# Bulletin n. 2/2015 - September 2015

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**Adaptive institutions in social-ecological systems governance: A synthesis framework**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 53, Part B, Crafting or designing? Science and politics for purposeful institutional change in Social-Ecological Systems, November , 139-151

Adaptive governance of social-ecological systems depends on adaptive institutions. Efforts to understand the factors affecting adaptive institutions have identified many variables, but our understanding is constrained by multiple definitions of these concepts. In this article, we synthesize across two decades of studies relating to adaptive institutions. After clarifying some definitional confusion in the literature, we provide a theoretical framework to guide research on purposeful institutional change. While numerous scholars have identified a wide variety of important factors, we find that many of these factors can be traced back to (1) federalism and polycentricity and (2) networks and learning. Our synthesis suggests several avenues for future research centered on these factors. For example, how might the potential negative effects of key facilitating variables such as polycentricity (e.g., racial segregation and income sorting) and heterogeneous networks (e.g., increased coordination costs) hinder adaptive institutions? How can learning through both scientific and time-and-place knowledge promote adaptive institutions? More broadly, social science can play an important role in identifying factors that foster adaptability in different contexts, so that policy makers can promote such adaptability.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Easing the shoe where it pinches: The Lottery case and the demise of dual federalism**
**in Journal of Supreme Court History**, Volume 40, Issue 2 , 133–153

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Amarjit Singh Narang**
**Federalism in India during the Nehru and Post-Nehru Periods: Limitations and Challenges**
**in South Asian Survey** , 19 (2)

n the present context of rejuvenation of ethnicity the world over, states in India having become more autonomous due to changes in party system, democratic mobilisation and globalisation, and some states operating in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution while dealing with minorities. The article analyses the nature of federalism as adopted in India in the peculiar situation of post-independence and partition, its working during Nehruvian and later periods and the

changes it has witnessed both in terms of centralisation and decentralisation. The argument is that while federalism is an important device to manage diversity and to an extent has done well in India in that respect, it is not the panacea for justice to minorities. It can also be, and has been, used by majority groups as a tool for disempowering national minorities. What is therefore required is to understand federalism not merely in terms of centre–state relations or in legal and constitutional terminology, but in the context of economic, social, political and cultural forces. What is required is a multi-layered, democratic and non-hegemonic federal system that is responsive to both external and domestic pressures and serves the interests of minorities both territorially concentrated and spread over.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Fisher Sarah**
**Federalism's Fractured Decision Making in the Kyoto Protocol**
**in Politics & Policy**, Volume 43, Issue 1, February , pp. 1-29

Studies have examined a variety of domestic factors that might impact foreign policy decision making with regard to international environmental regimes. However, there have been no quantitative studies that examine how federalism affects the ratification process for international environmental treaties. The decentralized decision-making process in federal systems should make federal states less likely and slower to ratify international treaties than unitary states. Using the Kyoto Protocol as a test case, I find that federalism has a negative impact on both the likelihood and speed of ratification. In addition, qualitative evidence suggests that federalism played a significant role in the foreign policy decision-making process of the United States and Australia. For Kyoto, the protracted ratification process was especially important given the treaty mechanisms, the dramatic economic repercussions of possible compliance, and the political factors underlying ratification patterns.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Hausteiner Eva Marlene**
**Föderation als Bundesstaat? Begriffliche Traditionen, politische Alternativen**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

Welcher Begriff von Föderalismus erfasst unsere politische Realität am zuverlässigsten? Gegenwärtig dominiert eine Konzeption, die eng an die Normen der westlichen Moderne gebunden ist: Unter Föderalismus wird in Wissenschaft und Praxis zumeist ein institutionelles Element des demokratischen Verfassungsstaates verstanden, das angesichts von Diversität Freiheit, Gleichheit und Minderheitenrechte garantiere. Der Begriff ist aber stärker umkämpft, als es auf den ersten Blick den Anschein hat. Während er etwa in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland ein konstitutives Verfassungsprinzip bezeichnet, steht er in den Vereinigten Staaten für den anhaltenden Kompetenzkampf von Zentral- und Gliedstaaten. Und auf der EU-Ebene ist er bei jenen Mitgliedsstaaten, die einen "Superstaat" fürchten, längst zum verminten "F-Wort" avanciert.
Die Rede vom Föderalismus umfasst also mehr als einen Institutionenkatalog zur Kompetenzaufteilung zwischen zwei (oder mehr) Regierungsebenen. Sie ist eng an kontextspezifische Erfahrungen und normative Erwartungen geknüpft. Dieses Panorama der Föderalismusvorstellungen erweitert sich noch um ein Vielfaches, wenn nicht nur die Gegenwart,

sondern unterschiedliche historische Begriffsformationen berücksichtigt werden. Es bedarf nur weniger Blicke in die reiche Ideengeschichte, um zu erkennen, dass Begriff und Idee des Föderalen politisch bedingten, oft radikalen Schwankungen unterliegen...

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in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 31-38

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Behnke Nathalie**
**Stand und Perspektiven der Föderalismusforschung**
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209064/stand-und-perspektiven-der-foederalismusforschung

Die letzten vergleichenden Überblicke über die Föderalismusforschung sind mittlerweile rund zehn Jahre alt. 2002 erschien das von Arthur Benz und Gerhard Lehmbruch herausgegebene Sonderheft der Politischen Vierteljahresschrift zum Föderalismus. 2004 brachte André Kaiser einen breiten Überblick über die aktuelle Forschungsliteratur in der "Neuen Politischen Literatur", und 2006 erschien zuletzt eine APuZ zum Thema Föderalismus, damals anlässlich des Inkrafttretens der im Zuge der "Föderalismusreform I" beschlossenen Grundgