de la zone euro et sa capacité à faire sortir les économies européennes de la situation de trappe à liquidités dans laquelle elles sont à présent. Nous estimons un modèle d'équilibre général intertemporel et stochastique (DSGE) de l'économie à partir de données agrégées sur la zone euro, dans lequel nous introduisons l'existence de capital public, dans l'esprit de ce qui a été proposé par Leeper et al. (2010). Nous simulons alors un plan d'investissement avec une composante publique et une composante privée, reproduisant l'effet de levier privé attendu dans le plan Juncker.

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Baldocci Pasquale

Le projet européen : paradoxes de relance

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Juin

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Paolo Ponzano

Le richieste di Cameron: opportunità o regresso per il progetto europeo?

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVII, n. 3

La lettera indirizzata il 10 Novembre scorso dal Primo ministro Cameron al Presidente del Consiglio europeo e contenente le richieste britanniche ai paesi membri dell'Unione europea affinché il governo britannico faccia campagna a favore della permanenza del Regno Unito in seno all'Unione europea in occasione del referendum promesso da Cameron entro il 2017 ha aperto formalmente le trattative relative ad un nuovo status del Regno Unito in seno all'Unione.

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Saoudi Messaoud



Le risque souverain dans la zone euro

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 597, avril , 232-238

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51888.htm

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Steffen Hurka, Michael Kaeding and Lukas Obholzer

Learning on the Job? EU Enlargement and the Assignment of (Shadow) Rapporteurships in the European Parliament

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6

This article investigates the determinants of assignments to European Parliament negotiating teams comprising both rapporteurs and shadow rapporteurs. We re-examine the argument that under-representation of MEPs (Members of the European Parliament) from new Member States on these key posts after enlargement might have been due to a 'learning phase'. We find that MEPs from newer Member States remain considerably less likely to act as rapporteurs during the second term after enlargement (2009–14). Most importantly, this trend also holds for shadow rapporteurships under the co-decision procedure, which is when they matter most. This structural under-representation entails important implications for European integration, most importantly that MEPs from newer Member States are less able to influence legislation. We suggest that the patterns we find could be the result of reduced willingness, a more limited skill set, or a structural disadvantage of MEPs from the accession states in the report allocation process.

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Wall Sir Stephen

Leaving the EU?

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 57–67

This essay provides a detailed historical account of United Kingdom's accession and participation in the EU. Full awareness of the historical events and dynamics is crucial to understand the forces agitating the current debate. In particular, through an exploration of the key steps that led the United Kingdom to accede the EEC and the dynamics of its participation ever since, the main finding that emerges is that the United Kingdom joined the EEC reluctantly, and that this attitude has crucially continued ever since. It is thus fair to say that the United Kingdom, at heart, never wanted to join the European Communities and, at heart, never stopped hankering after a world where it would be safe for it to leave. This ambivalence does not prevent, however, from highlighting a few strong reasons that militate in favour of staying in.

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Gee Graham, Rubini Luca , Trybus Martin ,

Leaving the EU? The Legal Impact of 'Brexit' on the United Kingdom

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 51–56



No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael Kaeding and Kevin M. Stack

Legislative Scrutiny? The Political Economy and Practice of Legislative Vetoes in the European Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6

This article examines the European Parliament's and Council of Ministers' use of legislative vetoes to override the European Commission's rule-making. Well-established principles of political economy suggest that the Parliament and Council will exercise their veto powers infrequently. Using an original data set of legislative vetoes of Commission acts by both European legislators from June 2006 to April 2014, we show that levels of formal exercise of the legislative veto to overrule the Commission's regulatory policies are indeed very low. Particularly interesting is the fact that the level of exercise of legislative veto provisions has not increased significantly since the Lisbon Treaty came into effect, suggesting that the ways in which the Treaty formally augmented the powers of legislative scrutiny have not resulted in appreciably greater formal exercise of these powers. Moreover, no significant differences appear between the two European Union legislative bodies.

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Ponzano Paolo

Les demandes britanniques pour éviter un "brexit": opportunité ou régression pour le projet européen?

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 631-643

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations de procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Douzième partie: le budget de l'Union pour 2015. Une procédure budgétaire particulièrement complexe. II. Le projet de budget initial pour 2015

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 595, février , 116-126

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne - Douzième partie : le budget de l'Union pour 2015 - Une procédure budgétaire particulièrement complexe. III. La procédure de conciliation

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 596, mars , 171-175



Abstract online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51282.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mazille Clémentine

Les particularités de la coopération avec un État tiers voisin : l'exemple de la Suisse

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 598, mai , 274-279

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-52654.htm#contents_01

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Lenzi Guido

Lessico immigratorio

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 77-84

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hans E Andersson

Liberal Intergovernmentalism, spillover and supranational immigration policy

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 51 (1) , 38-54

That the Lisbon Treaty lays the foundation for a supranational asylum and immigration policy is surprising, even more so for Liberal Intergovernmentalism (LI), whose founder Andrew Moravcsik predicts that no such development will take place. While the article uses LI as its point of departure, it shows that it runs into problems with regards to the policy area of asylum and immigration. The article therefore turns to the (neo-)functionalist concept of spillover. While working with the concept, it was deemed necessary to create a more coherent typology of different spillovers. The article suggests that the concept of spillover may be both descriptive and explanatory. With regards to descriptive spillover, it seems valuable to differentiate between widening and deepening spillovers, but concerning explanatory spillovers, more options became visible: there are unintended or intended functional spillovers, as well as unintended political, cultivated and social spillovers. The argument is illustrated through a detailed study of Sweden – a 'reluctant European' that within the area of asylum and immigration made a fundamental U-turn with regards to a supranationalism, a change that can be described as a social spillover.

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Kristi Raik

Liberalism and geopolitics in EU–Russia relations: rereading the “Baltic factor”

in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 237-255



Contrary to some expectations, the Baltic states' accession to the EU in 2004 was not followed by an improvement in their relations with Russia. Instead, the Baltic states became known as the “troublemakers” of EU–Russia relations. This was commonly explained by their history and national identity, which contributed to an understanding of the Baltic concerns as marginal. The Ukraine crisis brought a reaction of “I told you so” by the Baltic states that for many years had been warning the West about Russia’s expansionist ambitions. This article explores the ideational underpinnings of the gap between the Baltic states’ perceptions of and relations with Russia on the one hand and mainstream views in Europe on the other. It identifies liberal interdependence, democratic peace, and realist geopolitics as key ideas that have framed the EU’s and Baltic states’ perceptions of Russia. In the vein of constructivist foreign policy analysis, these ideational structures are seen to condition the EU’s and Baltic states’ interests and policies vis-à-vis Russia. An analysis of the “Baltic factor” helps to illuminate the contradictions and shortcomings in the EU’s Russia policy and review its ideational basis which is now in need of a strategic rethink.

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Ciarán Burke, Ólafur Ísberg Hannesson, Kristin Bangsund,

Life on the Edge: EFTA and the EEA as a Future for the UK in Europe
in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 69–96

The present article discusses the options open to the UK in the event that the proposed referendum on EU membership results in an ‘out’ vote. The case is presented that the preservation of established markets represents a desideratum, both for the UK, and for its EU partners, and that such a goal could be achieved – while removing the UK from many less popular areas of EU competence – by the UK immediately joining EFTA and the European Economic Area (EEA) upon its exit from the EU. The authors argue that the EEA model would represent a best-case scenario for the UK in the event of a ‘Brexit’, coupling the benefits garnered from the maintenance of the UK’s position within the Internal Market with a looser regulatory structure, while preserving established market relationships and economic stability, and allowing for greater freedom of action on the part of the UK government in areas not covered by the material scope of the EEA Agreement. The non-identical nature of EU law and EEA law is explained, with the absence of the twin doctrines of supremacy and direct effect presented as a means to restore the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty in Britain. The EEA legislative and enforcement mechanisms are also discussed, while the EEA model is favourably compared with the looser – yet vastly more complicated – bilateral arrangement governing Swiss-EU relations.

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Cravo Teresa Almeida

Linking peacebuilding, rule of law and security sector reform: the European Union’s experience

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU’s External Action , 107-124

The rule of law and security sector reform have become central to peacebuilding initiatives in the past decade and a half, accompanying a surge in international interventions in the periphery. Considered of critical importance to the re-establishment of order and the promotion of peace and development, these two areas of reform have gained importance and, today, feature as priorities in the European Union’s external action beyond its immediate neighbourhood. Such policies, however, have often failed to achieve their stated goals. After reviewing the theoretical



relationship between peacebuilding, rule of law reform and security sector reform, this article draws on the Union's practice to argue that a narrow, formalistic approach to rule of law and security sector reform, one that prioritises the transplantation of a western liberal legal framework, has undermined the aims of curbing instability and fostering development.

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Verderame Giovan Battista

Lo stato dell'Unione. La politica estera comune dell'Unione

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 206-213

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Benedetti Adriano

Lo stato dell'Unione. Le problematiche attuali dell'Unione europea

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 213-219

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Calamia Pietro

Lo stato dell'Unione. L'evoluzione delle istituzioni europee

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 201-205

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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Nigido Roberto

Lo stato dell'Unione. Metodo comunitario e metodo intergovernativo

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 219-223

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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Mombelli Gerardo

L'Europa di oggi

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 167-174

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Laura Filippi

L'Europa e la prospettiva della difesa comune

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVII, n. 3

L'Unione europea, ormai, è circondata da un arco di aree politicamente instabili, che si estende dai paesi del Nord Africa fino al Medio Oriente e ai paesi dell'Europa dell'Est: si tratta di un quadro che minaccia gravemente la sicurezza dei paesi europei.

Il problema fondamentale della difesa europea è pertanto di natura politica. I vantaggi economici e strategici che deriverebbero dall'integrazione della difesa europea (il risparmio, il miglior impiego delle risorse, la riduzione delle duplicazioni, l'acquisizione di armamenti d'avanguardia, lo sviluppo del mercato della difesa e delle industrie europee, l'innovazione tecnologica) non trovano corrispondenza nella volontà politica dei governi degli Stati membri.

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Verderame Giovan Battista

L'Unione riformata secondo Cameron

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 85-96

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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Lavallée Chantal, Pouponneau Florent

L'approche globale à la croisée des champs de la sécurité européenne

in *Politique européenne* , n. 51, 2016/1 , 8 à 29

Pour renforcer la cohérence et l'efficacité de l'action extérieure de l'Union européenne (UE), et la présence de l'Europe dans le monde, les dirigeants européens ont décidé d'inscrire l'intervention européenne dans une approche dite globale de la sécurité. Placée au centre de la Stratégie européenne de sécurité de 2003, l'« approche globale » est ainsi devenue un cadre de référence de la...

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Macchia Marco

L'architettura europea dell'unione bancaria tra tecnica e politica
in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1579-1618

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Mengozzi Paolo

L'attention portée par la Cour de Justice à l'activité du Comité européen des droits sociaux concernant la protection des droits des particuliers en Europe

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno X, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 417-432

This essay deals with the attention paid, on the one hand, by the Court of Justice to the work of the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR), working under the auspices of the Council of Europe, and, on the other hand, by the ESCR to the protection of the rights provided for by the European Social Charter in the European Union. The Author starts by pointing out the wide and useful references made by the Charter of Fundamental Rights to the European Social Charter and to the ECSR's decision-making practice. He also stresses those made by the European Social Charter to the EU Court of Justice's case law. Subsequently, he comments on an ECSR's recent working paper according to which an EU Member State cannot rely on the compatibility of national legislation with a Union's directive or with the Court of Justice's case law to directly sustain that that same legislation is compatible with the European Social Charter. In this working paper the ECSR considers the protection of the social rights by the EU law as inadequate. In this respect, the Author firstly stresses the important contribution given by the EU law, not only to the protection of the rights of workers who are EU citizens, but also of the rights of workers who are citizens of Third States. Secondly, the author demonstrates that the criticism made by the ECSR to the EU case-law concerning family reunification, the protection of posted workers and the rules on working time is groundless. Finally, the author mentions the set of rules with which the EU political institutions faced the criticism put forward by the ECSR with regard to the management of the Greek economic crisis.

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Bourgeot Rémi

L'euro contre l'Europe?

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2016/1 (N° 101) , 26 à 35

In the face of mass unemployment and the lack of substantial economic improvement, the Eurozone's establishment appears helpless and relies increasingly on the European Central Bank to salvage the entire system. The institutional proposals, which center on the notion of a "genuine economic and monetary union," although legitimate, are illusory for reasons related to the political-economic balance within the Eurozone, in particular between France and Germany.



Beyond the mere issue of the euro, the obsessive focus on economic and monetary issues at large – which has notably led to the creation of the single currency – appears as a means to promote an administrative system paradoxically cut off from economic reality.

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Nones Michele

L'industria europea della difesa

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 140-148

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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Cardone Andrea

L'obliterazione dello stato di crisi: la Corte UE ri(con)duce le misure “non convenzionali” della BCE al diritto “ordinario” dei Trattati

in **Giurisprudenza Costituzionale**, fasc. 4 , 1533-1548

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pondrano Altavilla Gianmarco

L'unità europea nel pensiero politico di Margaret Thatcher: i discorsi dell'Aia e di Bruges

in **Europa**, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 191-204

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabrizio Maronta

MIGRANTI, MINOR RISULTATO COL MASSIMO SFORZO

in **Limes**, 3/16

Il Vecchio Continente nasconde il problema sotto il tappeto turco. I punti critici del patto con Ankara e la caduta di fiducia degli europei per Ue e Schengen. L'Italia si prepari a nuovi e consistenti sbarchi. Addio leadership tedesca?

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Kremer Manfred

Macroeconomic effects of financial stress and the role of monetary policy: a VAR analysis for the euro area
in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 105-138

This paper analyses an otherwise standard macro-financial VAR model for the euro area that includes - apart from conventional measures of output, inflation and monetary policy - a composite indicator of systemic financial stress, namely the CISS index, and total assets of the ECB balance sheet capturing the stance of unconventional monetary policy. I find that the CISS contributes significantly to the dynamics of the macroeconomy and exerts a strong influence on monetary policy when looking at both policy rates and the ECB balance sheet. The significance of the CISS appears robust to the inclusion of a broad set of real and financial control variables. Based on tests of direct versus indirect (Granger-)causality patterns proposed in Hsiao (1982), I also find that unlike unconventional policy as measured by ECB balance sheet growth, the policy rate does not seem to react directly to variations in financial stress but rather indirectly through the impact of financial stress on macroeconomic conditions. These different patterns of reaction are broadly consistent with the ECB's "separation principle". The estimated effects of the ECB's standard and non-standard policy measures on inflation and economic growth are moderate, although an easier stance in both policy tools helps calm down financial stress.

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Palea Vera

Making Economics Matter Again: A New Framework for European Research
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 3, Number 1 , 49-82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Loriaux Michael

Many-Europes and the problem of power
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 4, july , 417-434

ABSTRACT: The rival of many-Europes' is a super-power Europe that reprises but redefines core concepts – people, frontier, sovereignty and national power – that many-Europes contests. At the heart of this rivalry is the problem of power. Efforts to define a specifically European style of power, as civilian, tranquil, or normative, would seem to cater to the post-national Europe that many-Europes advocates. But the word 'power' is haunted by the signifying trace of threatening performance and by the undecidability that this performance engenders. This trace of performative threat endows the word 'power' with aesthetic effect and causes it to co-exist in conceptual tension with the adjectives (civilian, tranquil, normative and others) that are supposed to domesticate it. I suggest that many-Europes represent itself to the world as an anti-power, and explore the writings of Patocka and Levinas to give this concept definition.

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Cacciatore Matteo, Fiori Giuseppe, Ghironi Fabio

Market deregulation and optimal monetary policy in a monetary union

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 99, March 2016 , Pages 120-137

This paper addresses the consequences of product and labor market deregulation for monetary policy in a two-country monetary union with endogenous product creation and labor market frictions. We show that when regulation is high in both countries, optimal policy requires significant departures from price stability both in the long run and over the business cycle. The adjustment to market reform requires expansionary policy to reduce transition costs, but deregulation reduces static and dynamic inefficiencies, making price stability more desirable once the transition is complete. International synchronization of reforms can eliminate policy tradeoffs generated by asymmetric deregulation.

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Morrow K. Mc, Orlandi F., Raciborski R.

Medium term economic dynamics of the Euro Area

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 27-43

This paper analysis the Euro area's growth over the last 15–20 years and provides a medium term outlook. We find that in a no policy change scenario, growth will be subdued, essentially reflecting the influence of weak pre-crisis trends, most notably for TFP (especially since the mid-1990's). This trend will be exacerbated over the coming decade by the ongoing negative fallout from the financial crisis and by the emerging drag on growth emanating from ageing populations. Unlike in standard recessions, the GDP losses relative to a pre-crisis projection appear to be permanent. The picture presented could potentially improve with the implementation of an ambitious programme of structural reforms focussed on boosting employment and productivity. Since the usefulness of such policies is controversial in the current juncture with constrained monetary policy, the paper also looks at the impact of such reforms in a realistically calibrated model and concludes that fears of large permanent deflationary effects from structural reforms are exaggerated.

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Kneip Sascha

Mehr (nationale) Demokratie wagen? Die Europarechtsprechung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts im Lichte des Demokratie- und Gewaltenteilungsdefizits im EU-Mehrebenensystem

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 131-147

Daring more (nation-state) democracy? The jurisdiction of the German Federal Constitutional Court in light of the reputed democratic deficit of the European Union

Abstract

It is a common assumption that the European Union is suffering from a 'democratic deficit'. However, this notion must be assessed in a differentiated manner. The present contribution argues that there is no major deficit in democratic



participation and representation in Europe but that European democracy is deficient in the partial regimes of political contestation, transparency, and checks and balances. To be more precise, the core problem of European democracy seems to be that of an asymmetric configuration of the checks-and-balances system between the supranational and the national level.

The German Federal Constitutional Court tries to handle this asymmetry by developing three different instruments: the judicial control of the German constitutional identity ('Verfassungsidentitätskontrolle'), the ultra vires review, and the constitutional expectation of a political responsibility for European integration by the Bundestag ('Integrationsverantwortung'). All three instruments are in principle suitable for making democracy work better on the national and, in a limited range, also on the supra-national level. They not only help to reduce the democratic deficits observed on both levels but also increase the legitimacy of multi-level governance in Europe altogether.

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Bollaert Baudouin

Migrants: le grand defi

in *Politique internationale*, La Revue n°149 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Frans TIMMERMANS conduit par Bollaert Baudouin

Dutchman Frans Timmermans, who was named First Vice-President of the European Commission in November 2014, is often described as "Jean-Claude Juncker's right-hand man." Because of his job, his diplomatic talents -he was the Netherlands' foreign minister from 2012 to 2014- and his keen understanding of the mysterious ways of Brussels, he's ideally positioned to explain the European response to the migrant crisis. In this interview Mr. Timmermans underscores the urgency of the situation, and spells out the wide variety of actions undertaken by the EU to meet this challenge. These include bolstering Europe's presence in the Mediterranean (which has already led to saving more than 120,000 lives), intensifying the fight against smugglers, distributing migrants arriving in Greece or Italy in other EU countries, etc. Not to mention aiding Syrian refugees who are now in Turkey, Lebanon or Jordan. The European Union indeed seems to be getting a grip on this problem.

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Eichengreen Barry , Wyplosz Charles

Minimal Conditions for the Survival of the Euro

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 24-28

Most technocrats argue that creating the euro was a way of forcing the pace of political integration, since monetary union is not possible without political union. We disagree and instead put forward four minimal conditions for the survival of the euro. Political integration in Europe has its limits; the trick is to understand when less is more.

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Daniel Fiott

Modernising NATO's Defence Infrastructure with EU Funds

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 2 , 77-94

NATO has limited collective financial means to modernise Europe's defence-transportation and supply links. The European Union might be able to help.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torchia Luisa

Moneta, banca e finanza fra unificazione europea e crisi economica

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1501-1512

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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Nikolay Nenovsky, Kiril Tochkov, Camelia Turcu

Monetary regimes, economic stability, and EU accession: Comparing Bulgaria and Romania

in *Communist and post-communist studies*, Volume 46, Issue 1 , 13-23

This paper traces the origins of the different monetary regimes adopted in Bulgaria and Romania in 1996–97 and examines their performance during the EU accession. The findings indicate that the constraints of the currency board in Bulgaria shifted economic activity towards the private sector, while the discretionary policies in Romania turned public finances into both a contributor and a response mechanism to economic imbalances. While the prospects of EU accession initially enhanced the performance of the monetary anchors, the implicit insurance of EU membership increased moral hazard and led to a rapid rise in private and public debt. The paper also explores the historical parallels between the monetary regimes of Bulgaria and Romania in 1996–97 and 1925–1940.

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Luigi Guiso, Paola Sapienza, Luigi Zingales

Monnet's error?

in *Economic Policy*, Volume 31, Issue 86 , 247-297

In entering a currency union without any political union European countries have taken a gamble: will the needs of the currency unions force a political integration (as anticipated by Monnet) or will the tensions create a backlash, as suggested by Kaldor, Friedman and many others? We try to answer this question by analyzing the cross sectional and



time series variation in pro-European sentiments in the EU 15 countries. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty seems to have reduced the pro-Europe sentiment as does the 2010 Eurozone crisis. Yet, in spite of the worst recession in recent history, the Europeans still support the common currency. Europe seems trapped: there is no desire to go backward, no interest in going forward, but it is economically unsustainable to stay still.

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Lacchi Clelia

Multilevel judicial protection in the EU and preliminary references

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 53, issue 3 , 679-707

ABSTRACT: The article offers a threefold perspective on preliminary references to the ECJ, through an analysis of the case law of the ECJ itself, of (some) constitutional courts and of the ECtHR. Although in the latter two cases, a close connection is made between preliminary references and the right to effective judicial protection, in the EU legal order they are conceived as a “dialogue between judges”. The article looks at their role in light of recent case law concerning this procedure as well as Article 47 of the Charter and Article 19(1)(2) TEU. It aims to identify whether and to what extent preliminary references may be covered by the right to effective judicial protection under EU law. It argues that the preliminary reference procedure may be linked more closely to individuals’ rights if analysed in light of Article 47 of the Charter. Accordingly, some proposals for a more “protection-oriented” system are presented.

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Lavenex Sandra

Multilevelling EU external governance: the role of international organizations in the diffusion of EU migration policies

in **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 554-570

The thematic and geographical expansion of EU migration policies has gone along with an increasing mobilisation of pertinent international organisations such as the IOM and UNHCR. Combining insights from the external governance approach with IR debates on international institutional complexity, this article examines the dynamics behind this ‘multilevelling’ of EU external policies. Three strategies of institutional interplay are distinguished: counterweight, whereby international organisations act as independent complement or corrector to EU policy; subcontracting, referring to the outsourcing of EU project implementation to international organisations; and rule transmission, a process in which international organisations engage in transferring EU rules to third countries. Whereas greater organisational authority and autonomy have allowed the UNHCR to keep an independent voice as counterweight to EU action, both the UNHCR and IOM have become increasingly involved in the implementation of the EU’s ‘global approach’ to migration via subcontracting and rule transmission. In sum, these processes shed a new light on the role of the EU within the international migration regime complex.

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Storm Servaas, Naastepad C.W.M.  

Myths, Mix-ups, and Mishandlings: Understanding the Eurozone Crisis

in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 46-71

The Eurozone crisis has been wrongly interpreted as either a crisis of fiscal profligacy or of deteriorating unit-labor cost competitiveness (caused by rigid labor markets), or a combination of both. Based on these diagnoses, crisis countries have been treated with the bitter medicines of fiscal austerity, wage reductions, and labor market deregulation—all in the expectation that these would restore cost competitiveness and revive growth (through exports), while at the same time allowing for fiscal consolidation and private debt deleveraging. The medicines did not work and almost killed the patients. The problem lies with the diagnoses: the real cause of the crisis resides in unsustainable private sector debt leverage, which was aided and abetted by the liberalization of European financial markets and a “global banking glut.”

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Waterbury Myra A.

National Minorities and Intra-Ethnic Coordination in the European Parliament: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 68, n. 3 , 391-408

This article investigates the role that intra-ethnic coordination and kin-state alliances play in shaping how parties that represent national minority groups approach their participation in the European Parliament (EP). This is done through an analysis of the political behaviour—electoral strategy, party group choice and modes of interest assertion in the EP—of ethnic minority parties in five Central and East European countries. The article finds that the role of intra-ethnic coordination and kin-state alliances is limited at the level of EP elections, but significant at the level of party group choice and in the visibility of minority issues in the EP.

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Agnello Luca, Fazio Giorgio, M. Sousa Ricardo

National fiscal consolidations and regional inequality in Europe

in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 9 Issue 1 March 2016 , 59-80

Using annual data for 13 European countries over the period 1980–2008, we assess the impact of national fiscal consolidations on the income inequality of European regions. Regional dispersion increases in the outcome of consolidation episodes, particularly, when packages are more severe and implemented through spending cuts rather than tax rises. From a policy perspective, these findings suggest that fiscal consolidations driven by reductions in government spending can exacerbate regional disparities and may ultimately counteract the European policy efforts to promote territorial cohesion. Our results are robust to alternative inequality measures, the occurrence of crisis episodes and the exclusion of fiscal outliers.

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Fromage Diane

National parliaments in the Juncker Commission era: The «green card» initiative and beyond
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 4, 2015, dicembre

Diane Fromage

National parliaments in the Juncker Commission era: The «green card» initiative and beyond
pp. 1024-1026

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Wiesner Claudia

Nationale Europadiskurse als Medien der Konstruktion europäischer Identität? Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Pressediskurse zur Ratifikation des EU-Verfassungs- vertrages in Frankreich und Deutschland in 2005

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 1, 2016 , 79-115

ABSTRACT: This article undertakes a Franco-German comparison of the function national European Discourses can take on in the construction of European identity. After a presentation of the state of the art of research in the field and the research design, results of a comparative discourse-analytical study on the press discourses related to the ratification of the EU Constitutional treaty in Germany and France in 2005 are presented. The leading research questions are: to what extent do national European Discourses serve as means of constructing European Identity and at democratising the EU? How do national European discourses of national elites in the quality press construct Europe and the EU? And how are these national European discourses influenced by specific national contexts and factors?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kengyel Ákos

New Headings – Old Problems: The Evolution and Future of the EU Budget

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2016 , 100-106

Despite its political significance the size of the European Union's budget is rather modest: the expenditures make up less than one per cent of the EU's Gross National Income. This article aims to examine the long-term problems linked to the budget. Critical analysis of characteristic features of the EU budget is particularly important, as we argue the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020 maintains the "old" problems, and we suggest that a more comprehensive long-term reform is necessary. Under such circumstances, it is worthwhile to reflect on the tasks, functions and structural problems of the budget and on how to use available resources in a more structured and efficient way.

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Bastian A. Vollmer

New Narratives from the EU External Border – Humane Refoulement?

in *Geopolitics*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 717-741



This article discusses changes in the discourse and practice of the EU external border. Findings of a small-scale research project looking at UNHCR'S Border Management and Protection of Refugees (BMPP) programme will discuss developments taking place at the EU external border and will show a new kind of narrative. Institutional cooperation, access to territory and compliance with the principle of non-refoulement seem to have improved. A more empathetic narrative of border security has found its way into institutions of enforcement authorities that primarily follow their mandate of protecting the state's border and territory. This new narrative is, however, highly politicised and institutionally driven. By taking a more critical view, I introduce the concept of humane refoulement towards the end of the article describing the consequences of this new narrative and denoting it as hypocritical in its nature.

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Kochenov Dimitry, Pech Laurent, Platon Sebastian

Ni panacée, ni gadget: le "nouveau cadre de l'Union européenne pour renforcer l'Etat de droit"

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4 , 689-714

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Decker Frank, Sonnicksen Jared

Noch auf dem Pfad zu einem präsidentiellen System? Eine Analyse der horizontalen Gewaltenteilung der EU-Polity nach der Europawahl 2014

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 71–84

Still on the path to a presidential system? Analyzing the horizontal separation of powers in the EU after the European elections

Abstract

The often claimed 'sui generis'-character of the EU does not mean that it is incomparable as a political system. Accordingly in this paper, we address the question of how to comprehend the institutions of government at European level, particularly with regard to the inter-institutional relations as horizontal separation of powers. As basis for typologizing the EU system of government, we survey practices and structures of governing and especially the checks and balances among the EU institutions. Of particular relevance to this end are structural and functional features of the EU executive and legislative 'branches'. Furthermore, the most recent European elections, the coinciding party-political competition and especially the shifts that occurred in the process of electing the Commission president must also be taken into account in order to reassess the developmental path of the EU polity. For one, this analysis allows for a better understanding of the character of the EU system. Moreover, it offers points of departure when considering appropriate approaches for further democratizing the EU in future.

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Raffaella A. Del Sarto

Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring'
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

Focusing on the EU's relations with its periphery, this paper takes issue both with persistent 'normative' conceptions of the EU's international role in the European Studies literature and with the constructivist–rationalist divide in IR theory. The conceptualization of the EU – a vast, composite and ever-expanding entity with 'fuzzy' borders – as an empire of sorts bridges the theoretical divide and offers a powerful explanation of the EU's behaviour vis-à-vis its vicinity. Through the transfer of rules and practices beyond its borders, the EU is indeed engaged in 'normative' policies, which however primarily serve the security and economic interests of the EU and its Member States. Thus, the EU's (allegedly) norm-based behaviour is in itself a utility-maximizing strategy, which also serves the construction of a normative identity. The EU's response to the Arab uprisings serves to illustrate the argument, with the concept of 'empire' resolving the puzzle of seemingly inconsistent EU policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krajewski Markus

Normative Grundlagen der EU-Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen: Verbindlich, umsetzbar und angewandt?
in *Europarecht*, Heft 3, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Corigliano Fabio

Note per una (geo-)filosofia dello spirito europeo
in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio, 153-178

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Béal Sylvain, Deschamps Marc

On compensation schemes for data sharing within the European REACH legislation
in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 41, Issue 1, February 2016, 157-181

Article 30 of Regulation (EC) No 1907/2006 concerns the sharing of data between users of a chemical substance. We study this bargaining problem by means of a special class of games in coalitional form called data games (Dehez and Tellone in *J Public Econ Theory* 15:654–673, 2013). For such problems, compensation schemes specify how the data owners should be compensated by the agents in needs of data. On the class of data games, the Core, the Nucleolus and the Shapley value provide relevant compensation schemes. We provide four comparable axiomatic characterizations of the set of all (additive) compensation schemes belonging to the Core, of the Nucleolus, of the



Shapley value and of the Full compensation mechanism, a compensation scheme exclusively designed for data sharing problems. The axioms reflects principles of various theories of justice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Issing Otmar

On the Relation of Monetary and Political Union

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 16-20

When EMU took effect in 1999, no progress in the direction of political union had been achieved — indeed, it had not even been attempted. Therefore, from the beginning the euro was confronted with a kind of sword of Damocles: can monetary union survive without political union?

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mariusz Próchniak & Bartosz Witkowski

On the Stability of the Catching-Up Process Among Old and New EU Member States Implications from Bayesian Model Averaging

in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 52, Issue 2, 2014 , 5-27

This paper analyzes the time stability of the real economic convergence in the European Union. As a robustness check, the calculations are carried out for two groups of countries: EU27 during 1993-2010 and EU15 during 1972-2010. The analysis is based on three-year intervals, as contrasted with an analysis by Próchniak and Witkowski (2013a) that is based on annual data. In addition, the paper examines the strength and stability of impact of selected economic growth determinants. In order to verify the research hypotheses, Bayesian model averaging is applied to Blundell and Bond's generalized method of moments system estimator. It turns out that the EU27 countries converged at a rather constant over time rate of about 6 percent per annum while the EU15 countries converged at about 3 percent per annum; this is an enormous difference compared to the widely cited 2 percent speed of convergence in the mainstream literature.

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Avouyi-Dovi Sanvi, Sahuc Jean-Guillaume

On the sources of macroeconomic stability in the euro area

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 83, April 2016 , 40-63

In the mid-1990s the euro area experienced a change in macroeconomic volatility. Around the same time, at business cycle frequencies the correlation between inflation and money growth changed markedly, turning from positive to negative. Distinguishing the periods pre- and post-1994, we estimate a dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model with money for the euro area. The model accounts for the salient facts. We then perform several counterfactual exercises to assess the drivers of these phenomena. The moderation of real variables was essentially due to relatively smaller shocks to investment, wage markups and preferences. The apparent lack of evidence for the quantity theory of money in the short run and the changes in the volatility of nominal variables resulted primarily from a more



anti-inflationary and gradual monetary policy.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boogaerts Andreas, Portela Clara, Driessens Edith

One Swallow Does Not Make Spring: A Critical Juncture Perspective on the EU Sanctions in Response to the Arab Spring

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 2 , 205-225

This article examines to what extent the Arab Spring constitutes a critical juncture – a major turning point – for the EU's sanctions policy towards Egypt, Libya, Syria and Tunisia. Based on a multidimensional critical juncture operationalization, we find that the Arab Spring only constitutes such a turning point for the EU's sanctions policy towards Syria. Both the level and nature of measures differ substantially from previous years. By contrast, the EU's sanctions practice towards Libya, Egypt and Tunisia shows more resilience. More generally, changes in the nature of the measures are prominent, whereas changes in the level of the policy instruments and in underlying norms and goals are limited.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Speck Ulrich

Ordnungsmacht oder Spielball? Europa muss verstärkt in eine gemeinsame Außenpolitik investieren

in *Internationale Politik* , März/April, 2016

ABSTRACT: Der Ukraine-Konflikt hat gezeigt, dass die EU handlungsfähig ist, wenn ein mächtiger Mitgliedstaat seine Politik europäisch verstärkt. Wie verheerend das Fehlen gemeinsamer europäischer Politik ist, zeigt der Syrien-Konflikt. Deshalb ist es höchste Zeit, dass sich Europa zu einem kraftvollen zweiten Pfeiler der Weltordnung entwickelt.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Magen Amichai

Overcoming the diversity-consistency dilemmas in EU Rule of Law external action

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 25-41

The development of a coherent EU Rule of Law external action strategy requires that the Union overcome two “diversity dilemmas” and one “consistency dilemma.” The three dilemmas are interrelated and ought to be approached holistically. The first diversity dilemma pertains to the great divergence in the current uses and understandings of the concept of the Rule of Law. The second emanates from empirical reality, rather than conceptual challenge. In the contemporary global system, the EU faces a broad, possibly widening, set of political regimes which pose distinctly different Rule of Law challenges. A meaningful Rule of Law external action strategy therefore cannot be based on uniformity of conceptualization or policy prescriptions but must contend squarely with a reality of great, and arguably growing, variance. Grappling with diversity while maintaining conceptual and policy coherence represents the third key challenge



to the development of a coherent EU Rule of Law external action strategy. Resolving the consistency dilemma necessitates accommodating diversity within a coherent conceptual and policy framework. This, in turn, requires that, in its external action, the EU approach the Rule of Law as a central pillar of a broader, liberal political-development agenda and that it adopts a vertical (rather than the traditional horizontal) understanding of the concept, involving broadly progressive, cumulative, and hierarchical spheres of Rule of Law conditions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Welfens Paul J. J.

Overcoming the euro crisis and prospects for a political union

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 59-103

The euro crisis and a new debate about immigration in Europe have undermined support for the EU while the unsolved Greek debt problems as well as the ECB's quantitative easing policy have raised new crucial policy issues. It is necessary to identify the key issues of Eurozone stabilization and to clarify the economic benefits from monetary integration. As regards the economic welfare analysis of the euro, the new model presented shows the benefits of the euro's reserve currency position, namely in the framework of a neoclassical growth model with seigniorage based on international reserve holdings. Discounted benefits are about 10,000 € per capita in a stable Euro area. Thus the benefits are bigger than often considered, at the same time one may raise the question of whether the existing institutional setting of the Eurozone is sufficient for achieving long-term stability and prosperity. As regards the envisaged third rescue package for Greece it is emphasized that a haircut of public creditors along with adoption of a Greek capital levy plus privatization efforts are required to achieve debt sustainability and growth. The traditional interpretation of subsidiarity in the EU is found to be misleading and the vertical division of politics is destabilizing.

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Abels Gabriele

Parlamentarismus im europäischen Mehrebenensystem – Niedergang, Renaissance, oder beides?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 165-177

Parliamentarism in the EU multi-level system – decline, renaissance, or both?

Abstract

Parliaments embody the idea of popular sovereignty and they are key political institutions in representative democracies. However, parliamentarism today faces many challenges; the ability of parliaments to fulfil their ascribed core function is restricted or severely restrained. Especially European governance has profound effects on national parliaments and the developments of legislative-executive relations. This contribution argues that the ubiquitous, general claim of a decline of parliaments cannot be sustained and needs to be differentiated in the light of recent research. There is strong empirical evidence that especially the Lisbon Treaty has triggered developments at various parliamentary levels which lead to extensive functional changes. These changes are characterized by concurrent processes of de- and re-parliamentarization. Furthermore, against the background of stronger participation rights of national parliaments the



focus needs to shift towards the strengthening of legislative power in general in order to ensure parliamentary democratic legitimacy in the future. For this purpose the concept of multi-level parliamentarism is helpful.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonio Zorzi Giustiniani

Parlamento europeo e Parlamenti nazionali nella governance economica e finanziaria europea in *Nomos*, 3/2015

L'impianto dell'Unione Economica e Monetaria delineato dal Trattato di Maastricht nel 1992 e perfezionato dal Trattato di Amsterdam nel 1997 si fonda su opzioni ideologiche largamente influenzate dalle dottrine liberiste in voga a cavallo tra gli anni '80 e '90 del secolo passato che, per un verso, assumevano il mercato e la libera concorrenza come regolatori imparziali delle dinamiche economiche e, per altro verso, consideravano la stabilità dei prezzi, la lotta all'inflazione e il freno all'indebitamento pubblico come altrettante precondizioni per una crescita economica sana e virtuosa.

La coordinate e i principi della costituzione economica europea (le cd. quattro libertà) già codificati nell'Atto Unico del 1987 e rivolti essenzialmente ai soggetti privati (imprese e lavoratori) venivano dunque integrati dai cd. parametri di Maastricht che inquadravano le politiche fiscali in uno schema convenzionale ritenuto indispensabile a garantire la sostenibilità delle finanze pubbliche dei paesi membri della Comunità e fissavano il percorso di convergenza per approdare alla moneta unica.

Si completava, dunque, sul piano dei principi e delle prassi applicative il disegno di una costituzione fiscale europea che garantisse solidità alla nuova divisa e predisponesse gli strumenti istituzionali per il governo della moneta, riconducibili essenzialmente al Sistema Europeo delle Banche Centrali e alla Banca Centrale Europea, nuovo organismo indipendente e sovranazionale candidato a gestire in modo unitario e centralizzato la politica monetaria.

L'architettura istituzionale abbozzata faceva dunque perno sulla Banca Centrale nella convinzione illusoria che la cessione della sovranità monetaria da parte degli Stati sarebbe stata sufficiente a garantire dapprima il decollo e poi il consolidamento dell'Unione Economia e Monetaria e che quest'ultima avrebbe poi funzionato da volano per l'integrazione politica.

Le cose purtroppo hanno preso una piega diversa, complice la crisi dei mercati finanziari che, dopo aver investito il sistema bancario a partire dalla cd. anglosfera egemonizzata dalla divisa americana e in parte dalla sterlina, ha investito l'Eurozona, determinando l'impennata dei debiti sovrani e innescando un processo centrifugo di segno opposto rispetto alla ipotizzata convergenza delle economie e delle finanze pubbliche dei paesi che avevano adottato la moneta unica.

L'accentramento della politica monetaria non poteva ovviamente prescindere da una parziale condivisione tra gli Stati della sovranità economica e finanziaria tale da determinare una governance multilivello incentrata sul coordinamento delle politiche di bilancio. Questa opzione si è resa indispensabile quando, per rendere operative le soglie invalicabili poste al disavanzo e al debito pubblico dal Trattato di Maastricht, è stato adottato nel 1997 il Patto di Stabilità e Crescita. L'obbligo imposto agli Stati di contenere il deficit di bilancio su base annua entro il 3% del PIL e a non far lievitare il debito al di sopra del 60% del PIL richiedeva un articolato meccanismo di controllo non gerarchizzato (cd.



sorveglianza multilaterale) che di fatto ha costituito il primo nucleo di governance economica della zona Euro.

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Thomas Renard

Partnerships for effective multilateralism? Assessing the compatibility between EU bilateralism, (inter-)regionalism and multilateralism

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 18-35

This article investigates the notion of 'lateralisms' and how various modes of engagement (namely bilateralism, regionalism and multilateralism) relate to one another. It begins with a careful analysis of the evolution of 'lateralisms' and their (in)compatibility at the global level, building on the existing literature from multiple research disciplines. The second part of this article focuses specifically on the European Union's (EU's) foreign policy approach. The author puts forward two main hypotheses. First, the EU has performed a rebalancing act between bilateralism and regionalism/multilateralism over the last decade in favour of the former, notably through the deepening of its so-called 'strategic partnerships'. Second, this enhanced bilateralism is not necessarily compatible with other 'lateralisms', as it can at times undermine regional integration processes or the building of an effective multilateral order. The author eventually formulates some recommendations to ensure that bilateral partnerships are geared towards the strengthening of the multilateral fabric which remains the EU's fundamental and long-term objective.

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JOHAN HELLSTRÖM and MAGNUS BLOMGREN

Party debate over Europe in national election campaigns: Electoral disunity and party cohesion

in *European Journal of Political Research* , Volume 55, Issue 2 , 265–282

Few political parties are willing to lead the public debate on how the European Union should develop and parties rarely publicly discuss issues on the EU agenda. This is probably one of the most important democratic problems in the contemporary EU. When and why parties are willing (or not willing) to discuss European cooperation is therefore an essential issue in which political science should engage. Previous research has shown that parties that are internally divided on EU issues downplay these issues in order to avoid internal disputes. At the same time, parties that have severe intraparty conflicts over the issue are unable to contain the debate. Thus, parties that are unified in their position on EU issues and parties that are heavily split speak about the EU, but others do not. Also, earlier research has shown that political parties downplay issues in response to internal divisions among their supporters. It is argued in this article that the focus should not be solely on intraparty conflict or whether or not a party's voters are hesitant or disunited, but rather on how these factors interact in order to better understand how parties act strategically regarding EU issues. Using a new dataset that relies on quantitative content analysis of quality newspapers during the national election campaigns in the period 1983–2010 in France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden, it is found that parties that have a high degree of internal dissent on European issues, while at the same time having an equally divided electorate, are the parties that are most present in the public debate. Hence, it is the interaction between these two important factors that explains much of the variation in the amount of attention paid to European issues in national election campaigns.



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Hug Simon

Party pressure in the European Parliament

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 201-218

At the end of its sixth legislative term the European Parliament adopted a rule change subjecting all final passage votes on legislative matters to roll call votes. Some studies use this rule change to assess whether roll call votes are characterized by more or less party discipline. Cautioning against such simple comparisons I propose to estimate in this article the extent to which members of the European Parliament are subject to party pressure. Comparing the results from the beginning of the sixth and seventh legislative term shows that in final passage votes the average party pressure has decreased considerably after the rule change.

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Salleo Ferdinando

Perdere l'anima. L'Europa come Faust

in Affari Esteri, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 176, primavera , 84-95

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_176.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bakker Bert N., Vreese Claes H. de

Personality and European Union attitudes: Relationships across European Union attitude dimensions

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 25-45

We still do not fully understand why attitudes toward the European Union differ among citizens. In this study, we turn to the Big Five personality traits: Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Neuroticism as antecedents of European Union attitudes. In a national survey, we focus on attitudes toward widening and deepening of the European Union, trust in European Union institutions, identification with the European Union and negative affect experienced toward the European Union. We theorize that the Big Five traits are heterogeneously associated with the different European Union attitudes. We confirm that the Big Five traits are indeed associated with some but not all European Union attitudes. Accordingly, personality is expected to shape how citizens' respond to changes in the institutional set-up of the European Union.

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Heyer Éric, Timbeau Xavier, Blot Christophe, Falah Amel, Le Bayon Sabine, Mathieu Catherine, Riffart Christine, Villemot Sébastien, Plane Mathieu, Ducoudré Bruno, Madec Pierre, Péléraux Hervé, Sampognaro Raul



Petite reprise après grande crise Perspectives 2016-2017 pour l'économie mondiale et la zone euro

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, n°147 juin 2016 , 15-115

L'économie mondiale est engagée sur un sentier de croissance modérée qui résulte à la fois du ralentissement en cours dans les pays émergents, d'une croissance qui se tasse dans les pays anglo-saxons et d'une petite reprise dans la zone euro. En 2015, la Chine est entrée dans une phase de transition de son économie vers un modèle de croissance plus centré sur la demande intérieure. Il en résulte une baisse du taux de croissance du PIB ; celui-ci étant passé sous la barre des 7 % en 2015. La baisse se poursuivrait en 2016 et 2017 avec une progression du PIB qui atteindrait 6,1 % en 2017. Le ralentissement chinois entrave la croissance des pays émergents, dont certains d'entre eux sont par ailleurs pénalisés par des facteurs internes (Brésil) et par la baisse du prix du pétrole (Russie), mais également celle des pays industrialisés via le ralentissement du commerce mondial.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mair Nathalie, Mittelstaedt Jean, Mayr-Knoch Ingo

Plaidoyer pour une stratégie hybride de l'Union européenne

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 788, Mars

L'Union européenne devrait se doter d'une stratégie hybride lui permettant ainsi de mieux préserver son modèle politique, en évitant que d'autres puissances, notamment la Russie, n'utilisent les outils d'hybridité pour la déstabiliser et la fragiliser par des actions remettant en cause sa légitimité.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Onursal-Beşgül Özge

Policy Transfer and Discursive De-Europeanisation: Higher Education from Bologna to Turkey

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 91-103

This article analyses Turkey's integration into the Bologna Process, concentrating on the questions of why and how Turkey is transferring norms in the area of higher education. As an example of policy transfer, the Bologna Process provides important insights into the question of why states choose to voluntarily adopt norms where there is no top-down pressure for change. Focusing on Turkey as a case study, the article identifies the narratives of the agents of change responsible for the reform process. The agents are the intermediaries in the Europeanisation process – they construct the discourses and they are the ones responsible for transmitting the process to the society at large. The article concludes that while institutional Europeanisation is taking place in the area of higher education, discursive Europeanisation is lacking.

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Lažnjak Jasminka, Svarc Jadranka

Policy-making on science in society between Europeanization and core–periphery divide

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 98-112

The aim of the paper is to identify the cross-national differences and similarities in policy-making trends on science in society (SiS) based on the comparative analysis of national reports from FP7 project “Monitoring Policy and Research Activities Related to Science in Society in Europe”. Science in society in EU is characterized by two parallel processes: Europeanization and diversity of science and innovation policies. The focus of the analysis is to explore the possible indications of Europeanization as well as diversities and find elements of certain elements of core–periphery model. The focus of the analysis is to explore the existence of common issues of SiS and on the other side different policy actions and national priorities. Although the analysis reveals the presence of Europeanization process diversities and divides are still present which draws attention to a core–periphery model. While common trends can be recognized on the theoretical and contextual level mainly coming from the various processes of Europeanization, the core–periphery model is simultaneously present on the practical level of governance and policy-making.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roman Senninger and Markus Wagner

Political parties and the EU in national election campaigns: who talks about Europe, and how?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6

This paper examines political party mobilization on European Union issues during national election campaigns. We consider which actors talk about the EU, specifically which parties and which actors within parties, as well as how these actors talk about the EU, specifically the types of EU issues addressed as well as their framing. We argue that issue-based strategies and government participation may provide important reasons why parties only mobilize selectively on EU issues. We test our expectations using data from party press releases in Austrian general election campaigns in 2008 and 2013. We find that selective mobilization is most prevalent in terms of content, thus in how parties talk about the EU. This article provides new evidence on the extent of party political contestation over EU issues and shows how strategic incentives limit the ways in which they are incorporated into national politics.

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Selin Türkeç

Political party closures in European democratic order: comparing the justifications in DTP and Batasuna decisions

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 4

This article investigates the influence of the institutions that aim to foster democracy in Europe, such as the European Union, European Court of Human Rights and Venice Commission on political party closure cases in Europe, through a comparative study on the Democratic Society Party (DTP) decision in Turkey and the Batasuna decision in Spain. Adopting the theory of communicative action, the arguments presented by the judges in the related reasoned decisions are analysed according to three categories: utility; values; and rights. It is argued that the European norms and principles constitute the main strand of justifications; hence, the European institutions have a considerable right-based



influence on national courts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saurugger Sabine

Politicisation and integration through law: whither integration theory?

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 5 , 933-952

ABSTRACT: This article aims to analyse the challenges the eurozone crisis created for theoretical explanations of European integration. Starting from a definition of the two central characteristics of the crisis – the increasing politicisation of the domestic level and the strong call for legal regulation of, and court response to, the EU's economic governance – this article systematically analyses the capacities of mainstream theoretical frameworks to explain the way the EU has dealt with the situation since 2008. Liberal intergovernmentalism, neofunctionalism, and constructivism explain parts of the processes, but do not sufficiently link the domestic level and the EU level to answer the crucial question of why a more politicised and opposed domestic level leads to continued integration through (hard) law. It is in broadening these main theoretical frames and in combining them that tools are found that allow for an understanding of contemporary EU integration through law in politicised times.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

May John F.

Population Policies in Europe

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 377, 2015/3 , 136 à 150

Both the European Union (28 countries) and Europe at large (48 countries and geopolitical entities) have completed their demographic transition. They currently experience a “post-transitional” situation and are faced with three major demographic challenges, namely below-replacement fertility, population aging, and immigration. Despite laissez-faire attitudes in many European countries, several governments have designed public policies to address some or all of these issues. However, policies to increase fertility levels and to address the challenges of population aging have yielded somewhat mixed results. A pressing problem in Europe today is the management of large numbers of immigrants and especially refugees. On this count, European Union (EU) countries have not been able yet to reach a strong policy consensus. Nonetheless, given their “post-transitional” status, Europe and the EU could serve as a laboratory of public policies for other parts of the world, which sooner or later may experience similar demographic challenges.

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Paolo Franzosi, Francesco Marone & Eugenio Salvati

Populism and Euroscepticism in the Italian Five Star Movement

in International Spectator (The), Volume 50, Issue 2 , 109-124

The Italian Five Star Movement (FSM) is one of the most interesting political phenomena in contemporary Europe. On



one hand, this populist anti-establishment party has expressed a critical, albeit ambiguous, position on the European Union and the euro. In particular, the FSM's euroscepticism became apparent during the 2014 European Parliament (EP) elections. On the other hand, analysis of the voting behaviour in the EP shows that the Movement differs from the 'hard' eurosceptic UKIP, its main ally in the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD) grouping, and is often closer to the pro-EU parties, in particular the Green group. Overall, the FSM's euroscepticism is more strategic than ideological.

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Corrias Luigi

Populism in a Constitutional Key: Constituent Power, Popular Sovereignty and Constitutional Identity
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 01 , 6-26

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Quatrepoint Jean-Michel

Pour une Europe plus démocratique
in *Politique internationale*, La Revue n°149 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Thomas PIKETTY conduit par Jean-Michel Quatrepoint:

All it took was one book, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, published in 2013, for Thomas Piketty, 44, to become one of the world's best known economists. The nearly 1,000-page tome, detailing and condemning the widening inequality in Old Europe and the New World, has been a best-seller on both sides of the Atlantic and made its author something of a guru. Now Thomas Piketty's pronouncements are hotly awaited by his fellow economists, politicians, and the general public alike. In this exclusive interview devoted mainly to the economic policy of the European Union, he gives very short shrift to the infatuation with austerity that most EU decision-makers seem to nurture - a totally misguided fascination, in his view, for which Greece is currently paying the price. He argues that more is needed than a change in mindset by the EU's leaders; the structures of the Union itself need overhauling. In this interview, he sets out the wide-ranging constitutional reform he would like to see implemented. Stirring stuff!

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bollaert Baudouin

Pour une Europe plus solidaire
in *Politique internationale*, La Revue n°150 - HIVER - 2016

Entretien avec JEAN-CLAUDE JUNKER conduit par Baudouin Bollaert:



The European Council meeting on December 17-18, 2015 was the occasion for the European Union's twenty-eight heads of state and government to take stock of a year that many regard as an *annus horribilis*. This last Council meeting before the holiday recess had a jam-packed agenda: migration, energy, economic and monetary union, Ukraine and "Brexit", all against a background of terrorism and the rise of extremism. Jean-Claude Juncker, former Prime Minister of Luxembourg and incumbent President of the European Commission for a five-year term that began in November 2014, is better qualified than anyone to deliver a progress report on the building of Europe, which now seems more fragile and controversial than ever. Clear-eyed and straight-talking, Jean-Claude Juncker described it back then as the "last-chance Commission". Once again, he has chosen to be interviewed by Baudouin Bollaert for *Politique Internationale* to share his diagnosis and issue his prescription for remedying a situation whose seriousness he does not underestimate.

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Coupey-Soubeyran Jézabel, Dehmej Salim

Pour une combinaison politique monétaire / politique macroprudentielle au service de la stabilité économique et financière de la zone euro

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Vol. 126, 2016/1 , Page 3 à 31

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Felice Flavio

Poverty, Inclusion, Institutions. A Challenge for Latin America and the European Union

in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 3, Number 1 , 101-118

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matthias Matthijs

Powerful rules governing the euro: the perverse logic of German ideas

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 3

Ideas are at their most powerful as an explanatory variable when they lead agents to go against any broadly reasonable interpretation of their material self-interests. They become even more intriguing when they are instrumental in actually causing a crisis, in which actors undercut their own stated goals and then continue to make matters worse by sticking to those same ideas, even in the light of clear evidence that the policies they inspire are not working. This contribution shows two dynamics between power and ideas to explain Germany's behavior during the euro crisis. The first dynamic examines the changing macroeconomic consensus on how to conduct monetary and fiscal policy that governed the euro from 1999 to 2012. The second dynamic shows how a strict adherence to Germany's ordoliberal ideas of budgetary rules and structural reform turned a containable Greek fiscal problem into a full-blown systemic sovereign debt crisis.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christopher Hill

**Predicting the Path of European Integration – in Retrospect
in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 4 , 52-56**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iskander De Bruycker

**Pressure and Expertise: Explaining the Information Supply of Interest Groups in EU Legislative Lobbying
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3**

EU politics has long been portrayed as an elite affair in which technocratic deliberation prevails. As a consequence, information supply by interest groups has typically been viewed as part of an expertise-based exchange with policy-makers. Less attention has been devoted to whether the supply of information is also used to exert political pressure. In addition to expertise-based exchanges between interest groups and policy-makers, can we identify the prevalence of information supply that aims to put pressure on EU policy-makers? And under what conditions are different modes of information supply likely to occur? My analysis relies on interviews with 143 lobbyists who were active on a set of 78 legislative proposals submitted by the European Commission between 2008 and 2010. The results demonstrate that expertise-based exchanges are dominant in interactions with civil servants, while political information is predominantly communicated to political officials and often the key substance in outside lobbying tactics.

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Hintermann Beat, Peterson Sonja, Rickels Wilfried

**Price and Market Behavior in Phase II of the EU ETS: A Review of the Literature
in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Volume 10, Issue 1, Winter , 108-128**

Since 2005, the EU ETS has provided a market-based price signal for European carbon emissions. This article reviews the literature on the formation of carbon allowance prices during phase II of the EU ETS. A consensus has emerged in the literature that allowance prices are driven by fuel prices and other variables that affect the expected amount of abatement required to meet the EU ETS emissions cap. However, this relationship is not robust, most likely because the relevant abatement technologies change with the economic conditions in which they operate. There is evidence that models that explicitly account for uncertainty about the future demand and supply of allowances are better at explaining allowance price variation during certain periods. However, our understanding of the level of the allowance price remains poor. We cannot say with any degree of confidence whether the allowance price is “right,” in the sense that it reflects marginal abatement costs, or whether there is a price wedge caused by uncertainty, transaction costs, or price manipulation. Nevertheless, we find that the EU ETS market has matured in phase II compared with phase I and that banking of allowances has induced the market to incorporate the future scarcity of allowances and, as intended, to



smooth the effect of temporary shocks. We argue that further research is needed in several key areas to increase our understanding of the emissions allowance market provided by the EU ETS.

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Fabrizio Saccomanni

Prof Mundell and the Unpredictable Euro Crisis

in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 4 , 251-255

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Barrinha André

Progressive realism and the EU's international actorness: towards a grand strategy?

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 441-454

The EU lacks a coherent strategy to guide its international actions. This is a problem that has been amply discussed in both academic and policy-making circles, but that remains to be fully addressed. The December 2013 European Council recognised the issue, and the EU High Representative Federica Mogherini is in charge of a strategic review that will lead to a global strategy by June 2016. Most arguments in favour of a grand strategy rely on utilitarian arguments that highlight the EU's potential for a more efficient foreign policy. By linking a progressive realist approach to the importance of an EU grand strategy, this article intends to demonstrate the normative need for such a guiding document. As it will be argued, a grand strategy is a necessary step in the consolidation of the EU as a pluralist post-national polity that has in the fulfilment of its citizens' interests its *raison d'être*.

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Laffan Brigid, Schlosser Pierre

Public finances in Europe: fortifying EU economic governance in the shadow of the crisis

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 237-249

The Eurozone crisis resulted in a decisive change of Europe's fiscal surveillance regime that brought the question of public finance oversight sharply into focus. The Stability and Growth Pact, the fiscal cornerstone of Europe's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), was fortified, expanded and supplemented by the so-called 'Six Pack', the 'Fiscal Compact' and the 'Two Pack'. These substantial initiatives all aimed at strengthening the credibility and enforceability of the EMU's rules-based economic coordination regime through further formal competence transfer and an improvement of the EU's problem-solving capacity. This article explains that from a process perspective, their adoption showed an ability of the EU polity to produce agreement and find a way out of its chronic institutional paralysis.

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Sharon Bolton, Knut Laaser and Darren Mcguire

Quality Work and the Moral Economy of European Employment Policy

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

Following a decade of radical economic and workplace restructuring, it is important to understand how state employment policies support or deny human flourishing. This article utilizes a realist document analysis approach and reviews European employment policy through a moral economy lens. It fuses different moral economy approaches, drawing together the work of Karl Polanyi and Andrew Sayer a multi-layered conceptual lens is offered that explores the tensions between a commodification of labour and human needs. A dominant market ideology is revealed, highlighting how quality work has been subsumed by the flexicurity agenda in the EU.

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Marjolaine Roccati

Quelle place pour l'autonomie procédurale des États membres ?

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, t. XXIX, 2015/4

Les références à l'autonomie procédurale des États membres sont de plus en plus nombreuses dans les arrêts de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne. Toutefois, les contours de cette autonomie procédurale restent flous. Cette contribution revient tour à tour sur l'origine de la notion et la place qui semble aujourd'hui être la sienne aussi bien dans la jurisprudence que dans la législation de l'Union européenne, mettant l'accent sur l'aléa casuistique et le manque de clarté législative des limites qui l'assortissent.

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Buzelay Alain

Quelle stratégie énergétique pour l'Europe?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 597, avril, 196-201

Abstract online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51888.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Frech Elena

Re-electing MEPs: The factors determining re-election probabilities

in *European Union Politics*, vol. 17, n. 1, March, 69-90

By placing candidates on electoral lists for European elections, national parties hold a very powerful position in the (re-)election of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). This article analyses the factors or individual characteristics of MEPs that affect list placement decisions. I identify three possible national party goals in European



elections, legislative leverage, loyalty and attractiveness to voters, and examine evidence for each. Based on a unique data set of German MEPs from 1999–2009, the analysis shows that national parties, in particular small parties, value MEPs from more powerful committees. National parties furthermore reward MEPs with national party positions during the European Parliament term. Surprisingly, I find little evidence that German parties reward very loyal parliamentarians.

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Verdugo Gregory

Real wage cyclicality in the Eurozone before and during the Great Recession: Evidence from micro data in *European Economic Review*, Volume 82, February 2016 , 46-69

We study the response of real wages to the business cycle in eight major Eurozone countries before and during the Great Recession. Average real wages are found to be acyclical, but this reflects, in large part, the effect of changes in the composition of the labour force related to unemployment variations over the cycle. Using longitudinal micro data from the ECHP and SILC panels to control for composition effects, we estimate the elasticities of real wage growth to unemployment increases between 0.6 and 1 over the period 1994–2011. Composition effects have been particularly large since 2008, and they explain most of the stagnation or increase in the average wage observed in some countries from 2008 to 2011. In contrast, at a constant labour force composition in terms of education and experience, the figures indicate a significant decrease in average wages during the downturn, particularly in countries most affected by the crisis. Overall, there is no evidence of downward nominal wage rigidity during the Great Recession in most countries in our sample.

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Božić; Saša, Pohoryles Ronald J.

Reconsidering ‘European Society’

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 1-2

This special issue on the ‘European Society’ is based on the international conference “Towards a European Society? Boundaries, Borders, Barriers” organized by the Croatian Sociological Association under the auspices of the European Sociological Association in Zagreb 13–15 June 2014 on the occasion of the first anniversary of Croatia's admittance to the European Union. Political and territorial enlargement of the EU and the accession of new member states change the political and social landscape of Europe to a certain degree and highlight the problems of EU's political and social agenda.

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Andor Mark A., Frondel Manuel, Sommer Stephan

Reforming the EU Emissions Trading System: An Alternative to the Market Stability Reserve in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2016 , 87-93



Prices for emission allowances in Europe's Emissions Trading System (ETS) have remained low for many years. This has given rise to controversies on whether there is a need for a fundamental reform of the ETS. Potential reform proposals include the introduction of a price floor for certificates and a market stability reserve, which is a rule-based mechanism for steering the market volume of allowances and is the preferred approach of the European Commission. In this article, we instead recommend retaining the ETS and suggest correcting past mistakes by a single intervention.

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Gee Graham, Young, Alison L.

**Regaining Sovereignty? Brexit, the UK Parliament and the Common Law
in European public Law**, Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 131–147

In this paper, we compare how the term 'sovereignty' was used by MPs in parliamentary debates on the European Communities Bill in 1971–1972 and the European Union Bill in 2011. In both cases, the language of sovereignty was often a placeholder for deeper concerns about the erosion of the political power exercisable by domestic political institutions. Comparing parliamentary debates separated by almost forty years reveals a shift from concerns primarily about the erosion of sovereignty by the law-making powers of European political institutions towards concerns about its erosion by the courts, and the domestic courts at that. We reflect on these concerns to evaluate whether a possible UK withdrawal from the EU would lead to a 'regaining' of sovereignty.

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Jürgen Bierbaumer-Polly, Peter Huber and Petr Rozmahel

**Regional Business-Cycle Synchronization, Sector Specialization and EU Accession
in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 3

We examine the effects of Eastern and Northern enlargement of the EU on regional business-cycle synchronization and sector specialization. Difference-in-difference estimates show that cyclical synchronicity decreased and differences in sector structure increased in acceding region-pairs after Eastern enlargement. For Northern enlargement, results are more ambiguous. Moreover, in both enlargement episodes, region-pairs with highly synchronous business cycles before accession experienced weaker cyclical and structural convergence than region-pairs with less synchronous cycles. Likewise, region-pairs with more similar sector structures before accession experienced stronger divergence (or weaker convergence) of structural similarity and business-cycle synchronicity after the enlargement. We argue that these results call for developing more differentiated hypotheses on EU enlargement's effects on business-cycle synchronization and sector specialization.

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Lamoura Christian, Lorentza Nathalie

Regional News from New Regionalisation in Europe. A Look at Cross-Border Regionalisation from a Free Daily Reader's Perspective

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 38, n. 2 , 149-162



The objective of this article is to explore the cross-border regionalisation by analysing the practices of the free dailies published in Luxembourg, a small and cosmopolitan EU state whose urban growth expands beyond its borders. The Luxembourgish free press, inspired by the famous 20 Minutes and Metro, exists because of the purchase potential of readers employed in the Grand Duchy which is sold to advertisers. However, these readers/consumers/commuters can experience different sides of the cross-border urban areas, centred on the Luxembourgish economy (place of work, residence, shopping, etc.). Data collected from among a sample of readers of free dailies enable us to see that the new regionalisation can be an economic-driven process implying the porousness of some state borders and the rigidity of others, depending on the functional and emotional spaces of the homo economicus. Media practices are based on a series of material and ideational practices of nomadic workers.

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Schmidt Vivien A.

Reinterpreting the rules 'by stealth' in times of crisis: a discursive institutionalist analysis of the European Central Bank and the European Commission

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 5 , 1032-1052

ABSTRACT: This article examines the ways in which EU actors have engaged in incremental changes to the eurozone rules 'by stealth' ‒ that is, by reinterpreting the rules and recalibrating the numbers without admitting it in their public discourse. Using the methodological framework of discursive institutionalism to focus on agents' ideas and discursive interactions in institutional context, the article links EU actors' reinterpretation of rules to their efforts to ensure greater legitimacy in terms of policy performance and governance processes as well as citizen politics. Using the normative theoretical framework of EU democratic systems theory, it analyses EU actors' considerations of legitimacy not only in terms of their policies' 'output' performance and citizens' political 'input' but also the 'throughput' quality of their governance processes. The article illustrates this by elaborating on the different pathways to legitimation of the European Central Bank and the European Commission.

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Kristi Raik

Renaissance of realism, a new stage of Europeanization, or both? Estonia, Finland and EU foreign policy in Cooperation and Conflict, 50 (4) , 440-456

The relationship between EU foreign policy and national foreign policies of the member states is changing due to various factors: the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 and subsequent creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS); the economic crisis in Europe; and shifts in the global balance of power. The article explores these new dynamics in light of two cases, Estonia and Finland. It examines why the two countries support further integration in the area of foreign policy and what determines the limits of their support, applying rationalist and constructivist approaches. From a rationalist perspective, Finland and Estonia view the EU and the EEAS as a means to pursue national interests and make diplomacy more cost-effective; these aspects have become more important due to the economic crisis and changes in the international context. At the same time both countries value the EU as a security community and a source of solidarity, which points to the importance of socialization, as conceptualized by constructivists. However, the predominance of national foreign policy identity and an instrumental approach to the EU leaves limited space for deeper



socialization, in spite of the new mechanisms of socialization introduced by the EEAS.

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Brutti Filippo, Sauré Philip

Reparation of Debt in the Euro Crisis

in **Journal of the European Economic Association**, Volume 14, Issue 1, February 2016 , 145-174

With the beginning of the Euro Crisis, the long-standing trend of European financial integration reversed. Investors unwound cross-border positions of debt obligations and increased holdings of locally issued debt. In other words, debt obligations were repatriated. We use data on bank portfolios to document three new empirical regularities of the financial disintegration: (i) repatriation affected mainly debt of crisis countries; (ii) repatriation affected mainly public debt; (iii) the public debt of crisis countries that was not repatriated was reallocated to large and politically influential countries within the Euro area. We read these results in light of standard theories of cross-border portfolio allocation and argue that the sum of these patterns constitutes evidence for the secondary market theory of public debt.

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Ulnicane Inga

Research and innovation as sources of renewed growth? EU policy responses to the crisis

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 327-341

An important element of the EU policy discourse during times of crisis has been a call to invest more in research and innovation as sources of future growth. To study the effects of crisis in this policy area, this article draws on an analysis of expert interviews, policy documents and relevant literature. It argues that the crisis has led to incremental and path-dependent changes in EU policy instruments and priorities. To respond to the crisis, EU research and innovation policy has focused on two main issues. Firstly, it has aimed to facilitate structural reforms and to increase the level, quality and efficiency of public and private investments in research and innovation at the national level. Secondly, the EU has increased its own research and innovation funding. These decisions have involved compromises between the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council and stakeholder organisations.

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Rohrschneider Robert, Whitefield Stephen

Responding to growing European Union-skepticism? The stances of political parties toward European integration in Western and Eastern Europe following the financial crisis

in **European Union Politics** , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 138-161

Using data from two expert surveys conducted in 2007–2008 and 2013 in 24 European democracies, we examine the response of political parties—especially mainstream ones—across the European Union to the growth in public European Union-skepticism since the onset of the financial crisis. Theoretically, we point to competing spatial and reputational pressures on mainstream and extreme parties to adjust their integration positions. We find that mainstream parties



respond fairly little over time and that this has left a representational opening for extreme parties, which is especially filled by new European Union-skeptic parties.

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Chaltiel Florence

Retour sur le mandat d'arrêt européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 598, mai , 257-258

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daphne Halikiopoulou and Tim Vlandas

Risks, Costs and Labour Markets: Explaining Cross-National Patterns of Far Right Party Success in European Parliament Elections

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

Does the economy affect patterns of far-right party support across countries? This article reconceptualizes micro-level analyses that focus on the effect of unemployment through a framework of costs, risks and the mediating role of labour market institutions. It then derives several hypotheses and tests them on the results of the previous three EP elections in all EU Member States. Findings from multiple regression analyses indicate that unemployment, real GDP growth, debt and deficits have no statistically significant effect on far-right party support at the national level. By contrast, labour market institutions influence costs and risks: where unemployment benefits and dismissal regulations are high, unemployment has no effect, but where either one of them is low, unemployment leads to higher far-right party support. This explains why unemployment has not led to far-right party support in some European countries that experienced the severity of the 2008 eurozone crisis.

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Borraccetti Marco

Schengen o dell'Unione europea: rafforzamento o dissolvimento?

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 1, 2016, marzo , 127-129,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmieding Holger

Searching for the lender of last resort

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 161-176



The benighted Eurozone. Hardly any region of the world has had a worse press in the last five years than the community of 19 European countries that share a common currency, the euro. Judging by the tone of the global debate, the Eurozone must be a uniquely dysfunctional place, run by policymakers “who just don’t get it”. Yes, the Euro crisis was dangerous and very much for real. But much of the global debate missed the key points. We did not witness the inevitable demise of a misguided venture, the common currency, as many observers seemed to believe. Instead, we may be witnessing the birth pains of a stronger, more dynamic and more coherent economic and political entity in Europe.

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Palonen Kari, Wiesner Claudia

Second chamber, ‘congress of ambassadors’ or federal presidency. Parliamentary and non-parliamentary aspects in the European Council's rules of procedure

in *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, Volume 36, Issue 1 , pp. 71-89

The development of the European Union (EU) regime, with the frequent changes of institutions and their competencies by treaty revisions, allows for new opportunities for parliamentary studies. This article discusses the role and competencies of the European Council (EC) in the EU regime, using the heuristic and methodological resources of procedural commentaries, parliamentary rhetoric, conceptual history and political regime analysis. This study is a textual analysis, based on the 2009 Lisbon Treaty and especially on the EC's rules of procedure. The Lisbon Treaty and the respective rules of procedure serve as key documents that fix the rules, the framework and the margin of manoeuvre for the EU's institutions. This is particularly relevant in the European Union as a ‘polity in the making’, as continuous changes in institutional competencies are the rule. These changes both leave room for and are shaped by acting politically between and within the institutions. Taking Quentin Skinner's thesis that ‘political life itself sets the problems for the political theorist’ as a point of departure, it is suggested that these ongoing challenges in power relationships between the EU institutions also lead to interesting theoretical and conceptual moves. From this perspective the authors discuss possibilities to extend the conceptual apparatus of parliamentary studies to such quasi-parliamentary institutions focusing especially on the EC.

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Sundströma Göran

Seconded National Experts as Part of Early Mover Strategies in the European Union: The Case of Sweden
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 2 , 133-147

This article explores in what ways and to what extent the Swedish state uses Swedish Seconded National Experts (SNE) as part of its early mover strategies. Early mover strategies are defined as policies and organizational arrangements aimed at ensuring that national preferences have an impact on the Commission's agenda setting and proposals. The article draws on three organization perspectives – an instrumental, a cultural and a myth perspective – to increase the understanding of how states use SNEs as early mover tools. The article shows that Sweden's early mover strategies linked to SNEs are poorly developed regarding both policies and organizational arrangements. It also shows that all three explanatory perspectives contribute to the understanding of this state of affairs.



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Balkan;r Canan, Eylemer Sedef

Shifting Logics: The Discourses of Turkish Political Elites on EU Accession

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 29-43

The article compares the EU accession discourses, during the 2002, 2007 and 2011 elections, of Turkey's governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) with those of the two main opposition parties, the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), tracking the continuities and shifts in their discourses. In the light of Habermas's distinction between pragmatic, ethical and moral justifications, the discourses are analysed on the basis of three explanatory logics – interests, rights and identity – by means of a theoretically guided qualitative content analysis of the election manifestos of these three political parties. These logics, emerging and shifting in line with periodical dynamics, have been instrumental to varying degrees in the discourses of Turkey's political elites.

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Meyer-Sahling Jan-Hinrik, Will Lowe, Stolk Christian van

Silent professionalization: EU integration and the professional socialization of public officials in Central and Eastern Europe

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 162-183

This paper applies theories of international socialization to examine the impact of European Union contact on the professional socialization of public officials in Central and Eastern Europe. Based on a survey of officials in seven new member states, the paper finds that daily work on European Union issues is associated with favourable attitudes towards merit-based civil service governance. The distinction between types of European Union contact shows that officials dealing with 'reception'-related European Union activities such as the transposition and implementation of European Union policies develop more meritocratic attitudes. By contrast, 'projection'-related activities that involve personal contact with European Union officials have no effect. The paper concludes that the small but consistent impact of European Union contact on professional socialization promotes the silent professionalization of public administration in Central and Eastern Europe.

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Kaniok Petr, Majer Robert

Small Countries in the EU: The Czech Republic Case

in Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, vol. 24, n. 1 , 7-35

This study analyses the behaviour of the Czech Republic as a small European Union (EU) member country. For the analysis the model of Baldur Thorhallsson was used, which for small EU countries assumes the presence of several characteristics - their good relationship with the European Commission (EC), prioritization of objectives and the flexibility



of administration. The presence of these elements in Czech behaviour is analysed using data obtained from 10 interviews with Czech diplomats acting both in the Permanent Representation at the EU (PermRep) and at the capital or the European Commission. In conclusion, the study finds that although the Czech Republic fulfils the conditions for the behaviour of a small country, it cannot adequately balance the limits that arise from the given data. As an explanation for this discrepancy, we offer the low level of socialization of the Czech Republic in the EU and reluctance to accept the role of a small member state.

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Gergana Noutcheva

Societal Empowerment and Europeanization: Revisiting the EU's Impact on Democratization
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

The Europeanization literature predominantly credits the empowerment of pro-reform political elites through the EU's incentives for the democratization of non-EU countries. The existing studies under-emphasize the societal dimension of the EU's impact and the normative context in which the EU's leverage is applied. Taking a societal perspective, this article examines societal empowerment as an alternative to elite empowerment and proposes four mechanisms of EU influence on democratization through societies taking into account the EU's structural power and actorness, and considering their effects on the societal sphere and societal actions. Applying the mechanisms to a tough case for societal mobilization for democracy – Bulgaria – the article shows how the EU, through representing a legitimate model of democratic governance, has created a strong pro-reform societal constituency that can sustain the democratic dynamic. The article also demonstrates the relevance of cross-national diffusion processes for pro-democracy societal mobilization.

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Karageorgiou Eleni

Solidarity and sharing in the Common European Asylum System: the case of Syrian refugees
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 196-214

Although the vast majority of Syrians flee to neighboring countries, an increasing number is trying to reach European soil. On one end of the spectrum, individuals escape their war-torn country seeking protection elsewhere and on the other end the European Union (EU) and its Members States bear specific obligations for granting protection, stemming from their international and regional legal commitments. Drawing from the UNHCR estimations that the exodus is evolving rapidly and in light of Article 80 TFEU and the objectives by the European Council, the EU needs to adopt policies which emphasize the full and inclusive application of the 1951 Refugee Convention and promote a fair distribution of asylum-related responsibilities amongst EU states. The present article investigates how the Syrian refugee crisis triggers practices of sharing within the EU. It describes how the different EU sharing mechanisms have been responding to the asylum-related pressures and critically analyzes their distributive effects. The main proposition is that the way in which sharing is being understood in the European asylum policies and applied in the areas covered by those policies (protection and treatment of individuals, European agencies' role, relations between the EU and third countries) has significant consequences on the institution of asylum and the protection granted.



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Cagiati Andrea

Sopravvive l'Occidente al XXI secolo?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 176, primavera , 110-116

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_176.pdf

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Scarpari Giancarlo

Sovranità limitata

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 5, 2016

Oggi da più parti si celebrano i funerali dello Stato-nazione e sorgono lamenti circa la perdita di sovranità subita dall'Italia nel contesto dell'Unione europea. Fino a qualche anno fa queste sembravano essere questioni prevalentemente giuridiche, riservate agli specialisti, ma la crisi economica ne ha evidenziato invece tutto lo spessore politico, viste le ricadute sociali che i vincoli imposti hanno determinato nel paese. La limitazione della sovranità dello Stato, così percepita di recente, non è però una novità di questi anni, avendo invece alle spalle una lunga storia ed essendo stata addirittura prevista dalla Costituzione

L'art. 11, infatti, non solo afferma che [...]

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Hampshire James

Speaking with one voice? The European Union's global approach to migration and mobility and the limits of international migration cooperation

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 571-586

Migration is comparatively weakly regulated at the international level. States are reluctant to cede sovereignty over international migration and negotiations between rich destination countries in the north and sending countries in the south must overcome asymmetries of interests. For this reason, issue-linkage is typically required to achieve north-south cooperation. This paper examines the European Union's (EU) Global Approach to Migration and Mobility as a framework for international migration cooperation. The paper argues that institutional complexity and political dynamics internal to the EU limit its capacity to reach agreement with third countries. Three internal factors are examined: contrasting approaches of the Commission and Council to the external dimension; diversity of member states' interests in migration policy; and the different policy agendas of the European agencies. These factors result in an approach to external migration relations that is limited in scope and characterised by variable participation. Despite its apparent potential to leverage agreements from third countries, the EU emerges as an unpromising vehicle for



international migration cooperation.

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Diehl Claudia, Lubbers Marcel, Mühlau Peter, Platt Lucinda

Starting out: New migrants' socio-cultural integration trajectories in four European destinations

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 157-179

Migration trends are highly dynamic and the recent period has seen a transformation of migration to Europe. Studies of existing migrant stocks provide only limited information on these new migration flows and their implications for receiving societies. In the Norface-funded SCIP project ('Socio-cultural integration processes among New Immigrants in Europe'), about 8000 recent migrants to four European destinations were surveyed soon after their arrival with many re-interviewed about 1.5 years later. The goal of the project was to obtain a more complete picture of integration processes in Europe and of the role of individual traits, group characteristics and reception contexts.

SCIP data shed light on a highly dynamic phase in migrants' integration that has important implications for what happens later in the adaptation process. Furthermore, these data reveal the extent to which differences in integration patterns are apparent from the very beginning of migrants' stay or evolve over time. The SCIP project is comparative on the group and country level and thus helps to clarify whether country-specific integration patterns reflect characteristics of host country institutions and their ethnic boundaries – or can be attributed to the particularities of the immigrants these countries attract.

This special issue demonstrates the potential of the data for addressing such questions, fundamental to our understanding of current and future migrant integration by bringing together six articles that tackle migrants' early adaptation, for example their language acquisition, the role of religiosity in finding a job, group differences in identification and acculturation, and experiences of discrimination across contexts. It also gives an insight into some limitations of the data set, describes the methodological challenges and possibilities in using it, and aims to inspire further research based on this unique data source.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Richard Rose and Gabriela Borz

Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

There is a theoretical and empirical need to distinguish between static support for the EU as it now is and dynamic support for further integration. Although most Europeans endorse the EU as a good thing today, the European Election Study finds no popular majority for an ever closer union, the commitment of EU institutions. Less than one-third endorses further integration and less than one-third thinks integration has gone too far. The largest group favours keeping the EU as it is. Their outlook reflects ambivalence; they see the EU as having both strengths and weaknesses. It does not reflect lack of EU knowledge or of socio-economic resources, as is the case with 'don't knows'. While eurozone institutions are committed to further integration, most EU citizens are not. Likewise, there is no majority supporting eurosceptic demands for returning powers to national governments.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gandrud Christopher, Hallerberg Mark

Statistical agencies and responses to financial crises: Eurostat, bad banks, and the ESM in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 3 , 545-564

ABSTRACT: This article demonstrates the important role that the European statistical agency – Eurostat – plays in shaping tools for responding to banking crises. From 2009, Eurostat used its position as the interpreter of member state budget statistical rules to implement increasingly stringent rules for how financial crisis responses would affect public budgets. Rather than mere technical details, these rules affected crisis responses. Elected politicians, and especially those under bailout programmes, have strong incentives to minimise the direct budgetary effects of aiding failing financial institutions. By establishing and enforcing new rules about which crisis responses directly hit member state budgets and which did not, Eurostat created incentives to choose certain policies. The article explores this process by examining the creation of bad banks and the European Stability Mechanism. It makes an original contribution to both the study of the European banking union and the general role that statistical agencies can play in shaping crisis responses.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmitz Manuel

Strengthening the rule of law in Indonesia: the EU and the combat against illegal logging

in Asia Europe Journal, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 79-93

Indonesia is an emerging power, but one problem particular taints the success story: corruption. While corruption affects all public policies, its disastrous effects are most visible in forestry. Indonesia is still home to the third largest rainforests in the world, but the country is losing its forests fast. One main driver of deforestation is illegal logging. The strengthening of the rule of law is therefore a key to stop or at least to slow down Indonesia's deforestation rate. The European Union has been keen to support the Indonesian government in its fight against illegal logging in accordance with the European Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade Policy (FLEGT). In September 2013, Brussels and Jakarta have signed a FLEGT Voluntary Partnership Agreement (a FELGT-VPA, more commonly known as "Timber Pact"). Under the Timber Pact, Jakarta promises an overhaul of its forest governance. This reform of forest governance is costly to the Indonesian government, in financial and political terms. After all, many actors profited from the old system. The question arises why the Indonesian government agreed to the Timber Pact. In the first part of the analysis, a rationalist perspective is taken to answer this question, focusing on the political and economical gains for the decision-makers. The second part looks at the issue from a constructivist angle and shows how the norm "fight illegal logging" fitted into the normative framework of Indonesian politics. By combining a rationalist and a constructivist perspective, a broad picture of successful EU norm diffusion is painted.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomas Windberger & Achim Zeileis

Structural Breaks in Inflation Dynamics Within the European Monetary Union

in Eastern European Economics, Volume 52, Issue 3, 2014 , 66-88



To assess the effects of the European Monetary Union on the inflation rate dynamics of its member states, the inflation rate series for twenty-one European countries are investigated for structural changes. To capture changes in mean, variance, and skewness of inflation rates, a generalized logistic model is adopted and complemented with structural break tests and breakpoint estimation techniques. These reveal considerable differences in the patterns of inflation dynamics and the structural changes therein. Overall, there is convergence toward a lower mean inflation rate with reduced skewness, but it is accompanied by an increase in variance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prontera Andrea

Subsystem politics and policy coherence in development cooperation: Evidence from four EU Member States in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 3, april , 298-318

ABSTRACT: This article explores the implementation of policy integration in the area of development cooperation by analyzing in a comparative perspective the intra-country dimension of Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) in four European Union (EU) Member States (United Kingdom, Sweden, The Netherlands and Italy). The current standard explanation of the differences among national policy process and outcomes in this policy area point out the role of politics and institutional design. In contrast to this conventional view, the article highlights the relevance of others factors operating at the level of subsystem politics, namely, paradigm clashes and organizational bargaining. The first section of the article examines the concept of PCD, its rationale and application in the EU. The second section clarifies the main hypothesis, the research design and presents the empirical analysis of the four national cases. Finally, the article concludes with a mixed assessment of the explicative factors behind the implementation of PCD and of the perils of policy integration in development cooperation.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

William Phelan

Supremacy, direct effect, and Dairy Products in the early history of European law in International Journal of Constitutional Law, vol. 14, no. 1 , 6-25

As the European Court of Justice's (ECJ's) two most famous decisions, *Van Gend en Loos* and *Costa v. ENEL*, are commemorated on their fiftieth anniversaries, attention has also turned to another of the ECJ's early decisions. On November 13, 1964, in *Commission v. Luxembourg & Belgium*, the Dairy Products case, the ECJ rejected the use of "self-help" countermeasures in the Community legal order, and therefore marked the fundamental distinction between European law and general international law. Drawing on writings by Robert Lecourt, Paul Reuter, and Paul Kapteyn, this paper demonstrates that a direct causal link between these three cases was recognized by ECJ judges and legal scholars as early as 1965. The historical evidence presented here therefore supports previous comparative analysis that has argued that these three decisions—*Van Gend*, *Costa*, and *Luxembourg & Belgium*—should be acknowledged as profoundly inter-connected, in that national court application of European obligations should be understood as a substitute for the enforcement of European obligations through inter-state countermeasures.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beauregard Philippe

Taking Flight or Crashing Down? European Common Foreign Policy and International Crises
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 375-392

What was the level of commonality in European foreign policy for recent international crises? This article assesses the level of commonality by conducting a chronological comparative content analysis to bring to light the rhetoric of European powers (United Kingdom, France and Germany) and EU actors. It focuses on the crises between Russia and Georgia in 2008 and the civil war in Libya of 2011. The article argues that states often converged in their positioning on a wide range of issues, even in moments of crisis. However, it also reveals that they remain in control of the timing of their statements and that EU actors were weak. This paper puts forth a novel tool to assess European foreign policy in times of crisis, it provides empirical data on the subject and highlights the importance of different types of issues in the assessment of commonality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niels Thygesen

Tensions Between Monetary and Financial Integration in the EMU
in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 4 , 139-142

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jessop Bob

Territory, Politics, Governance and Multispatial Metagovernance
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 1 , 8-32

This article interrogates the concepts in this journal's title and, drawing on the strategic-relational approach in social theory, explores their interconnections. This conceptual re-articulation is then contextualized in regard to the European Union (EU) as a political regime that serves as a real-time laboratory for experiments in government and governance with implications for redesigning polities, politics, and policies, especially in response to symptoms of political and policy failures and other crises. Mobilizing the territory-place-scale-network schema, and drawing on critical governance studies, this article offers an alternative account of these developments based on (1) their sociospatial and temporal complexities, (2) recognition that socio-spatial relations are objects and means of government and governance and not just sites where such practices occur, and (3) extension of this approach to multispatial meta-governance, that is, attempts to govern the government and governance of socio-spatial relations. The article ends with suggestions for future research on the state and state power, governance of the EU, and the role of Territory, Politics, Governance as a major forum for future discussion on multispatial metagovernance.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21622671.2015.1123173>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carmen Márquez Carrasco

The Applicability of Human Rights Instruments to European Union's CSDP Operations: Framing the Challenges
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 53, 53-80

With the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon, the mainstreaming of human rights reached a new dimension in EU external action. The promotion and protection of human rights through the European Union Crisis Management Operations present important operational difficulties that could undermine EU credibility and its mission's effectiveness. This article seeks to frame the challenges that arise in legal and practical terms from the applicable human rights and humanitarian law to EU crisis management missions.

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Laurent Warlouzet

The Centralization of EU Competition Policy: Historical Institutional Dynamics from Cartel Monitoring to Merger Control (1956–91)

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

The contemporary strength of EU competition policy does not stem naturally and mechanically from the Treaty of Rome, nor is it only a consequence of the spread of 'neoliberal' ideas or the single market programme. It is also the product of decades of dynamics underlined by historical institutionalism, which allowed the Commission to secure decisive powers, despite the unwillingness of some of the most powerful Member States. In this regard, the two most important cornerstones were Regulations 17/62 on cartels and 4064/89 on mergers. The Commission benefited from the unintended consequences of decisions taken in the Council and from the path dependencies created by Regulation 17/62. It progressively developed a centralized institutional framework with itself at the centre.

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Becker Stefan, Bauer Michael W., Connolly Sara, Kassim Huissein

The Commission: boxed in and constrained, but still an engine of integration

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 5, 1011-1031

ABSTRACT: In the debate about the impact of the eurozone crisis on the EU's institutional balance, antagonists have often argued past each other. Supporters of the new intergovernmentalism contend that the European Council has supplanted the European Commission in policy leadership, while scholars who hold that the EU executive has been a winner of the crisis highlight the new management functions it has acquired. This article argues, first, that an accurate assessment of the institutional balance requires a more global evaluation of the Commission, acknowledging external and internal dynamics. Second, it contends that the crisis did not cause a Commission retreat but accelerated a process already underway that finds its origins in the presidentialisation of policy control. The adoption of fewer legislative proposals during the crisis was due to the ability and choice of a strong president to focus the attention on crisis-related areas. The broader lesson is that rather than marking a further step in the decline of the Commission, the crisis reveals how the centralisation of power within the institution and its expanded management duties have enhanced its capacity to take strategic action. The Commission's role as an engine of integration will therefore endure, but in a different guise.



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Nancheva Nevena

The Common European Asylum System and the failure to protect: Bulgaria's Syrian refugee crisis in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 15, n. 4 , 439-455

The aim of this article is to investigate the European Union's asylum framework and its national implementation in the case of Bulgaria; to demonstrate that national implementation is actually consistent with the deficiencies of the supranational framework; and to interrogate the normative struggle that, as the article argues, is in the root of the European failure to respond adequately to the ongoing refugee crisis. Using critical policy analysis (content and discourse) complemented by historical analysis of a recent political development, the article engages with the 'policy malintegration' within the Common European Asylum System produced in the context of refugee crisis in the case of Bulgaria. The article argues that the discrepancy between purpose and implementation in the national application of the EU framework is to be understood not so much as 'malintegration', but as a particular vision of European integration that is struggling against the idea of liberalizing asylum. Sustained by an overall uncertainty about the fate of the EU project, by economic crisis and by nationalist ('xeno-racist') narratives on migration, such a vision of the Europeanization of asylum is bound to produce paradoxes. As the case study will demonstrate, it has effectively worked against the adequate provision of refugee protection, and against the credible Europeanization of asylum.

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Lavallée Chantal

The Communitarisation of Security Research: the Appropriation of a new Field of Action with Reference to the Comprehensive Approach
in *Politique européenne* , n. 51, 2016/1 , 30 à 59

According to the EU Treaty, the political impulses in EU security matters mostly come from the European Council. However, the article aims at understanding how the European Commission also has succeeded in taking position in the field of European security and defence, and in playing a determining role through a series of initiatives, notably in research matters. The examination of the configuration of relations tracks how the Commission indeed affects this field and reinforces its interface position among state and non-state actors through the strategic use of its assets and resources with reference to the Comprehensive Approach.

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Kelemen R. Daniel

The Court of Justice of the European Union in the Twenty-First Century
in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 1



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Johannes Müller Gómez and Wolfgang Wessels

The EP Elections 2014 and their Consequences. 1A Further Step towards EU Parliamentarism?

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 52 , 39-66

In the appointment of the commission president 2014, the european parliament successfully asserted itself against the european council. does this imply an institutional readjustment towards a de facto more parliamentary structure? after giving an overview of previous appointment procedures, we examine Jean-claude Juncker's investiture focussing on the new linkage between the commission and the parliament as well as the internal politics of the ep. We argue that the 2014 events represent a continuation of the parliament's tradition to interpret the treaty provisions extensively in its own benefit. still, it would be too early to mark them as a critical juncture for eu parliamentarism. the long-term implications depend on the commission president's conduct, national parties' willingness to relinquish their leverage via their meps and the parliamentary coalition's cohesiveness.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicholas Ross Smith

The EU and Russia's conflicting regime preferences in Ukraine: assessing regime promotion strategies in the scope of the Ukraine crisis

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 525-540

This paper evaluates the competitiveness of the European Union (EU) and Russia's regime preferences in their foreign policies towards Ukraine in the scope of the on-going Ukraine crisis. It is argued that the underpinning geopolitical environment Ukraine currently resides in, wedged between two much larger powers (the EU and Russia), renders it a vulnerable target state for regime promotion from both sides. Indeed, since the 2004 Orange revolution in Ukraine, both the EU and Russia have had discernible regime promotion strategies in their foreign policies. The EU's regime promotion has focussed on facilitating democracy in Ukraine, along with more material interests (trade and strategic aims) while Russia has reacted with increasingly zero-sum policies which pursue its preference for having a loyal and Russian-facing regime in Ukraine. Ultimately, the increasing competitiveness of the EU and Russia has been a key factor in the onset of the Ukraine crisis, which offers important insight into the relationship between large powers and the smaller third states which lie in their overlapping spheres of influence.

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Herlin-Karnell Ester

The EU as a Promoter of Preventive Criminal Justice and the Internal Security Context

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 215-225



This paper discusses the current tendency in the EU to promote a criminal justice model focusing on prevention. In doing so, I examine the EU's internal security agenda with regard to criminal law and assess the extent to which this strategy fits the picture of an European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice placing equal value on freedom, security and justice. I also consider the external dimension to the EU's security program by examining the extent to which the EU benefits from the dual layer of security action provided for in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union and the Treaty of the European Union, or whether such double action creates unnecessary complexity. I contrast the current aspirations for more security and prevention in EU criminal law with the Commission's recent communication on the effective implementation of EU policies through criminal law. This communication stresses the importance of ensuring coherence in EU criminal law, while also respecting national diversity and serving the citizens. In addition, I discuss the extent to which the EU's promotion of preventive criminal justice risks turning the EU into a disintegrator instead of an agent of European values (depending on what these values are intended to mean in practice).

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Pech Laurent

The EU as a global rule of law promoter: the consistency and effectiveness challenges

in **Asia Europe Journal**, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 7-24

This paper aims to examine the consistency and effectiveness of the EU as a global promoter of values by focusing on the rule of law, one of the key values on which the EU is based and which is also supposed to guide EU's external action. The paper first offers the diagnosis that the EU has failed to properly address a number of key issues: (i) what the EU seeks to promote under the heading 'rule of law', (ii) how it measures and monitors a country's adherence to this principle and (iii) the disconnect between its external and internal policies and instruments. To address these issues, four key recommendations are made: (i) the adoption of a guidance note, (ii) the development of a transversal measurement and monitoring instrument, (iii) the adoption of a rule of law checklist and (iv) the revision of the role of EU Fundamental Rights Agency, with the view of transforming it into a 'Copenhagen Commission' with new powers and a broader geographical remit.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amanda Paul

The EU in the South Caucasus and the Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War

in **International Spectator (The)**, Volume 50, Issue 3 , 30-42

Despite hopes that it would act as a transformative tool in the South Caucasus to strengthen democracy, stability, security and regional cooperation, the Eastern Partnership (EaP) has produced limited results, with the region more fragmented today than it was five years ago. Russia's war against Ukraine has further exacerbated the situation, raising concerns over the extent to which South Caucasus countries can genuinely rely on the West. Today, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan have different geostrategic trajectories. While Georgia has stuck to the Euro-Atlantic track, Armenia joined the Russian-led Eurasian Union in January 2015. Meanwhile Azerbaijan has the luxury of choosing not to choose. Developments in the region have demonstrated that a 'one size fits all' approach does not work and a more differentiated policy is required.



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Ludovica Marchi

The EU's role in developing security cooperation with Myanmar at the ASEAN Regional Forum: 2004–2008 in European Security, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 197-215

This article tracks the European Union's efforts at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF), from 2004 to 2008, to encourage Myanmar directly or indirectly to engage in security cooperation. It, then, explores Myanmar and ASEAN's reactions to the devastation caused by Cyclone Nargis to Myanmar's Irrawaddy delta in 2008. It focuses on ARF as a forum whereby interactions take place. It examines whether the complementarity of the analytical variables provided by the logic of consequences and appropriateness [March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P., 1998. The institutional dynamics of international political orders. Oslo, Arena Working Paper No. 5; 2004. The logic of appropriateness. Oslo, Arena Working Paper No. 9], social mechanisms [Checkel, J., 1999. Social construction and integration. *Journal of European public policy*, 6 (4), 545–560.] and observations derived from interviews (Southeast Asia and Brussels) can explain ASEAN and Myanmar's reactions and, also, the EU's behaviour in relation to the Myanmar-Nargis event. The EU's role is explored through the co-chair's summary reports of the meetings that the EU co-chaired with ASEAN. The article uncovers the EU's efforts to encourage ASEAN to take up responsibilities and Myanmar to accept multilateral security options. It argues that, as the EU tried to inspire Myanmar to connect with cooperation, "Myanmar hit by Cyclone Nargis" motivated the EU Council to include the "responsibility to protect" as a new goal of the European foreign and security policy of December 2008.

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Marco Siddi

The EU's Energy Union: A Sustainable Path to Energy Security? in International Spectator (The), Volume 51, Issue 1 , 131-144

The Ukraine crisis and subsequent tensions in relations with Russia urged the European Union to diversify its energy suppliers and integrate the energy markets of member states. However, the EU does not seem to have a clear strategy to strengthen its energy security. Member states are reluctant to relinquish control over their energy policy. Moreover, the diversification of fossil fuel suppliers may lead to new dependencies on authoritarian states, while the emphasis on unconventional energy sources may delay the development of renewables. A coordinated focus on renewable energy, coupled with investments in energy efficiency, appears to be the most forward-looking and climate-friendly way of reducing external dependencies.

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Cristina Churrucá and María Nagore

The EU's Framework for the Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy Support in Cuadernos europeos de Deusto, no. 53 , 19-51



In the last years the EU has developed a policy framework for human rights promotion and democracy support. The key document in which the EU declares its policy principles, objectives and priorities in this field is the Strategic Framework on Human Rights and Democracy, adopted by the Council on 25 June 2012. Starting with an analysis of the framework the aim of this article is to map and analyse the objectives and priorities that guide the EU policy and the specific instruments created to contribute to the promotion of human right and democracy worldwide, like the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights. It looks in particular at the EU priorities in terms of themes and vulnerable groups. The article draws attention to some inconsistencies between the Strategic Framework and its implementation instrument, the Action Plan.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giusti Serena

The EU's Transformative Power Challenged in Ukraine

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 2 , 165-183

ABSTRACT: Moving from the analysis of the EU's actions in the Ukrainian crisis, this article aims at opening a reflection on certain traditional taxonomies such as civilian, normative and transformative power that have shaped the debate on both the EU ontology and its external manifestation.¹ While the peculiarity of the development of European integration might have quite spontaneously produced a normative power, on the external front the application of this power requires a political drive. The recent policies – ENP, EaP – promulgated to stabilize and restructure the EU's neighbourhood through the diffusion of norms have undoubtedly geopolitical implications. It is not yet clear whether these policies are simply replicating the enlargement rationale (although not contemplating membership), or, rather, they are part of a power politics project dissimulated under a normative veil. The EU responded to Russia's aggressiveness in an 'unreflective' way, a procession of 'patterned actions' with limited efficacy. The EU's performance in Ukraine reveals both a lack of analytical capacity in the elaboration of policies directed to the neighbourhood and of tactical planning for facing up to the consequences of those policies.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Falkner Gerda

The EU's current crisis and its policy effects: research design and comparative findings

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 3, Special Issue: EU Policies in Times of Crisis , 219-235

The paper summarises a collaborative international research project comparing the impact of the ongoing conglomerate of crises in nine EU policies. All of them saw significant crisis-induced pressures and challenges. Beyond changes in discourse, the crisis-induced pressures have, in many areas, also triggered a rather sizable amount of policy change. Considering EU competences, no single example of re-nationalisation was found, but many new EU-level tasks. The governments were of prime importance in immediate crisis management but supranational institutions and processes continue to matter.

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Falkner Gerda

The EU's problem-solving capacity and legitimacy in a crisis context: a virtuous or vicious circle?
in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 5 , 953-970

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on which mechanisms enabled the eurozone to escape from gridlock. At present, the EU is in a state of profound and multiple crises. Nonetheless, it managed to bring about a medium-term stabilisation of its banking system and economic governance, and a systemic implosion has so far been prevented. Considering that crucial regulations in the financial markets and economic governance are not a new idea but had been politically blocked for many years preceding the crisis, it is a major political science puzzle how and why the reforms were actually possible in an acute crisis. Drawing on Fritz W. Scharpf's theory of the joint-decision trap, the article evaluates if, how and under what conditions crisis situations actually make a difference. Can crises possibly introduce dynamics that at times help overcome stalemate? Nine EU policies are being considered. The conclusions discuss insights for the EU's overall system development.

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Emilian Kavalski

The EU–India strategic partnership: neither very strategic, nor much of a partnership
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 192-208

While formally labelled as 'strategic', the European Union (EU)–India partnership is more often than not described as 'lukewarm' and 'reluctant'. Thus, by process-tracing the EU–India relationship, this article reveals the significance of 1999 as a crucial point that has urged both Brussels and New Delhi to significantly alter both their outlook on global life and on each other. The bilateral relationship will be shown to be a story of two actors aspiring to global prominence, who—to their mutual frustration—find themselves consigned and constrained to play a leading role only in their respective neighbourhoods. The bilateral relationship seems only to reinforce this marginalization in global affairs, as neither of the strategic partners considers the other significant enough to develop meaningful relations with them.

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Emerson Michael

The Economics of a Brexit
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2016 , 46-47

No abstract available

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Sebastian Oberthür and Lisanne Groen

The Effectiveness Dimension of the EU's Performance in International Institutions: Toward a More Comprehensive Assessment Framework
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6



In this article, we develop a comprehensive framework for assessing the effectiveness dimension of the EU's performance in international institutions, consisting of three elements: (1) the quality of the EU's policy objectives; (2) EU engagement in the negotiations, including its fit with the international constellation of power and interests; and (3) goal achievement. We apply this assessment framework to two cases with two phases each: (1) the negotiations on the 2010 Nagoya Protocol on genetic resources to the Convention on Biological Diversity and (2) the negotiations under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change toward the 2009 Copenhagen and 2011 Durban climate summits. The analysis demonstrates that the assessment framework (1) facilitates a more complete and richer appreciation of EU effectiveness in international institutions than the established understanding of effectiveness as goal achievement and (2) allows us to start to systematically explore the interaction between the framework's three components.

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Rossi Sergio

The Euro Must Be Abandoned to Achieve European Monetary Integration

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016 , pages 72-84

This article explains why the euro has to be abandoned in order to integrate the euro-area member countries monetarily. It first recalls the negative consequences of the adoption of a single European currency by a number of countries whose economies are still too different on structural grounds to support the financial constraints elicited by the fiscal and monetary policy straightjacket. It thus points out the lack of fiscal transfers between these countries and the dogmatic attitude of the ECB regarding its own policy strategy and objectives, both of which affect the (un)employment level as well as the degree of financial (in)stability across the euro area. The article then suggests a way out of this area for those countries whose population cannot support the burden imposed by austerity policies with no foreseeable positive effect for the large majority of the people. It thus proposes the reintroduction of national currencies in these countries, for which the euro will still be available but as a mere supranational currency used by their national central banks only, in order for them to settle international trade and financial-market transactions carried out by residents in their countries. This monetary–structural reform will increase financial stability and employment levels across Europe, thereby also inducing positive effects for public finance.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hale Galina, Obstfeld Maurice

The Euro and the Geography of International Debt Flows

in Journal of the European Economic Association, Volume 14, Issue 1, February 2016 , 115-144

Greater financial integration between core and peripheral European Monetary Union (EMU) members not only had an effect on both sets of countries but also spilled over beyond the euro area. Lower interest rates allowed peripheral countries to run bigger deficits, which inflated their economies by allowing credit booms. Core EMU countries took on extra foreign leverage to expose themselves to the peripherals. We present a stylized model that illustrates possible mechanisms for these developments. We then analyze the geography of international debt flows using multiple data sources and provide evidence that after the euro's introduction, core EMU countries increased their borrowing from outside of the EMU and their lending to the EMU periphery. Moreover, we present evidence that large core EMU banks' lending to periphery borrowers was linked to their borrowing from outside of the euro area.



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Jespersen Jesper

The Euro. A Political Failure and an Economic Disaster

in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2016, pages 33-39

Alain Parguez is right when he claims that the “euro” is a political failure and an economic disaster, in which French politicians and economists seem to have played a significant role. France’s elite envisaged being a dominant political power on the Continent after the two military defeats of Germany in 1918 and 1945. The two strategies the elite tried were very different, but they both failed. A heavy war indemnity in 1919 and the common European currency in 1990 were seen by the French elite as instruments to suppress Germany’s potential economic (and political) superiority. The French economic elite, represented by F. Perroux and Jacques Rueff, supported the elite’s aspiration of being the leading power within a united Europe by academic arguments. The academic support for the Mitterrand government’s European Union (EU) policy was organized by the former economics and finance minister (and later president of the European Commission), Jacques Delors. He headed the Committee for the Study of Economic and Monetary Union, which unanimously recommended a common European currency “to the benefit of European prosperity.” According to Parguez, the resulting common currency created at a French initiative is the prime reason for the present European economic defeat, which has frustrated the French aspiration to play a leading role as *primus inter pares* on the Continent. This is so because the rules we are bound to follow make no economic sense for Europe as a whole, which is collectively denied by the European elites. This short commentary discusses whether the economic profession not only in France, but in general, is incompetent, ideologically biased, or simply a “rent seeking” profession.

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Rayroux Antoine

The Europe of Soldiers: Practices and limits of the comprehensive approach during crisis management operations

in *Politique européenne*, n. 51, 2016/1, 118 à 143

This article sheds light on the limits of the institutionalization of the comprehensive approach among the military when they are involved in European crisis management operations. Based on an analysis of EUFOR Chad/CAR, two contrasted observations stand out. European soldiers react positively to the comprehensive approach, as it provides them with new professional and social skills when they interact with one another and with the other actors of the European security field. For the military, the comprehensive approach functions as a norm that contributes to shaping the EU’s role as a crisis management actor. However, the comprehensive approach’s implementation leads to an assemblage of diverse practices, and some of its principles are rejected by the military, when the latter clash with the conduct of operations on the ground.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kullaa Rinna



The European Parliament and the UK Parliament: A Relationship in Foreign Policy
in *Parliamentary History*, Volume 35, Issue 1, February , pp. 67-79

It is often argued that the crucial democratic body of the European Union (EU) is the European parliament. Over time, the European parliament's role has increased from being a consultative body to one which has an institutionalised co-decision authority in EU lawmaking. After the Lisbon treaty and the abolition of the Western European Union (WEU), the European parliament also has an increasingly important role as an intergovernmental European assembly. This article examines the British discussion about the country's commitment to parliamentary scrutiny, representation and supervision, in which the need for a genuine debate over representation within the EU is highlighted. British prime ministers have, in most cases, defined both the government's and parliament's stance on European integration either through their personal role, or through wide-ranging discussions in their cabinets. However, in the 2000s, the Houses' parliamentary committees have also influenced the shaping of the British position through their scrutiny of European policies. They were effective in the scrutiny of the Common Foreign and Defence Policy (CFDP), arguing that the government should keep parliament informed of discussions concerning the CFDP, and that the quality of the democratic process depended largely on the relationship between the British national parliament and the government. The parliamentary committees and the government both agreed that parliamentary scrutiny should not be left to the European parliament alone; the participation of national parliamentarians with specialist knowledge of the EU level was also seen as especially important.

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Mícheál O'Keeffe, Marion Salines and Marta Wieczorek

The European Parliament's strategy in EU economic and financial reform
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 2

This article investigates the bargaining strategy of the European Parliament (EP) as a co-legislator in the field of economic and financial governance on the basis of two prominent case studies – the legislative packages for financial supervision and economic governance. It analyses the impact the internal cohesion of the EP had on its bargaining strategy in informal trilogue negotiations with the Council and the Commission at first reading. The article argues that the degree of internal cohesion had a very limited impact on the EP's external bargaining strategy in the trilogues. This is visible both in the substance of the EP position – the issues the EP chose to promote – as well as in the form – the negotiation tactics. Thus, while the internal functioning of the EP is increasingly dominated by ideological and majoritarian features, externally the EP insists on promoting issues where a strong consensus exists to maximize its bargaining power.

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Ellerman A. Denny, Marcantonini Claudio, Zaklan Aleksandar

The European Union Emissions Trading System: Ten Years and Counting

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Volume 10, Issue 1, Winter , 89-107

This article provides an introduction to the European Union (EU) Emissions Trading System (ETS). First we describe the legislative development of the EU ETS, its evolution from free allocation to auctioning and centralized allocation rules, its



relationship to the Kyoto Protocol and other trading systems, and its relationship to other EU climate and energy policies. This is followed by an assessment of the performance of the EU ETS, which focuses in particular on emissions, allowance prices, and the use of offsets. We conclude with a discussion of the current debate about the future of the EU ETS and proposals for changes to both the EU ETS and the climate policy environment in which it operates.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sven Biscop

The European Union and Mutual Assistance: More than Defence
in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 51, Issue 2 , 119-125

The first activation of the European Union's "Mutual Assistance Clause", following the 13 November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris, demonstrated that this article can be used very flexibly, not just to help defend French territory but also its expeditionary operations. But if flexibility is an asset, improvisation is not. In order to maximise the potential of the clause, the role of the EU institutions needs to be clarified, in addition to that of the member states, and new capacities must be created at the EU level, notably in intelligence and planning.

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Cierco, Teresa; Silva, Jorge Tavares da

The European Union and the Member States: two different perceptions of border
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.59 no.1

In this article we analyze two different perceptions of border inside Europe. On the one hand, we have the perception idealized by the European Union as an international organization, which believes that states benefit more from cooperation and dilution of borders in a common space than from keeping its borders as a symbol of its sovereignty. On the other hand, we have the European member states, taken individually, with particular interests and goals that, given the threat of illegal immigration, which is currently felt in the large-scale Europe, adopt a realistic perception of the border, and look at each territory as a space that needs protection from external threats. Following this argument, we reason that the current construction of walls in several European countries reflects the rebirth of a realistic perception of the border, and this is one more challenge for Europe regarding its unity and solidarity. Is this the end of the Schengen Agreement? What is going to happen to the European project if each state unilaterally adopts a strategy to deal with illegal immigration and refugees that are coming to Europe? Can immigration lead to a retrocession of the EU idealist significance of border?

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Buhari-Gulmez Didem

The European Union as a 'heuristic device': Ritualized Europeanization in Turkey
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 4, july , 458-476



ABSTRACT: Following the World Polity School of sociological institutionalism, this article argues that ‘many Europes’ operating in different (strategic, normative and cognitive) realms affects the EU’s projection of its authority abroad, and paves the way for the trifurcation of the Europeanization processes that influence society and politics in candidate countries like Turkey. The Turkish case is critical in terms of demonstrating a decoupling between the EU-led reform process and Turkey’s EU membership bids. By studying attitudinal variation in two reform areas where the status quo proves difficult to change, the study emphasizes the ritualized character of domestic compliance with EU membership conditionality and the role of the EU as a ‘heuristic device’ to help unpack some of the complexity of the global context and European multiplicity.

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Skander Nasra & Peter Debaere

The European Union in the G20: what role for small states?

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 209-230

The G20 has emerged as the premier forum for international economic policy coordination. For small EU states, the EU’s participation in the G20 represents a particular challenge as they may be faced with decisions in which they had no say. This article looks at the possibilities for small state involvement in the G20 process and analyses the extent to which they can influence the EU’s participation in the G20. The article suggests two sets of variables to explain the possibilities for influence of small states in the EU’s external relations. Looking into four financial and economic policy dossiers, the article explores the conditions of success of small states’ strategies. The article does not contradict that the big member states dominate the EU presence in the G20, but it does argue that small states may successfully use the EU as a foreign policy platform to pursue national objectives. Their influence varies strongly and is bound to a number of conditions.

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Blavoukos Spyros, Bourantonis Dimitris, Galariotis Ioannis, Gianniou Maria

The European Union’s visibility and coherence at the United Nations General Assembly

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 35-45

The Lisbon Treaty brought about significant changes regarding the EU’s external representation system with new institutional structures set forward to enhance the role of the EU as a unified global actor. In this article, we focus on the UN General Assembly examining whether the coherence and visibility of the EU has increased in the post-Lisbon era. We operationalize and measure both concepts on the basis of oral interventions made by EU and EU member-states’ representatives in the Plenary and in the six Committees over a period of six UNGA sessions. Our analysis is based on verbatim records, official EU/UN documentation and 41 semi-structured interviews with officials in New York and Brussels. We find a smooth and by and large successful transition from the Council Presidency-based system to the EU Delegation-based system of representation that enhances the EU visibility in the UNGA. We also posit that after a period of adjustment and overcoming of intra-EU institutional hurdles, the EU coherence has increased overall. Both our findings testify to the gradual but unmistakable positive effect of the Lisbon changes on the EU foreign policy system at least as far as the UN General Assembly is concerned.



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Laura C Ferreira-Pereira

**The European Union's partnership policy towards Brazil: more than meets the eye
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 55-77

This article focuses on the evolving nature of the foreign policy of the European Union (EU) towards Brazil, which gained momentum and became more dynamic and denser after the establishment of a formal strategic partnership (SP) in 2007. It provides a historical overview of the institutional relations between Brussels and Brasília, before proceeding with an analysis of the main drivers behind this novel development. The study goes on to offer a critical examination of the implementation of the EU–Brazil SP by casting light on both its major achievements and the challenges it has faced. It concludes that the establishment of a formal strategic partnership with Brazil has contributed to the strengthening of the EU's globally oriented partnership policy and ultimately to the incremental empowerment of the EU necessary to the assertion of its values, objectives and interests on the international stage.

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Baldi Guido, Staehr Karsten

The European debt crisis and fiscal reactions in Europe 2000–2014

in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 13, Issue 2, April 2016 , 297-317

After the outbreak of the global financial crisis, some governments in the EU experienced serious fiscal problems, while others were less affected. This paper seeks to shed light on the divergent fiscal performance in the EU countries before and after the outbreak of the crisis. Fiscal reaction functions of the primary balance are estimated for different groups of EU countries using quarterly data for the pre-crisis period 2001–2008 and for the crisis period 2009–2014. The pre-crisis estimations reveal some differences in persistence and cyclical reaction between different groups of countries, but in most cases little feedback from the debt stock to the primary balance. The fiscal reaction functions of the countries that eventually developed fiscal problems do not stand out. The estimations on data from the crisis period show largely unchanged persistence and counter-cyclicality but much more feedback from the debt stock, and this applies both to the crisis countries and those less affected. In spite of large deficits and accumulation of debt, the underlying fiscal reaction has become more prudent after the outbreak of the European debt crisis.

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Koch Svea, Molenaers Nadia

The Europeanisation of budget support: do government capacity and autonomy matter?

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 90-104

In the last decade, budget support (BS) has become one of the most popular and controversial aid modalities. The tensions between the EU and member states regarding the use of this modality set in motion interesting policy



influencing dynamics. We reconstruct these processes looking at two turning-points (the inception and the subsequent reform of the BS policy) and compare over time the positions, capacities and policies of three EU member states with varying positions towards BS: Germany, the UK and Belgium. We find no evidence that the EU has been able to download its BS policies. Instead we find some evidence of limited delegation to the EU level, and strong indications of member states uploading policy preferences to the EU level. We further argue that domestic politics in member states matters more than EU aid policy prescriptions, and that the EU's policy space is crucially influenced by its own and member states capacities and autonomy to build political alliances around policy preferences.

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Orbie Jan, Carbone Maurizio

The Europeanisation of development policy

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 17, n. 1, Special Issue: Beyond Stockholm: In Search of a Strategy for the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 1-11

Despite the growing academic interest in the development policy of the European Union (EU) and the booming literature on Europeanisation, the impact of Europe on national development policies has largely been overlooked. By exploring member state interactions with and through the EU level across a number of different issues, this study looks to herald a new research agenda. The picture emerging from the empirical evidence is that of modest degrees of Europeanisation. In fact, resistance to Europe can be attributed to different (f)actors, some operating at the domestic level (e.g. established cultural and normative structures, different types of veto players) and others related to the existence of several groupings with alternative policy prescriptions (e.g. Nordic donors, like-minded countries, former colonial powers). Even where there are signs of convergence (or divergence), they may be due to other influences rather than pressures coming from the EU.

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Otjes Simon, Veer Harmen van der

The Eurozone crisis and the European Parliament's changing lines of conflict

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 242-261

There is a broad consensus that the left-right dimension has been the dominant line of conflict in the European Parliament since 1979. A pro-/anti-EU dimension is found to be of secondary importance, which is attributed to the fact that decision-making over the competences of the European Union is the realm of intergovernmental negotiations. In this article, we show that the seventh EP witnessed a transformational moment in the history of the EU. The Eurozone crisis amplified the importance of the pro-/anti-EU dimension and increasingly shapes the voting behaviour of Members of the EP. This change is particularly pronounced for voting on economic issues. To demonstrate this transformation, we employ a novel deductive method that allows us to predict the relative importance of two dimensions structuring MEP voting behaviour. Our results contradict established wisdom about the strength of the left-right divide in EP politics.

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Wren-Lewis Simon

The Eurozone's Flaws Are Not Intrinsic

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 20-24

There seem to be two typical responses to the failure of the euro project that the last five years have exposed. The first, mostly from those outside the eurozone, is that the whole project was doomed from the start and should be abandoned. The second is that the only way forward is further political integration. However, the problems of the eurozone are not intrinsic to any attempt at a monetary union, but rather reflect design flaws in the particular version of monetary union that was embodied in the euro project.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinelli Cesare

The Formation of a Constitutional Tradition in Continental Europe since World War II

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 02 , 257–268

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Catsambas Thanos

The Greek Economic Crisis: Myths, Misperceptions, Truths, and Realities

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 1, March , pp. 55-70

This essay summarizes developments since the outbreak of the Greek economic crisis in 2010 from the perspective of various myths that dominated the public discourse from 2010 to 2016. In the author's view, the perpetuation of these myths, which was partly the result of poor communication policies of the Greek governments, impeded a swifter resolution of the crisis. The analysis is based on the author's personal experiences while he served as an alternate executive director of the International Monetary Fund representing Greece from January 2012 to July 2015.

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Villotti Julia

The Horizontal Effect of EU Fundamental Rights – AMS and Beyond

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, Band 71, Heft 2, Juni , 241-268

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ya-Chi Lin, Kuo-Chun Yeh



The Impact of 2007/08 Financial Crisis on the Stability and Enlargement of the EMU

in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 624-634

Before 2007/08, the European Monetary Union (EMU) was expected to be enlarged on schedule, but the European sovereign debt problem, triggered by the exogenous US sub-prime crisis, not only has revealed the EMU's fiscal coordination failure, but also has weakened regional financial integration. The stagnation of financial integration will therefore increase the cost of sustaining a monetary union, which in turn slows EMU enlargement and ruins the reputation of the euro. This paper aims to measure the damage to financial integration and to provide a more precise answer on real interest rate parity (RIP) convergence. Our estimation indicates that RIP between the EMU and some accession candidates is still valid after the interruptions of the financial crises. However, convergence of real interest rates cannot be achieved until 2030. This implies the EMU authority must strengthen regional financial integration to solidify the EMU and then be able to re-start enlargement.

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Martin Ralf, Muûls Mirabelle, Wagner Ulrich J.

The Impact of the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme on Regulated Firms: What Is the Evidence after Ten Years?

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Volume 10, Issue 1, Winter , 129-148

This article reviews the recent literature on ex post evaluation of the impacts of the European Union (EU) Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) on regulated firms in the industrial and power sectors. We summarize the findings from original research papers concerning three broadly defined impacts: carbon dioxide emissions, economic performance and competitiveness, and innovation. We conclude by highlighting gaps in the current literature and suggesting priorities for future research on this landmark policy.

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Dzmitry Bartalevich

The Influence of the Chicago School on the Commission's Guidelines, Notices and Block Exemption Regulations in EU Competition Policy

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

Antitrust rules are fundamentally informed and shaped by economic theories. Given the significance of EU competition policy for the European integration process, it is essential to disentangle the economic theories underlying EU competition law. There is abundant theoretical and empirical literature examining the influence of ordoliberalism on EC/EU competition policy. However, in recent years, ordoliberal principles appear to have been replaced by neoliberalism and efficiency-enhancing rationale in EU competition policy. This article puts forward the idea of clarifying whether the European Commission incorporates Chicago School theory into EU competition law provisions. The analysis is carried out on the basis of the European Commission's guidelines, notices and block exemption regulations. The analysis reveals that the Commission does, to a considerable extent, follow the Chicago School theory. The elements of the Chicago School theory hold strongest in vertical practices; they are somewhat weaker in horizontal practices and in unilateral exclusionary conduct.



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Saraceno Francesco

The Lessons of the Crisis for EU Policy Making

in *Politique européenne*, n. 50, 2015/4, 70 à 80

The article details the dominant narrative on the EMU crisis, the so-called “Berlin View”, centered around the macroeconomic Consensus that emerged in the 1990s. This Consensus rules out discretionary policy (in particular fiscal policy) as a tool for policy makers, that should let market adjustments take care of macroeconomic shocks. The Consensus not only shaped the response to the crisis, but it is also the foundation of the Maastricht institutions (ECB mandate and fiscal rule). The article contrasts this narrative with a more structural one, highlighting the non-optimality of the EMU. If this second narrative were correct, much more than austerity and fiscal consolidation were needed. Institutions mimicking the functioning of a federal state would be needed to avoid divergence and further crises.

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Bastian Giegerich & Maximilian Terhalle

The Munich Consensus and the Purpose of German Power

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 2, 155-166

Two years of progress in foreign-policy leadership have left unanswered a crucial question: what is German power for?

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Yannis Karagiannis

The Origins of the Common Market: Political Economy vs. Hagiography

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

Following a historiographical tradition which emphasizes the individual agency of specific individuals, a recent article claims that Jean Monnet's ‘path-breaking’ ideas and actions were a necessary condition for the Schuman declaration of 1950. I show that, like other deterministic claims about necessary conditions, this is at odds with current political science theory, and is also based on methodologically dubious inferences. Using less biased sources I develop an alternative explanation for the Schuman declaration, which emphasizes broad societal preferences, institutional constraints and international interactions. I find that Monnet did play his cards well, but also that there is no reason to believe that his ideas were original, or that any other competent French planning commissioner would not have acted similarly. I discuss the implications for academic debates between historians and political scientists, for policy-makers who seek to learn from the European experience and for the construction of a new euro-mythology.

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Müftüleri-Baç Meltem

The Pandora's box: democratization and rule of law in Turkey

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 61-77

A prominent question in the literature on democracy is concerned with the role of external factors in stimulating the process of democratization and uploading rule of law. This paper tackles the following questions: How does the political conditionality of an international organization—the EU in this case—stimulate democracy in third countries? Equally important, does conditionality always have a positive impact and could it be possible to witness the EU undermining democracy in an unexpected manner? This paper addresses these questions through an analysis of the Turkish democracy in the light of its accession to the EU and through an application of the EU membership conditionality by looking at rule of law in Turkey. The general contention in the political conditionality literature is that the EU enables an acceding country to adopt its democratic principles, and facilitates transition to democracy, while strengthening rule of law. However, the Turkish transformation seems to challenge this contention. This paper proposes that the EU's political conditionality in bringing about political transformation in Turkey as a membership precondition unexpectedly illuminated the underlying anti-democratic tendencies and tensions in Turkish politics. The democratization process in Turkey since 1999, partly stimulated by the EU, has opened up a Pandora's box releasing the conflict between the secularists and religious conservatives in Turkey that has long been suppressed. This paper analyzes these cleavages through the prism of EU political conditionality with regards to rule of law.

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Ines Wagner

The Political Economy of Borders in a 'Borderless' European Labour Market

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6

The reconfiguration of political space lies at the heart of the European project and is the subject of manifold studies on the new shape of the European Union, but relatively little attention has been paid to the ways in which borders are de- and reconstructed in a pan-European labour market. In a pan-European labour market, state borders shift. Postings made via subcontractors and agencies providing temporary workers also rearrange the borders of the firm. However, we know very little about how these bordering practices interact within the pan-European labour market. This study argues that while borders have become porous, their porousness is one-directional, in the sense that it is in favour of capital but impacts negatively on labour rights. In developing a framework for understanding the relationship between changes in sovereign borders and changes in employment relations in the EU, this article integrates insights from international relations, political economy and border research.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hazakis Konstantinos J.

The Political Economy of Economic Adjustment Programs in the Eurozone: A Detailed Policy Analysis

in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 43, Issue 6, December , pp. 822-854

The euro area debt crisis has pointed more than ever before to the importance of effective reforms and sustainable



macroeconomics. Indeed, rising doubts that Eurozone countries with low industrial competitiveness will be able to repay high international liabilities render adjustment a cardinal issue for European cohesion. Evidently, a compelling necessity exists for well-designed Economic Adjustment Programs (EAPs). This article proposes an ideal EAP type of how to perceive the main stages of adjustment within the Eurozone, underlining their operational/cognitive links as well as the required catalysts for success implementation of adjustment strategy. The proposed holistic adjustment framework treats macroeconomic, microeconomic, financial, and structural reforms not as isolated issue areas but rather as interdependent and mutually vulnerable issue areas. Emphasis is placed on domestic political economy considerations and the necessary societal reform alliance capable and willing to carry out adjustment.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/polp.12141/pdf>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mark Copelovitch, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stefanie Walter

The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis

in Comparative Political Studies , 49 (7) , 811-840

This article introduces the special issue on the political economy of the Euro crisis, which aims to improve our understanding of the causes, consequences, and implications of the highly unusual nature of this crisis: a financial crisis among developed countries within a supranational monetary union. The article provides a brief chronology of the crisis, discusses its underlying causes, and reviews the ways in which comparative and international political economy can help us understand the crisis. The article then discusses the individual and collective contributions of the articles in the special issue and discusses possible future research paths on the political economy of the Euro crisis. We conclude with a brief discussion of how a political economy perspective informs our understanding of the long-term prospects for the Eurozone and European integration.

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Paasivirta Esa

The Responsibility of Member States of International Organizations? A Special Case for the European Union

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 12, n. 2 , 448-467

ABSTRACT: This article outlines the contours of the special case of the EU in the context of the general question of the responsibility of a member State of an international organization. The special case of EU member States is connected with the modus operandi of the EU in general, and the fact that the implementation of EU acts is largely carried out by national authorities rather than by the EU relying solely on its own organs. This special case is also connected with the phenomenon of so-called 'mixed agreements' to which both the EU and its member States are parties. In both situations, the role of the member States is important and appears as part of the normal conduct of the organization. Against the background of these observations, the paper reviews the central concepts of legal personality, competence and responsibility in order to consider and assess the special case of the EU in a broader international law context. The paper also reviews recent legal developments which bear on the assessment of the special case of the EU.



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Luuk van Middelaar

The Return of Politics – The European Union after the crises in the eurozone and Ukraine

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

A crisis can reveal characteristics of a political order which in normal times remain invisible. Two such moments of clarification hit European Union (EU) countries in quick succession. The euro crisis tested the resolve of leaders and peoples to save the single currency. The geopolitical standoff around Ukraine necessitated a joint response to a show of force. In both cases we saw a 'return of politics'. Geopolitical interests trumped economic ones; a need for government (and not just governance) made itself felt; European politics became more salient and intertwined with domestic politics. In the turmoil, notwithstanding calls for a big leap toward greater unity, the European Union also showed its dynamic in-between nature. The public perceives this politicisation perfectly, hence both its disenchantment and the calls for more democracy. EU integration, after 'permissive consensus' and 'constraining dissensus', could be moving to the era of binding dissensus.

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Martina Tazzioli & William Walters

The Sight of Migration: Governmentality, Visibility and Europe's Contested Borders

in *Global Society*, Volume 30, Issue 3, 445-464

Foucault's shift from an analytical focus on discipline to governmentality saw the theme of visibility move into the background of his attention. In this article we ask how the debates about governmentality and visibility can be brought into a mutually productive relationship. Building on recent arguments for greater rigour in conceptualising visibility, we proceed to examine what visibility means and does in the context of migration control in Europe. Focusing on the EU's recently deployed programme of border surveillance, EUROSUR, we elaborate how multiple forms of visibility are at play. We conclude that the politics of visibility is an important theme for future studies in the governance of migration.

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Emanuele Cimiotta

The Specialist Chambers and the Specialist Prosecutor's Office in Kosovo: The 'Regionalization' of International Criminal Justice in Context

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 14, issue 1, 53-72

In August 2015, Kosovo established the Specialist Chambers (SC) and the Specialist Prosecutor's Office (SPO) with the mandate of prosecuting international and transborder crimes committed during and after the 1998–1999 armed conflict. This article examines the founding instruments of the SC and the SPO, the influence of certain regional organizations in their creation and management, their organization, jurisdiction, legal nature and the function they exercise within the international legal system. The key question is whether the SC and the SPO may be included in existing categories of judicial entities established to deal with international criminal justice. The article concludes that they represent a regional variation of mixed criminal tribunals.



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Sarah Williams

The Specialist Chambers of Kosovo: The Limits of Internationalization?

in **Journal of International Criminal Justice**, vol. 14, issue 1 , 25-51

In August 2015 the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo established the Specialist Chambers and Specialist Prosecutor's Office in order to prosecute crimes against humanity, war crimes and national crimes allegedly committed during the Kosovo war between 1 January 1998 and 31 December 2000. Following earlier, unsuccessful attempts to prosecute senior leaders of the Kosovo Liberation Army, this model internationalizes all levels of its judicial system. This article examines the legal basis of the Specialist Chambers and the Specialist Prosecutor's Office, including the legal basis for the involvement of the European Union and the extent of internationalization that such an involvement of a regional organization brings to these institutions. Compared with other hybrid and internationalized tribunals it is the first that does not feature any local staff. Other specific features of its jurisdiction and its legal framework for securing cooperation are explored, as well as the scope, flexibility and utility of the internationalized model within the context of Kosovo and the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Urbinati Nadia

The Sunset of EU Citizenship

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Matthias Matthijs

The Three Faces of German Leadership

in **Survival**, Volume 58, Issue 2 , 135-154

Germany has acted as enforcer, facilitator and benefactor in Europe's triple crisis, but not always coherently.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Snell Jukka

The Trilemma of European Economic and Monetary Integration, and Its Consequences

in **European law journal**, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 157-179

The article analyses trade-offs between sovereignty, mass politics and economic and monetary union (EMU), employing



Rodrik's paradox of globalisation. The logic of EMU is incompatible with sovereignty and mass politics—only two of the three can coexist. It is argued that three different answers to the trilemma can be observed in the EU practice. In the initial EMU, integration was limited to safeguard mass politics and sovereignty. Member States were free to set economic policies in response to domestic mass politics. This proved unsustainable. During the crisis, democracy was sacrificed to bolster integration, while sovereignty was maintained. Rules on fiscal discipline and macroeconomic imbalances constrain mass politics, and non-democratic institutions have acquired more prominent roles. Finally, long-term plans for a genuine EMU envisage the strengthening of integration and moving the locus of democracy to the EU level, while weakening sovereignty. The analysis carries implications. If national courts insist on sovereignty and democracy, the likely consequence is an unworkable EMU, damaging the output legitimacy of the EU. The model adopted in the crisis reinforces the elite nature of the EU, undermines democracy at the national level and may bolster political extremism. This leaves the task of building the preconditions for democracy at the European level.

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Anke Schmidt-Felzmann

The breakdown of the EU's strategic partnership with Russia: from strategic patience towards a strategic failure in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 99-127

This article investigates the evolution of the European Union (EU)–Russia relationship to understand whether Russia's violations of Ukraine's territorial integrity in 2014 destroyed the EU–Russia strategic partnership. It uncovers fundamental differences in three key sectors—security, trade and energy—and regarding the broader design of their contractual relationship. Despite the appearance to the contrary, their relationship was never a well-functioning 'partnership of choice'. Structural asymmetries contradictory approaches to and fundamentally different understandings of the role and utility of their relationship affected the EU–Russia relationship from the very beginning. The widening gaps were not addressed nor were the differences of the two actors acknowledged, let alone overcome. The confrontation over Ukraine was therefore not the cause but rather a symptom of deeply rooted problems. The blame for talking past each other and engaging in a marriage of convenience, rather than a real partnership, falls on both the EU and the Russian leadership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Finke

The burden of authorship: how agenda-setting and electoral rules shape legislative behaviour in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 23, Issue 4

I study the effect of agenda-setting on voting behaviour in the European Parliament. The straightforward expectation would be that members of parliament are more likely to support their own group's amendments. But what if national party leaders reject their group's proposal. In this situation party leaders have strong incentives to reinforce party discipline because otherwise they stand to lose credibility in future negotiations. Hence, authorship ties voting behaviour to the bargaining stage by means of credible commitment. Yet, the effect of agenda-setting on voting behaviour is moderated by electoral rules. I argue that this interaction between agenda rules and electoral rules has significant implications for the political representation in the European Parliament.

Analysing voting data from the Sixth European Parliament, I find that the effect of authorship depends on the electoral



rules. Members from open list systems avoid conflict with their party leaders by defecting on other groups' proposals. Members from closed list systems are more likely to defect on their own group's proposals, thereby confronting the party leadership. My results have important implications for the discussion on the democratic nature of the European Parliament.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beauvallet-Haddad Willy, Michon Sébastien, Lepaux Victor

The changing composition of the European parliament: MEPs from 1979 to 2014

in *French Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 1 (April 2016) , 101-125 [Look Inside](#) [Get Access](#)

This paper updates data on the EP's composition in light of the latest electoral results. It points to the somewhat contradictory dynamics currently affecting the parliamentary space, and emphasizes the EP's relative stabilization, the emergence of a transnational parliamentary elite and the relative heterogeneity of current processes at work within the institution. In doing so it illustrates the EP's position at the intersection of national political fields. Although the assembly and the MEPs' backgrounds are more stable than previously, this stability affects representatives differently. Our analysis consists in investigating variations according to political group and nationality, two particularly structuring factors in parliamentary space.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guérin-Pace France, Le Texier Marion

The circulation of euro coins as markers of European mobility in France

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 54, n. 1 , pp. 129-152

Cet article s'intéresse à la structure des relations sociales et territoriales qui se tissent en Europe à travers l'étude de la diffusion des pièces de monnaie étrangères en euro (2002-2011). Dans la mesure où les pièces de monnaie circulent à la faveur de l'échange entre personnes, leur répartition est un marqueur indirect de la mise en réseau des territoires et des hommes qui reflète bien les inégalités territoriales et sociales dans l'accès à la mobilité internationale. Nous présentons dans cet article une série d'études individuelles représentatives décrivant le contenu du porte-monnaie de 21 669 enquêtés et analysant les différences en terme d'internationalisation sur la base de régressions logistiques. Les résultats montrent que les étudiants et les cadres sont les catégories sociales les plus connectées aux populations étrangères voisines et qu'elles sont en conséquence des vecteurs potentiels d'une identité européenne. Ils montrent également de fortes variations spatiales et territoriales en termes d'ouverture au reste de l'Europe des personnes et des lieux – toutes choses étant égales par ailleurs.

This study examines the social and territorial structure of the relations between Eurozone countries and residents that we grasp by studying the diffusion of foreign euro coins (2002-2011). As a euro coin is conveyed across space by persons, it offers a good representation of both social and spatial networks, as well as it allows the study of both social and territorial inequalities with regards to international connectiveness. We use a series of individual-level representative surveys describing the content of the money bag of an amount of 21,669 respondents and analyse internationalization differences using logistic regressions. The results show that students and executives are the social categories that are the most connected to neighbouring peoples and which are therefore potential vectors of a European identity. They also



demonstrate strong spatial and territorial variations of the openness of places and people to the rest of Europe—everything else being equal.

Plan

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 - 2.1. Currency sources in mobility studies
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 - 2.3. Towards a perfect mix?
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 - 3.1. The frequency of international interactions depends on the social group
 - 3.2. Social inequalities in contact with foreign euro coins
- 4. Toward a geography of the internationalization of territories
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 - 4.2. Regular flows of coins towards large cities
 - 4.3. Foreign coins' flows higher in tourist seasons
 - 4.4. Geographic and seasonal factors affecting the circulation of foreign coins in France
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Fratesi Ugo, Rodríguez-Pose Andrés

The crisis and regional employment in Europe: what role for sheltered economies?

in Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Volume 9 Issue 1 March 2016 , 33-57

This article examines how the evolution of employment trends in the regions of Europe since the outbreak of the crisis may have been shaped by the emergence of sheltered economies in certain regions of Europe in the pre-crisis period. It uses descriptive and econometric analysis to determine the relationship between the level of protection from the market of regional economies in the years of economic boom between 1995 and 2007 and employment trends in the first 4 years of the crisis (2008–2012). The analysis covers 272 NUTS2-level regions in 27 EU countries. The results of the analysis show that regions which had developed more sheltered economies during the boom years have not weathered the employment shock associated with the crisis well, while pre-crisis dynamism in employment generation has been connected to lower during-crisis employment destruction. The only exceptions are the most highly sheltered economies in the pre-crisis period, which have endured a lower level of job destruction than any other type of region. The question is whether this early resistance to job destruction can be maintained once the recovery starts.

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Hayo Bernd, Neumeier Florian



The debt brake in the eyes of the German population

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 139-159

In response to the recent sovereign debt crisis, the member states of the European Union agreed to enact balanced budget rules in their national legislation. However, little is known about the public's opinion of balanced budget rules. To fill this gap, we conducted a survey among 2,000 representatively chosen German citizens. Our findings suggest that 61 % of the German population supports the debt brake, whereas only 8 % oppose it. However, approval rates differ notably among various subgroups of the population. The debt brake enjoys greater support among high-income earners and among those well-informed about the future costs of deficit spending. People who do not trust politicians would like to see the government's hands tied even more tightly. Opinions about the debt brake also differ markedly across the supporters of different political parties.

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O'Neill Miriam

The development of the external dimension of the AFSJ – new challenges of the EU legal and policy framework in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 166-180

The Stockholm Programme sets new challenges for the Area of Freedom Security and Justice (AFSJ). The development of external relationships with European Neighbourhood Policy and the Euro-Mediterranean Economic Area countries will prove problematic. The treaty boundary lines between the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the AFSJ will need to be negotiated. In addition, the full range of EU provisions with regard to policing, investigation and prosecution, and fundamental and due process rights, all required to obtain safe convictions, which will need to be part of the EU external relations legal framework for the AFSJ. EU legal agreements for the AFSJ could be either directly with a particular third country, or via Europol. Europol counterparts could be the South-East European Law Enforcement Centre (SELEC) or the Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC). This paper will critically analyse the problems likely from an EU legal framework and policy perspective.

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Cuadrado-Roura Juan R., Martin Ron, Rodríguez-Pose Andrés

The economic crisis in Europe: urban and regional consequences

in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 9 Issue 1 March 2016 , 3-11

Beginning in 2007–2008, the European economy experienced the worst economic crisis since the 1930s. The proximate cause was the financial and banking crisis that originated in the overleveraged banks and mortgage institutions in the United States, and which quickly spread through the global financial system to infect much of Europe. This set off a major credit crunch which in its turn triggered a major contraction in economic growth, from which many European countries have struggled to recover. Yet it has been a crisis that has not afflicted all parts of Europe to the same degree, but rather has exposed major disparities in economic weakness, recovery and resilience both between different countries and between different regions within countries. These disparities themselves have posed an historic challenge to the European project, to the stability and viability of the European Union, and especially the Eurozone. For, to



succeed, a true monetary union requires that economic shocks do not have highly disparate impacts across the constituent countries or regions of which it composed (see Fingleton et al., 2015; Martin, 2001); or, in the event of such disparate responses occurring, that there exists a fully functioning union-wide fiscal stabilisation system of automatic transfers to help offset the impact of the shock in the worst-affected areas. The European monetary union has no such fully developed automatic fiscal stabilisation mechanism, and this has exacerbated the crisis in many parts of the Eurozone: lacking monetary independence and a central fiscal mechanism, some countries of the Eurozone, such as Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy, have experienced particular difficulties in forging a recovery. In fact, at a broad level, there have been significant differences between the various major parts of Europe (Figure 1). Both the Eurozone and non-Eurozone showed not dissimilar rates of economic growth in the years leading ...

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Horii Satoko

The effect of Frontex's risk analysis on the European border controls

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 242-258

This article examines the effect of the EU border control agency, Frontex, in its use of information. The agency organises information and analyses what is deemed to be a 'risk' for EU external borders. According to Barnett and Finnemore [2004 *Rule for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Cornell University Press: New York)] such a task can be regarded as 'a form of power'. Frontex has developed, under the supervision of the European Commission and member states, a particular process of categorising irregular migrants, in order to determine which member states' external borders should be considered 'high risk'. This article traces how Frontex has developed a risk analysis and how this has been used in the policy-making process. As this article demonstrates, the financial resources of the European External Borders Fund are distributed to member states based on Frontex's risk analysis. It also discusses that Frontex is now assessing the member states' internal borders. These cases effectively show that its assessment affects the ability of a member state to get access to EU funding and defines whether a member state is legitimately able to reinstate the border checks at its internal border. Frontex's risk analysis is not a simple aggregation of data for operational border checks and surveillance activities, but that it should be seen as a particular form of knowledge with an important political effect.

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Moreno-Galbis Eva, Tritah Ahmed

The effects of immigration in frictional labor markets: Theory and empirical evidence from EU countries

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 84, May 2016 , 76-98

Immigrants are newcomers in a labor market. As a consequence, they lack host-country-specific labor market knowledge and other country-specific and not directly productive valuable assets affecting their relative bargaining position with employers. We introduce this simple observation into a search and matching model of the labor market and show that immigrants increase the employment prospects of competing natives. To test the predictions of our model, we exploit yearly variations between 1998 and 2004 in the share of immigrants within occupations in 13 European countries. We identify the impact of immigrants on natives's employment rate using an instrumental variable



strategy based on historical settlement patterns across host countries and occupations by origin country. We find that natives's employment rate increases in occupations and sectors receiving more immigrants. Moreover, we show that this effect varies depending on immigrants's characteristics and on host country labor market institutions which affect relative reservation wages.

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Pasquier Romain

The end of a "Europe of the Regions"?

in *Politique européenne* , n. 50, 2015/4 , 150 à 159

When we examine the interaction between European integration and regional mobilisation, two somewhat contradictory interpretations of the region within a multi-level playing-field become apparent: one school of thought that emphasises the shift towards the decentralisation of power brought about by integration, and another that, conversely, highlights the centripetal force of European policies. Although useful, the main limitation of these approaches is that they polarise the analysis around a zero-sum game between the European Union (EU), the regions and national governments, on the assumption that what one actor loses the others necessarily gain. However, we need to move beyond this binary debate if we are to fully grasp the proactive regional governance strategies around EU policies.

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Santana-Gallego, María, Ledesma-Rodríguez Francisco, Pérez-Rodríguez Jorge

The euro effect: Tourism creation, tourism diversion and tourism potential within the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 46-68

This paper investigates the impact of the Economic and Monetary Union on international tourism flows across a set of 37 developed countries. To do this, an augmented gravity model is estimated using a sample of 31 European countries plus six non-European OECD countries over the period 1995–2012. Results suggest a substantial impact of the euro on intra-Eurozone tourism of between 44 and 126% when proper estimation method, control group and definition of the Eurozone are used. Moreover, evidence of tourism creation is also found. Finally, the potential tourism gains for new members and possible entrants of adopting the euro are explored. This study provides a detailed analysis on the effect of the euro on tourism flows which might be of interest for policymakers of the Eurozone or future member states.

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Zimmermann Hubert

The euro trilemma, or: how the Eurozone fell into a neofunctionalist legitimacy trap

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 425-439

The Euro-Crisis can be explained by the calamitous interaction of two neofunctionalist logics operating in the Eurozone since its inception: first, a logic of irreversible enlargement, and second, a logic of continuous deepening. The logic of enlargement perpetuates greater divergence among the members of the Eurozone, not only with respect to the



productivity of national economies, but also, even more crucially, with respect to the reform capacity of political systems and the institutional characteristics of different varieties of capitalism. The logic of deepening expresses the irresistible tendency of a currency union towards closer political and economic integration. The clash of these logics threatens to overwhelm the political, institutional and ideological state capacities of very diverse members. Thus, the Eurozone has entered a dynamic trilemma: it presupposes (and to a certain degree requires) expansion to complement the Single Market; it needs to deepen far beyond its original and current set-up to function as a monetary union; and it needs a robust degree of legitimacy to survive politically. But it can satisfy only two of these objectives.

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Reinhard Neck

The future of the European Economic and Monetary Union: European monetary and fiscal policies in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 43, Issue 2 , 215-217

No abstract available

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Crescenzi Riccardo, Luca Davide, Milio Simona

The geography of the economic crisis in Europe: national macroeconomic conditions, regional structural factors and short-term economic performance

in Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Volume 9 Issue 1 March 2016 , 13-32

This article explores the linkages between pre-2008 crisis national macroeconomic conditions, regional resistance factors and depth of the crisis in the regions of the EU27. The results suggest that only a limited set of macroeconomic factors shape the regional reaction to the crisis. A healthy current account surplus is associated with stronger economic performance during the post-2008 recession. Conversely, high public debt countries are more successful in sheltering their regional economies in the short run. When looking at regional-level resistance, human capital is the single most important positive factor. Conversely, research and development-intensive regions are more exposed to negative shocks.

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Domenico Lombardi and Manuela Moschella

The government bond buying programmes of the European Central Bank: an analysis of their policy settings in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 23, Issue 6

This article investigates why the European Central Bank's (ECB's) unconventional monetary policies were relatively modest during the crisis, focusing specifically on the design of its government bond purchase programmes. Building from available explanations of the ECB's behaviour in the political science and public policy literature, we extrapolate a number of testable propositions with a view to helping to account for the specific features of the policies under investigation. These propositions build from scholarly works that emphasize three distinct fundamentals of the ECB's



behaviour: legal; doctrinal; and institutional. We then provide evidence supporting our propositions by evaluating the ECB's policy settings during the crisis. In addition, we identify other factors that have shaped the design of the ECB's bond buying policies, namely the ECB's conception of its own independence.

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Kai Hebel and Tobias Lenz

The identity/policy nexus in European foreign policy

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 4

This article analyses the relationship between identity and foreign policy in the European Union (EU) – a linkage that we term the 'identity/policy nexus'. Our principal argument is that the collective identity of the EU exerts a systematic yet contingent influence on its foreign policy. We develop this argument in three steps. First, we observe that much of the existing literature under-specifies how identity translates into foreign policy, resulting in a problematic tendency to essentialize the nexus. To remedy this weakness, we propose an inductive approach that empirically traces the political processes constituting the nexus. Second, to facilitate such analysis, we introduce a novel heuristic framework. The framework delineates two translation processes – identity construction and identity operationalization – both of which are conditioned by the political dynamics of the supranational space in which the processes unfold. Finally, we apply this framework to the time period between 1962 and 1975. We observe that the operation of the nexus was characterized by a high degree of contingency. This finding, we suggest, validates an inductive approach to the study of the nexus.

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Bressanelli Edoardo, Koop Christel, Reh Christine

The impact of informalisation: Early agreements and voting cohesion in the European Parliament

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 1, March , 91-113

European Union legislative decision-making is increasingly shifted into informal secluded arenas. Scholars have explained this trend and analysed its consequences for bargaining success and democratic legitimacy. Yet, we know little about how informalisation affects legislative behaviour in the European Parliament. This article contributes to closing the gap, by theorising and analysing the impact of 'early agreements' on cohesion. Given the reputational, political and transaction costs of failing an early agreement in plenary, we expect political groups to invest heavily in discipline and consensus, and legislators to comply in votes. Using a new dataset, combining Hix et al.'s (2007) roll-call data with original codecision data (1999–2011), we show that informalisation increases cohesion but only for centrist parties. Rapporteurships and votes on 'costly' legislative resolutions also matter, but do not mediate the effect of early agreement.

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Morten Jarlbæk Pedersen

The intimate relationship between security, effectiveness, and legitimacy: a new look at the Schengen compensatory measures



in **European Security**, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 541-559

The so-called Schengen compensatory measures such as the Schengen Information System (SIS) or the European Dactylographic System (Eurodac) have been the centre of much attention. However, the research on these security measures has focused almost solely on their effect on liberty, human rights, and the like. Not much attention has been given to the actual effectiveness of the security remedies taken in the European Union (EU) to compensate for the abolition of border controls, despite effectiveness being an obvious source of legitimacy in the realm of security. This article takes a first step in the direction of correcting this neglect and develops the foundations for an analytical framework focusing on effectiveness and legitimacy. The framework is illustrated through a minor analysis of the legal and institutional set-up of SIS and Eurodac as examples pointing to sources of ineffectiveness in the very set-up of the databases.

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Steinbach Armin

The lender of last resort in the eurozone

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 53, issue 2 , 361-383

ABSTRACT: Liquidity supply by a Lender of Last Resort (LOLR) can be pivotal for both the conduct of monetary policy and safeguard of financial stability. During the financial crisis, the importance of liquidity provision significantly increased at both the macro-level – through the European Central Bank – and also for individual credit institutions in the guise of Emergency Liquidity Assistance through the National Central Banks (NCBs). This article examines the legal framework in which the ECB and the NCBs carry out their respective roles as LOLR. The question of who holds competence for liquidity supply is discussed in light of the LOLR functions pertaining to financial stability and monetary policy, as are the availability of effective measures and the legal prerequisites and limitations, particularly with regard to the prohibition of monetary State financing, the imperative of price stability and State aid rules. In view of recent reforms of banking supervision in the eurozone, the question of centralizing Emergency Liquidity Assistance within the ECB also arises.

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Nikos Vogiatzis

The linguistic policy of the EU institutions and political participation post-Lisbon

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 41, issue 2 , 176-200

This article assesses how the Lisbon Treaty poses additional obligations on EU institutions vis-à-vis their linguistic policy, and thus makes a contribution to the debate on a more robust political EU citizenship and the interconnected aim of increasing participation in the EU. More specifically, this contribution seeks to answer this question: EU citizens and residents are encouraged, post-Lisbon, to participate—but in which language? The article first analyses the applicable legal framework and, in particular, the "Provisions on democratic principles", the legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights (including the principle of linguistic diversity and the right to good administration), as well as the national identity clause. Secondly, it argues that these provisions entail that the Court of Justice of the EU should apply a more rigorous (i.e. "less restrictive alternatives") proportionality test, with a view to restricting the EU institutions' leeway when the latter are evading multilingualism on the basis of considerations related to resources and efficiency.



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Delanty Gerard

The making of European society: contesting methodological nationalism

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 3-15

The paper is concerned with the problem of “society” and in particular with the notion of “European society”. Rather than reject the possibility of society, it draws on theories of the social as networks. The thesis proposed is that the concept of society should rather be understood as a relational field of interconnections. It is argued that this is highly relevant to the analysis of Europe conceived of in terms of a society. This approach can be seen as an alternative to methodological nationalism. The paper applies a network conception of society to Europe with the emphasis on the nineteenth century. In this account, European society is not something that was produced by European integration. Rather than see European society as a recent development, it is argued that the field of tensions between capitalism and democracy constituted the major elements that shaped a European model of society.

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Hans Vollaard, Hester van de Bovenkamp and Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen

The making of a European healthcare union: a federalist perspective

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 2

European Union (EU) involvement in healthcare policies is growing, despite the fact that national governments prefer to keep an almost exclusive say in these policies. This article explains how this shift of authority could happen and explores whether it will lead to a European healthcare union. It argues that federalism offers the most fruitful way to do so because of its sensitivity to the EU's institutional settings and to the territorial dimension of politics. The division of competences and national diversity of healthcare systems have been major obstacles for the formation of a healthcare union. However, the EU obtained a role in healthcare through the impact of non-healthcare legislation, voluntary co-operation, court rulings, governments' joint-decision traps and fiscal stress of member states. The emerging European healthcare union is a system of co-operative federalism without much cost-sharing. The healthcare union's robustness is limited, also because it does not generate much loyalty towards the EU.

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Swider Katja

The nature of citizenship

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 4 , 473-479

Review article

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Epstein Rachel A., Rhodes Martin

The political dynamics behind Europe's new banking union

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 3, 415-437

ABSTRACT: This article examines the political dynamics behind Europe's new banking union in two stages. First it examines the accretion of political power to two European institutions – the European Commission and the European Central Bank (ECB) – during the financial crisis, emphasising the ways in which the European Central Bank (especially under Mario Draghi) altered the relationship between principals and agents in the European institutional architecture. Second, it process-traces the policy conflicts and compromises that led to a Europeanisation and centralisation of bank supervision, recapitalisation, recovery and resolution in a remarkably short two years – a transfer in sovereignty to the supranational level equal to that involved in the creation of Economic and Monetary Union. The article argues, contrary to other analyses that stress the intergovernmental nature of the process and the bargains concluded, that the emergence of banking union reflected something of a neo-functionalist logic whereby supranational actors successfully interpreted the crisis as requiring supranational solutions, and shaped the outcomes in the face of sometimes fierce member state opposition.

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Oliveira Martins Bruno

The political-legal nexus in EU counter-terrorism: an assessment of the two-track influences between the EU and the UN

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy, 181-195

In the construction of the European Union's (EU's) counter-terrorism legal system, United Nations instruments and principles enter in the EU law sphere and pave the way for further developments both due to its legal force and to its role as agents of socialisation of security norms. At the same time, as this article demonstrates, the principles of EU constitutionalism, fundamental pillars in the EU's legal system, have been the sources of judicial decisions that ultimately impacted on the standards of fundamental rights protection in the UN framework. This article investigates the mutual influences between the EU and the UN in the field of counter-terrorism. It argues that although the impact of UN norms on EU counter-terrorism policies is more significant than the opposite, the EU has also revealed capacity to influence the UN in certain counter-terrorism procedures. Considering the sensitivity of counter-terrorism and EU's characteristics as an external security actor, the findings of the research conducted here can be seen as counter-intuitive, enabling new discussions on the EU's security actorness.

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Eva-Karin Olsson and Kajsa Hammargård

The rhetoric of the President of the European Commission: charismatic leader or neutral mediator?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 4

Despite efforts made to improve communication, the Commission is still facing difficulties getting across its messages.



Scholars have stressed how both structural and personal characteristics impede the Commission's ability to communicate. These obstacles are particularly troublesome in connection to crisis situations when the European Union receives the most media attention and scrutiny. At the national level, research has shown that political actors tend to increase their use of charismatic rhetoric during crisis events as a way of gaining and sustaining legitimacy and credibility. In this study we explore whether the same pattern can be seen at the European level by examining the European Commission during the financial and eurozone crisis. The main findings of the study demonstrate the opposite; that is, as the crisis got worse and as member states got increasingly engaged in its management, the Commission's rhetoric became less charismatic.

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Martin Scheinin

The state of our Union: confronting the future

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 13, no. 4 , 559-566

The European Union urgently needs to address and confront four challenges: (i) how to move ahead with the difficult relationship between surveillance and freedom; (ii) how to prioritize the issue of migration at times when the Mediterranean tragedy cries for immediate and effective answers; (iii) how to tackle the challenge of climate change, including through a radical rethink of energy policies; and (iv) how to meet the expectation that Europe should be the one player in world politics that can be a value-based actor, promoting global justice. The answers offered to these challenges include (i) replacing mass surveillance with such forms of targeted surveillance that are triggered by other methods than mass surveillance or discriminatory profiling; (ii) creating multiple and sufficient channels for safe and regular migration into the EU; (iii) moving from an oil-based economy to the use of solar energy in a manner that facilitates autonomy, equality and democracy besides addressing climate change; and (iv) adopting a strategy for global justice that meets the requirements of being universalist, principled, honest, and coherent, all of these at the same time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Rumford Chris

The strangeness of Europe

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 4, july , 504-522

ABSTRACT: In recent years there has been encouragement for sociological work that dovetails with the existing agendas developed by scholars of European Union (EU) integration; the idea of 'mainstreaming EU sociology'. This article pursues a different line of enquiry: developing an account of transformation based on a theory of society. The key to this, it is suggested, is the idea of 'strangeness' as the basis for a new framework of theory designed to apprehend the dynamics of European society and societal transformations. Strangeness is a form of social disorientation resulting from the loss of social signposting and an awareness that community is not necessarily built from the building blocks of physical contiguity. Strangeness captures the idea that social life can be disorienting and 'we-ness' problematic. The article deals with five dimensions of Europe's strangeness: that we are not sure who we are; the loss of familiar reference points; the phenomena of 'disconnected contiguity' and 'generalized milieu', and the existence of multiple coexisting Europes, the last of these being most fully developed account. The article explores how this multiplicity helps us locate the dynamics of change in contemporary Europe. It is argued that this focus on the dynamics of multiplicity has



the potential to take us beyond an understanding of Europe framed in terms of a plurality of identities.

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Hübner Denise Carolin

The ‘National Decisions’ database (Dec.Nat): Introducing a database on national courts’ interactions with European Law

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 2, June , 324-339

This article makes a contribution to the empirical study of the European legal order, by introducing the ‘National Decisions’ database maintained by the Association of Councils of States and Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions of the European Union. Containing large-scale information on 27,100 national decisions relating to European law, including cases that do not involve preliminary references, the database allows researchers to get beyond the focus on decisions of the ECJ to get a better understanding of the larger universe of cases where national courts apply European law. This article illustrates how we can use the database to expand on existing scholarship. It focuses on the study of the judicial enforcement of European law through national courts, in particular.

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Russo Federico

The ‘Russia Threat’ in the Eyes of National Parliamentarians: An Opportunity for Foreign Policy Integration?

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 2 , 195-209

This study aims to understand whether recent tensions between the EU and Russia are likely to increase support for a common European foreign policy among national political elites. Although the EU as a whole is still far from being able to speak with one voice, it is difficult to explain the reasons sovereign states decide to cooperate in foreign policy. This study relies on two detailed élite surveys describing the opinions of national parliamentarians in 16 EU member states before and after the Russo–Georgian War in the summer of 2008. The results show that following the war, the perception of a threat from Russia helps persuade the least Euro-enthusiastic MPs to support a common EU foreign policy.

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Loisel Sébastien

The “Peace Facility for Africa”: sectoral interactions in the definition of a European crisis management instrument

in *Politique européenne* , n. 51, 2016/1 , 86 - 116

The interactions at play in the definition of an EU comprehensive approach to crisis management are often analysed in the literature through intergovernmental or interinstitutional lenses. The study of the creation of the Peace Facility for Africa in 2003-2004 shows on the contrary struggles that cut across Member States and European institutions and follow



sectoral and cross-sectoral logics. These struggles reflect not only divergent bureaucratic interests but also different social representations pertaining to the security and development sectors.

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Swinbank Alan, Daugbjerg Carsten

Three Decades of Policy Layering and Politically Sustainable Reform in the European Union's Agricultural Policy

in **Governance**, Volume 29, Issue 2 , 265–280

The study of policy reform has tended to focus on single-stage reforms taking place over a relatively short period. Recent research has drawn attention to gradual policy changes unfolding over extended periods. One strategy of gradual change is layering, in which new policy dimensions are introduced by adding new policy instruments or by redesigning existing ones to address new concerns. The limited research on single-stage policy reforms highlights that these may not endure in the postenactment phase when circumstances change. We argue that gradual policy layering may create sustainability dynamics that can result in lasting reform trajectories. The European Union's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has changed substantially over the last three decades in response to emerging policy concerns by adding new layers. This succession of reforms proved durable and resilient to reversal in the lead-up to the 2013 CAP reform when institutional and political circumstances changed.

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Manuela Moschella and Lucia Quaglia

To agree or not to agree? Explaining the cohesiveness of the European Union in the Group of Twenty

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 23, Issue 6

The article assesses whether the homogeneity of preferences of the largest member states is required for European Union (EU) cohesiveness to materialize ahead of the Group of Twenty (G20) meetings. In particular, it examines the economic preferences of France, Germany and the United Kingdom against the content of the EU-agreed negotiating stance in the G20 Leaders meetings that took place from 2008 to 2012. The analysis focuses on the three main economic dossiers that have characterized the G20 Leaders agenda since its creation, namely: financial regulation, fiscal policy co-ordination and macroeconomic imbalances. In doing so, the article argues and illustrates that preference homogeneity was not a necessary condition for EU cohesiveness but medium levels of cohesiveness materialized on issues and at times when the economic preferences of the large member states were fundamentally different, provided that the issues under negotiations were not politically salient.

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Erdağ Ramazan

Towards European Security Integration: Boundaries of European Security and Defence Policy

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 211-217



Review article

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Buhari-Gulmez Didem, Rumford Chris

Towards a (“thick”, “thin”, or “parallel”) European society? Understanding the dynamics of European multiplicity

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2016 , 41-55

In order to deal with the question of European society, it is useful to introduce a social-theoretical perspective that investigates the dynamics of multiplicity underlying European transformations. There are at least three co-existing routes to Europe-making that often clash with each other: “thick”, “thin”, and “parallel” Europe-making. These are in tune with definitions of Europe as an “exclusive civilizational entity”, as a “problem-solving instrument”, and as representing world society, respectively. Based on a notion of European multiplicity, this study argues that contemporary European society cannot to be reduced to a particular dynamic or to a set of actors, norms, and institutions because it paradoxically incorporates at the same time “thick”, “thin”, and “parallel” Europe-making.

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Wallerman Anna

Towards an EU law doctrine on the exercise of discretion in national courts? The Member States’ self-imposed limits on national procedural autonomy

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 2 , 339-260

ABSTRACT: While it is widely recognized that national procedural law must satisfy the minimum requirements of effectiveness and equivalence, the way procedural law is regulated is generally considered a matter of Member State autonomy. However, this article demonstrates that the ECJ tends to award national legislatures greater autonomy in procedural matters than it does national courts. The effect is that the framing of national rules, such as the choice between mandatory regulation and conferral of discretion, does matter in EU law. Relying on the principle of sincere cooperation, the Court has on several occasions held that the existence of a discretion or a power on the part of the national court entails a duty to exercise that discretion or power in the way most conducive to the effective enforcement of EU law, even though the rule providing for the discretion is not in itself contrary to EU law. Discretion in national law is thereby used to enhance the impact of EU law. By increasing discretionary elements in procedural rules, national legislatures may thus unwittingly strengthen the impact of EU law in the Member States.

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Thielemann Eiko, Hobolth Mogens

Trading numbers vs. rights? Accounting for liberal and restrictive dynamics in the evolution of asylum and refugee policies

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, n. 4, Special Issue: European migration governance since the Lisbon treaty , 643-664



The recent evolution of asylum and refugee policies in developed countries has been characterised by two apparently contradictory dynamics. Efforts to limit the number of asylum applicants have coincided with the strengthening of rights for asylum seekers and refugees inside existing protection systems. The 'numbers vs. rights' model seeks to explain such counter-veiling trends as a trade-off, as the result of attempts to manage costs within given budget constraints. The model suggests that high numbers of migrants will tend to go hand in hand with attempts to restrict their rights, while low numbers will typically be associated with more rights. This paper provides a critical analysis of the model when applied to asylum and refugee policies and examines its explanatory purchase through the analysis of longitudinal data on visa and asylum statistics. We argue that while the model provides an interesting framework through which to analyse executive decisions in this field, it underestimates the opportunities and constraints provided by the institutional context in which policy choices are made. We argue that 'over-time' variation in the influence of non-majoritarian institutions (in Europe, increasingly those operating at the EU level) provide a more compelling account of the dynamics of asylum and refugee policies over time than the political economy predictions of a 'number vs. rights' trade-off.

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BachTobias , De Francesco Fabrizio, Maggetti Martino, Ruffing Eva

Transnational Bureaucratic Politics: An Institutional Rivalry Perspective On Eu Network Governance in Public Administration, Volume 94, Issue 1 , 9–24

This contribution introduces our symposium by highlighting four distinctive aspects of transnational governance from a bureaucratic politics perspective: the emergence of transnational institutions, their functioning, their impact on the domestic level, and the diffusion of regulatory standards. The general argument is that many accounts of transnational governance seem to be overly optimistic about the conditions for effective problem-solving and fail to take into account that institutional rivalry may either support or constrain the implementation of supranational policies. The aim of this piece is to review existing research, to highlight the contribution of the symposium articles in furthering an institutional rivalry perspective on transnational governance, and to sketch pertinent areas for further research building upon this perspective.

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Nasiya Daminova

Two aspects of the EU legal order autonomy doctrine in the CJEU Opinion 2/13: Protocol 16 ECHR and Art. 344 TFEU in Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito, Vol. 10, issue 2 , 35-49

This work aims to explore the CJEU's approach to Protocol 16 ECHR and Art. 344 TFEU in Opinion 2/13 in the light of such famous judgments as MOX Plant, A v. B and Melki and Abdeli cases. The paper develops a critique of Opinion 2/13, analyzing if and how this new Court of Justice approach to the EU legal order autonomy may influence the prospective developments in the Court's practice, as well as the future of the EU accession to the ECHR.

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Wiebke Marie Junk

Two logics of NGO advocacy: understanding inside and outside lobbying on EU environmental policies
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 2

Contributions by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to European governance supposedly enhance participatory democracy. It matters for this democratic surplus how NGOs foster relationships to both policy-makers and publics by engaging in inside and outside lobbying on European Union policies. This article investigates the factors that explain this lobbying behaviour. It contrasts organization-level hypotheses on the NGOs' relational and resource characteristics with issue-level hypotheses on the complexity, salience and beneficiary group of the policy issue. Expectations are formulated under the assumption that different logics of influence and reputation drive inside and outside lobbying by NGOs. The findings suggest that issue-level characteristics have more explanatory power than organization-level factors. More salient, less complex issues and issues involving a public good have significantly higher odds of outside lobbying, while public goods attract less inside lobbying. The logic of reputation seems to capture outside lobbying, while the logic driving inside lobbying remains more puzzling.

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Paolombi Marco

Ue, tutti contro tutti su Brexit e migranti. E l'Austria si barrica
in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXVI, n. 2, 27 febbraio

<http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Marco-Belpoliti.pdf>

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Alena Vieira

Ukraine, Russia and the strategic partnership dynamics in the EU's eastern neighbourhood: recalibrating the EU's 'self', 'we' and 'other'

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 29, Issue 1 , 128-150

The present contribution explores the changing relationship between the European Union (EU) and the two largest countries in its eastern neighbourhood, namely Ukraine and Russia, between 1991 and 2014. Taking the differential between the existence of the EU Strategic Partnership (SP) with Russia and the absence of such an arrangement in the relationship with Ukraine as a point of departure, it investigates how the EU has dealt with different aspirations and challenges stemming from its two largest eastern neighbours. Adopting the Social Identity Theory perspective, the contribution analyses the interrelationship between the evolution of the EU's SP approach towards the eastern neighbours and the development of (particular dimensions of) the EU's identity. It demonstrates how the process of categorization relating to the ideational 'self', 'we' and 'other' took place; and how only the EU's relationship with Russia and not that with Ukraine has accumulated the discursive markers of a strategic partnership. The contribution, furthermore, analyses the challenges to the EU changing approach stemming from the 2013–2014 Ukraine crisis.



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Heuzé Richard

Un itineraire europeen

in **Politique internationale**, La Revue n°149 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Enrico LETTA conduit par Richard Heuzé:

During Enrico Letta's nine-month spell as Prime Minister of Italy from April 2013 to February 2014, this brilliant thinker, doctor of political science, former government minister and member of the European Parliament, and co-founder of the center-left Democratic Party, used his expert mediating skills to leap every hurdle. Among other accomplishments, he managed to usher in a raft of anti-corruption legislation, rationalize the management of public finance, push through tax reform and boost employment. He even achieved the feat of working hand in hand with his right-of-center fellow ministers in the coalition government. But he failed to see the danger looming within his own Democratic party. In early 2014, the young, ambitious Matteo Renzi pulled off a backstairs revolt and forced him to resign as Prime Minister. Signor Letta withdrew from politics to lick his wounds, but he still remains an extremely acute observer of Italy, Europe and the world, as this captivating interview plainly shows.

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Zicchittu Paolo

Un nuovo limite al diritto di iniziativa dei cittadini dell'Unione europea

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 1, 2016, marzo , 133-135

No abstract available

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Biondi Dal Monte Francesca

Una Commissione politica per un'Unione europea piu' legittimata?

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 4, 2015, dicembre , 1021-1023,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Augusto D'Angelo

Una carriera democristiana tra l'Italia ed un'altra Europa. pragmatismo e visione in Lorenzo Natali (The career of a Christian Democrat between Italy and a different Europe. Lorenzo Natali's pragmatism and vision)

in **Mondo contemporaneo** , 3/2015

Il saggio ripercorre il percorso politico di Lorenzo Natali, con particolare riferimento al ruolo avuto come commissario



europeo per l'energia, l'ambiente e l'allargamento e al rapporto con Delors.

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Zaccaria Benedetto

Una distanza obbligata. I limiti delle relazioni tra Cee e Jugoslavia nell'Europa degli anni Settanta in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 103-127

During the 1970s, the relationship between the European Economic Community (EEC) and Yugoslavia was characterised by a paradox: the development of bilateral relations did not lead to the progressive integration between the parties, but to Yugoslavia's definitive separation from the EEC. Drawing on a wide range of Community, French, British, German, Italian and Yugoslav archival sources, this article addresses the political factors which constrained this relationship and obliged the EEC and Yugoslavia to keep a "forced distance".

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Guidobono Cavalchini Garofali Luigi

Una più solidale unione per i popoli europei

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 33-53

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

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John Driffill

Unconventional Monetary Policy in the Euro Zone

in **Open Economies Review**, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 387-404

The European Central Bank adopted a policy of quantitative easing early in 2015, long after the US and UK, and after implementing a succession of measures to increase liquidity in the Euro zone financial markets, none of which proved sufficient eventually. The paper draws out lessons for the Euro zone from US and UK experience. Numerous event studies have been undertaken to uncover the effects of QE on yields on and prices of financial assets. Estimated effects on long-term government bond yields are then converted into the size of the cut in the policy rate that would normally have been needed to produce them. From these implicit cuts in policy rates, estimates of the effect on GDP and inflation are generated. Euro zone QE appears to have had a much smaller effect on bond yields for the core members states than did QE in the US or UK. Therefore its effects on output and inflation are likely to be proportionately smaller. Its effects on long-term government bond yields in periphery members are greater. QE is compressing interest differential among Euro zone member states. The dangers of QE to which various commentators draw attention, that it creates a danger of inflation in the future, that it creates asset price bubbles, that it allows zombie firms and banks to survive, slowing down the process of adjustment, seem remote. Meanwhile it makes a useful contribution to cutting the costs of debt service and allowing member states more fiscal room for manoeuvre.



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Picaper Jean-Paul

Une Allemagne exemplaire

in *Politique internationale*, La Revue n°149 - HIVER - 2015

Entretien avec Wolfgang SCHAUBLE conduit par Jean-Paul Picaper:

With hundreds of thousands of migrants beating a path to Germany's borders, German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble reflects on the steps Prime Minister Angela Merkel's government has taken to cope with this unprecedented influx. Financial considerations must not be allowed to hamper their welcome, he says. Whatever the price, refugees must be treated humanely and with dignity. Nevertheless, for all of Germany's heft, it cannot shoulder this responsibility alone. Any long-term solution will have to be decided jointly at European level and Herr Schäuble appeals to all European countries to show solidarity. He also urges his European partners to help resolve another issue that won't go away: the Eurozone crisis. Monetary union in Europe is weak because Europe pooled its monetary policy without agreeing on a joint economic and financial policy to go along with it. Wolfgang Schäuble suggests a bold remedy: set up a Eurozone parliament.

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Lamarque Jose Manuel

Une agence de renseignements européenne es-elle possible ?

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Enzo Cannizzaro

Unitarietà e frammentazione delle competenze nei rapporti fra l'ordinamento dell'Unione e il sistema della Convenzione europea: in margine al parere della Corte di giustizia 2/2013

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, No. 3 , 623-635

The EU legal order and the system of the European Convention of human rights are based on diverse and perhaps antithetical conceptions: Whereas the latter is a classical international sub-system, premised on the unity of the entities party to it, the first is classically considered to be a supranational legal order, featured by the fragmentation of powers and competences between the Union and its MS.

In Opinion 2/2013, the ECJ has decided that the draft agreement designed to pronounce the accession of the EU to the ECHR is inconsistent with the founding treaties. If some of the arguments employed by the ECJ may have been inspired by the desire to preserve its central role as the highest custodian of the Treaties, most of them reflect the systemic inconsistencies between the two legal orders. This comment argues that the draft agreement proved to be incapable to



adapt the idiosyncratic features of the EU to the regime of responsibility applicable within the ECHR.

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Médéric Martin-Mazé

Unpacking Interests in Normative Power Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 6

The concept of normative power Europe accurately captured the distinctiveness of EU's international practices. However, it fell victim to social constructivism, from which it derived an exclusionary ontology perpetuating the dualism between norms and interests. To conceive those notions as two faces of the same coin, one needs a thicker ontology. This is what Bourdieu provides for in anchoring norms and interests in social fields. Interest is simultaneously what ties actors to particular games (generic interest) and what makes them make particular moves in these games (specific interest). To illustrate how Bourdieu's sociology shapes a better understanding of normative power Europe, I explore the transmission of EU's integrated border management in Central Asia. In this case, EU power elites delegate the business of wielding this normative power of Europe to a Vienna-based international street corner society.

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Peeters Marjan

Urgenda Foundation and 886 Individuals v. The State of the Netherlands: The Dilemma of More Ambitious Greenhouse Gas Reduction Action by EU Member States

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: The SDGs and International Environmental Law, April , 123-129

The remarkable decision of a Dutch lower civil court ordering the State of the Netherlands to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 25% by 2020 compared to 1990 levels has attracted ample attention across the world. The court decision deals with the fundamental question of the extent to which a civil court can intervene in environmental decision making, particularly where this concerns the national policy of a European Union (EU) Member State. This case note considers the court decision from an EU law perspective. Although from an environmental perspective ambitious climate action is to be very much praised, several critical legal issues merit scholarly discussion, particularly regarding the competence of the Dutch court to decide the case, the need for a preliminary reference to the Court of Justice of the European Union, the right understanding of complex EU climate law, but also regarding judicial activism and the way climate science is used in courtrooms.

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Conceição-Heldt Eugénia da

Verantwortungszurechnung im EU-Mehrebenensystem während der Eurokrise: Wer kontrollierte die Troika-Institutionen?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016 , 115–129



Accountability in the EU Multi-level System during the Euro Crisis: Who Controlled the Troika Institutions?

Abstract

With the establishment of the troika institutions during the Euro crisis, issues related to possibilities for control and constraint of these institutions, as well as their accountability, became prominent. This contribution analyses the accountability of the troika institutions, that is, the extent to which agents and trustees are controlled at different levels by their principals or beneficiaries. Specifically, I distinguish between a delegation and a fiduciary mode of accountability in EU governance. While the delegation mode is characterised by formal hierarchical, supervisory and legal control mechanisms, the fiduciary mode is marked by informal peer organisations and public reputational mechanisms. In order to illustrate these two modes of accountability, this article examines a delegation relation (European Commission and Council of Ministers) and a fiduciary relation (European Central Bank and Eurozone-Member States) during the financial bailout assistance programmes.

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Wimmel Andreas

Verhandeln im Schatten von Vetomacht: Der Einfluss der Opposition im Bundestag auf die Euro-Rettungspolitik in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016, 195-214

Abstract

Bargaining in the Shadow of Veto Power: The Opposition in the German Bundestag and its Influence in the Euro Crisis

In June 2012, the German Bundestag ratified the "Fiscal Compact" and the ESM treaty with a two-thirds majority. To reach this quorum, the Federal Government was dependent on the support of representatives from opposition party groups. Given this context, this article analyzes if and to which extent the red-green opposition successfully influenced political measures to stabilize the Eurozone in a setting defined by party competition and political conflict. A process tracing of negotiations between government and opposition shows that the leaders of the SPD and the Greens managed to obtain two important concessions as a precondition for their approval of both treaties. This result illustrates that in special institutional contexts even opposition parties in national parliaments should be considered as veto players in EU multilevel governance.

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Verderame Giovan Battista

Verso il referendum in Gran Bretagna

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 176, primavera, 96-109

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_176.pdf



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Nickel Dietmar

Wahl- und Kreationfunktionen des Europäischen Parlaments – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einsetzung der Kommission

in *Europarecht*, Heft 1, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hartlapp Miriam, Metz Julia, Rauh Christian

Wer mäßigt den Agenda-Setter im EU-System und wie? Drei Modi der Positionsbildung in der EU-Kommission

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 1 Supplement, April 2016, 85-98

Who controls the agenda setter in the EU system? Three modes of position formation in the European Commission

Abstract

In contrast to most national political systems, legislative agenda setting in the European Union is formally not shared by different legislative actors but is almost exclusively concentrated in one executive institution – the European Commission. Yet the Commission is not a monolithic actor but rather has to accommodate diverse interests in its legislative initiatives. Our empirical analyses underline that the resulting internal position formation processes in fact often lead the Commission to share its power of initiative with other actors in the EU system. Whether and to what extent such power sharing occurs, hinges on the dominant logic of the internal process: we identify functionally oriented, competence-seeking and ideologically motivated modes of position formation inside the European Commission.

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Schorkopf Frank

Wertesicherung in der Europäischen Union. Prävention, Quarantäne und Aufsicht als Bausteine eines Rechts der Verfassungskrise?

in *Europarecht*, Heft 2, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mathieu Emmanuelle

When Europeanization Feeds Back Into Eu Governance: Eu Legislation, National Regulatory Agencies, And Eu Regulatory Networks



in **Public Administration**, Volume 94, Issue 1 , 25–39

The existing literature explains the emergence of European regulatory networks through the need for regulatory coordination and the battle for power between policymakers. Bringing together the Europeanization and policy feedback perspectives, this article suggests that European regulatory networks should also be seen as the result of a more complex process of mutual influence between the European and the national levels. An in-depth case study on the telecommunications sector reveals that the implementation of EU policies has contributed to the empowerment of national regulatory agencies, which, in turn, has conditioned the development of European regulatory networks. EU policy has thus indirectly conditioned the rise of European regulatory networks by previously transforming national administrations. Besides expanding our understanding of European regulatory networks, by bridging the Europeanization and policy feedback literatures, this article indicates promising orientations for future theoretical development in both fields.

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Waizer Stefan

When the comprehensive approach narrows. From “carrots” to “sticks” in the Iranian nuclear file
in *Politique européenne* , n. 51, 2016/1 , 144 à 171

This article questions the limits of the EU’s comprehensive approach in the case of the common non-proliferation policy towards Iran. Combining sociology of political sectors and role sociology, I elaborate the hypothesis that the mobilisation and the sudden abandon of the comprehensive approach constitute the objectivation of inter- and intra-sectorial struggles taking place in the context of international negotiations. Based on this socio-historic reconstruction of the non-institutionalisation of the comprehensive approach, I illustrate that the institutionalisation of European foreign policy is not necessarily the result of the Europeanization of its builders.

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Niklas I.M. Nováky

Who wants to pay more? The European Union's military operations and the dispute over financial burden sharing

in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 216-236

In 2014, the European Union (EU) launched the sixth review of the Athena mechanism that finances the common costs of military operations launched in the framework of its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). In the run up to the review, there were expectations that it would improve financial burden sharing in CSDP operations by expanding common funding for them. However, these hopes were disappointed; the review became a diplomatic tug of war between France, the strongest supporter of expanded common funding, and the UK, its strongest opponent. In the end, France agreed to the UK’s terms to ensure that the existing level of common funding would not decrease. This article analyses the Athena review from a neoclassical realist perspective. It argues that the review’s outcome was due to the imbalance of influence among EU member states and the diverging preferences of their Foreign Policy Executives (FPEs). These factors caused the Athena review to remain in the hands of a small group of member states that had diverging utility expectations and ideological preferences. Thus, the article shows that a surprisingly intense



burden-sharing dispute has emerged within CSDP.

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Aleksandra, Szafranek Karol

Whose Inflation Is It Anyway? Inflation Spillovers Between the Euro Area and Small Open Economies in Eastern European Economics, Volume 54, Issue 2, 2016 , 109-132

For the last two years, inflation has been steadily falling across the countries of the European Union, generating mounting deflationary pressures. Recent studies suggest that apart from the global determinants influencing broad inflation measures (e.g., plummeting commodity prices), core inflation components are subject to the rising influence of globalization. Our analysis focuses on two aspects: the percentage of Harmonised Index of Consumer Prices (HICP) components affected by deflation, and the spillovers of headline, core, non-energy goods and services inflation between the euro area and selected small open economies. In order to address the issue of inflation broadness, we calculate the percentages of HICP components whose annual growth rates fall into certain ranges and introduce a simple measure, the discrepancy index, to show the relative strength of deflationary and inflationary groups. To address the problem of quantifying inflation spillovers across the selected economies, we use the Diebold and Yilmaz spillover indices. The results indicate that the share of deflationary groups for most countries has been consistently rising since 2010, with the discrepancy index approximating its all-time lows in the fourth quarter of 2014. Simultaneously we show that the spillover index for non-energy industrial goods and services inflation has recently risen considerably, with the measure for headline inflation remaining elevated and the one for core inflation dropping. The euro area remains a net inflation transmitter in most cases.

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Thygesen Niels

Why Did Europe Decide to Move to a Single Currency 25 Years Ago? in Intereconomics, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 11-16

Many Europeans today ask why the European Community chose the bold strategy of pursuing an Economic and Monetary Union at a time when a number of political and economic issues had not yet been resolved. Many economists like to think that the economic case for EMU was weak and that the decision was taken strictly on political grounds. As someone who had the privilege of being involved in the early preparatory efforts, I would argue that this is a misreading of history. I believe there was both a strong economic case for moving towards a single currency and a rare political opportunity for implementing it around 1990.

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Beblavý Miroslav

Why Is "New" Europe More Neoliberal? Pension Privatization and Flat Tax in the Postcommunist EU Member States in Eastern European Economics, Volume 52, Issue 1, 2014 , 55-78



This paper examines why the postcommunist countries that joined the European Union (EU) during the 2000s tend to be more neoliberal in their social and economic policies than are the traditional EU members from Western Europe. To this end, the paper looks at two areas of reform in which new Europe has been significantly more neoliberal than old Europe—pension privatization and the flat income tax. Looking at two distinct policies and examining not just their introduction but also their resilience makes the paper's claims more robust and allows for refinement or contradiction of some existing findings in the literature. The paper's conclusion is that a more volatile political system with few veto points and weak interest groups, coupled with a developmental model reliant on foreign direct investment, can account for the difference in policy approach without resorting to cultural or value-based explanations. In addition, the influence of Europeanization and lower state capacity do not appear to be significant explanatory factors.

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Bürgin Alexander

Why the EU Still Matters in Turkish Domestic Politics: Insights from Recent Reforms in Migration Policy

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country , 105-118

In view of Turkey's increasing distance from the European Union (EU), the continued partial alignment with EU standards is often attributed either to domestic factors, or to diffusion processes induced by external actors other than the EU. However, based on interviews with officials from Turkey and the European Commission on recent reforms in migration policy, this article argues that two factors are responsible for continued EU influence on policy processes. First, the EU is still able to set incentives for compliance. Second, the instrument for pre-accession assistance has an impact that goes beyond that of a mere facilitator of domestically defined interests.

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Conceição-Heldt Eugénia da

Why the European Commission is not the “unexpected winner” of the Euro Crisis: A Comment on Bauer and Becker

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 38, n. 1 , 95-100

The protracted euro area crisis has led to a resurgence of academic interest in integration theories. In a recent piece in this journal, Bauer and Becker argue that the euro crisis allowed the European Commission to strengthen its role in economic governance, in particular with regard to its implementation powers. Contrary to Bauer and Becker's claim, I contend that the euro crisis has resulted not in strengthening the Commission. Rather, the Commission is undergoing “subtle disempowerment”, that is, a gradual transfer of decision-making authority and resources from the Commission to the intergovernmental level and to the European Central Bank. I illustrate the Commission's subtle disempowerment along three dimensions: the creation of the intergovernmental European Stability Mechanism; enhanced oversight mechanisms of the Commission via the troika constellation; and the creation of the European System of Financial Supervision, Banking Union and Single Supervisory Mechanism under the aegis of the European Central Bank.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pelkmans Jacques

Why the single market remains the EU's core business

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 5 , 1095-1113

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the centrality of the single market to the EU. Its main conclusion is that the single market will remain central to the Union in future and that although it is not immune to crises, because it is the Union's hard core and has powerful governance, serious erosion is unlikely. The paper examines the centrality of the single market by analysing in-depth the functional logic of market integration and the progress and deficits that characterise the Union's market regime. The paper then explores the meaning of the internal market for EMU and argues that the single market is the 'E' in EMU. The issue of the euro 'ins' and 'outs' is addressed. The paper ends by asking if the single market is resilient against crises and concludes in the affirmative.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piotr Ciżkowicz, Andrzej Rzońca and Rafał Trzeciakowski

Windfall of Low Interest Payments and Fiscal Sustainability in the Euro Area: Analysis through Panel Fiscal Reaction Functions

in *Kyklos*, Volume 68, Issue 4, November 2015 , pages 475–510

We estimate various panel fiscal reaction functions, including those of the main categories of general government revenue and expenditure for 12 Euro area member states over the 1970-2013 period. We find that in the peripheral countries where sovereign bond yields decreased sharply in the years 1996-2007, fiscal stance ceased to respond to sovereign debt accumulation. This was due to lack of sufficient adjustment in government current expenditure and direct taxes. In contrast, in the core member states, which did not benefit from yields' convergence related to the Euro area establishment, responsiveness of fiscal stance to inherited sovereign debt increased during 1996-2007. This was achieved mainly through pronounced adjustments in government current expenditure. The findings are robust to various changes in modelling approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pier Carlo Padoan

Yes, It Can

in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 4 , 232-234

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

THOMAS WINZEN

You have free access to this content From capacity to sovereignty: Legislative politics and differentiated integration in the European Union



in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 1 , 100–119

The literature suggests that legislative politics among European Union Member States is characterised by economic exchanges, and constrained by the social norms of a European community of legislators. Both views draw a clear line between the legislative process and the conflicts over sovereignty that have left their mark on treaty making and European public opinion since the 1990s. This article suggests revisiting this view, based on an analysis of why Member States have opted out of legislation from the 1970s to today. It argues that differentiation, while once a response to capacity problems of relatively poor countries, has recently become driven by sovereignty concerns of the Union's wealthy and nationally oriented Members that oppose the EU's intrusion into core state powers. The article presents evidence for the impact on legislative outcomes of factors so far thought not to matter. The results indicate greater European-level legislative responsiveness towards national sovereignty demands than previously recognised. They underline that the nature of European politics has been changing with the EU's push into core state powers.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hertogh Marc

Your rule of law is not mine: rethinking empirical approaches to EU rule of law promotion

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, Special Issue: The Rule of Law as a Strategic Priority for EU's External Action , 43-59

The promotion of the "Rule of Law" is a leading ambition of the EU's external action (Article 21 TEU). The dominant approach in most policy documents is to define the rule of law in terms of legal and institutional checklists. However, several authors have criticized this "anatomical" approach and have argued for a "sociological" approach. In this paper, I will discuss two empirical models of the rule of law. Most current studies follow the model of the "Rule of Law in Action." This approach is based on Roscoe Pound's distinction between the "law in the books" and the "law in action." I will argue that this conventional approach has several shortcomings. I will therefore introduce an alternative model, based on Eugen Ehrlich's concept of the "living law." The principal concern of the "Living Rule of Law" model is not the level of social support but rather the social definition of the rule of law. To assess the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches, I will apply both models in a case study about rule of law reform in a refugee camp on the Thailand–Burma border. It will be concluded that empirical research is essential to evaluate the EU's external action. Moreover, empirical studies based on the model of the Living Rule of Law support a legal pluralist approach, which focuses on the user perspective of citizens and which recognizes the contested notion of the rule of law across cultural borders.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dietrich Hans, Möller Joachim

Youth unemployment in Europe – business cycle and institutional effects

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 1, January 2016 , Pages 5-25 

In the aftermath of the Great Recession 2008/2009 European youth unemployment rose sharply from below 4.2 m in 2007 to more than 5.6 m young people under 25 unemployed in the EU28 countries in 2013. The youth unemployment rate expanded from 15.5 in 2007 to 25.5 in 2013. Beyond the consequences for individuals youth unemployment as a



mass phenomenon is potentially menacing the stability of democratic societies. Hence there are good reasons to fight youth unemployment by any means. The paper analyses the specific structure and causes of youth unemployment. Although youth unemployment is also influenced by individual factors like insufficient qualification, we show that country-specific factors - institutions, traditions and characteristic structures - are of high importance in explaining the huge disparities between European countries. Using panel data estimates with specific country and time fixed effects we show that especially the Mediterranean countries responded to the economic downturn in a specific way. However, the high correlation of changes in the youth and adult unemployment rates across countries points to the fact that not only structural factors but also business cycle effects are important for explaining the sharp increase in the youth unemployment rate in Europe. The rise in joblessness is in fact closely related to macroeconomic slackness. Therefore, we argue that a two-handed approach combining institutional improvements with growth stimulating measures is needed to overcome the problem.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hailbronner Kay

Zum Asylrecht in der Europäischen Union. Nur ein Managementproblem oder falsche Konzepte?

in *Recht und Politik*, 52. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 68-79

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maja Kluger Rasmussen

'Heavy Fog in the Channel. Continent Cut Off'? British Diplomatic Relations in Brussels after 2010

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

What happens when a Member State challenges the unwritten rule of consensual decision-making in the Council of the EU? Are their diplomats marginalized, or do other countries make an extra effort to attempt to get them on board? In this article, I use the UK (United Kingdom) in the area of financial and economic EU co-operation as a case study to explore these questions. The British government has been unwilling to sign up for a range of recent EU crisis-management measures and has not been afraid of utilizing its veto. Based on 33 interviews with diplomats from 20 countries, this article demonstrates that British diplomats have not become marginalized, but changes have occurred; other countries no longer go the extra mile to get the UK on board and they are worried that they will be seen as obstructive if they align themselves with the UK.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arjan Uilenreef

'Multiple Bilateralism' within the European Union: the Dutch Coalition-Building Network during the Budget Negotiations

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2



'Multiple bilateralism' stresses the manner in which bilateral relations between the Member States operate in function of the multilateral EU negotiation process. In order to explore how multiple bilateralism works, a network analysis has been made of the Dutch coalition-building effort during the negotiation on the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014–2020. It examines the interaction between the various actors involved in this process, such as the ministries in The Hague, the EU institutions in Brussels, the governments of other Member States and the embassies abroad. Specific attention is given to this last type of actor. Contrary to what is often assumed, bilateral embassies' contribution to the negotiation process is relatively modest. Only a few embassies, namely those in the largest EU Member States, were able to play a more important role and direct contact with Member States' capitals was considered to be the predominant channel for success.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Foret François

“De-legitimizing Europe”. Does the EU do that on purpose?

in *Politique européenne*, n. 50, 2015/4, 136 à 149

The EU is commonly perceived as fueling its lack of legitimacy by counter-productive policies. An innovative hypothesis is that, as a deliberate strategy following the theory of “upside-down legitimacy”, a search for polarization aims at pushing oppositions to the extremes in order to gain them back ultimately. Fresh empirical data test the fictional or realistic dimension of this scenario and are next discussed in relation to the state of the art about the nature and the justification of the European political order. This article is a parody for the commemorative 50th issue of *Politique européenne*.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marco Brunazzo, Vincent Della Sala

«Adesso le cose sono cambiate»: Matteo Renzi e l'Unione Europea

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, numero 1, 115-134

Matteo Renzi has changed the traditional narrative proposed by the Italian Centreleft about the relation between Italy and the EU. Instead of the long-standing vision based on the importance of «vincolo esterno», the Italian prime minister prefers to emphasize the efforts made by Italy to become a fully modernized European country. His critiques to the receipts adopted by the European Commission to overcome the economic crisis have offered to Renzi the opportunity to propose a narrative based on the need of a new reform of the EU institutions and the rediscovery of the founding spirit of solidarity among Member States. After a discussion of the different narratives characterising Italy after the EU foundation, the article analysis the public discourse on the EU proposed by Renzi.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Robert O. Keohane

After Hegemony Cooperation is Still Possible

in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 50, Issue 4, 92-94



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Caroli Giuliano

America ed Europa: ricerca di una nuova partnership tra divergenze e convergenze

in Europea, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 117-136

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Andrew Phillips

Beyond Bandung: the 1955 Asian-African Conference and its legacies for international order

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 70, Issue 4 , 329-341

The special issue this article opens examines the systemic impact, limits, achievements and legacies of the 1955 Asian-African 'Bandung' Conference. The Bandung conference is typically celebrated as a high point of Indonesian foreign policy activism and a key milestone in the emergence of the 'Third World'. By contrast, mainstream international relations has paid comparatively less attention to its broader impact in the evolution of the modern international order. The special issue contributors here seek to correct this lacuna by interrogating Bandung's significance in challenging, affirming and amending key aspects of the post-war global order. They also consider its relevance in setting important precedents that simultaneously foreclosed and enabled different manifestations of South-South cooperation thereafter. Beyond its historical significance, they finally explore Bandung's enduring legacies for both domestic Indonesian order-building projects and Indo-Australian efforts to bridge the 'Bandung divide' in their responses to contemporary threats to international order. This article opens this inquiry by historically situating Bandung within its broader global context, unpacking its four 'faces' (order-challenging, order-affirming, order-building and order-transforming) and finally delineating the key axes of debate around which this special issue is organised.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Thomas Muhr

Beyond 'BRICS': ten theses on South-South cooperation in the twenty-first century

in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 630-648

Grounded in a review of past and present academic South-South cooperation literatures, this article advances ten theses that problematise empirical, theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues essential to discussions of South-South cooperation in the 21st century. This endeavour is motivated by the perceived undermining, especially in the contemporary Anglophone academic South-South cooperation literature, of the emancipatory potential historically associated with South-South cooperation. By drawing on the interventionist South-South cooperation agendas of 'left'-leaning Latin America-Caribbean governments, the article seeks to establish a dialogue between social science theories and less 'visible' analyses from academic (semi)peripheries. The ten theses culminate in an exploration of the



potential of South–South cooperation to promote ‘alternative’ development.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

David Cole and Federico Fabbrini

Bridging the transatlantic divide? The United States, the European Union, and the protection of privacy across borders

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 14, no. 1 , 220-237

Revelations of mass surveillance by the US National Security Agency have produced widespread protest, notably in the EU, and have supposedly deepened the transatlantic divide between the US and the EU on matters of privacy and national security. The aim of this article is to qualify this understanding. While there are substantial differences between the US and the EU with respect to data protection from private actors, the differences are far less stark when it comes to restrictions on state surveillance for national security purposes. In particular, in both regimes privacy protections apply mainly territorially, to the benefit of citizen residents, while few if any legal limits constrain the capacity of intelligence agencies to conduct surveillance of non-citizens outside their borders. As a result, EU citizens are vulnerable to US surveillance, and US citizens are vulnerable to surveillance by European states. In the absence of transformation of domestic law, we maintain that a transatlantic agreement is necessary if privacy is to be safeguarded effectively. We identify several strong legal and policy arguments why the EU and the US should adopt a transnational compact restricting the powers of their own intelligence agencies to spy on each other’s citizens. While there are undoubtedly concerns about what the content of such an agreement might look like, any degree of transnational protection would be an improvement over the current state of affairs. The capacity of nations to engage in dragnet surveillance has gone global, and unless law catches up, privacy rights will be left behind.

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Sanchita Basu Das, Rahul Sen, Sadhana Srivastava

Can ASEAN+1 FTAs Be a Pathway towards Negotiating and Designing the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Agreement?

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.50, Issue 2 , 253-288

This article undertakes a comparative analysis of five ASEAN 1 Free Trade Agreements and the ASEAN Economic Community to analyse the ease or difficulties in negotiating and developing the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement by 2015 and beyond. The analysis suggests that the ASEAN Economic Community and the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement are the most comprehensive agreements and have deeper commitments as compared to the other ASEAN regional Free Trade Agreements (FTA). Despite some broad commonalities, there are significant differences across them in terms of the negotiating framework, coverage of issues, deadlines and depth of commitments. This lack of coherence across the ASEAN 1 Free Trade Agreements and varying domestic interests of negotiating countries would be a difficult task to harmonize under the RCEP agreement. Adding to this complexity are the geopolitics in the Asian region and the emergence of the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement, which involves seven of the RCEP members. The article concludes that the potential success of the RCEP negotiation would depend on the extent to which countries that are part of this partnership can reach a consensus on – substantial tariff elimination coverage, a common market access schedule, comprehensive coverage of WTO-plus issues and



behind-the-border integration measures that enable both physical and institutional connectivity.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bolkvadze Ketevan

Cherry Picking EU Conditionality: Selective Compliance in Georgia's Hybrid Regime

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 68, n. 3 , 409-440

This article investigates the rationale behind compliance and non-compliance with EU conditionality in Georgia's hybrid regime. Following the literature on competitive authoritarianism, it argues that the survival strategies of hybrid regime incumbents compel them to dodge conditionality in those policy areas that are crucial for maintaining the uneven political playing field. On the other hand, specific self-preservation tactics dictate that they should embrace neighbourhood Europeanisation in policy domains capable of generating votes. Taken together, these hypotheses alert us to the possibility that hybrid regime governments in the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) countries are cherry picking conditionality.

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Sahakyan Davit

EU Trade Policy Responses to the Proliferation of Preferential Trade Agreements in Latin America and East and Southeast Asia

in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 44, Issue 1, February , pp. 74-96

The fivefold increase of the number of preferential trade agreements (PTAs) during the last quarter century has been largely explained by the discriminative nature of such agreements, which has triggered "competitive liberalization" and PTA formation among nonmembers through a domino effect. Based on the author's interviews with European Union (EU) trade officials and policy makers at the European Commission, this article evaluates EU trade policy developments during the last quarter century and lays out EU policy responses to the proliferation of PTAs in Latin America and East and Southeast Asia. The article concludes that the EU has adopted "defensive" and "proactive" trade policy responses in Latin America and East and Southeast Asia, thus augmenting the discriminative pressures and reinforcing the discrimination-fueled proliferation of PTAs.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/polp.12147/pdf>

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Joaquín Roy

El Acuerdo Transatlántico de Comercio e Inversiones (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, TTIP) entre la Unión Europea y Estados Unidos: informe provisional 1 2 de su contexto y repercusiones

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 52 , 147-171

El anuncio de las negociaciones para un Acuerdo Transatlántico de Comercio e Inversiones (Transatlantic Trade and



Investment Partnership, TTIP) entre la Unión Europea y Estados Unidos ha presentado un reto analítico notable. A pesar de que el proyecto tiene una larga tradición y los dos socios son aliados naturales en diversos frentes de las relaciones internacionales, numerosos sectores presentan dificultades para su buena resolución. Aunque la reducción de los aranceles hasta el máximo no presenta mayor dificultad, los temas de las regulaciones, mutuo reconocimiento y especificaciones nacionales se imponen como obstáculos para una negociación que no va a ser fácil ni veloz, y que se puede extender más allá de 2015. Este análisis delinea las diversas percepciones a ambos lados del Atlántico y añade algunas especulaciones sobre el impacto en América Latina.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Caffio Fabio

Gli spazi marittimi del Mediterraneo tra unilateralismi e intese di delimitazione

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 82, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 545-558

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Di Nolfo Ennio

Il sistema atlantico e la globalizzazione. Le ragioni geopolitiche di un trattato commerciale tra Stati Uniti ed Europa.

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 2 - Aprile/Giugno 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Fuentes Alejandro

Judicial Interpretation and Indigenous Peoples' Rights to Lands, Participation and Consultation. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights' Approach

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 1 , 39-79

This article proposes a critical legal analysis of the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights regarding indigenous peoples' rights to lands, participation, and consultation. It focuses on the role that cultural diversity as a legal standard has played in the recognition of the indigenous peoples' right to consultation and participation in all matters that directly affect them, as a guarantee for the protection of their right to communal property and natural resources traditionally used, and for safeguarding their cultural identity. In analysing the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court, special attention is paid to the interpretative methods applied by the regional tribunal, and to the manner in which a non-restrictive and 'culturally friendly' interpretation of conventionally protected human rights has contributed to the enlargement of their scope of protection, and to their enjoyment by one of the most marginalized and excluded sectors of Latin-American societies.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Francesco Seatzu and Eleonora Pintus

L'organisation internationale de la francophonie comme sujet du droit international public

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 1 , 31-51

The status of the International Organisation of La Francophonie in the international legal order has been subject to various doctrinal debates, aiming at a coherent positioning of this peculiar institution in the frame of international institutional law. This paper aims at contributing to the debate, by both clarifying the formal legal character of the OIF and using a comprehensive theoretical framework to prove, and also and more importantly, to explain, the international legal personality of the OIF. We mainly show that OIF is an international legal entity, which is a subject of international law and so, that its peculiar origins, in the sense it was created not by a new constituent treaty but through amendment of an appendix to an earlier treaty, doesn't affect the fact that it must be regarded as a subject of international law. Finally, approaching the notion of international legal personality in a consistent manner allows to better understanding the significance of the OIF in the contemporary international legal order and therefore to value the consequences arising from this finding in the relations between OIF and other international intergovernmental organisations and member states.

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Katia Rochereuil

La Convention régionale sur les règles d'origine préférentielles par euro-méditerranéennes : instrument d'affirmation du modèle européen des règles d'origine ?

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, vol. 51, no. 2 , 617-649

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alberto Alemanno

Le partenariat transatlantique de commerce et d'investissement : comment concilier cohérence et autonomie réglementaire dans un accord de la "nouvelle génération" ?

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, vol. 51, no. 2 , 591-615

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mayer Thierry, Keith Head

Le partenariat transpacifique est bien un accord commercial...et plus encore!



in **Lettre du CEPII**, N°362, février 2016

Le Partenariat TransPacifique (PTP) a suscité des déclarations fracassantes. Sur un large spectre allant de la franche hostilité au soutien (souvent prudent), l'opinion dominante est plutôt, à l'instar de la déclaration de Paul Krugman, que « ceci n'est pas un accord commercial ». Pour Joseph Stiglitz et Adam Hersh, la présentation du PTP comme un accord de libre-échange serait même une « mascarade ». À l'appui de leur étude appliquée au secteur de l'automobile, Thierry Mayer et Keith Head estiment, au contraire, un impact potentiellement important de cet accord, tant au niveau des barrières tarifaires que non tarifaires. In fine on peut s'attendre à des effets significatifs sur la localisation de la production, et donc sur les flux commerciaux, avec à la clé, pour les firmes de ce secteur, des gagnants et des perdants.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dr. Rainer Geiger

Les procédures d'arbitrage dans les accords d'investissement de l'Union européenne. L'enjeu des traités transatlantiques

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, t. XXIX, 2015/4

Forte de la compétence exclusive en matière d'investissement international que lui avait confiée le Traité de Lisbonne, l'Union européenne s'est engouffrée dans la négociation de traités bilatéraux d'investissement dans diverses régions du monde. Selon la Commission, ces traités comporteront un dispositif ambitieux, combinant libéralisation du commerce dans les secteurs primaires, secondaires et tertiaires, convergence réglementaire et protection de l'investissement. Ces nouveaux traités devraient également servir de modèles pour remplacer les nombreux traités bilatéraux d'investissement conclus jusqu'à présent par les pays membres de l'Union.

Parmi ces initiatives, les négociations transatlantiques (Canada, États-Unis) représentent l'enjeu le plus important, tant par leur ambition que par le volume des transactions concernées. Lancées en l'absence totale de transparence, ces négociations ont suscité de fortes préoccupations dans les milieux politiques et au sein de la société civile, la création envisagée d'un système d'arbitrage ad hoc investisseurs-États étant la pierre d'achoppement. Devant cette levée de boucliers contre la privatisation de la justice, la Commission cherche désormais à corriger le tir, en proposant une Cour arbitrale permanente dotée d'une instance d'appel.

Sur la base de la jurisprudence de la Cour de justice européenne, sont examinés les problèmes que soulèverait une juridiction conférant un accès exclusif, accessible aux seuls investisseurs étrangers, pour des litiges susceptibles de porter sur l'interprétation de la règle nationale et communautaire. Un tel système, qu'il soit ad hoc ou permanent, est-il nécessaire entre des États qui jouissent de systèmes juridiques hautement développés et d'un pouvoir judiciaire indépendant ? Serait-il conforme au principe de l'égalité des citoyens devant la justice ? Porterait-il atteinte à la primauté du droit européen, valeur communautaire essentielle ?

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alles Delphine, Egger Clara

Los sistemas de protección de derechos humanos en los países del Sur: una mirada a las interacciones entre multilateralismo global y regional

in *Foro Internacional*, vol. LVI - n. 1



In observing the conditions of adoption and operation of instruments relating to human rights by regional organizations of countries in the Global South, this paper examines the extent to which these texts contribute to the dissemination or redefinition of global standards. Two levels of analysis are employed: at the inter-state level and at the level of the supervisory bodies. Far from confining the countries of the Global South to the role of recipients, or to that of those who disregard so-called universal norms, it is necessary to treat them as agents in the diffusion and reconceptualization of such norms, through the mobilization of the frameworks provided by international relations, and in particular analysis of multilateral negotiations and sociological institutionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Drechsel Benjamin

Multilateralismus à la Carte

in *Politische Studien*, 67. Jahrgang, Heft 465, Januar-Februar , 59-69

ABSTRACT: Der Bali-Vertrag kann nicht überdecken, dass das globale Handelsregime sich des institutionellen Darwinismus erwehren muss. TTIP und CETA sind starke Indizien dafür, gleichwohl erweitert die EU auch im „globalen Süden“ ihr differenziertes Netzwerk bilateraler Arrangements. Zwar erlaubt dies, Kooperationsprobleme individuell zu adressieren – trotzdem stellt die EU damit jene institutionellen Grundlagen in Frage, die sie als „Goldstandard“ ausweisen.

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Bourne Richard

Must British-based Commonwealth Institutions Fail?

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 105, Issue 3 , pp. 321-323

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2016.1180043>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sayeeda Bano and Nawal K. Paswan

New Zealand–India Trade Relations and Growth Potential: An Empirical Analysis

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 1 , 50-74

This study examines the bilateral trade relations between New Zealand and India from 1990 to 2014. Using export and import intensity indices and revealed comparative advantage (RCA) indices, it identifies sectors where there is static and dynamic comparative advantage and complementarities. It also examines the extent and movement of intra-industry



trade (IIT), using IIT indices, and analyses these indices to consider how trade patterns and relations have changed between 1990 and 2014.

Findings show that trade between New Zealand and India has increased in recent years. The intensity of trade has strengthened, and there has been growth in IIT for a number of industries and product groups. Results also suggest high degree of static and dynamic comparative advantage in a number of product groups. The findings of this study should be relevant to future bilateral trade, economic relations, technology transfer and cultural exchange between New Zealand and India.

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Ligneul Nicolas

Négociations transatlantiques et "investissement responsable"

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 597, avril , 202-210

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51888.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mole Stuart

Out of Malta, Beginning Anew

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 105, Issue 3 , pp. 261-269

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) held in Malta witnessed high drama in the election of Patricia Scotland as the organisation's new Secretary-General. This article notes, among other things, that it once again demonstrated the myth that the Secretary-General is chosen on the basis of consensus. In the view of the author, although the conference discussed a number of issues of substance and importance, there is an urgent need to give the Secretariat new collective purpose and vision. Malta, argues the article, provided an important point of departure, and the next CHOGM, to be held in Britain in 2018, offers Commonwealth organisations and civil society an opportunity to make their own unique and enhanced contributions.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2016.1177942>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Caroline Henckels

Protecting Regulatory Autonomy through Greater Precision in Investment Treaties: The TPP, CETA, and TTIP

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 1 , 27-50

The recently concluded Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) and the negotiations underway for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) have drawn renewed attention to the potential for treaty parties to frame the substantive obligations in new investment treaties



in a manner that is more supportive of regulatory autonomy than earlier treaties. One way of doing so is to more precisely define the contours of states' obligations towards foreign investors and investments, in an attempt to eliminate the likelihood of successful challenges to non-discriminatory public welfare measures. More precise norms place greater constraints on the decision-making criteria employed by adjudicators, fettering their discretion to make evaluative judgments. Treaty parties may adopt more precise language to provide guidance or to exert control over adjudicators in light of previous decisions that are regarded as erroneous, in light of concerns about adjudicator incompetence or to constrain subjective value choices. Concerns about the impact of vaguely drafted provisions in existing investment treaties are well documented. It is reasonable to assume that drafting states' obligations with greater precision will constrain the scope of investment arbitrators' interpretive discretion. The TPP, CETA and draft TTIP provisions on fair and equitable treatment, indirect expropriation, national treatment and exceptions contain several instances of greater precision than provisions seen in the majority of existing treaties. Yet, these provisions continue to grant broad discretion to investment arbitrators through the use of evaluative language such as 'manifestly arbitrary', 'rare circumstances', 'excessive', and 'necessary'. Experience from the body of decided investment cases suggests that these provisions might not go far enough toward ensuring that non-discriminatory public welfare measures do not attract liability. The article concludes that the TTIP negotiating parties—and states negotiating other investment treaties—should consider drafting such provisions with greater precision so as to further reduce the breadth of adjudicative discretion entrusted to tribunals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ferrer-Gallardo Xavier, Kramsch Olivier Thomas

Revisiting Al-Idrissi: The Eu and the (Euro)Mediterranean Archipelago Frontier

in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 107, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europe and its others, April , 162-176

This contribution has three overarching objectives. First, it seeks to describe the logics of fracture and cohesion governing current geopolitical dynamics in the Mediterranean. Second, in the face of these contradictory tendencies, it proposes the notion of archipelago-frontier as a concept for deepening our understanding of an ever more dispersed and ubiquitous geography defining the Southern border of the EU. In this light we draw on the contemporary resonances of the destabilising cartographic imagination of Al-Idrissi (1100-1165). And we argue that, read today, it helps us rethink the current symbolic, terminological (and hence geopolitical) abduction of the Mediterranean by the European Union, which the very term 'Euromediterranean' encapsulates. Finally, the paper underlines the necessity of forging new vistas on the Mediterranean engendering perspectives that are more dialogical, plurivocal and sensitive to permanent transformation, as evoked by a long-term spatial as well as political horizon of struggle.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

De Cordier Bruno

Russia's international aid donorship: from diplomatic status symbol to "frontline aid"?

in Global Affairs, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 21-34

Russia is generally considered to be a so-called 'emerging aid donor' since Moscow officially announced, at the G8 summit in Saint Petersburg in 2006, that it wanted to become a donor economy again after it had been a recipient



economy for one and a half decades. More recently, Russia's reception of refugees from south-eastern Ukraine and the Russian humanitarian convoys to resistance-held areas there added new controversy about the nature of its aid. Russia also manifested itself as an aid actor with its proposal to the International Red Cross, to have humanitarian truces in Yemen. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the proportions, characteristics and motives of Russia's current official and officious policies of international development and humanitarian aid, and compare these with what some authors have identified as the identity dilemma in international relations which Russia has struggled with over the last 15 years, one between becoming a (regional) power again despite a number of lingering internal social-economic challenges, integrating into the G8 or leading among emergent economies, and promoting development and thus the export of a societal model or rather privilege the redistribution of wealth.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tolksdorf Dominik

Russia, the USA and the EU and the conflicts in the wider Black Sea region: the potential for multilateral solutions in the wake of the Ukraine conflict

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 421-430

The breakaway region around Donetsk and Luhansk is likely to evolve into an entity similar to Transnistria, South Ossetia, Abkhazia or Nagorno-Karabakh. Efforts to resolve these conflicts are pursued in multilateral frameworks in which Russia, the EU and the United States serve as co-chairs or participants, among others. The objective behind the larger powers' participation in these frameworks is to maintain influence over and provide guidance to some of the conflicting parties. Because the three powers pursue divergent interests in the wider Black Sea region and because they are not impartial in the conflicts, they are ill-suited to the roles of mediator. The lack of political will among the conflicting parties to agree on sustainable solutions in combination with the ongoing tensions between Russia and the West makes progress in resolving the conflicts increasingly unlikely. Similarly, while the formation of a multilateral conflict resolution forum for eastern Ukraine is a likely outcome of current diplomatic efforts, the chances of this framework bringing conflict settlement to Ukraine are small.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Romanova Tatiana

Russian Challenge to the EU's Normative Power: Change and Continuity

in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 68, n. 3 , 371-390

The article examines how Russian criticism of the normative power Europe (NPE) has evolved. Initially Russia insisted that NPE arguments covered realpolitik. However, two new approaches have recently emerged in Russian reporting on human rights in the EU. One is the demonstration that the EU does not qualify as a normative power. Another is the development of an alternative interpretation of human rights. Russia has, therefore, mastered all NPE critiques. This has occurred as the result of a change in how Russia views international relations. Moscow's ultimate goal has, however, remained unchanged; it is to reaffirm its equality with key global players.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kevin Gray, Barry K. Gills

South–South cooperation and the rise of the Global South
in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 557-554

In this introductory article we examine the recent resurgence of South–South cooperation, which has moved once again onto the centre stage of world politics and economics, leading to a renewed interest in its historic promise to transform world order. We provide an overview of contemporary debates surrounding this resurgence, noting in particular the division between those who are optimistic with regard to the potential of Southern economic development and the project of liberation from Northern domination, and the more pessimistic critics, who see this very success of the South as being subsumed within the existing global capitalist development paradigm.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Oliver Tim, Williams Michael John

Special relationships in flux: Brexit and the future of the US–EU and US–UK relationships
in *International Affairs* , vol. 92, issue 3, may , 547-567

ABSTRACT: A British exit from the EU would add to growing strains on the United States' relations with Britain and the rest of Europe, but by itself would not lead to a breakdown in transatlantic relations due to the scale of shared ideas and interests, institutional links, international pressures and commitments by individual leaders. It would, however, add to pressures on the US that could change the direction of the transatlantic relationship. From the perspective of Washington, Britain risks becoming an awkward inbetween, beholden more than ever before to a wider transatlantic relationship where the US and EU are navigating the challenges of an emerging multipolar world. The article outlines developments in the UK, EU, Europe and the US in order to explain what Brexit could mean for the United States' approaches to transatlantic relations. By doing so the article moves beyond a narrow view of Brexit and transatlantic relations that focuses on the future of UK–US relations. In the conclusion we map out several ways in which US views of the transatlantic relationship could be changed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

María García

The European Union and Latin America: 'Transformative power Europe' versus the realities of economic interests
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 28, Issue 4 , 621-640

Relations between the European Union (EU) and regional subgroups in Latin America (Mercosur, the Andean Community and Central America) are clear examples of 'pure interregionalism' and provide evidence of the EU's active promotion of regional integration. Within the context of these cases, this article explores what type of international power the EU wields, how interregionalism is embedded in that power, and how it is deployed. Combining strands of literature on EU–Latin American relations, interregionalism, EU external policy and power provides a framework within which interregionalism can be understood as an important normative and practical tool for the EU's external power projection. Drawing on official documentation and interviews with key individuals, the paper highlights the EU's articulation of power



in interregional relations and reflects upon its mixed success. It concludes that, while imperial qualities and aspirations can be observed in the EU's penchant for interregionalism, the transformative power of the EU remains limited.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Frendo Michael

The Malta Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting: The Commonwealth's New Beginnings?

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 105, Issue 1 , pp. 15-20

This article argues that the Commonwealth needs to speak with a distinctive voice on a range of issues confronting the world, failing which it will lose its relevance. This calls for inspirational and strong leadership and a clear focus on the organisation's charter. Among the concrete proposals suggested by the article for the reinvigoration of the Commonwealth is the establishment of a Commission for Democracy, the Rule of Law and Human Rights inspired by the model of the Council of Europe Venice Commission.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Holden Patrick

The Mediterranean and the Global Sustainable Development Goals

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 2 , 292-299

Are global development initiatives such as the Sustainable Development Goals (agreed in September 2015) in any way relevant to a crisis-ridden region such as the Mediterranean? The SDGs are much more expansive than the MDGs; they cover a range of socio-economic and political issues, which certainly are of acute relevance to the Mediterranean. It is noteworthy that states from the region were not strongly involved in the formulation of the SDGs. Pan-regional institutions such as the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) could derive a new lease of life from leading efforts to implement them (in particular goals related to the environment, energy, water and infrastructure). However, the UfM remains a weak institution. There are commonalities between the EU's development policy and the SDG norms, but there are also many elements of EU economic policy that diverge sharply from the global ideals. The SDGs are an effort at global norm promotion which are unlikely to affect much of the Mediterranean, at least while the conflicts continue. Free access: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13629395.2015.1125286>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hang Thi Thuy Nguyen

The US–EU partnership: more necessary than ever

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 28, n. 2 , 225-235

ABSTRACT: The main objective of this communication article is to analyse why the US–EU partnership has become increasingly important not only to the US and the EU, but also for the world's security and prosperity. As global trends (including globalization, a shift towards the Asia–Pacific region, Western influence currently on the wane, and a multi-polar world in the making) are shaping the geostrategic environment around the US and the EU and posing new



threats to global stability, the US–EU partnership has become more necessary than ever. The US and the EU are both economic superpowers and have the most powerful militaries in the world. Their cooperation and coordination are needed to deal with challenges posed by continued poverty in Africa, ongoing violent conflicts in the Middle East, Russia's re-emergence as a world power, and instability in Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

William Hopkinson

The United States and Europe in the Twenty-First Century: Reasons Why They Should Work Together, Reasons Why They May Not

in American Foreign Policy Interests, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 194-208

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Donald S. Zagoria

The United States and the Asia–Pacific Region in the Postcold-War Era

in American Foreign Policy Interests, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 238-249

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Maher Richard

The elusive EU–China strategic partnership

in International Affairs , vol. 92, issue 4, july , 959-976

ABSTRACT: In 2003 the European Union announced that it had launched a 'comprehensive strategic partnership' with China. This policy was intended to elevate EU–China relations beyond prosaic trade and investment issues to address some of the world's most pressing political and security challenges. Anything approaching a comprehensive strategic partnership over the past decade linking the EU and China has failed to materialize, however. This article clarifies and examines those issues that have impeded a closer EU–China alignment, and that hold the greatest potential for future discord in their bilateral relations. It explains how clashing political values, diverging geopolitical interests and priorities, and competing conceptions of world order has limited and will continue to limit the scope and depth of any EU–China strategic relationship. EU–China relations are today, and are likely to remain, contested, uneven and—apart from trade and investment—shallow, and embody a limited rather than a strategic partnership. As China's economic, military and political power continues to expand, the EU will need a new conceptual framework towards Beijing. This framework must be able to facilitate cooperation on issues and policies in which there is real potential for mutual gain, but also manage effectively the inevitable tensions and disagreements that arise.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Maier-Knapp Naila

The non-traditional security concept and the EU-ASEAN relationship against the backdrop of China's rise in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 29, Issue 3, 2016 , 411-430

The rise of China raises questions about international order and whether traditional power structures will be transformed peacefully or confrontationally. Actively engaged in trade and investment activities with its Southeast Asian neighbourhood, China has been exerting political influence on many Southeast Asian states, cleaving regional cohesion and raising levels of tension in the region. This article presupposes that within so-called non-traditional security (NTS) areas, there is room for China and Southeast Asian countries to circumvent the political tensions, to some extent. It presumes that NTS issues facilitate greater interaction with/on China for Southeast Asian states, including enhanced European Union (EU)-Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) engagement on China. Recognising the increasing and rather underexplored importance of the NTS perspective on the official and scholarly levels, this article delves into the rhetoric of NTS from a European perspective with particular view towards the South China Sea issue to demonstrate the use and utility of the NTS concept in the EU-ASEAN context against the backdrop of China's rise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Branislav Gosovic

The resurgence of South-South cooperation in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 733-743

This essay undertakes to depict, in broad strokes, the evolution, obstacles and main junctures in the history of South-South cooperation. It also suggests some practical and feasible ways for overcoming difficulties, ways that could infuse this aspect of international development cooperation with greater dynamism, more fully tap its inherent and growing potential for the attainment of the practical and systemic objectives that developing countries have for decades been striving for in the North-South development dialogue and negotiations, and strengthen these countries' influence and role in world affairs and global governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Svarin David

Towards a Eurasian axis? Russia and Turkey between cooperation and competition in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 4-5 , 381-398

Russia and Turkey share two important characteristics which influence their contemporary foreign policy: their geographical location at the intersection of Europe and Asia and a shared historical identity stemming from their past experience as power centres of large land-based empires. This resulted in the creation of sustained political, social, commercial and cultural ties to the Eurasian region, which still occupies an important place in Russian and Turkish foreign policy. This article aims at highlighting the issues of cooperation and competition between Russia and Turkey with a special focus on Eurasia. It is argued that cooperation between the countries has increased considerably in a large number of fields such as trade, energy and regional stability and security. Interestingly, exactly the same fields are



also the areas in which competition between Ankara and Moscow is most probable. The article argues that recent statements about a strategic alliance developing along the Ankara–Moscow axis are far removed from reality. Instead, underlying divergences will ultimately lead to more competition which will probably characterize the relationship in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Christopher S. P. Magee

Trade creation, trade diversion, and the general equilibrium effects of regional trade agreements: a study of the European Community–Turkey customs union

in *Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)*, Volume 152, Issue 2 , 383-399

This paper presents an industry-level analysis of trade flows in order to estimate the trade effects of Turkey's customs union with the European Community (EC). The paper is able to distinguish between trade creation and trade diversion by employing tariff data on each good to measure the impact of not only the tariff level but also the difference between tariffs applied to imports from Europe and the most-favored nation tariffs applied to imports from other non-preferential trading partners. The paper estimates the general equilibrium effects of the customs union in addition to the effects of eliminating tariffs on the EC's exports to Turkey. It concludes that the customs union has generated more than twice as much trade creation as trade diversion but that the overall impact of the customs union has been relatively small.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dumanoir Sylvie

Vers une renégociation de l'accord économique et commercial global (AECG) entre l'Union européenne et le Canada? - Le mécanisme de règlement des différends par l'arbitrage entre investisseur et État en question

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 596, mars , 132-141

Abstract online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-51282.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Haro Navejas Francisco Javier , Hernández Mendoza Rosángel

Viaje al oeste. La Asociación Sino-Mexicana: una posibilidad funcionalista

in *Foro Internacional*, vol. LVI - n. 2

The authors of this paper set out the changes in foreign policy proposed by the government of Enrique Peña Nieto towards China, and contrast them with Mexican government tradition in this sphere. They describe and analyze the purpose of strategic associations for Beijing, and how these have

evolved in terms of the relationship with its Mexican counterpart. The paper further analyzes the institutional perspective and the fragmentation of the actors in the sectors of footwear, mining, and petroleum; and finally sketches out what the new Comprehensive Strategic Association could mean for the future



of the relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schwell Alexandra

When (In)security travels: Europeanization and migration in Poland

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 17, n. 2, Special Issue: The Europeanisation of Development Policy , 259-276

This article investigates in what way the enlargement of the European Union and EU conditionality have brought about a change in the way state institutions and bureaucracies define, reproduce and deal with security issues. It is based on the assumption that the definition of an extraordinary threat for internal security by terrorists, migrants and organized crime, and their presentation as an existential threat for societal peace, follows the logic of securitization as a practice that is both discursive and institutionalized in practical actions. Since the new member states had to submit to a homogenizing process of Europeanization in the realm of Justice and Home Affairs, they also had to internalize the EU-15's concept of the 'threatening other'. Hegemonic imaginations of (in)security thus 'travel' from the centre to the periphery and are translated and adapted, thus inspiring a socialization process and creating a tension which bureaucrats have to reconcile in their everyday work.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mäkinen Sirke, Smith Hanna, Forsberg Tuomas

'With a Little Help from my Friends': Russia's Modernisation and the Visa Regime with the European Union

in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 68, n. 1, Special issue: Special Issue: Russian Modernisation-Structures and Agencies , 164-181

This essay examines Russian argumentation on its visa-free regime with the EU within the context of discussions about modernisation. It examines arguments within the Russian foreign policy establishment about modernisation, Russia's modernisation partnership with the EU and visa-free travel, and how these issues are linked. First, the essay outlines two models of Russian modernisation, comprehensive and selective. Then the Russia-EU modernisation partnership is examined focusing on Russia's view of the nature of the partnership. Finally, the essay analyses Russian argumentation on visa-free regime and liberalisation. The essay concludes that in the Russian modernisation debate, be it comprehensive or selective, inclusion into the Western community is understood as an important prerequisite for modernisation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Benjamin Brice

A Very Proud Nation: Nationalism in American Foreign Policy

in SAIS Review of International Affairs (The), Volume 35, Number 2 , 57-68

Contrary to popularly espoused views in media and policy circles, the underpinnings of US foreign policy find basis not



only in the country's liberal value system, but also in a deeply-held and largely unique concept of nationalism. In fact, moral ideals are often a purported justification for US foreign policy. Another important driver is the country's national pride. Consideration of US foreign policy—particularly since the Cold War—makes clear that US nationalism has had a prominent role in nation's policymaking. This article discusses US nationalism, as well as three obstacles that make it difficult to detect the notable influence America's national pride has on the country's foreign policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Lakatos Artur Lorand

Federation Projects in Central Europe, 1848–1918

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 42, Issue 1 , 22-38

This paper deals with the less researched issue of regional federation projects in East-Central Europe from the period 1848 to 1918. Based on exhaustive research, primarily using original sources—works of the intellectuals who designed these projects—the paper examines the reasons why these federation projects were written, their historical-political context, and why these plans had to fail at their time. Similarities and differences of ideas in these projects are also presented. The intention is not to give a simple presentation of a series of historical facts, but to present some early ideas focused on regional integration, which, in turn, could also provide inspiration in the present.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

D'Atena Antonio

Il riparto delle competenze tra Stato e regioni ed il ruolo della Corte costituzionale

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, 1-2/2015

The considerable vagueness of the constitutional provision on the division of legislative powers between State and Regions may induce the Constitutional Court either to an attitude of deference to the decisions of the national legislator or to a creative role. The first attitude was prevalent in the first season of regionalism (until the constitutional reform of 2001), while the latter has emerged after the constitutional reform (with the notable exception of the case law on the coordination of public finance, especially in conjunction with the economic and financial crisis of 2008).

The paper also deals with the constitutional reform being approved by Parliament. The question we try to answer is whether this reform will meet the expectations of a reduction of constitutional litigation between state and regions. According to the author, only some innovations can produce this result, while others will have the paradoxical effect of opening a new era of litigation between the State and the Regions, at the very moment when, thanks to the consolidation of the case law of the Constitutional Court, litigation is easing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Stefan Borg and Thomas Diez

Postmodern EU? Integration between Alternative Horizons and Territorial Angst

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1



In the early 1990s, John Ruggie famously referred to the European Community as an emerging 'postmodern polity'. This article elaborates on the 'postmodern promise' of European integration that Ruggie invoked, and formulates such a promise of European integration as one of radically breaking with the violent practices characteristic of the modern state. We argue that such a promise is immanent albeit historically marginalized in the project of European integration itself, exemplified in the article with a tradition called integral federalism. The article then evaluates such a 'postmodern promise' in current practices of European integration against the background of a poststructuralist-informed critique of the violent effects of desires for bordered entities and identities. Such a poststructuralist sensibility enables the article to point to the problems of 'scaling up' the state in a project of integration that also set out to challenge and subvert its organizing principles.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Bruce P. Frohnen

Waivers, Federalism, and the Rule of Law

in *Perspectives on Political Science*, Volume 45, Issue 1, 59-67

Waivers from legislation have been praised as the foundation for a new era of collaborative federalism. But these exceptions of law, often made without clear statutory authority, undermine the necessary basis for collaboration among governmental entities. That basis is law. Waivers in effect dispense from or even change laws in the interests of administrative flexibility. And, while some commentators have lauded this increased flexibility as empowering for state governments in particular, the real effect is to reduce relations based on law to a condition of perpetual bargaining in which federal administrators hold all the power. Able to change rules and even laws almost at will through new waiver programs and criteria, federal agencies gain arbitrary power, undermining the ability of states and people to plan for their futures on the basis of known rules—the most basic and necessary good provided by the rule of law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

MANUEL ALCÁNTARA SÁEZ

América Latina, a vueltas con la identidad nacional

in *Política Exterior*, nº 171

Aglutinados desde las independencias del siglo XIX en torno a populismos, ideas revolucionarias y oposición a políticas neoliberales, los países latinoamericanos están hoy ausentes de un liderazgo capaz de incorporar el indigenismo y los efectos de la globalización.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Martínez Saavedra Beatriz

Comicios 2014 y la victoria de Narendra Modi: ¿desarrollo económico o polarización social en India?

in *Foro Internacional*, vol. LVI - n. 2

This paper examines the electoral process in India with an emphasis on the actions of Narendra Modi, who as head of



the Gujarat state government built up a progressive reputation that put paid to the suggestions he was a fundamentalist, which arose from his poor handling of violence that occurred at the outset of his term in office. The factors that led to the electoral victory of Modi are analyzed, such as the corruption of the previous regime, the promotion of his economic model, and in general, his communication strategy, which were effective in achieving widespread acceptance for the politician among sectors that did not share his sectarian ideology.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dempsey Kara E.

Competing Claims and Nationalist Narratives: A City/State Debate in a Globalising World

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 107, Issue 1, February, 33-47

This paper contributes to ongoing discussions about international urban entrepreneurialism, place marketing efforts, and city/state relations through an empirical analysis of a controversial state-sponsored prestige project, Galicia's 'City of Culture' museum. The protracted intra-regional debate surrounding the construction of the museum is informative in that it offers a scenario in which two rival cities are competing with each other within the same state. The story of their conflict adds a new and complicating dimension to the discussion by highlighting how city identity may intersect with national identity in relation to the politics of the state. The results show how the actual politics of city/state relations can be one of contestation between a range of political interests that extend beyond a simple, bipolar city/state relationship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ross Andrea, Jones Rhys

Connections and Tensions Between Nationalist and Sustainability Discourses in the Scottish Legislative Process

in *Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 43, Issue 2, 228–256

This article illustrates how sustainability and nationalist discourses have operated together in practice in Scotland. Potential connections and tensions between nationalist and sustainability discourses are identified and used to analyse the events leading up to the passage of the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2009 and the Regulatory Reform (Scotland) Act 2014. The analysis reveals how in certain contexts, the tensions and connections between sustainability and nationalist discourses can align to reinforce transformative initiatives while in other contexts, the tensions can lead to initiatives being watered down or set aside. The article concludes that more could be done to emphasize the connections between the two discourses. Engagement at the level of 'nation' can lead to sustainability discourses that are more attuned to nationalist values, increased public understanding, and acceptance of sustainable development, as well as additional opportunities for debate, public participation, and education.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Raúl Moreno Almendral

Corrientes teóricas para el estudio de las naciones y el nacionalismo: críticas y alternativas al paradigma
in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , Número 171 , 225-253

This article is a theoretical and historiographical essay about the criticisms and alternatives to modernism in Nation and Nationalism Studies. It outlines a general overview of classical modernism and its versions as a point of departure. Subsequently, the main alternative trends are developed according to the works of both classic and recent authors. First, primordialism and perennialism are distinguished, and their explanations regarding the antiquity of national phenomena are outlined. Second, it addresses ethno-symbolic contributions and their intermediate proposals between the previous trends and modernism. The article finishes with the new approaches developed during recent years, which try to overcome debates on whether nations are modern or not, and suggests new lines and topics of research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Petr Dostál & Libor Jelen

De-Russianisation of the Western Post-Soviet Space: Between the Thick and Thin Nationalising Processes
in *Geopolitics*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 757-792

This paper highlights contextual impacts of the de-Russianisation process in the western post-Soviet space formed by three restored and three new nation-states. The demographic trends indicate that in the territorial configuration of this geopolitical zone of Europe the numbers of Russians are decreasing. The key question considered in this paper is whether the de-Russianisation and ethno-political mobilisation processes of the Russophone population contribute to stabilisation or destabilisation of the multi-ethnic societies and their given nation-states. This analysis considers whether articulations of ethno-political interests of Russophone populations sustain the multi-ethnic state consolidation processes based upon civic political nation conceptions or whether Russian ethnicity-based parties complicate necessary nation-state consolidation processes. The specified de-Russianisation tendencies are evolving in the geopolitical zone between the European Union and the Russian Federation and create a differentiated context of changing political, geo-cultural and geo-economic relationships that are developing since the breakdown of the USSR.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gal Ariely

Does National Identification Always Lead to Chauvinism? A Cross-national Analysis of Contextual Explanations
in *Globalizations* , Volume 13, Issue 4 , 377-395

This study examines the premise that national identification inevitably leads citizens to endorse chauvinism in the international arena. It argues that the relationship between national identification and chauvinism is affected by three contextual factors: globalization, inter-state conflict, and social division. A multilevel analysis of cross-national survey data from the International Social Survey Program National Identity II (2003) was employed in order to observe these



three contextual effects, the sample consisting of 33 countries. The results demonstrate that closer relations exist between national identification and chauvinism in more globalized countries. The effects of inter-state conflict vary according to the indices used to measure conflict. Those countries that experienced a large number of deaths during the 2000s and mobilized resources and personnel evinced a higher level of chauvinism. This effect is not evidenced by other measures of conflict, however. Social division did not affect the level of chauvinism or its relation with national identification. These findings are used to critically evaluate the notion that citizens who identify with their nation tend to be nationally chauvinistic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Charles Breton

Does national identity necessarily have exclusionary effects when it comes to immigration attitudes or is it possible that some national identities act as inclusive forces? While research in Europe and in the US points to the former, one of the long-standing explanations for Canada's success with immigration has been the central place played by immigration and multiculturalism in its national identity. Using the Canadian case, this research tests the possibility that some national identities might represent an inclusive force. It does so through a nationally representative survey experiment (N = 1500) where respondents' national identity was primed before answering questions on immigration and multiculturalism. The analysis shows that contrary to previous results obtained in the Netherlands, priming Canadian identity does not increase anti-immigration attitudes. A new prime designed to isolate the effect of national identity even decreased these exclusionary attitudes.

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 48 - Issue 02 , 357-381

Does national identity necessarily have exclusionary effects when it comes to immigration attitudes or is it possible that some national identities act as inclusive forces? While research in Europe and in the US points to the former, one of the long-standing explanations for Canada's success with immigration has been the central place played by immigration and multiculturalism in its national identity. Using the Canadian case, this research tests the possibility that some national identities might represent an inclusive force. It does so through a nationally representative survey experiment (N = 1500) where respondents' national identity was primed before answering questions on immigration and multiculturalism. The analysis shows that contrary to previous results obtained in the Netherlands, priming Canadian identity does not increase anti-immigration attitudes. A new prime designed to isolate the effect of national identity even decreased these exclusionary attitudes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

IGNACIO PEYRÓ

El partido de la Nación. Los conservadores británicos, de Churchill a Cameron

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n.156

Ventaja de los largos días en La Magdalena fue oírle un breve de la semblanza del gran partido a su autor, traída como si de una voz mayor de su aplaudido ensayo sobre la civilización inglesa se tratase. Luego del adelanto de conferencia, hubo la suerte de poder sentarse a su mesa, en la velada más platónica del seminario.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

MARTÍN ORTEGA CARCELÉN

España nación global

in *Politica Exterior*, nº 169

Los españoles deben repensar su identidad como comunidad política moderna que se proyecta en el mundo. Varios factores internos y externos muestran que la definición de España no está completa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Özyürek Esra

Export-Import Theory and the Racialization of Anti-Semitism: Turkish- and Arab-Only Prevention Programs in Germany

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 58, Issue 1, January , 40-65

Since the year 2000, remembering the Holocaust and fighting anti-Semitism have come to be accepted as cornerstones of European identity. The flip side of this development has been racialization of Muslims by singling them out as the main contemporary anti-Semites. After discussing the emergence of the concept “Muslim anti-Semitism,” I scrutinize government-issued reports and anti-Semitism-prevention programs in Germany. I show how the recent wave of struggle against anti-Semitism depicts Muslims as outsiders who bring unwanted ideologies, evaluates their anti-Semitism as more dangerous than that of right-wing German nationals, and attributes to Muslims culturally transmitted psychopathologies that make Muslim nations prone to anti-Semitism. Experts locate the root of Turkish anti-Semitism in their “myth of tolerance toward Jews,” and of Arab anti-Semitism in their sense of a “false victimhood” and “desire for power and pride.” Educators focus on each nationality separately to distinguish these alleged group-specific myths and feelings. Efforts and money that go into producing nation-specific Muslim anti-Semiteisms depict a new Germany that has fully liberated itself from any anti-democratic tendencies surviving from its Nazi past. It also obscures connections between anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim racism, both of which are active forces in mainstream German society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Pablo Simon

Heterogeneity in turnout rates across regions and the nationalization of party systems

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 51, Issue 2 , 173-193

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Del Zanna Giorgio



Il dibattito sul genocidio armeno nella Turchia contemporanea

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 37-64

The article examines the debate on the Armenian genocide in contemporary Turkey, from the birth of the Republic to the present day. It highlights the deep intertwining between the political development of the Turkish State and the "Armenian question". This explains the removal made in the collective conscience of the Turkish people and why even today in Turkey the question of the Armenian genocide is so controversial.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Impagliazzo Marco

Il massacro degli armeni: dall'oblio al recupero della memoria

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 5-36

Based on the latest historical research, this article tries to answer the major questions concerning the Armenian Genocide: the intentionality of the massacres; the use of Islam as an element of identity; and the fate of the other Christian communities. On the 100th anniversary of the Genocide, this article offers a new perspective.

Full text available online at http://www.francoangeli.it/Area_RivistePDF/getArticolo.ashx?idArticolo=55706

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Migliavacca Paolo

Il problema dei curdi e delle loro attese

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 176, primavera , 176-188

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_176.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Di Salvatore Jessica

Inherently vulnerable? Ethnic geography and the intensity of violence in the Bosnian civil war

in *Political Geography*, Volume 51, March , 1-14

Which geographic configurations of ethnic settlements are most susceptible to violence in ethnic conflict? Existing research on ethnic conflict focuses on regional configurations of ethnicity, thus neglecting how local vulnerable pockets of minorities may become primary targets for violence. The mechanism linking minority enclaves to more violence posits that the regional majority group will fight local minorities in order to (i) create ethnically homogeneous areas and (ii) remove potential support for the other group by the local minority. Minority enclaves that cannot easily receive outside support from their ethnic brethren are vulnerable and thus provide incentives to attack. The paper thus argues that the presence of vulnerable ethnic minorities in areas dominated by other ethnic groups heightens the perception of threat, suggesting that the implications of the ethnic security dilemma are more pronounced. The paper uses Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to develop measures of isolated and vulnerable minority enclaves. This novel measure



captures local (micro) and regional (macro) patterns of ethnic settlements that remain veiled behind a focus on ethnicity in larger administrative units. In a quantitative case study of the Bosnian war (1992–1994), I show that the presence of local minorities within territories controlled by an enemy ethnic majority is associated with more violence. The results remain robust when accounting for the presence of the UN peacekeeping mission (UNPROFOR) and across several robustness checks.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Emily Blout

Iran's Soft War with the West: History, Myth, and Nationalism in the New Communications Age
in *SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)*, Volume 35, Number 2 , 33-44

Tehran believes itself to be embroiled in a "soft war." "Countering the soft war is the main priority for us today," said Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei soon after the disputed presidential elections of 2009. "In a soft war the enemy tries to make use of advanced cultural and communication tools to spread lies and rumors." What is this "soft war?" How did it emerge in Iranian discourse? This paper will trace the genesis of the term in Iranian politics from pre-revolutionary Iran to 2012. It will argue that the "soft war" is the latest iteration of a long-standing myth, in which outside powers seek to dominate Iranian identity and sovereignty through cultural means.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Philippe Raynaud

La nébuleuse intellectuelle du Front national
in *Pouvoirs*, n°157

Les relations entre le Front national et le monde intellectuel ont toujours été de terminées par la ligne politique suivie plus que par des affinités doctrinales. Le « premier Front national » fait partie des groupes de sensibilité opposés tout en cherchant à apparaître comme le seul parti « de droite » conséquent. Le Front national « dédiabolisé » de Marine Le Pen abandonne les références ambiguës à la Seconde Guerre mondiale et se présente comme un parti souverainiste, républicain et social, ce qui le conduit à faire un large usage d'auteurs et d'artistes venus de la gauche, sans vraiment obtenir de soutien de leur part.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jean Carlo

La questione curda e la strategia della Russia
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 176, primavera , 127-138

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_176.pdf



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Thomas Ehrhard

Le Front national face aux modes de scrutin : entre victoire sous conditions et influences sur le système partisan

in *Pouvoirs*, n°157

Les résultats électoraux du Front national depuis 2012 témoignent d'une dynamique électorale positive et interrogent : le FN peut-il l'emporter ? Son ascension électorale permet d'étudier, d'une part, les déterminants de sa victoire dans le système électoral de la Ve République et de questionner, d'autre part, le devenir du système partisan face à l'essor de ce parti.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gilles Ivaldi

Le Front national français dans l'espace des droites radicales européennes

in *Pouvoirs*, n°157

En dépit de ses évolutions récentes, le Front national français conserve les traits distinctifs de la droite radicale populiste européenne, au regard de la pérennité de sa stratégie de « niche » sur les enjeux culturels tels que l'immigration ou l'islam et de la permanence de son populisme ethno-nationaliste autoritaire. Le FN se trouve en outre à la pointe du combat contre l'Union européenne et son programme dessine les contours d'un social-populisme de crise(s). En termes systémiques, enfin, le parti de Marine Le Pen se situe aujourd'hui au « barycentre » stratégique de la droite radicale en Europe, entre tentative de normalisation et radicalité.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nicolas Lebourg

Les dimensions internationales du Front national

in *Pouvoirs*, n°157

Si le Front national de Marine Le Pen a intensifié la dimension souverainiste de son positionnement, il n'en demeure pas moins un parti disposant d'un système international. Le changement de génération entre les Le Pen n'a pas révolutionné la conception géopolitique du FN, d'autant que les théoriciens de l'extrême droite radicale ont laissé un legs varié de conceptions mobilisables. Néanmoins, l'orientation frontiste est dorénavant bien plus pro-russe, aspect qui se retrouve également dans les relations transnationales du FN où Moscou a remplacé Rome comme partenaire prioritaire. Enfin, le FN tente d'organiser l'extrême droite européenne à travers sa présence au Parlement européen, ce qui recouvre en outre des intérêts pratiques et financiers dans la course électorale nationale.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Grégoire Kauffmann

Les origines du Front national

in *Pouvoirs*, n°157

Créé en octobre 1972, le Front national puise ses origines dans le terreau du « nationalisme révolutionnaire », idéologie portée par les jeunes néofascistes du mouvement Ordre nouveau. Au sein des extrêmes droites françaises, Jean-Marie Le Pen représente alors une tendance plus « modérée ». Il est pourtant l'homme que les militants d'Ordre nouveau vont choisir pour presider le Front national. Le chemin parcouru en commun sera de courte durée, Le Pen restant à l'arrière seul maître à bord. Inscrit dans les genres du FN, l'échec de cette tentative de rassemblement éclaire les contradictions d'un parti tiraillé entre dénonciation du « système » et velleité d'intégration au jeu politique, exaltation de la violence et conservatisme.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jonathan Viger

L'émergence et la reproduction des nations : un essai bibliographique critique sur la réflexion théorique et l'analyse historique dans l'étude du nationalisme

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Volume 35, numéro 1

Cet article propose une étude bibliographique critique de trois récents ouvrages s'inscrivant dans les débats sur l'émergence et la reproduction du nationalisme. Il a comme objectif de replacer ces travaux à l'intérieur du paysage de la discipline des études sur le nationalisme, mettant de l'ordre dans les différentes questions soulevées et identifiant les principaux points de friction. Par le biais de cette démarche, deux arguments sont construits en ce qui a trait à la réflexion théorique et à l'analyse historique des nations et du nationalisme. Premièrement, une critique du débat « classique » autour de la question de l'émergence de la nation s'ouvre sur une présentation de l'approche constructiviste qui surpasse la dichotomie entre approches modernistes et pérennalistes et déplace l'interrogation centrale vers la reproduction des nations. Deuxièmement, une piste de réflexion concernant la production théorique au sein de l'étude du nationalisme est formulée sur la base d'une critique méthodologique des ouvrages recensés.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Koefoed Lasse

Majority and Minority Nationalism in the Danish Post-Welfare State

in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, Volume 97, Issue 3, September, 223-232

The future of the nation and the Danish welfare state is one of the most important political issues today. The transition in neoliberal governance from welfare state to security state, the ongoing securitization of global and European mobility,



the restructuring of public services and the re-scaling of political and economic power has made the debate around the welfare state central. In this article I take an approach to the welfare nation state that is based on the practices and narratives of everyday life. The argument is that narrative practices in everyday life constitute a central sphere inviting studies of the struggle over the welfare community and meaning. The empirical material draws on two recent research projects that include narratives and perspectives from minority and majority population in Denmark. By analysing different perspectives on the nation the article intends to open up for both shared narratives on the welfare state but also differences in the ongoing struggle over the right to the nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pascal Perrineau

Montée en puissance et recompositions de l'électorat frontiste

in Pouvoirs, n°157

Depuis 2011, le Front national a connu une constante montée de son influence électorale, qui l'a amené à être aujourd'hui le parti ayant le premier électorat de France. Cette dynamique exceptionnelle plonge ses racines dans l'accentuation de la crise économique et sociale, dans l'aggiornamento politico-ideologique qui a été mis en œuvre par Marine Le Pen au sein de son parti, dans la déception profonde vis-à-vis de la gauche au pouvoir, dans les disillusionnements par rapport à une droite en reconstruction laborieuse et difficile, mais aussi dans la conjoncture d'attentats meurtriers qui ont propulsé au premier plan de l'agenda politique les thèmes de la sécurité, de l'immigration et de l'islamisme, dont on sait qu'ils sont portés depuis des décennies par le Front national.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jaffrelot Christophe

Narendra Modi between Hindutva and subnationalism: The Gujarati asmita of a Hindu Hriday Samrat

in India Review, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Political Representation in India , 196-217

After the 2002 pogrom, Narendra Modi, the Chief Minister of Gujarat, shifted his political repertoire from that of a Hindu Hriday Samrat (King of Hindus' heart) to that of development and Gujaratiness. He claimed that he was a development man (Vikas Purush) and that he represented the 60 million Gujaratis as an aam admi (common man). He projected himself as an embodiment of their identity—asmita. This populist repertoire, which was explicitly articulated during the Sadbhavna mission in 2012, is in tune with the general trend of Indian politics where most of the Chief Ministers claim to epitomize one subnationalism. In the case of Narendra Modi, however, this regional identity was defined in religious terms and reflected a banalization of Hindutva, an original process that was more likely to happen in Gujarat because of the traditional definition of the state's identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jones Rhys, Ross Andrea

National sustainabilities



in **Political Geography**, Volume 51, March , 53-62

In this paper, we examine the potential for developing a stronger connection between the two significant discourses of sustainable development and nationalism. While there has been limited academic enquiry into the relationships that might exist between these two discourses, we draw on the case study of Wales since 1999 to show how policy-makers are increasingly examining the potential for promoting a more fruitful dialogue between them. We examine how nationalist discourses in Wales have led to the development of a form of sustainable development that is allegedly more attuned to Welsh national values and identities. We also show how sustainable development is being used to imagine new and possibly more inclusive kinds of futures for the Welsh nation. We conclude by reaffirming the fruitful synergies that might exist between sustainable development and nationalism while acknowledging the tensions that arise in seeking to make connections between them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Jonathan Hearn

Nationalism and Globalization: Challenging Assumptions

in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 35, Number 2 , 5-11

This article challenges a set of common assumptions and misconceptions about nationalism and globalization. First, nationalism and globalization are historically entwined and reinforcing processes, and not fundamentally opposed to each other. Second—and closely related—the modern nation-state is premised on interdependence of economic and political forms of power, not their opposition. Third, nation-states are highly variable in their powers, resources, and alignments, and form an evolving system, making it difficult to say anything sensible about the “fate of the nation-state” in the abstract. Fourth, the variable composition of national identities and cultures is considerably more complex than a dichotomy between “ethnic” and “civic” types might suggest. Together, these arguments point toward the continuing need for an understanding of global processes as an outcome of the negotiation of powers between nation-states, not as autonomous shaping forces over and above nation-states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Raja Qaiser

Nationalism and Political Identity in Pakistan: The Rise and Role of Indigenous Identities

in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 35, Number 2 , 105-116

As a federal republic since its inception, Pakistan has experienced endemic problems that have plagued its center-province relations, including perceived inequities in the allocation of financial resources and the extent of political autonomy. Current crises include a rise in separatist and violent secessionist movements; a demand for new provinces; and a marked rise in peripheral politics. This study explores the structural patterns and political processes that facilitated the rise of indigenous identities in Pakistan. In particular, it seeks to explain the changing landscape of ethnic politics within the context of Pakistan's political history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Zubrzycki Geneviève

Nationalism, “Philosemitism,” and Symbolic Boundary-Making in Contemporary Poland
in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 58, Issue 1, January , 66-98

This article analyzes the growing interest in Jews and all things Jewish in contemporary Poland—from the spectacular popularity of festivals of Jewish culture to the opening of Judaica bookstores and Jewish cuisine restaurants; from the development of Jewish studies programs at various universities and the creation of several museums to artists’ and public intellectuals’ engagements with Poland’s Jewish past and Polish-Jewish relations more broadly. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, over sixty formal interviews with Jewish and non-Jewish activists, and informal conversations with participants in various Jewish-centered initiatives, I argue that this cultural phenomenon is related to the attempt by specific political and social groups to build a pluralistic society in an ethnically and denominationally homogenous nation-state. I build on the literature on nationalism and symbolic boundaries by showing that bringing back Jewish culture and “resurrecting the Jew” is a way to soften, stretch, and reshape the symbolic boundaries of the nation that the Right wants to harden and shrink using Catholicism as its main tool.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Devashree Gupta

Navigating Nationalisms in Deeply Divided Societies: The Case of Northern Ireland’s Immigrant Communities
in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 35, Number 2 , 69-80

In this study, the author examines major tensions and tradeoffs in Northern Ireland, focusing on how ethnic minority communities—including Chinese, Indian, and Polish populations—navigate the decision to take a more active role in political life as well as the capacity of the native Protestant and Catholic populations to adjust to these new entrants. Based on interviews with minority populations and political elites, the author argues that despite institutional obstacles and a historical context that has traditionally deterred ethnic minority communities from broad political and civil participation, there is evidence of robust participation in public life, both in political and civil society. The paper ultimately argues that Northern Ireland’s ethnic minorities have the potential to catalyze some change in the existing ethno-nationalist cleavage structure, but this potential is limited and largely outside of the conventional electoral arena.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Shankar Mahesh

Nehru’s legacy in Kashmir: Why a plebiscite never happened
in **India Review**, Volume 15, Issue 1 , 1-21

As the dispute over Kashmir broke out in 1947, a plebiscite of the people of the state offered a mutually acceptable and ostensibly fair path out of the imbroglio. Critics have often laid the blame on Nehru, and the territory’s salience to India, for why a plebiscite was never held. Based on primary documentation, this article makes the case that it was not a lack of commitment to the formula, but rather Nehru’s deeply held strategic and reputational fears that motivated, first, the setting of what Delhi saw as firm but fair pre-conditions, and after the conclusion of the US-Pakistan military pact in 1954, the complete rejection of the plebiscite option.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dalle Mulle Emmanuel

New Trends in Justifications for National Self-Determination: Evidence from Scotland and Flanders in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 15, Issue 2 , 211-229

This paper argues that the Scottish National Party and the Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie have recently made an instrumental case for independence that runs counter to traditional principled notions of external self-determination as an end in itself, as well as to remedial arguments based on claims of victimisation, alien rule and lack of recognition. They thus represent an important novelty in the history of nationalist discourse. More in detail, the peculiarity of their rhetoric lies in the use of functional arguments concerning the economic and social consequences of external self-determination in terms of competitiveness, well-being, the delivery of social services, good governance and better democracy, as well as in the acceptance of a gradualist approach to independence. The paper then presents an explanation for the adoption of these rhetorical strategies based on three sets of factors: normative, institutional and electoral.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Cécile Alduy

Nouveaux discours, nouveaux succès in *Pouvoirs*, n°157

L'arrivée de Marine Le Pen à la tête du Front national en 2011 marque un double tournant dans l'histoire du parti : d'un côté, un renouvellement du discours, du leadership et de l'image du FN ; de l'autre une dynamique électorale ascendante. L'un explique-t-il l'autre ? La confrontation entre analyse des discours de Marine Le Pen et étude des motivations du vote frontiste laisse présager une droitisation de l'électorat pluto-t qu'un recentrement idéologique du parti.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Austin Charron, Alexander C. Diener

Political Geography, New Regionalism, and Rescaling Identity in *SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)*, Volume 35, Number 2 , 13-20

Scholars of international relations and the general public alike often take the nation-state for granted as the fundamental unit of territorially divided space, around which socio-spatial identities are constructed. Political geography offers a critical perspective on the nation-state, demonstrating that its command of geopolitical imagination is a contingent historical development, and that alternative territorial constructs—such as the regional and the supranational—are also significant in processes of identity formation. This paper argues increased attention should be paid to the processes of institutionalization and identity formation that take place at territorial scales above, below, and across the nation-state. Moreover, because of political geography's critical focus on the historical trajectory of the nation-state and its contingent geopolitical role, the paper advocates for the consideration and inclusion of political geographic theory in any critical



assessment of nationalism and the rescaling of identities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Giulio Pugliese

The China Challenge, Abe Shinzo's Realism, and the Limits of Japanese Nationalism

in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 35, Number 2 , 44-55

The China-Japan standoff over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands has unleashed a top-down information war that has cemented the two governments' positions over their territorial dispute. Under the Abe administration, Tokyo has stood up to an assertive China and drummed up nationalistic narratives of a virtuous Japanese "Self" ("us") pitted against an aberrant and aggressive Chinese "Other" ("them"). It has done so along a markedly realist logic in order to (1) cement domestic resolve in direct response to China's assertiveness and heated rhetoric; and (2) legitimize a swift passage of the contested security bills to enhance deterrence. Yet, while Japanese popular anxieties have echoed top-down instrumentalist narratives of an assertive China, they have also signaled a clear fear of entanglement in provocations of Tokyo's making. This paper will provide evidence of the Japanese government's active reconstruction of China's assertiveness in the public discourse—with an eye on the realpolitik of Sino-Japanese relations. It concludes that the Japanese government needs also to cater more to grassroots sensitivities, something that has been a clear limit to Abe's security agenda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Chipkin Ivor

The Decline of African Nationalism and the State of South Africa

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 42, Issue 2 , 215-227

This article explores the electoral performance of the African National Congress (ANC) to argue that there is evidence of a two-fold movement. On the one hand the ANC is weakening as a national organization, and on the other the ANC is strengthening as a regional party based in KwaZulu-Natal. This article explores the significance of these developments for democracy in South Africa today and, more importantly, for the integrity of the South African nation. The article argues that the ANC has historically been the main mover of an inclusive ('cosmopolitan') vision of South Africa. As it weakens and metamorphoses, what will happen to its commitment to this brand of African nationalism? Furthermore, are the conditions of a South African nation sufficiently in place that the future of the country as a national community is secure, even as the ANC's commitment to such a vision weakens?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Toby C. Rider, Matthew P. Llewellyn

The Five Rings and the "Imagined Community": Nationalism and the Modern Olympic Games

in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 35, Number 2 , 21-32

This paper distills the many forms or expressions of nationalism associated with the Olympic Games into four historical



themes: the Olympic athlete, or team, as a tangible representation of the nation incarnate; the symbolic value of victories and medals; the diplomatic significance of recognition in the International Olympic Committee; and the political currency of hosting an Olympic festival.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nyawasha Tawanda Sydesky

The Nation and its Politics: Discussing Political Modernity in the 'Other' South Africa
in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 2 , 229-242

This article is an attempt to reflect on nationalist politics and its accompanying political imaginations in South Africa, in the process questioning the assertion of a single 'rainbow nation', by locating the ways in which community is imagined in post-apartheid South Africa. It looks at the 'other' South Africa, which has yet to realise the gains of political modernity. For these citizens of South Africa, modernity is but a distant project. Its consequences in most parts of this 'other' South Africa have been not only extreme poverty, social marginality or political exclusion, but also the emergence and formation of new subjectivities and collective agency. This article seeks to theorise the modern political subject in the 'other' South Africa that has not actively participated in the project of modernity and globalisation. In the process, it seeks also to examine how citizen–subject positions are being constituted – particularly in the interaction between state and non-state actors, as a precursor to a future study of the broader interplay of citizenship, governmentality and political subjectivity in contemporary South Africa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Alejandro Barón

Why Public Finance Matters: Evolution of Independence Movements in Catalonia and the Basque Country during the Twenty-First Century
in *SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)*, Volume 35, Number 2 , 91-103

This paper analyzes trends of regional devolution throughout Spain's modern history—as well as equivalent trends of public favor for such devolution—to inform ongoing discussions on how the country can maximize its political and economic efficiency, while accounting for constituencies' preferences and a federal affirmation of sub-state identities. The article describes evolution of public support for secession in the Basque Country and Catalonia; assesses the historical-institutional framework of region-state relations following Spain's transition to democracy; and evaluates economic motivations of political interest groups across the Basque and Catalan regions. Having considered these frameworks, the piece concludes by discussing obstacles toward secessionist movements in Spain within the EU and United Nations frameworks.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Berti Francesco

«The Greatest horror in History». Henry Morgenthau e il genocidio armeno
in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 65-81



Henry Morgenthau Sr. (1856-1946), U.S. Ambassador to Turkey from 1913 to 1916 and author of *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (1918), shows here for the first time the origins and the execution of the "greatest horror in history", the 1915 Armenian genocide, intentionally planned and ordered by the Committee of Union and Progress.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Greco Pietro

Albert Einstein, Pacifist

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

The greatest physicist of all times? Two hundred physicists interviewed in early 2000 by the specialized review *Physics World* had no doubts in answering with an overwhelming majority: Albert Einstein. The German scientist finished well ahead of colleagues of the caliber of Newton, Galileo, Archimedes, Maxwell.

The most representative personality of the 20th century? Experts in various disciplines, interviewed in the same weeks by *Time* magazine, once again had no doubt: Albert Einstein. He finished ahead of figures like Roosevelt, Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Picasso. Well, few know it, but the father of relativity, one of the three founding fathers of quantum theory (with Planck and Bohr), the most representative personality of the 20th century and perhaps of the entire millennium, the never-ending myth that became the very icon of science, was a pacifist. But not a detached and naïve pacifist, as somebody has described him. Rather, a militant pacifist, personally engaged and endowed with a great and secular capacity of interpreting his time and of fighting - yes, fighting - for building a desirable future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Fuller Harcourt

Father of the Nation: Ghanaian Nationalism, Internationalism and the Political Iconography of Kwame Nkrumah, 1957 – 2010

in *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 16, issue 1, december

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the ways in which Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's prime minister and president, sought visually to propagandize the complementary, yet competing demands of nation-building, Pan-Africanism, and internationalism (most notably Cold War politics and Third World non-alignment) from 1957 to 1966. In order to illustrate the complexities inherent in juggling these three main pillars of his presidency, this article examines the iconography and symbolism of the postage stamps, and to a lesser extent, the national currencies produced during the Nkrumah era. It also notes how every regime that has succeeded Nkrumah, from the National Liberation Council that ousted him from power in a military coup in 1966, to the John Atta Mills administration that came to power in 2010, utilized postage stamps and currency to reevaluate and reinterpret the major milestones in post-colonial Ghana's history. These "symbols of nationhood" and the archival documents that were generated as a result of their production provide scholars with another frame of reference to judge Nkrumah's legacy in the first decade after the centenary of his birth, which was marked in 2009.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Liebert, H.

THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE AND THE AMERICAN FOUNDING

in *History of Political Thought*, Volume 37, Number 1 , 57-77

This paper reassesses the influence of ancient confederacies on the political thought of the American founding. It suggests that James Madison drew inspiration for innovative elements of the American Constitution from the Achaean League. It also claims that attention to Madison's debts, which he tallied in both Federalist no. 18 and the earlier 'Notes on Ancient and Modern Confederacies,' helps us to appreciate what Madison took to be perhaps the most innovative feature of the American founding-- not necessarily the Constitution that was established, but the manner in which its establishment was recorded and defended.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coleman William

“The Music of a well tun’d State”: “The Star Spangled Banner” and the Development of a Federalist Musical Tradition

in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 35, Number 4, Winter , 599-629

The Star Spangled Banner is typically considered in relation to the immediate story of its composition – that during the War of 1812, while in full view of battle, Francis Scott Key found the inspiration to write a truly and enduringly patriotic anthem. However, it's less well understood that Key's moment of patriotic inspiration occurred within a particular political context and that its composition built on a long legacy of Federalist musical thought and action. This article connects Key and The Star Spangled Banner to an older Federalist conception of music in politics and in so doing contributes to an 'elite turn' in our understanding of early American political culture. Through a distinctively historical approach to the examination of music and politics it is found that Federalism may bear more responsibility for the rise of popular American political culture than commonly thought. Influenced by contemporaneous English debates, Federalists justified their own top-down approach to popular patriotic music by appealing to music's capacity to moderate the temperament, to instill support in the nation's leaders, and to soothe rather than inflame factional differences. The composition of The Star Spangled Banner, in effect, represented a culmination of Federalist efforts to use music as part of a political strategy to ensure their elite values were reflected in national culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Steffen Vogel

La tentación autoritaria La nueva izquierda europea: entre el resurgimiento y el populismo

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 261

El descontento ciudadano ha hecho emerger algunas fuerzas políticas de izquierda especialmente en el sur de Europa (como Syriza y Podemos) y ha provocado realineamientos en algunas de las fuerzas tradicionales, como el Partido Laborista británico. No obstante, pese a hacer frente a un problema existente –la creciente desigualdad y las políticas promercado–, los nuevos movimientos tergiversan las soluciones al plantear un clivaje entre «la gente» y «la casta», en



una clave populista que habilita derivas no siempre deseables. Al mismo tiempo, nuevos tipos de soberanismo debilitan una mirada sobre los cambios a escala de Europa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Minhas Shahryar, Hoff Peter D, Ward Michael D

A new approach to analyzing coevolving longitudinal networks in international relations

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 491-505

Previous models of international conflict have suffered two shortfalls. They tend not to embody dynamic changes, focusing rather on static slices of behavior over time across a single relational dimension. These models have also been empirically evaluated in ways that assumed the independence of each country, when in reality they are searching for the interdependence among all countries. A number of approaches are available now for analyzing relational data such as international conflict in a network context and a number of these can even handle longitudinal relational data, but none are developed to the point of exploring how networks can coevolve over time. We illustrate a solution to the limitations of existing approaches and apply this novel, dynamic, network based approach to study the dependencies among the ebb and flow of daily international interactions using a newly developed, and openly available, database of events among nations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

D'Alisa Giacomo, Kallis Giorgos

A political ecology of maladaptation: Insights from a Gramscian theory of the State

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 38, May , 230-242

This article analyzes a political process in the aftermath of a disaster and explains why and how it led to maladaptation. Grounding Gramsci's theory of the State on a case of post-disaster response to a fatal mudslide in the city of Sarno in Italy, this research argues that, under certain conditions, civil society and the ruling classes may coalesce to produce policies that are maladaptive. We unpack the mechanisms through which consent was reproduced in Sarno, and show how the claims of civil society were articulated and fused with the hegemonic goals of capital circulation and economic growth, reaffirming a view of government as only a provider of safety. A Gramscian treatment of the State as a process, and not as a thing, highlights that the main barrier to adaptation is not the lack of techno-managerial solutions. It is the lack of political struggle around the social reconfiguration of the logic and functions of the State.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Little Peter D.

A victory in theory, loss in practice: struggles for political representation in the Lake Baringo-Bogoria Basin, Kenya

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 10, Issue 1, Special Issue: Resilience and Collapse in African Savannahs: Causes and Consequences of Environmental Change in East Africa , 189-207



This article addresses political rights and identity among Il Chamus of Baringo District, Kenya, a small group of agro-pastoralists related to the Maasai. It discusses an important 2006 judicial ruling from the High Court of Kenya that specified a political constituency and national representation for the community, and shows how the state and its actions undermined its implementation. By examining the historical events and struggles leading up to the court ruling and the local violence associated with it, the article describes how Il Chamus have been forced to negotiate – even publically legislate – their histories and identities (indigeneity) to make claims to citizenship and territory. It concludes with a discussion of the impacts of the new 2010 constitution on the Il Chamus political movement and those of other minority and indigenous groups who have petitioned for increased political representation during the last two decades.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Palea Roberto

A “Historic” Agreement on Climate in Paris: but Will Mankind Be Able to Save Itself in Time?
in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

The Paris Climate Agreement of December 12th, 2015 should be considered “historic” not only because it is “universal” – it was approved by almost all the countries in the world (195 states) – but also because all the parties, sharing the urgent need to stop ecological destruction, have acknowledged (though with an unforgivable delay of at least 20 years) that global warming is a worldwide phenomenon and, as such, needs to be addressed “all together”. The Agreement also recognises that the era of fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas) as the source of primary energy production needs to be quickly overcome, as it entails incalculable, man-made risks to the very survival of mankind.

While the stated objectives of the Agreement are challenging and ambitious, the means and instruments proposed to achieve them are weak and scarcely credible.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kinne Brandon J

Agreeing to arm. Bilateral weapons agreements and the global arms trade
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 359-377

This article assesses the impact of a new form of defense cooperation – formal weapons cooperation agreements, or WCAs – on the global arms trade. WCAs are bilateral framework agreements that establish comprehensive guidelines on the development, production, and exchange of conventional arms. Substantively, WCAs regulate such core areas as procurement and contracting, defense-based research and development, and defense industrial cooperation. These agreements have proliferated dramatically since the mid-1990s. They now number nearly 700, with 30–40 new WCAs signed each year. Newly collected data are used to analyze the effect of WCAs on import and export of conventional weapons. To control for interdependencies in the formation of WCAs, and to account for the mutually endogenous relationship between WCAs and weapons flows, WCAs are modeled as an interdependent network that coevolves with the individual-level arms trade activity of states. The analysis shows that, over the 1995–2010 period, WCAs have significantly increased weapons flows.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haim Dotan A

Alliance networks and trade The effect of indirect political alliances on bilateral trade flows
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 472-490

How does the network of international political alliances influence trade flows? Previous work suggests that alliances matter in predicting trade outcomes because governments align trade policies with national security interests and firms take political relations between states into account when assessing risk. However, work to date investigates only the relationship between direct political alliances and trade, which ignores the complexity of international alliance structures. In this article, I argue that states and firms not only consider direct political relationships when shaping international trade, but also focus crucially on indirect alliance relationships. I find that higher levels of trade result when states have more shared alliances and when they are in the same alliance community. Once these indirect relationships are accounted for, the apparent association of dyadic alliances with trade is drastically reduced. Joint membership in an alliance community predicts an increase in trade that is more than twice the increase associated with a dyadic alliance. This effect is magnified when considering highly 'central' states in the alliance network. States trade significantly more with central states in their own alliance community and less with central states in other communities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shaun Bevan, Will Jennings and Christopher Wlezien

An analysis of the public's personal, national and EU issue priorities
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 6

Scholars characterize decision-making in the European Union (EU) as increasingly dispersed across different levels of political authority. This has implications for political representation. Yet, little is known about whether and how public opinion differs across levels of governance. In this article, we consider evaluations of issue priorities. Specifically, we use data from the Eurobarometer to evaluate the degree of correspondence between issues that citizens consider important to them personally, to their country and to the EU. We find generally weak relationships between these different levels, which suggests national issue priorities are distinct from both personal and EU priorities. The results indicate that more careful research is needed to understand how public priorities at different levels affect politics and policy in the EU.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ian Manners and Richard Whitman

Another Theory is Possible: Dissident Voices in Theorising Europe
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

The article argues that dissident voices which attempt to theorise Europe differently and advocate another European trajectory have been largely excluded and left unheard in mainstream discussions over the past decade of scholarship and analysis. Dissident voices in European Union studies are those that seek to actively challenge the mainstream of the study of Europe. The article briefly examines the discipline of mainstreaming, then surveys the extent of polyphonic engagement in EU studies, before setting out how the special issue contributors move beyond the mainstream. The



article will argue the merits of more polyphonic engagement with dissident voices and differing disciplinary approaches for the health and vitality of EU studies and the EU policy field itself. It summarises the special issue's argument that by allowing for dissident voices in theorising Europe, another Europe, and another theory, is possible – indeed, probable.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bird Gemma

Beyond the nation state: the role of local and pan-national identities in defining post-colonial African citizenship in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 20, issue 2 , 260-275

ABSTRACT: This article explores how the process of decolonisation offers a perspective on the politics of identification, solidarity and becoming. The hope is to offer a way of tracing a concept of citizenship that may not only be tied to the nation state but to other forms of political organisation. To achieve this, the article draws on the work of Engin Isin and the concept of the 'activist citizen' as a lens through which to examine how citizenship in the mid-twentieth century decolonisation movements in Africa was imagined by 'philosopher statesmen' as a way of re-establishing a sense of pride in the village and the pan-African community, as locations of citizenship beyond the nation state. In discussing this the article analyses the speeches, articles and monographs of, Julius Nyerere, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, questioning whether these texts reveal a complicated notion of the postcolonial citizen which begin to re-establish a belief in the value of some sense of African identity as a response to the dehumanising efforts of colonialism; establishing local and pan-national spaces as locations for 'acts' of citizenship intended to re-establish a sense of pride in African identities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tichý Lukáš, Odintsov Nikita

Can Iran Reduce EU Dependence on Russian Gas? in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 1, Spring , 110-124

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12177/full>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wojczewski Thorsten

China's rise as a strategic challenge and opportunity: India's China discourse and strategy in *India Review*, Volume 15, Issue 1 , 22-60

The simultaneous rise of China and India is one of the most important developments in contemporary world politics. Given their steadily growing power and aspirations and China's more assertive posture in Asia, the management of China's rise is one of the major challenges for India's foreign policy. However, India is often said to have no guiding strategic framework for its China policy, which is seen as incoherent and reactive. This article, by contrast, shows that India has an evolving China strategy and that the alleged inconsistencies in India's China policy are rather the result of an ambivalent image of China. Drawing on constructivism and discourse analysis, the article identifies the dominant perception of China in India's foreign policy discourse and the resulting foreign policy strategy. In a next step, the article



analyzes the China policy of the Congress-led UPA Government and investigates whether it conforms to the strategic policy frame of the dominant China discourse.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Berti Giampietro

Civiltà liberale, Occidente e destino dell'Occidente nella coscienza europea tra le due guerre in Europa, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 65-116

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Roux Theunis

Constitutional Courts as Democratic Consolidators: Insights from South Africa after 20 Years in Journal of Southern African Studies, Volume 42, Issue 1 , 5-18

Twenty years after the end of apartheid, South Africa's Constitutional Court is one of the few meaningfully independent public institutions in the country. While not wholly autonomous from politics, the Court has shown itself to be detached enough on occasion to hold the ruling African National Congress (ANC) to account. This article explores how the Court has come to play this role. It starts by identifying two contrasting currents in the literature on the conditions for independent judicial decision-making: one that emphasises the determining influence of contextual factors and another that stresses constitutional courts' capacity strategically to build their institutional power. The article then uses these two currents to suggest a qualified feedback-loop theory of the role of constitutional courts in processes of democratic consolidation. By carefully managing public perceptions of their appropriate role in national politics, the theory runs, constitutional courts may be able to expand the range of democratic rights that they are able to enforce. In turn, this may contribute to improvements in the functioning of the democratic system in ways that sustain the court's democracy-strengthening capacity over time. The second half of the article illustrates the explanatory power of this theory in the South African case. While the Constitutional Court has been reluctant to offer a substantive theorisation of the threat posed by the ANC's ongoing electoral dominance, it is argued, it has not been an entirely passive actor in the drama of South African politics. Using traditional formalist methods of legal reasoning, it has been able to expand the reach of the Constitution into areas traditionally thought to be off limits. In this way, the Court has been able to counteract some of the more pernicious effects of the country's slide into maladministration, patronage politics and corruption.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jayal Niraja Gopal

Contending representative claims in Indian democracy

in India Review, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Political Representation in India , 172-195

This article essays an interpretation of representative claims articulated in the campaign for the Lok Sabha election of



2014, arguing that this election signals a shift from one dominant type of representative claim to another. The first two claims—the classical liberal view of political representation as an aggregation of preferences and descriptive representation—are embodied by the Congress Party and the social justice parties respectively. These claims are located within the universe of representative democracy, and are sought to be transcended by two new representative claims, encountered in the 2014 election. These are counter-democratic populism and realist Caesarism, signified by the Aam Aadmi Party and the Narendra Modi-led Bharatiya Janata Party, respectively. While these two do not dispense with representative democracy, their claim to provide a more effective or stronger form of democracy indicates a significant departure that redefines the relationship between representation and democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chyzh Olga

Dangerous liaisons: An endogenous model of international trade and human rights

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 409-423

This article applies recent advances in network analysis to highlight a central tension faced by policymakers – balancing the benefits of engaging with the international system and the associated domestic policy costs. International trade rewards certain domestic practices, such as respect for human rights. Enforcing such practices, however, is politically costly and sometimes prohibitive to state leaders who rely on political repression to stay in power. In such cases, domestic elites often resort to an alternative strategy of securing the benefits of international trade – setting up indirect trade channels through intermediary states. These competing incentives are modeled within a single framework using a formal network game in which states form trade-links (direct or indirect) with other states, while simultaneously choosing their optimal level of domestic human rights protections. The model suggests that there may be an inverse relationship between a state's embeddedness within a network of indirect trade and respect for human rights: indirect trade channels serve as loopholes that allow domestically troubled states to enjoy the benefits of trade without pressure for domestic improvement. The predictions are supported by the results of the empirical analyses of the international trade and repression data (1987–2000), conducted using a coevolutionary actor-oriented longitudinal-network model – a statistical estimator that closely mimics the theoretical model.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Drews Stefan, Antal Miklós

Degrowth: A “missile word” that backfires?

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 126, June , 182-187

Language use and cognition are generally underappreciated topics in ecological economics, even if effective communication is essential for social and political impact. To challenge the economic growth paradigm, the concept and term “degrowth” has recently been embraced by various activists and scholars. Drawing on a body of evidence from cognitive science, psychology, and related fields, we argue that using the word degrowth might be disadvantageous in public communications about alternatives to growth. We begin by reviewing arguments in favor of the term. Then we outline three main counterarguments: First, degrowth has a downward orientation which triggers negative initial feelings due to the basic conceptual metaphor “up is good—down is bad”. This puts advocates of an alternative to the growth paradigm in an unfavorable starting position, given that subsequent thought will be unconsciously biased by the initial



feeling. Second, more conscious reactions are likely to be negative as well because people unfamiliar with the term will (mis)interpret it as a contraction of the economy, even though it is not always meant as such. Third, degrowth repeats and possibly strengthens the growth frame and may activate undesirable frames associated with economic recessions. To conclude, we briefly discuss alternative terms and summarize key aspects to be considered for more effective communication.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Redclift Victoria

Displacement, integration and identity in the postcolonial world

in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Volume 23, Issue 2, 2016 , 117-135

Defining the relationship between displaced populations and the nation state is a fraught historical process. The Partition of India in 1947 provides a compelling example, yet markedly little attention has been paid to the refugee communities produced. Using the case of the displaced 'Urdu-speaking minority' in Bangladesh, this article considers what contemporary discourses of identity and integration reveal about the nature and boundaries of the nation state. It reveals that the language of 'integration' is embedded in colonial narratives of 'population' versus 'people-nation' which structure exclusion not only through language and ethnicity, but poverty and social space. It also shows how colonial and postcolonial registers transect and overlap as colonial constructions of 'modernity' and 'progress' fold into religious discourses of 'pollution' and 'purity'. The voices of minorities navigating claims to belonging through these discourses shed light on a 'nation-in-formation': the shifting landscape of national belonging and the complicated accommodations required.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cucchi Giuseppe

E venne il tempo delle incertezze

in Affari Esteri, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 130-139

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lars Nilsson

EU Exports and Uptake of Preferences: A First Analysis

in Journal of World Trade, Vol.50, Issue 2 , 219-252

More focus is increasingly being put on implementation of the free trade agreements (FTAs) the European Commission has negotiated on behalf of the European Union (EU). Based on data gathered by EU Delegations from competent authorities in partner countries, this article is the first of its kind to analyse the uptake of preferences by EU exports in these markets. Overall, the preference utilization rate (PUR) stood at about 75% in 2013, up from 63% in 2009, albeit with a changing country coverage over the years. The PURs vary significantly by originating EU Member State (MS) and



by broad product group. EU export flows of low values make relatively good use of preferences as opposed to low value exports from developing countries to developed countries, which is something the literature has pointed to. Similarly, the figures challenge a commonly held view that the preferential margin needs to be in the range of 3%–6% for preferences to be used. The empirical analysis examines the extent to which the PUR is influenced by the preferential margin, the value of exports and potential duty savings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cahen-Fourot Louison, Lavoie Marc

Ecological monetary economics: A post-Keynesian critique

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 126, June , 163-168

The monetary analysis of some ecological economists currently appears to be mostly articulated around the following core: a stationary economy (and a fortiori a degrowth economy) is incompatible with a system in which money is created as interest-bearing debt. To question the relevance of the debt-money/positive interest rate/output growth nexus, this paper adopts a critical stance towards the currently emerging ecological monetary economics from the standpoint of another strand of heterodox economics – the post-Keynesian approach. In its current state, ecological monetary economics is at odds with post-Keynesian economics in its analysis of the money–growth relationship. This will be shown using the theory of endogenous money and a simple Cambridge–Kaleckian model where debt-money and a positive interest rate are compatible with a full stationary economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chaudhury Abrar S., Ventresca Marc J., Thornton Thomas F., Helfgott Ariella, Sova Chase, Baral Prajwal, Rasheed Tahir, Lighthart Jasper

Emerging meta-organisations and adaptation to global climate change: Evidence from implementing adaptation in Nepal, Pakistan and Ghana

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 38, May , 243-257

As developing countries move from policy to implementing adaptation to climate change, formal operational structures are emerging that exceed the expertise of any one actor. We refer to these arrangements as ‘meta-organisations’ that comprise many autonomous component organisations tackling adaptation. The meta-organisations set standards, define purposes, and specify appropriate means-ends criteria for delivering adaptation. Using empirical data from the three cases, Nepal, Pakistan and Ghana, the study identifies and analyses six attributes of the meta and component organisational structures. We argue that organisational structures are crucial to understanding adaptation, specifying policy and implementation. Our analysis demonstrates that while each country promotes similar objectives, the emerging structures are quite distinct, shaped by country-specific attributes and issues that lead to different outcomes. Nepal’s priority for a formal process has come at the cost of delayed implementation. Pakistan’s devolved approach lacks legitimacy to scale up the process nationally. Ghana’s use of existing decentralised structures and budgets relegates adaptation below other development priorities. These divergent structures arise from the different needs for legitimacy and accountability, and the relative priority attached to adaptation against other needs.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gallop Max B

Endogenous networks and international cooperation

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 310-324

The rise of social network analyses in the social sciences has allowed empirical work to better account for interdependencies among actors and among their actions. However, this work has been, to a large extent, descriptive: it has treated these actions as exogenous and immutable. In many cases these networks describe actions like alliance formation or trade – phenomena that are the outcome variables for programs of social scientific research. In this article, I attempt to account for both interdependencies and the endogenous nature of networks by incorporating formal theory, helping answer the question of how these networks arise by looking at the incentives of actors to form links with each other. I discuss the appropriate solution concept for a network formation game, and present an algorithm for finding the equilibrium of these networks computationally as well as ways to compare the theoretical networks to observed networks in order to evaluate the fit of the theory. I apply these methods to the study of international cooperation – a subject where both the interdependencies and purposive nature of actors must be accounted for. The theoretical network is able to reproduce a number of important observed characteristics. Still, there are more factors that must be accounted for if we want to understand how the network of international cooperation is formed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Konisky David M.

Environmental Justice Delayed: Failed Promises, Hope for the Future

in **Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development** , March-April

Full text available online:

http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/2016/March-April%202016/justice_full.html

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alex Brianson

Europa and Gaia: Towards an Ecofeminist Perspective in Integration Theory

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 1

In this article I argue that a key part of the re-thinking of integration theory should be an engagement with green political theory and political economy, so that the field can speak to the major real-life issues of our time such as climate change, biodiversity loss and the transition to a sustainable way of life. My focus is particularly on ecofeminism, which I argue helps regional integration scholars ask important questions that need to be more central to our work, and on Gaia theory, which I argue provides the ontological analysis to legitimize such a shift in theoretical perspective. As an illustration of how a green approach to integration theory might be undertaken, I use Mary Mellor's ecofeminist work to contribute to the 'normative turn' in integration theory.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Limone Giuseppe

**Europa: problema di una identità fra questioni antiche e contraddizioni contemporanee
in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 39-64**

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Steinberg Philip E.

Europe's 'Others' in the Polar Mediterranean

**in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 107,
Issue 2, Special Issue: Europe and its others, April , 177-188**

A large body of literature problematises the role of the Mediterranean, as both civilisational hearth and liminal frontier, in both ancient and modern Europe. However, much less attention has been directed to the inland sea at Europe's northern edge: the Arctic. Increasingly, as the Arctic becomes attractive to non-Arctic European capitals as a potential site of investment and (in)security, European states, and perhaps the EU as a whole, are seeking to construct the Arctic, like the Mediterranean, as a space that is both marginal and central to the continent's future. This paper seeks to investigate the extent to which the Arctic is, to paraphrase Viljalmur Stefansson, Europe's 'Polar Mediterranean' and what this means for Europe as it constructs institutions and identities that, as in the Mediterranean, use the concept of the inland sea to both incorporate and differentiate its internal and external 'others.'

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Németh Ágnes

**European Capitals of Culture – Digging Deeper into the Governance of the Mega-Event
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 1 , 52-74**

This article examines the concept of governance as a process of making and implementing decisions about the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) mega-event. In considering the actors who prepare and realize the event, as well as the temporary or permanent societal structures formed around it, ECOC governance becomes not merely an issue between the European Union on the one hand, and the 'branded' cities and their relevant national authorities on the other. Rather more creative, mixed partnerships emerge transcending spatial-administrative hierarchies, initiating co-operation along more horizontal, relational networks. Moments of inclusion and exclusion, conflict and cooperation play out in the governance of such mega-events, governance processes which are therefore contingent, emergent and transient. The study is based on ECOC documents, media sources and in-depth interviews with actors engaged in the projects. Through a focus on the Hungarian Pécs 2010 and Finnish Turku 2011 projects ECOC governance is characterized not only by compromises and hard decisions but also by new co-operation, increasing social involvement as well as the emerging and resolved conflicts that ensue. Besides the analytical accounts of the governance of the two projects the research explores the ways and reasons regional governance practices are diversified by dissimilar relational processes.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Christoffer Kølvrå

European Fantasies: On the EU's Political Myths and the Affective Potential of Utopian Imaginaries for European Identity

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

The question of European identity today seems to be all the more pressing, as the current financial crisis is not only quickly developing into one of internal political cohesion for the Union, but has also certainly aggravated the long-standing problem of a lack of identification with the European political project among European populations. This article seeks to discuss this disenchantment with Europe through a concept of political myth. It argues that political myths entail both narrations of communal origins and utopian horizons of the communal future. Drawing on insights from Lacanian psychoanalysis, it connects the utopian dimension of myth to the level of affective investment in political communities, and suggests that the disenchantment with the European project might be partly due to the fact that its original utopian horizon – that of peace in Europe – today seems to have been achieved.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Angelos Katsaris

Europeanization through Policy Networks in the Southern Neighbourhood: Advancing Renewable Energy Rules in Morocco and Algeria

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

This research contributes to the literatures of Europeanization and European public administration by investigating EU rule advancement outside Europe. The article argues that the European Commission requires professional networks to advance the European Union (EU) *acquis* in Morocco and Algeria regarding climate change mitigation. However, certain conditions determine its network-building efforts outside Europe. Functional interests and sectoral interdependence provide the Commission with increased bargaining power in Morocco. Thus, market access and expertise offers trigger Morocco to develop technical dialogue over renewable energies. Instead, a Commission-led technical network over renewable energies creates antagonistic relations with the Algerian state elite. An alternative energy relationship with Europe beyond conventional resources could incur revenue losses for the state and a shift towards a different economic model. As a result, state hierarchies intervene in network-building and lead professionals to stagnant outcomes. The study takes an actor-centred approach, opting for proximity in network operations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grove Anna, Volgmann Kati

Exploring Cosmopolitanity and Connectivity in The Polycentric German Urban System

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 107, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europe and its others, April, 214-231



This paper investigates the theoretical concept that a city is always influenced by the relations it has to its hinterland and to other cities. Taylor and colleagues point out that city-city relations and city-hinterland relations can be understood as two sides of a coin. Using this conception the polycentric structure and dynamics of the German urban system can be described through: (i) metropolitan functions representing city-hinterland relations (cosmopolitanity) and (ii) a network of cities representing city-city relations (connectivity). Measuring separately the degrees of cosmopolitanity and connectivity, we look at whether the German urban system after reunification has grown together, becoming one balanced urban system, and what role Berlin – as the new capital in the overall system – now has. The results of the two perspectives are compared and analysed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Michael H. Böheim, and Klaus S. Friesenbichler

Exporting the Competition Policy Regime of the European Union: Success or Failure? Empirical Evidence for Acceding Countries

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 3

This paper studies the role of a country's EU membership status as an explanatory factor of regulatory quality. It argues that accession to the European Union improves the quality of regulation via the implementation of pro-competitive policies embedded in the Community Acquis. We assess this conjecture empirically for the (former) transition economies of Central and Eastern Europe, using Member States as well as developing and developed countries in Europe and Central Asia as a control group. The data used is a macro-economic panel of 48 countries covering six three-year periods between 1995 and 2012. We find that EU accession positively affected the quality of competition policies over and above an overall trend towards more market-oriented policies. The improvement in competition policies was not reversed in a single country of the sample, documenting the strong and sustainable transformative power of the EU. The findings are robust when controlling for endogeneity issues.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ben Rosamond

Field of Dreams: the Discursive Construction of EU Studies, Intellectual Dissidence and the Practice of 'Normal Science'

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

This article explores how and why established understandings of an academic field's history matter. In particular, it shows in the case of EU studies that a settled narrative of the pivotal theoretical debate between neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism has been a vital rhetorical tool in the constitution of the field since the 1990s. Drawing on citation data and contemporaneous accounts of the theoretical architecture of the field from the 1970s and 1980s, the article shows that the idea of an intergovernmentalist school of theory is a retrospective construction developed in the 1980s and 1990s that has been read back into the past of the field of integration studies. The further effects of this settled intersubjective understanding of EU studies past include contributions to the stereotyping and simplification of neo-functionalism, the writing out of the field's key archive of other mainstream theoretical work and the continued silencing of non-mainstream or 'dissident' theoretical voices.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armillotta Giovanni

Forme di Stato e di governo. Precisazioni e correzioni ai sentiti dire della politica estera

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 176, primavera , 219-224

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_176.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Killingsworth Matt

From St Petersburg to Rome: Understanding the Evolution of the Modern Laws of War

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 62, Issue 1, March , 100-115

Despite arguments to the contrary, the state continues to defiantly resist efforts to “extend the reach of legality”, especially as it pertains to attempts to bound the use of organised violence within international legal mechanisms. Yet this defiance is something of a paradox, where the evolution of the modern laws of war are characterised by a contradictory pattern. By focusing on important junctures in the short evolution of the codification of the laws of war it will be argued here that the writings of Swiss jurist Emer de Vattel provide the best insights into this contradictory development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Flores Zendejas Juan H., Decorzant Yann

Going multilateral? Financial markets' access and the League of Nations loans, 1923–8

in *Economic History Review (The)*, Volume 69, Issue 2, May 2016 , 653–678

Why are international financial institutions important? This article reassesses the role of the loans issued with the support of the League of Nations. These long-term loans constituted the financial basis of the League's strategy to restore the productive basis of countries in central and eastern Europe in the aftermath of the First World War. In this article, it is argued that the League's loans accomplished the task for which they were conceived because they allowed countries in financial distress to access capital markets. The League adopted an innovative system of funds management and monitoring that ensured the compliance of borrowing countries with its programmes. Empirical evidence is provided to show that financial markets had a positive view of the League's role as an external, multilateral agent, solving the credibility problem of borrowing countries and allowing them to engage in economic and institutional reforms. This success was achieved despite the League's own lack of lending resources. It is also demonstrated that this multilateral solution performed better than the bilateral arrangements adopted by other governments in eastern Europe because of its lower borrowing and transaction costs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anderson Zachary R., Kusters Koen, McCarthy John, Obidzinski Krystof

Green growth rhetoric versus reality: Insights from Indonesia

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 38, May , 30-40

By 2030 Indonesia aims to reduce its CO₂ emissions by 29% while maintaining a 7% annual GDP growth rate, thus making “green economy” a reality. Based on a review of literature and secondary data and interviews with key informants, this article examines the gap between these national ambitions and the reality on the ground, with particular attention to the challenges of multi-scalar environmental governance. It first introduces the green economy concept and discusses the main green growth policies and initiatives at the national level. The article then examines green growth ambitions at the provincial level in East Kalimantan province. Our findings suggest that existing plans to further expand oil palm plantations are at odds with provincial efforts to reduce emissions. This highlights a key paradox we identify at the heart of the green economy concept as it is developing in Indonesia: between a development trajectory based on resource extraction and agro-industrial development, and ‘green’ aspirations linked to environmental protection and greenhouse gas emissions reductions. We conclude that the main challenges to address these contradictions are related to the lack of coordination between different governance scales and a political economy that is not conducive to reforms in the land-based sector. There is a need to align investment, planning, and green growth policies, based on a strong political commitment and an awareness of social and environmental trade-offs. On a more general level the article shows that the green economy concept refers to a form of environmental governance in which authorities and interests may overlap and come into conflict at different scales. Hence, differing priorities may lead the material expression of the green economy to diverge significantly from policy as it is initially laid out.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Leinaweaver Justin, Thomson Robert

Greener governments: partisan ideologies, executive institutions, and environmental policies

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 633-660

Why do some governments have more environmentally friendly policies than others? Part of the answer involves governing parties’ ideological positions on environmentalism and the constraints imposed by executive institutions. Here, this party-based explanation is elaborated and tested with uniquely comparable indicators of national environmental policies for governments in 27 countries in the European Union (EU). The findings show that governments with parties that emphasized environmental protection in their manifestos are more likely to propose pro-environment policies during EU-level negotiations. However, the effect of ideology is mediated by the centralization of the national executive branch. In centralized national executives, the environmental positions of prime ministers’ parties affect policies, while in decentralized national executives, the positions of environment ministers’ parties are relevant. The findings have implications for understanding the impact of parties’ environmental positions on government policies, as well as for policy making in coalitions more generally.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sloss David L.

How International Human Rights Transformed the US Constitution



in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 38, n. 2, may , 426-449

ABSTRACT: Adoption of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights created a new international norm prohibiting racial discrimination. This antidiscrimination norm had been a part of the “paper Constitution” in the United States since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. However, it did not become a part of the living Constitution until the Fourteenth Amendment was subjected to the magnetic pull of international human rights law. Adoption of the Charter sparked a chain of events culminating in the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which heralded the end of apartheid in the United States.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Paul Chaney

How does single party dominance influence civil society organisations’ engagement strategies? Exploratory analysis of participative mainstreaming in a ‘regional’ European polity

in *Public Policy and Administration*, 31 (2) , 122-146

A raft of United Nations Treaties, European Union Directives and domestic laws oblige governments in 180 countries to apply the Participative Democratic Model of mainstreaming equalities to public administration by involving those targeted by equality initiatives at all stages in their design and delivery. Notwithstanding Participative Democratic Model’s deeply political nature, extant work has overlooked how governing party turnover influences civil society organisations’ (CSOs) strategies. Here, this lacuna is addressed using a negative ‘extreme case study’ research design involving qualitative accounts from civil society organisations in Wales, a ‘regional’ European polity characterised by one-party dominance. The findings reveal how the absence of turnover distorts the Participative Democratic Model in relation to diverse factors including: strategic bridging, extraparliamentary politics, cognitive locks and party institutionalisation. Inter alia, the wider contribution of this analysis lies in showing the importance of turnover to effective engagement, the ‘pathologies’ associated with one-party dominance and the need for adaptive civil society strategies tailored to prevailing electoral politics and governing party turnover in liberal democracies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wunenburger Jean-Jacques

Imaginer l’Europe. Configurations possibles du territoire européen

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 139-152

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lawrence Rebecca, Mörkenstam Ulf

Indigenous Self-determination through a Government Agency? The Impossible Task of the Swedish Sámediggi in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 1 , 105-127



The last two decades have witnessed a growing global acknowledgement of indigenous rights, for instance manifested in the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Nordic countries have all responded to the rights claims of the indigenous Sámi people by establishing popularly elected Sámediggi (Sámi Parliaments) to serve as their representative bodies. Internationally, the Sámediggi are often referred to as 'models' for indigenous self-governance and participation. Using in-depth interviews with politicians and civil servants, this article provides the first empirical study of the daily work of the Swedish Sámediggi, with a specific focus on its institutional design as a government agency with dual roles: as an administrative authority under the Swedish government and as a popularly elected representative body of the Sámi people. We examine how these dual roles affect the work of the Sámediggi and if the Swedish Sámediggi safeguards the Sámi right to self-determination.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Larson Jennifer M.

**Interethnic conflict and the potential dangers of cross-group ties
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 459-471**

Bridging social ties is thought to reduce the likelihood of interethnic violence. This logic has motivated countless development projects and international programs seeking to forge cross-group ties between groups with a conflictual history. However, this article identifies an important mechanism by which certain cross-group ties can make interethnic peace strictly less likely. The results stem from a game-theoretic model which formalizes civil society as a network and relates intergroup cooperation to the particular networks that transmit information from person to person in each group. The model reveals that, first, groups are capable of enforcing cross-group cooperation, even when no cross-group ties are present and the networks within each group are missing links, using peer-enforcement strategies, and their ability to do so depends on the structure of these networks. Second, when attempting to enforce intergroup cooperation, groups with sparse networks may be at risk of a long-lasting series of back-and-forth retaliation that groups with denser networks would avoid. Finally, there exists a mechanism by which some cross-group ties make intergroup cooperation strictly less likely. When interethnic cooperation is enforced by threatening coordinated retaliation for any misbehavior, success depends on expectations about how quickly retaliation can be coordinated and how many will participate in it. Some individuals in a network are in a position to send news to many others quickly; others are not. The latter therefore coordinate retaliation more slowly and would be relatively vulnerable to cross-group defections if they could be identified. Cross-group ties expose the vulnerability and generate incentives to disrupt interethnic peace; cross-group ties between the least embedded individuals in each ethnic group are the most dangerous. Programs seeking to impose ties should avoid exposing this vulnerability without taking steps to mitigate its danger.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rodotà Stefano

**Internet and Privacy: There Is a Judge in Europe Who Curbs the United States
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016**

As politics seems to be aggressively focused on the economy only, the judges are the ones who try to keep the Europe of rights alive. This has been confirmed a few weeks ago by a ruling of the Luxembourg Court of Justice which declared illegitimate a European Commission's decision of 2000 on the transfer of personal data from the European Union to the



USA, because it violates the fundamental right to privacy protection. The ruling originates from a lawsuit regarding Facebook, and was certainly influenced by Edward Snowden's revelations about the American electronic espionage, but it highlights an original flaw in the agreement between the European Commission and the US Administration, on which we must reflect.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schuppert Fabian

Introduction: Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources

in **Res Publica**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special issue on Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources, March , 3-8

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11158-015-9307-9>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Policardo Laura

Is Democracy Good for the Environment? Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Regime Transitions

in **Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 64, Issue 2, June , 275-300

This paper tests the hypothesis that democratisation is conducive to less environmental depletion due to human activity. Using interrupted time series design for a panel of 47 transition countries and two indexes of pollution, CO2 emissions and PM10 concentrations, I find that democracies and dictatorships have two different targets of environmental quality, with those of democracies higher than those of dictatorships. Income inequality may as well alter this targets, but with opposite effects in the two different regimes

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Minnucci Virginia

Kadhi's courts in Tanzania mainland: a burning issue in the Constitutional review process

in **Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 145-164

This article addresses the problems and the reasons behind the demands for introducing kadhi's courts into the Constitution of Tanzania, which is currently being revised. The Constitutional Review Commission has been working on a new text since 2012. Analysis of the issue allows the author to highlight some aspects - from a legal, political and social point of view - of Tanzanian society. They concern the cohabitation of different ethnocultural identities and religious groups in the country: elements in transition, which could also help European society to reflect on the multiculturalism it is experiencing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Schwob Claude

Keynes on trade policy and international commercial cooperation

in *Cahiers d'économie politique - Papers in political economy*, N° 68, 2015/1 , 61-90

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Valenza Pierluigi

König, Nova Spes e un'idea di Europa

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 1 - Gennaio/Marzo 2016

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stefano Spoltore

L'oceano della discordia

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVII, n. 3

Il 5 ottobre 2015 è stato siglato ad Atlanta, Stati Uniti, il Trattato di libero scambio nel Pacifico (TPP) tra 12 nazioni che si affacciano su questo oceano. Sulla firma di questo accordo, dopo oltre cinque anni di trattative, aleggia l'ombra di un grande assente: la Cina. Il Trattato viene visto da molti come il tentativo delle nazioni firmatarie, in particolare degli USA, di contenere l'espansionismo economico cinese. Tuttavia nei discorsi di chiusura dell'evento da parte di molti leader, vi sono state dichiarazioni di apertura per un futuro ingresso della Cina quale nuovo partner. Ma vi è un altro assente, la Russia, che sul piano economico viene esclusa da ogni accordo economico che includa nazioni dell'Occidente o che siano, sul piano politico, filo occidentali. Una esclusione, beninteso, che la stessa Russia sta alimentando da quando è iniziata la crisi ucraina nel 2013. La crescita economica dell'area del Pacifico è una costante dell'ultimo decennio e non è garantita solo dall'economia cinese. E' proprio in quest'area che si è spostato il baricentro della politica commerciale statunitense, di fronte ad un'Europa ancora bloccata da una crisi economica non risolta e dai conflitti interni all'area euro.

La corsa agli armamenti vede competere Stati Uniti, Cina e Russia nella ricerca di una leadership che ha oggi come scenario l'Oceano Pacifico. Nonostante gli accordi START prevedano entro il 2018 una graduale riduzione delle testate nucleari e delle bombe strategiche, le due potenze stanno procedendo esattamente in senso opposto. Nell'ambito degli armamenti nucleari Stati Uniti e Russia mantengono una netta superiorità rispetto alla Cina che invece ha una netta preminenza nell'ambito delle forze convenzionali. Ma una lettura degli investimenti in campo militare rivela nuovi scenari, che mostrano come Cina, Russia e Stati Uniti nel campo della difesa abbiano programmi che si svilupperanno sino all'anno 2050. L'Europa di oggi, invece, è completamente esclusa, del tutto impotente a causa della sua divisione di fronte a nazioni di dimensioni continentali che dispongono di un governo che programma gli obiettivi e le strategie da perseguire.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Putnam Robert D., Leonardi Robert, Y. Nanetti Raffaella

La pianta e le radici. Il radicamento dell'istituto regionale nel sistema politico italiano

in *Polis*, n. 1, aprile 2016 , 123-132

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nicolas Petit et Norman Neyrinck

Les fonctions de la procédure en droit européen de la concurrence

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , t. XXIX, 2015/4

Cet article décrit l'évolution récente de la procédure en droit européen de la concurrence. Nous constatons l'émergence d'un mouvement double. D'une part, la procédure administrative classique ne cesse de s'enrichir de règles processuelles. D'autre part, le droit de la concurrence ne cesse de s'équiper d'instruments permettant l'évitement de ces mêmes règles processuelles. Ce double mouvement d'enrichissement/évitement, alimenté par la demande des autorités de concurrence, n'est possible que par la conclusion d'un « contrat de régulation » tacite entre les parties à la procédure et l'autorité de concurrence elle-même.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chiodi Giulio Maria

L'Europa tra Oriente ed Occidente e il suo asse medio

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 1, maggio , 11-38

Orient and Occident are not only two geographical and historical entities, but also two spiritual categories: the land of spirituality, and the land of rationality and matter. The paper is a reflection on where and how Europe can restore its cultural and political centrality between the Occident and the Orient. The uniqueness of Europe's heritage of pluralistic universalism can help to reorientate a disoriented Occident. For this reason Europe has to find its equilibrium by reinforcing the complementary relationship between the two historical geo-cultural coordinates that mark its Medium Axis: Mitteleuropa and the Mediterranean area.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hausteiner Eva Marlene

Managing the world: conceptions of imperial rule between republicanism and technocracy

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 42, Issue 4 , 570-584

The article examines a technocratic vision of empire arising in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and its implications for the theorization of empires, the legitimation of large-scale political orders, and their spatial imagination. The role of the Roman model for the British in the decades after 1870 as a resource of policy advice,



legitimation, and identity-building serves as a case study for analyzing the role of historical precedence for imperial elites. This analysis opens the perspective onto a notion of empire that significantly differs from the one discussed in recent debates on liberalism and empire: British political actors and observers delineate a concept of empire that is not universalist, but heterogeneous, hierarchical, and technocratic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bordino Giampiero

Migrations, Diasporas, Global Actors: for a New Statehood in the 21st Century

in Federalist Debate (The), XXIX, Number 1, March 2016

The great, global migration processes brought about on the one hand by essentially economic reasons and, on the other, to an ever greater extent, by downright catastrophes (wars, civil conflicts, environmental disasters, etc.) are the signs of a new, unprecedented reality, at least for their fast pace and massive size. Europe, with the great migration flows coming from the Mediterranean area (Middle East, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, etc.) is in the last months and years one of the main critical points of that new reality. Hundreds of thousands and prospectively millions of people, mainly refugees coming from war-ravaged countries, from failed States, from despotic political regimes, are pressing in on Europe's boundaries and are becoming part, in various ways and amounts, of the continent's national societies. New diasporas, or new segments of diasporas already present on the European territory, are producing already, and even more so in the future, ever more multicultural types of society, reticular and hybridized, connected to other ones in other continents. The great migrations of the last years and the ensuing, ever more evident groups of diaspora people have opened in Europe, whose Union of States is unaccomplished and then deficient in adequate means to face the situation, a social and political phase quite difficult to manage, and made worse by the economic crisis started in 2007-2008, which was tackled with completely wrong policies and is still unresolved.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Warren T. Camber

Modeling the coevolution of international and domestic institutions: Alliances, democracy, and the complex path to peace

in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 424-441

While much previous research has examined the relationship between interstate military alliances and the structure of domestic regimes, existing findings point in contradictory directions. Some have argued that democracies attract each other as alliance partners, and thereby generate international peace as a consequence of their domestic regime type, while others have argued that the causal relationship is reversed, and that international pacification creates the necessary space for international alliances and domestic democratization. To disentangle this difficult empirical relationship, this article presents an empirically grounded simulation model of the dynamic coevolution of interstate military alliances, international conflict, and domestic democratization, demonstrating a statistical approach which accounts both for the complex interdependencies generated by coevolving multiplex networks of interstate ties and for their reciprocal influence on the coevolution of domestic political regimes, over the period 1920–2000. The results show that international institutions and domestic institutions are mutually constituted, with both 'selection' effects and 'influence' effects operating simultaneously. In particular, the evidence indicates that states with similar regimes are



more prone to ally with each other, mutually democratic dyads are less inclined to engage in militarized disputes, and states that form international alliances with democratic partners are more likely to develop domestic democratic institutions. Tests of out-of-sample predictive accuracy, across multidecade prediction windows, further demonstrate that the coevolutionary model consistently outperforms specifications that ignore coevolutionary effects, in predicting subsequent patterns of military alliances, military conflict, and domestic democratization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rathore Gayatri Jai Singh

Muslim welfare bodies: New avenues of representation?

in India Review, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Political Representation in India , 218-240

A lot of ink has flown over the issue of political under-representation of Muslims in India and over affirmative action measures needed to redress this imbalance. However, a minimal amount of attention has been paid to how Muslims are finding new ways to counter this under-representation. The Ministry for Minority Welfare and subsequent creation of the Minority Welfare Department seem to have expanded the locus of representation for Muslims beyond elections, legislatures, and membership of political parties. Consequently, the number of "Muslim representatives" has increased, in addition to MPs and MLAs who strictly speaking are supposed to be "people's representatives." Focusing on two Muslim groups' engagement with the minority welfare bodies, the article contends that the success or failure of Muslim appointments to state bodies is based not so much on religious differentiation as on the ruling party's electoral strategies, and their inclusion in these bodies only reinforces their minority status without integrating them entirely in the political process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dorussen Han, Gartzke Erik A., Westerwinter Oliver

Networked international politics. Complex interdependence and the diffusion of conflict and peace

in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 283-291

Network theory and methods are becoming increasingly used to study the causes and consequences of conflict. Network analysis allows researchers to develop a better understanding of the causal dynamics and structural geometry of the complex web of interdependencies at work in the onset, incidence, and diffusion of conflict and peace. This issue features new theoretical and empirical research demonstrating how properly accounting for networked interdependencies has profound implications for our understanding of the processes thought to be responsible for the conflict behavior of state and non-state actors. The contributors examine the variation in networks of states and transnational actors to explain outcomes related to international conflict and peace. They highlight how networked interdependencies affect conflict and cooperation in a broad range of areas at the center of international relations scholarship. It is helpful to distinguish between three uses of networks, namely: (1) as theoretical tools, (2) as measurement tools, and (3) as inferential tools. The introduction discusses each of these uses and shows how the contributions rely on one or several of them. Next, Monte Carlo simulations are used to illustrate one of the strengths of network analysis, namely that it helps researchers avoid biased inferences when the data generating process underlying the observed data contains extradyadic interdependencies.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ulasiuk Iryna, Hadirca Laurentiu

OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities on the Use of Languages in Relations with the Public Administration, and on the Supervision and Enforcement of Linguistic Requirements

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 237-249

Linguistic rights and their implications for societal cohesion and state stability, have been recognized as a core component in the conflict prevention work of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe High Commissioner on National Minorities (OSCE HCNM). Linguistic and associated rights proved a challenge in many OSCE Participating States, and the HCNM repeatedly advised the relevant authorities on how to secure a fair balance between the promotion of the state language and the protection of linguistic minority rights. This article overviews the advice which the successive HCNMs have throughout the years put forward on two key areas touching upon the linguistic rights of national minorities – namely, the use of languages in relations with the public administration, and the supervision and enforcement of linguistic requirements – and analyses how this advice aligns with the recommendations put forward by other international actors and institutions working on minority rights and minority issues.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bruno Latour

Onus Orbis Terrarum: About a Possible Shift in the Definition of Sovereignty

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 44 (3) , 305-320

Starting with an insight from Peter Sloterdijk about the enduring notion of Empire in the European idea of sovereignty, this article explores a problem common to the discipline of International Relations, and more generally, geopolitics as well as social theory: the very origin of the notion of an entity endowed with some sort of autonomy over a territory. It is argued that the notion of a bounded entity triggers many artifacts that explains, in part, the failure and denial of world politics, especially over the question of climate change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Asheri-Shahaf Shlomit

Patriotic Conscientious Objection to Military Service

in Res Publica, Volume 22, Issue 2, May , 155-172

The purpose of this paper is to show that conscientious objection (henceforth CO) to military service is essentially not a dilemma of freedom of conscience versus the duty to obey the law, but above all a dilemma between two conflicting patriotic moral obligations. Furthermore, the paper demonstrates that CO is justifiable on the basis of what is known as moderate patriotism, that is, out of a patriotism which is committed simultaneously to universal and particular values. The paper begins with a critical discussion of theoretical weaknesses in liberal thought of CO. Then, the concept of moderate patriotism is presented, followed by a discussion of the notion of patriotic CO (PCO). The next stage presents



a step Towards A Theory of PCO to Military Service and shows how it differs from other liberal theories of disobedience. The conclusion is that if CO on patriotic grounds is morally justifiable, it follows that this is an act committed within the framework of legitimate political discourse. Therefore, PCO is politically legitimate even if it is not always legal. In other words, the discussion of PCO offers a theoretical distinction between political legitimacy and legality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Adger W. Neil

**Place, well-being, and fairness shape priorities for adaptation to climate change
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 38, May , A1-A3**

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0959378016300309>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sarah Hartley

**Policy masquerading as science: an examination of non-state actor involvement in European risk assessment policy for genetically modified animals
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 2**

In 2013, at the request of the European Commission, the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) announced a new risk assessment policy: Guidance on the environmental risks of genetically modified (GM) animals ('Guidance'). This policy specifies the issues to be addressed in future risk assessments for GM animals. EFSA is the European Commission's scientific arm, responsible for food-related risk assessment. EFSA relies heavily on independent experts and consults non-state actors. Employing expert interviews and documentary analysis, the article explores non-state actor involvement in a traditionally expert domain through a case study. Analysis of EFSA's consultation demonstrates the inability of non-state actors to influence policy. The article argues that despite international legal obligations to develop risk assessment policy, the European Commission failed to recognize the Guidance as policy. When policy masquerades as science, unjustified restrictions are placed on non-state actor involvement and value judgements are cloaked from public scrutiny.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tawa Lama-Rewal Stéphanie

**Political representation in India: Enlarging the perspective
in *India Review*, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Political Representation in India , 163-171**

Democratic theory has recently been marked by a renewed interest in political representation that is manifest in, and proceeds from, a series of theoretical works that radically open up the concept of representation. This introductory article briefly presents some of the key theoretical propositions that are brought forward by this body of literature, but also by anthropological works on South Asia, namely (i) the intrinsic plurality of the meanings and forms of political representation; (ii) the centrality and pervasiveness of representation processes in political life; and (iii) the constructivist



dimension of political representation. As I introduce the four papers in this Special Issue, which collectively demonstrate the heuristic value of an engagement with such debates to understand contemporary Indian politics, I insist that what is at stake is not so much a “crisis” of political representation as a series of events and evolutions that question received knowledge about political representation in India.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14736489.2016.1165552>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Page Ed

Qui bono? Justice in the Distribution of the Benefits and Burdens of Avoided Deforestation

in **Res Publica**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special issue on Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources, March , 83-97

In this paper, I explore the question of how the costs of undertaking an important type of climate change mitigation should be shared amongst states seeking an environmentally effective and equitable response to global climate change. While much of the normative literature on climate mitigation has focused on burden sharing within the context of reductions in emissions of greenhouse gas, I explore the question of how the costs of protecting tropical forests in order to harness their climate mitigation potential should be distributed amongst developing and developed states. In response to this question, I outline and defend a ‘beneficiary pays’ account of forestry mitigation burden sharing that requires affluent states to finance measures supporting avoided deforestation while less affluent states, within whose territory these forests tend to be located, implement these measures. The normative basis for this account, I argue, is a principle of ‘unjust enrichment’ according to which developed states must bear much of the cost of avoided deforestation for its climate mitigation potential because of the huge economic benefits their citizens have accumulated from productive activities that have contributed to climate change.

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11158-015-9313-y>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Quinn Justin

Regionalism, globalization and Seamus Heaney’s Latin lift-off

in **Journal of European Studies** , vol. 46, n. 1, march , 137-150

ABSTRACT: This article examines Seamus Heaney’s use of Latin in his poetry, and its connections with larger thematics of world literature. It argues that the work of his last two decades can no longer be characterized by a postcolonial framework, but rather sidesteps issues of empire to explore the ways in which the local circulates in globalized culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hans-Jürgen Bieling, Johannes Jäger and Magnus Ryner

Regulation Theory and the Political Economy of the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 1



European integration theory considers to what extent the EU can realize a telos where American pluralism is the template. Not without merits, but considering the financial and eurozone crises fatally, such perspectives elide power relations and attendant contradictions and irrationalities that are constitutive of transatlantic integration itself. Regulation theory, which synthesizes the reformist ethos of Europe's postwar statist tradition and Marxism, and which has produced a considerable body of analysis of the EU published at the margins of EU scholarship, offers a compelling alternative that potentially overcomes these shortcomings. This article critically assesses how regulation theory has interpreted the single market, financial liberalization and EMU as a suppression of alternatives to neoliberal post-Fordism, or finance-led accumulation, in Europe. It argues that understanding the EU's current conjuncture of eurozone crisis management requires a neo-Gramscian extension of regulation theory, stressing transnational patterns of capitalist accumulation and power relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Capello Roberta, Lenzi Camilla

Relevance and utility of European Union research, technological development and innovation policies for a smart growth

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 34, Issue 1, February , 52-72

Assessment exercises of research, technological development and innovation measures within the cohesion policy framework do not provide up to now consistent results. Our impression is that the lack of consistency depends on the fact that assessment exercises are developed with no reference to the regional context in which research, technological development and innovation funds are spent. The present paper tries to overcome this gap by providing an assessment of the relevance and utility of research, technological development and innovation which takes into consideration alternative regional innovation contexts. Results indicate that research, technological development and innovation funds are in general relevant to increase innovation. However, our findings warn on the utility of research, technological development and innovation initiatives for socio-economic growth in regions lacking internal scientific research and technological activities. Interesting policy suggestions emerge which go in line with what has been conceptualized in the debate about the regional innovation smart specialization strategy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gleason Shane A., Provost Colin

Representing the States Before the U.S. Supreme Court: State Amicus Brief Participation, the Policy-making Environment, and the Fourth Amendment

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 46, n. 2, Spring , 248-273

State attorneys general, situated at the intersection of the state and federal governments, are increasingly the subject of scholarly inquiry. Yet, little work examines what prompts them to participate as amici. The decision to participate as amici reveals important information about how state actors attempt to shape outcomes at the federal level. We investigate how the broader policy-making environment facilitates and constrains AG amicus brief initiation and joining. Analyzing all orally argued Fourth Amendment cases from 1970 to 2009, we find the characteristics of the policy-making environment shape AG amicus activity. Initiation is predicted by institutional resources; whereas joining is the product of legal case facts and institutional resources. Because prior research notes larger attorney general coalitions are more



successful, we highlight the complexity of amicus participation by state actors and speak to the conditions under which state actors can mobilize large coalitions to shape federal search and seizure case law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Best Jacqueline

Rethinking Central Bank Accountability in Uncertain Times

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 30, n. 2, summer , 215-232

ABSTRACT: There has been little discussion of central bank accountability in recent decades because monetary policy has been seen as an essentially technical problem. Yet, during the 2008 financial crisis and the economic dislocations that ensued, central banks gained considerably in authority—bailing out failing institutions, using unorthodox monetary tools, and wading into sovereign debt crises. At the same time, the financial crisis and the slow recovery that has followed have revealed just how uncertain and volatile the global economy can be—a situation that poses new dilemmas for monetary policy. This article looks at the existing model of central bank accountability and finds it wanting in this new, more uncertain environment. Because the principle of central bank independence involves a very narrow set of objectives—generally focused on an inflation target—and very few opportunities for sanction, the main mechanism for accountability is that provided by the publication of information about the bank's deliberations and activities. In an era of increased economic uncertainty, when central bankers themselves admit that simple rules and models are no longer adequate, a narrow, transparency-based form of accountability is not sufficient. I suggest that we need a thicker, more robust form of accountability that fosters more deliberation and debate, ensures that central banks are answerable to their publics, and broadens the standards by which they are judged.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Banai Ayelet

Self-Determination and Resource Rights: In Defence of Territorial Jurisdiction Over Natural Resources

in Res Publica, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special issue on Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources, March , 9-20

Is territorial jurisdiction over natural resources justified? This paper argues that a freedom-based account of self-determination coupled with 'functionalist' justifications of territorial right support territorial jurisdiction over natural resources. This justification simultaneously gives rise to limits on the permissible exercise of the right: the principles of reciprocity and generality, and of equal freedom. This 'reciprocal' view on territorial jurisdiction over natural resources, defended here, differs from two alternatives: the traditional sovereignty view on the one hand and the transnational jurisdiction view—which favours the transfer of sovereignty over natural resources from states to transnational institutions—on the other hand.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mancilla Alejandra

Shared Sovereignty over Migratory Natural Resources

in *Res Publica*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special issue on Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources, March , 21-35

With growing vigor, political philosophers have started questioning the Westphalian system of states as the main actors in the international arena and, within it, the doctrine of Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources. In this article I add to these questionings by showing that, when it comes to migratory natural resources, i.e., migratory species, a plausible theory of territorial rights should advocate a regime of shared sovereignty among states. This means that one single entity should represent their interests and maybe also those of third parties, managing and making decisions over the resource as a whole. Although such a regime might be the tacit goal of existing international conventions regarding wildlife, it remains untheorized in political philosophy and largely under-theorized in international law. By presenting the critical situation of the monarch butterfly in North America, I point to the inadequacy of the compartmentalized current regime, which generates injustice in migration; namely, the phenomenon whereby range states of a given species may neglect or over-exploit it while in their territory, to the detriment of others. I suggest that more flexible and imaginative governance arrangements are needed to deal in a better way with these and similar natural resources.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Felix Jorge

Silver economy: opportunities and challenges to Brazil adopt the European Union's strategy

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 29, Issue 2, 2016 , 115-133

This paper deals with the construction of the silver economy (or the longevity economy) strategy in Brazil and its contribution to the economic development. The first and second parts of the paper summarize the international debate on the concept, mainly in the countries of the European Union. The third part approaches the focus on the ageing population in Brazil, still dominated by a pessimistic view. In the next section of the paper, the action opportunities for the longevity saving strategy in Brazil are exposed with summaries of some key sectors, according to the international literature on the silver economy. The income of the older people and the purchasing power of families with older adults are analysed in the following sections. In the conclusion, some recommended actions for building the silver economy strategy in Brazil is discussed.

Cet article traite de la construction de la stratégie de la silver économie (ou l'économie de la longévité) au Brésil et sa contribution au développement économique. Les deux premières parties font un résumé du débat international sur le concept, principalement dans les pays de l'Union Européenne (UE). Ensuite, il s'agit de la mise au point sur le vieillissement de la population au Brésil, toujours dominé par une vision pessimiste. Dans une quatrième partie du document, les possibilités d'action pour la stratégie de la silver économie au Brésil sont exposées avec des résumés de certains secteurs clés, selon la littérature internationale sur ce sujet. Le revenu des personnes âgées et le pouvoir d'achat des familles avec des adultes plus âgés sont analysés dans la cinquième section. Dans les considérations finales sont examinées certaines actions recommandées pour la construction de la stratégie de la silver économie au Brésil.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sabine Saurugger

Sociological Approaches to the European Union in Times of Turmoil
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

This contribution aims at questioning the explanatory capacity of sociological approaches to European integration in times of crisis. Its main argument is that in times of turmoil – perceived or real – analysis of actors' strategies and cognitive frames is crucial for understanding the emergence of solutions proposed to remedy the problem. Starting from a sociological definition of crisis, the article illustrates through empirical examples how the cognitive frames in which actors evolve determine their analysis of problems as well as solutions. Sociological approaches to public policy, which reject the basic assumption of actors behaving solely according to a presumed material cost–benefit analysis, help us to better grasp the complexity of decision-making. The main reason for this is that they allow for linking the domestic and European levels when analysing cognitive and decision-making processes, instead of concentrating on either European citizens or European elites separately.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bachmann Veit

Spaces of Interaction: Enactments of Sociospatial Relations and an Emerging EU Diplomacy in Kenya
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 1 , 75-96

Much of human geographic spatial theorizing has largely accepted space as relational and has moved from an engagement with fixed or static space to more dynamic notions of space such as space–time or sociospatial relations. Space is thereby inextricably linked to society and time. It is shaped by the preference of social (and political and economic) actors for specific spatial configurations and simultaneously shapes social (and political and economic) life. This paper argues that interactions are central to these assumptions – interactions between people, between societies, between political and economic actors, between objects and actors in space, and of course between society and space. It is through interactions that 'things' in space are made relational and that sociospatial relationality is enacted. We implicitly accept this centrality of interaction, however, hardly address it explicitly. This paper therefore suggests engaging more thoroughly with interactions as the practices and processes through which sociospatial relationality is enacted. Using the empirical example of the making of EU (European Union) diplomacy in Kenya, I offer the notion of spaces of interaction as an overarching access for studying such enactments.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ward Hugh, Dorussen Han

Standing alongside your friends. Network centrality and providing troops to UN peacekeeping operations
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 392-408

Why do countries contribute troops to UN peacekeeping? Recognizing the incentives to free ride on the contributions of other countries, existing explanations have tended to focus on the private benefits of providing troops. There has been particular emphasis on some major contributing countries that gain financially from providing peacekeepers. An alternative explanation could be that countries prefer to deploy troops to peacekeeping alongside countries with similar



foreign policy preferences in order to maximize jointly produced private benefits. Accordingly, the willingness to provide peacekeepers should depend on which other countries are providing troops to peacekeeping operations. The implications are explored within the context of games on networks, and it is demonstrated that in equilibrium countries that are more Bonacich central in the network of foreign policy preference contribute disproportionately to UN peacekeeping. Based on actual contributions to UN peacekeeping from 1990 until 2011, we find that policy complementarities explain why countries provide a larger proportion of peacekeepers to a particular mission. Importantly, centrality in the network of policy complementarities matters and not simply that countries have moderate policy preferences. There is robust evidence for the prevalence of peacekeeping alongside your 'friends'; in effect, countries with a lot of 'friends' contribute more peacekeepers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nganje Fritz

Sub-state diplomacy and the foreign policy-development nexus in South Africa

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 23, issue 1 , 1-20

ABSTRACT: This article examines the role of sub-state diplomacy, defined as the transnational linkages of sub-national governments, in bridging the gap between foreign policy and the domestic development agenda in South Africa. It argues that, as territorial sub-state actors, provinces and municipalities are strategically positioned to use their international relations to make foreign policy more responsive to domestic socio-economic priorities. In the South African case, however, this potential is yet to be fully realised, mainly because of institutional fragmentation of the foreign policy apparatus, but also owing to enduring challenges in the foreign activities of sub-national governments. The article concludes by making the case for a new diplomatic paradigm in South Africa, one that actively promotes and harnesses the foreign activities and capacities of different national stakeholders, including those of sub-national governments, in the interest of the domestic development agenda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maxime Héroux-Legault

Substate variations in political values in Canada

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 171-197

The article aims to make three methodological and substantive contributions to the literature on substate cleavages in political values. Considerable controversy characterizes this literature. The paper argues that this controversy is due to how indicators representing political values are chosen and constructed. The paper proposes to use factor analysis to select and construct indicators of political values. The analysis identifies five dimensions, which collectively account for 57% of Canadians' political values. They include support for moral traditionalism, egalitarianism, pluralism, openness to immigration and personal responsibility. Second, the paper shows that there is only limited variation across provinces in political values. Third, the paper shows that this result holds when considering regional variations rather than provincial variations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Owen Parker

Teaching (Dissident) Theory in Crisis European Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

Teaching theory in the study of EU politics has long posed a range of pedagogical challenges, in part because of the broad range of questions that scholars have posed in relation to the EU as object of study. Often such a challenge is overcome by focusing mainly on how integration occurred/occurs and the associated classical theories of integration. However, this article argues that we do our students a disservice by ignoring an extant theoretical plurality, and perhaps never more so than in the context of the current crisis and its multiple effects. In particular, the crisis heightens the imperative for engagement with questions posed by what this special issue calls 'dissident' theoretical approaches. Drawing on the experience of co-authoring a textbook on EU politics, the article considers some of the ways in which we might practically include such approaches, while remaining cognizant of pedagogical constraints.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sanya Carley

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009: What Have We Learned?

in *Review of Policy Research*, Volume 33, Issue 2, 119-123

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kahn Matthew E.

The Climate Change Adaptation Literature

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 1, Winter, 166-178

The December 2015 Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change meetings in Paris are likely to yield a global agreement that will slow the world's growth of greenhouse gas emissions, but this agreement is unlikely to guarantee a decline in global emissions in the near future. Given this reality, climate change adaptation is an increasingly important topic for discussion and study. Although much research has focused on the macroeconomic relationship between economic growth and temperature at the national and/or annual level, microeconomic analysis also offers valuable insights. This Reflections discusses recent work on household and firm responses to three climate change challenges: increased summer heat, higher food prices, and increased natural disaster risk.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Goulard Sylvie

The Country of Human Rights, Really?

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXIX, Number 1, March 2016



France feels proud to be the 'country of human rights', but the current situation might prove Robert Badinter right when he wonders: "Perhaps France is no more than the country of the Declaration of Human Rights".

On September 3rd, French President Hollande announced together with German Chancellor Merkel that he would rally behind the idea of splitting the refugees among the different European countries. This is a belated but fortunate advancement, which we should welcome. Just a couple of months ago, Prime Minister Valls strongly rejected that same proposal advanced by the European Commission President. Since we have one single Schengen area, each member state should contribute to a common solution. This means that what was needed for our politicians to stand up at last to xenophobic forces were images of trucks full of choked corpses and of a drowned kid lying on the beach where children of his age use to play. And yet, the Italians have been warning us for years on the drownings in the Strait of Sicily.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ian Manners and Philomena Murray

The End of a Noble Narrative? European Integration Narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize 2012 to the EU (European Union) came as a surprise. Not only was the eurozone economic crisis undermining both policy effectiveness and public support for the EU, but it was also seriously challenging the EU's image in global politics. The eurozone crisis, the Nobel Prize and the search for a 'new narrative for Europe' demonstrate that the processes of European integration are always narrated as sense-making activities – stories people tell to make sense of their reality. This article argues in favour of a narrative approach to European integration through the construction and application of an analytical framework drawing on different theoretical perspectives. This framework is then applied to six European integration narratives to demonstrate the value of a narrative approach. The article concludes that narrative analysis provides a means of understanding both EU institutional and non-institutional narratives of European integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jeroen J.L. Candel, Gerard E. Breeman & Catrien J.A.M. Termeer

The European Commission's ability to deal with wicked problems: an in-depth case study of the governance of food security

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 6

The European Commission's ability to cope with wicked problems is generally viewed as inadequate because of its hierarchical and inflexible modus operandi. Recent research suggests, however, that the Commission may be better equipped to deal with wicked problems than is commonly assumed. To elucidate these contradictory viewpoints, we analysed conditions that enable or constrain the Commission in dealing with wicked problems. To do so, we applied a framework consisting of five governance capabilities required to deal with wicked problems (reflexivity, responsiveness, resilience, revitalization and rescaling) to a case study of how the Commission deals with the wicked problem of food security. Although our results confirm some of the earlier critiques, we have also identified various enabling conditions, most notably inter-service and inter-institutional procedures and structures, boundary arrangements and a widespread tolerance of frame conflicts, uncertainty and cross-scale dynamics. However, the Commission lacks a mechanism to



continuously monitor and adjust its capabilities, thereby running the risk of challenges remaining unforeseen and unanticipated.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arlo Poletti and Daniela Sicurelli

The European Union, Preferential Trade Agreements, and the International Regulation of Sustainable Biofuels
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

The EU has increasingly turned to PTAs (Preferential Trade Agreements) to spread environmental norms internationally. We argue that the rationale for this strategy is to be found in the tensions between the rigidity of the domestic dynamics of positive integration in the EU and the increased bindingness of WTO negative integration commitments. Consensual decision-making procedures in the EU both drive the stringency of environmental regulation and make it resistant to change. When such environmental standards are challenged in the WTO, incentives arise for the EU to push for international environmental rules that can grant immunity from WTO legal challenges. When changing WTO rules is not an option, PTAs become a valid alternative. We illustrate the plausibility of our argument through an in-depth case study of the EU's attempt to include provisions defining environmental sustainability criteria for the production of biofuels in the ongoing negotiations for a PTA with Malaysia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dhondt Frederik

The Law of Nations and Declarations of War after the Peace of Utrecht
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 42, Issue 3 , 329-349

The history of the law of nations is generally seen as a synonym for the history of the laws of war. Yet, a strictly bilateral perspective can distort our interpretation of early modern diplomacy. The Peace of Utrecht (11 April 1713) inaugurated an era of relative stability in the European state system, based on balance-of-power politics and anti-hegemonic legal argumentation. Incidental conflicts ought to be interpreted against this background. Declarations of war issued in 1718, 1719 and 1733 during the War of the Quadruple Alliance and the Polish Succession should not be read as doctrinal surrogates for trials between two parties, but as manifestos in a European arena.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Persson Petra, Zhuravskaya Ekaterina

The Limits of Career Concerns in Federalism: Evidence from China
in *Journal of the European Economic Association*, Volume 9, Issue 2 - April 2011 , 338-374

Performance-based promotion schemes in administrative hierarchies have limitations. Chinese provincial leaders, despite facing strong career concerns, make different policy decisions depending on their career backgrounds. Provincial party secretaries who have risen from low to high positions within the province they govern ("locals") spend a higher share of budgetary resources on education and health care and invest less in construction infrastructure than



party secretaries who have made their most significant career advancements in other provinces (“outsiders”). Identification comes from variation in central leadership and term limits. As the promotion mechanism rewards infrastructure investments, locals are less likely to be promoted at the end of the term. We explore various mechanisms and provide evidence that the difference between locals and outsiders is not driven by knowledge or experience. Several pieces of evidence suggest that locals cater to low-level provincial elites, who helped them rise to power. Thus, local career trajectories limit the power of career concerns by fostering competing allegiances.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Catarina Kinnvall

The Postcolonial has Moved into Europe: Bordering, Security and Ethno-Cultural Belonging
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

The legacy of European colonialisms and nationalisms has conditioned immigration and citizenship policies that inform the postcolonial move into Europe. This article questions the assumptions that undergird conceptions of boundary, territory and ethno-cultural belonging in the constitution of Europe. In particular, it emphasizes how Europe and European integration must be read within the context of postcolonial globalization, migration and ethnicity in which the concept of postcolonialism is important not only for understanding how the idea of Europe was transferred to postcolonial societies, but also for arguing that colonialism never left Europe unaffected and is still part of European reality. Reading Europe and European integration through a postcolonial lens means taking seriously the challenges involved in the re-assertion of national identities. It also provides a novel attempt to conceptualize the current economic crisis as being as much about contesting (national) narratives of economic transformations as of contrasting material developments and processes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Annica Kronsell

The Power of EU Masculinities: A Feminist Contribution to European Integration Theory
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

This article advances feminist analysis in the study of European integration through a focus on gender power in relation to masculinity constructs. It takes issue with the fact that gender studies tend to equate gender with women. It sketches a feminist contribution to integration theory, where the EU is perceived as gender regimes at multiple levels. Gender identity constructs – masculinities and femininities – rely on difference and are shifting across time, levels and sectors. Yet the variations of identity constructs are limited by well-established ideas – gender binaries – providing continuity and path dependences to maintain the gender system, for example through the ‘EU protector masculinity’ in the EU CSDP. European integration thus is a process whereby EU masculinities and femininities are constructed through EU relations to other states in the global context and in EU policy-making and institution-building.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Berry Stephanie E.



The Siren's Call? Exploring the Implications of an Additional Protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights on National Minorities

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 1 , 1-38

Calls for the adoption of an Additional Protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) on National Minorities have persisted within the Council of Europe despite the adoption of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). This article explores the potential implications of the adoption of an Additional Protocol on National Minorities to the ECHR for the FCNM. The European Court of Human Rights (ECTHR) already has several tools that would allow it to extend protection to persons belonging to national minorities. However, as the ECTHR tends to allow States a wide margin of appreciation in cases concerning persons belonging to minorities, it is argued that the adoption of an Additional Protocol on National Minorities may not be desirable, as it has the potential to undermine the progress made by the Framework Convention Advisory Committee.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Scavenius Theresa

The Tragedy of the Few

in *Res Publica*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special issue on Justice, Climate Change, and the Distribution of Natural Resources, March , 53-65

In this article I elaborate and defend a rights-based understanding of climate politics, that is, one that takes climate politics to concern the rights to access of natural resources as opposed to people's economic incentives. The argument contains two parts. The first is negative: to demonstrate that the tragedy of the commons as a story of climate change is inadequate. The second is positive: to suggest a more satisfactory framework, which I call the tragedy of the few. In this view, climate politics is neither primarily mitigation nor economic incentive politics, but one of distributing rights to access natural resources in a fair and environmentally-friendly way. By changing both the narrative and underlying methodological assumptions, my goal is to enable us to accommodate the rights to access natural resources as a key moral issue in climate politics. I begin by sketching the main features of the tragedy of the commons and demonstrate its inadequacy. I then provide an account of the rights-based view of climate change that consists of two arguments. First, I demonstrate the normative side of the argument by highlighting the importance of environmental rights, and second, I outline the empirical side of the argument by discussing recent studies on the properties of natural resources and on the corporate agents who extract the resources that emit greenhouse gasses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Monforte Pierre

The border as a space of contention: the spatial strategies of protest against border controls in Europe

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 20, issue 3-4 , 411-426

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the spatial dimension of social movements mobilising against border controls. Focusing on the case of the protests against European border controls, this paper shows that new spatial strategies of protest have emerged since the beginning of the 2000s. Movements construct collective actions that aim to identify border controls and occupy specific border sites. These new strategies are related to a transformation of the material



and symbolic dimensions of border controls in the last decades. As they have become more diffuse and organised through a selective power, social movements strategically locate their protest in order to document the existence and nature of border controls. In doing so, they disrupt the exclusionary logic of citizenship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gartzke Erik, Westerwinter Oliver

The complex structure of commercial peace contrasting trade interdependence, asymmetry, and multipolarity in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 325-343

Researchers continue to debate the impact of trade on interstate conflict. While many view trade as pacifying, others argue that dependencies increase friction and the risk of war. We provide a theory that explains how cross-border economic ties alternately enhance or impede international cooperation. Three main factors account for the heterogeneous effects of trade on conflict: interdependence, asymmetry, and multipolarity. Interdependence can act as a substitute for, or as a deterrent to, militarized violence. In the former case, interdependence actually increases more modest non-militarized conflict, while also discouraging militarized disputes. Asymmetry diminishes the conflict-inhibiting effect of trade ties, as dependency cannot simultaneously be used to coerce and to inform. Multilateral trade networks alternately moderate or enhance the bilateral effects of interdependence and asymmetry on interstate peace. Our theory and evidence reveal complex, cross-cutting consequences of economic interdependence on conflict behavior and also demonstrate effects well beyond the dyad, suggesting the need to include extradyadic ties in future theoretical and empirical research studying the commercial peace.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Capello Roberta, Caragliu Andrea, Fratesi Ugo

The costs of the economic crisis: which scenario for the European regions?

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 1, February , 113-130

Although the crisis is a world phenomenon, its impact is not at all spatially invariant. The aim of the article is to analyse the spatial effects of the crisis, doing so through a scenario-building exercise in which policies are kept constant, and economic growth is mainly driven by macroeconomic and supply side trends on the assumption that the crisis will end in 2015. The final goal is to raise awareness of policy makers on the costs of the present economic crisis and on their spatial impacts, so as to direct growth policies towards more targeted interventions. Our results show that the crisis produces structural breaks in local economy growth patterns; after years of convergence, regional disparities will rise due to an increase in intra-regional disparities, only partially limited by international convergence, strongly reduced in the years of crisis. The scenario is developed thanks to the MASST3 model, a regional growth forecasting model recently updated and enlarged to be able to forecast the impact of the crisis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maoz Zeev, Joyce Kyle A

The effects of shocks on international networks. Changes in the attributes of states and the structure of



international alliance networks

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 292-309

We study the effects of shocks – such as major wars that change states' strategic environments – on alliance networks. This has important implications for the structure of security cooperation networks. We develop an agent-based model (ABM) that: (1) models network evolution processes of security cooperation networks; (2) induces shocks that cause significant changes in agents' utilities due to shifts in common interests between states; (3) analyzes how networks reorganize in the post-shock period. We derive propositions from the ABM about the relationship between shock attributes and network structure. We compare the results of the ABM to similar shocks that operate on real-world alliance networks. The ABM results with random network data suggest that states that experience dramatic changes in their strategic environment increase network connectivity and consistency. Consequently, post-shock networks become increasingly connected (denser) and consistent (transitive). With a few notable exceptions, these results are corroborated by analysis of alliance network reorganization following shocks. We discuss the theoretical and empirical implications of the results and offer directions for future research on shocks and international networks.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stein Arthur A.

The great trilemma: are globalization, democracy, and sovereignty compatible?

in *International Theory*, vol. 8, issue 2 , 297-340

ABSTRACT: Current economic and political developments spotlight the relationship between domestic and global governance and the impact of globalization on both. A key question is whether a sovereign state system, democratic governments, and an integrated global marketplace can coexist. The paper assesses analytic materialist arguments for their incompatibility and the key assumptions on which they rest. The paper describes the extant pressures operating to limit each of the three: how sovereignty and democracy work to constrain globalization, how globalization and sovereignty generate a democratic deficit, and how globalization and democracy lead to limitations upon, and even the transcendence of, sovereignty. How to make the three compatible, and failing that, which facet to restrain, characterizes political contestation in a globalizing age. Global and domestic governance reflect the need to reconcile the combined implications of globalization, sovereignty, and democracy, and to do so by restraining, limiting, or transforming one or more of these features.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Betsill Michele, Stevis Dimitris

The politics and dynamics of energy transitions: lessons from Colorado's (USA) "New Energy Economy"

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 2, March , 381-396

This article examines the political dynamics of energy transitions in a case study of the State of Colorado's (USA) efforts to create a "New Energy Economy" through a series of legislative and administrative actions between January 2007 and January 2011. Drawing on an emerging literature on the politics of social-technical transitions, we argue that transitions involve contestation between and within coalitions of incumbents and challengers, which result in policies that benefit particular actors and a reconfiguration of the core values around which transition policies are articulated. We explore



these dynamics through an analysis of the process that led to the adoption of Colorado's 30% Renewable Energy Standard in 2010, which is often held up as one of the crowning achievements of the New Energy Economy initiative, in order to illustrate how these political debates shape the nature and trajectory of the transition process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mohd Nor Shifa, Abdul Rahim Ruzita, Che Senik Zizah

The potentials of internalising social banking among the Malaysian Islamic banks in Environment, Development and Sustainability, Volume 18, Issue 2, April , 347-372

Islamic banking has established for the last 40 years, yet only recently researchers acknowledge social failures of Islamic banking and finance. This has led to a proposition of forming new forms of banking and non-banking institutions that include social banking. It is argued that in considering the developmentalist needs of the Muslim societies in Malaysia, there is a need to go back to fundamentals of Islamic finance in realising the aspirational Islamic moral economy that emphasises on the social good, capacity development at the individual and social levels. This paper aims to explore the concept of social banking and search for the possibilities for internalisation in Malaysian Islamic banking. To gain understanding on this pertinent issue, an empirical investigation was conducted at 17 Islamic banks in Malaysia. A mixed method was employed. For the primary data collection, 477 respondents of Islamic banks clients and employees participated in a self-administrated survey, and 11 respondents from the executive and managerial level of eight Islamic banks involved in a semi-structured interview survey. The integrated analysis implies that Islamic banking significantly contributes to socio-economic development. On the contrary, financial and economic practices in everyday life do not reflect the social economic justice. The result further illustrates that the Islamic banks lack social contributions as they prone to practice efficiency-oriented institutions. Hence, a social banking model is needed to solve the lack of socio-economic development issue in the current practice of Islamic bank.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wilson Maya, Davis David R, Murdie Amanda

The view from the bottom: Networks of conflict resolution organizations and international peace in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 53, Number 3, May , 442-458

Networks of international nongovernmental organizations with missions concerning conflict resolution (CROs) conduct a number of innovative international programs designed to promote peace. Is this network of CROs effective? In this article, we argue that the CRO network can transmit information and promote norms of peace that help in reducing international conflict. Our theoretical argument builds on earlier work concerning international governmental organizations (IGOs) and peace and we examine whether and how the connections among states through CRO ties can lead to reductions in international conflict. We test the key empirical implication of our argument – concerning how the CRO network can foster peace – using new social network measures that focus on the actual network of citizens and elites connected internationally by CROs, rather than focusing on the size or presence of civil society within a state. We find considerable support for our central hypothesis that the network of international CROs is associated with peace. When a state is more embedded within the CRO network, international bellicosity from that state is diminished. This result holds at both the monadic and dyadic (non-directed and directed) levels of analysis. At the dyadic level, the CRO network works even when we account for the IGO network with a similar conflict resolution focus. At the dyadic level, we



find that the greater the number of possible CRO informational channels between the states in the dyad, the less bellicosity within the dyad.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rebecca Adler-Nissen

Towards a Practice Turn in EU Studies: The Everyday of European Integration
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1

This article explores how practice theory can be recruited for the study of European integration. New generations of EU researchers are fascinated by the prospect of leaving the armchair and studying the people and artefacts that make the EU on an everyday level. This article surveys key practice-oriented, anthropological and micro-sociological studies of the EU and European integration and shows how their findings challenge more traditional understandings of the dynamics of European integration. Moving beyond a stock-taking, the article distinguishes between 'ordering' and 'disordering' practices and explores the potential of a practice turn in EU studies for both theory (overcoming dualism, replacing substantialism with processualism and rethinking power) and methods (including unstructured interviews, fieldwork and participant observation). A practice turn will force us to rethink core assumptions about the EU and allow us to grasp otherwise uncharted performances and social activities that are crucial for European integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tra fedeltà europee e ambizioni mediterranee: storia della dimensione esterna della politica immigratoria italiana

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 2 - Aprile/Giugno 2016

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cutler Claire

Transformations in Statehood, the Investor-State Regime, and the New Constitutionalism
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 23, issue 1 , 95-125

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the changing boundaries of statehood resulting from transformations in the nature and operation of public and private authority over local and global politico-legal orders. Transformations in the political purposes of states are being driven by powerful elites who advance a new form of constitutional governance. New constitutionalism, as evidenced by the investor-state regime, subordinates the interests, purposes, and rights of national citizens to those of foreign, transnational politico-legal, and economic elites. This regime is a highly privatized order that is expanding in influence, both in terms of the commercial activities under its remit, and in terms of its procedural operation and its normative influence. The specific focus of this paper is on the investor-state regime, which is contributing to the expansion of private power and authority in the settlement of investment disputes. This regime is



effecting two transformations in the scope and nature of statehood. One transformation involves the imposition of severe limits upon the legislative and policy autonomy of national governments that are being developed and enforced by private commercial actors without public accountability. In agreeing to protect the private property rights of foreign investors against legislation or public policy that might impair foreign investment, states are also limited in their abilities to ensure the protection of the social, economic, or human rights of their peoples. However, this expansion of private power and authority is generating a countermovement in the form of resistance to the regime. This resistance is giving rise to a conflicting transformation in statehood as national governments seek to regain their policy and legislative autonomy. In some cases, the impetus comes from local sources, while in others it emanates from global and international human rights fora. This paper begins with an overview of the operational nature of the investor-state regime and new constitutionalism, revealing how the procedural and substantive provisions of the regime reach deep inside states to set clear limits on their legislative and policy autonomy. It then examines a selection of cases before investor-state tribunals that reveal contestation and resistance to the regime through the reassertion by state governments of their sovereignty and through the influence of international human rights. It concludes with an exploration of the potential for this regime to advance human rights protections and suggests a few changes that might enhance the regime's democratic legitimacy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hallberg Peter

**Translation on Trial: The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776) in Sweden
in History of European Ideas**, Volume 42, Issue 1 , 1-21

Tracing the international career of the 1776 Virginia Declaration of Rights to Sweden via France, this article is a study in the translation of politics and the politics of translation. Specifically, it shows how the Swedish translator, physician and publisher Lorents Münter Philipson (1765–1851) reached for it in 1792 to add to domestic arguments against hereditary office, the purpose of which, the article argues, was to revive and legitimise a more indigenous but by now slumbering rights revolution. The article first outlines the reception of America in Sweden and the ways in which Sweden figured in American debates. It then provides a detailed analysis of the trial that ensued as a response to the Swedish translation of the Virginia Declaration. Having reconstructed the process of transmission and the trial, during which the translator was charged with attacking Sweden's monarchical constitution by means of 'wrongly' translating the term 'magistrate', the article places the translation of the declaration in political context. The contextual analysis shows that translating the declaration at this particular point in time makes most sense against the background of the events unfolding in revolutionary France, which the translator hoped would influence political developments in Sweden and which the authorities sought to suppress.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sabater Navarro Gregorio

**Transnationality in an agent of change: the Spanish and Portuguese Socialists Parties in the Iberian transitions
in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XIV, n. 37 , 128-144

The Spanish and Portuguese Socialists Parties are studied here as part of the research line that conceptualizes the transitions into democracy in Spain and Portugal as the same political and social process. This common democratic



"wave" had an important relationship due to its simultaneity, despite the differences between both countries. Improving the knowledge of the transnational dynamics in Iberian social-democracy, one of the main subjects of the democratization process in the Peninsula, is key to comprehend this period.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Abrahams Cary

Understanding the Resurgence of Traditional Authorities in Post-Apartheid South Africa
in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 1, 95-71

Social cohesion is seen to be an urgent pursuit in post-apartheid South Africa, and is often invoked as a means to achieve a just and equal society, to quell xenophobic sentiment or violence, and to encourage support for a united nation. Even though, at its crux, the pursuit of a socially cohesive society is fundamentally about a compact between the government and the governed, the content of social cohesion is very much articulated by government as its 'template' for nation-building, directed at the populace for enacting such a vision. This article considers the changing nature of the social cohesion discourse in South Africa over the first two decades after democracy. It shows how the notion has evolved over time to contextualise social policy concepts emergent elsewhere, but ultimately has become inextricably connected to nation-building. The article argues that this formulation is deeply political. The social cohesion project, being so intimately connected with nation-building, essentially instantiates a version of nation that is based on and produces a narrative that seeks to solidify the African National Congress's hegemony.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lynch Gabrielle

What's in a name? The politics of naming ethnic groups in Kenya's Cherangany Hills

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Volume 10, Issue 1, Special Issue: Resilience and Collapse in African Savannahs: Causes and Consequences of Environmental Change in East Africa, 208-227

This article analyses the politics of names and naming among the Sengwer–Cherangany community from Kenya's Cherangany Hills. Two requests submitted to the World Bank Inspection Panel (WBIP) by Sengwer and Cherangany leaders in 2013 in protest of alleged harms that resulted from a World Bank supported National Resources Management Project are the focus of the analysis. The requests articulated a dispute as to whether 'locals' were 'indigenous peoples', or 'vulnerable and marginalised groups', and whether they should be called 'Sengwer' or 'Cherangany'. The struggle that ensued illustrates the local and extraversion strategies that are deployed to assert rights over cultural, socio-economic, ecological and political space through an insistence upon a specific ethnic label or brand. The case illustrates the extent to which names are imbued with cultural and legal meaning, and used to help legitimise certain engagements and interventions while delegitimising others. The analysis also highlights how bodies such as the WBIP can be used to protect and promote community interests through their recommendations and the production of 'authoritative' accounts or documentary archives.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17531055.2016.1141564>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Li Zhang

'Reflexive Expectations' in EU–China Relations: A Media Analysis Approach
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 2

To reverse the downturn in and develop EU–China relations requires mutual understanding. However, the opaque nature of Chinese politics makes it difficult to track China's expectations and its changing views of the EU and their relationship. This paper examines the official Chinese media discourse on the EU's 'actorness' and partnership with China. This helps to bridge the gap between international relations and media studies by linking government foreign relations to media discourse. It argues that China's relations with the EU should be characterized neither as a case of a 'Capability–Expectations Gap' (Hill, 1993) nor as an 'Expectation Deficit' (Tsuruoka, 2008), but should rather be seen as a matter of 'Reflexive Expectations' by China. The media analysis shows that China's changing national identity, interests and perception of the EU's capability at various times and in various situations influence expectations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kokushkin Maksim, Pettys Alicia M

'Shock Therapy' as a Neo-Liberal Response to an Economic Crisis
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 1 , 118-136

This paper investigates the resurgence of neo-liberalism during and after the Great Recession by exploring shock therapy reforms in the American state of Michigan. Using the framework of variegated neo-liberalization we demonstrate that even failed neo-liberal policies can be reused in divergent geographical and historical contexts. Further, we suggest that the jurisdictional and territorial autonomy of the state of Michigan allows its government to initiate market disciplinary restructuring in some cases at the expense of potential solutions to the crisis. In this process, the federal state's government actively overrides local and city governments and their voters. The resulting new policy configurations continue and deepen structural changes that favour neo-liberal ideologies. Our most telling example is a unique new neo-liberal formation, emergency management, a legitimate institution that allows an appointed individual to suspend democratic procedures and dismiss democratically elected local officials under the premises of a crisis of governance. Since neo-liberalization works in non-linear, but cumulative ways, one could expect that the emergency management model can be replicated outside the state of Michigan or the USA. We conclude that the broad neo-liberal project has no problem suspending, circumventing, or removing democratic procedures in its continued metapowering effort to create lasting structural change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Almagià Edoardo

"E poi verrà il Califfato": riflessioni sull'ISIS
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVII, numero speciale, n. 175, gennaio-inverno , 97-124

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_175.pdf



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sorgonà Gregorio

À propos de l'histoire politique du communisme, entre national et global

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 59, 2016/1 , 170-183

On the political history of communism, between the national and the global

The article addresses the historiographical debate on communism in France and Italy from the 1970s until today. The author examines the relations between the history of communism and politico-ideological debate in the two countries, highlighting the different methodological approaches. It also notes the importance of the relation between history and politics, the vitality of which tends to fade in the most recent works on the subject, where the weight of ideological debate is weaker. In recent research on the history of communism, the method of a «crossed history» has assumed considerable importance. Such an approach has been adopted in order to apprehend the history of communism by situating specific national traits within an international context, thus opening up new perspectives for the comprehension of one of the most notable phenomena of the 20th century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Yannick Poullie

Åland's Demilitarisation and Neutralisation at the End of the Cold War – Parliamentary Discussions in Åland and Finland 1988–1995

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 179-210

As a region that is simultaneously demilitarised, neutralised and autonomous, the Åland Islands represent a unique and long-established case in international law. However, this status was never independent of surrounding events. The early 1990s saw both the end of the Cold War and Finland's accession to the European Union. This paper offers an analysis of the discussion regarding Åland's demilitarised and neutralised status among both Finnish and Ålandic legislators during this period. It finds that Finnish policy-makers saw little need to discuss the matter. Åland's officials continuously criticised the Finnish Defence Forces' presence in the region as excessive and proved unwilling to let the issue rest. Against formal obstacles, they established themselves as a relevant actor, facilitated by differing approaches of political, diplomatic and military officials in Finland. Other sovereign states showed only limited interest in the discussion, making it a domestic one for the most part.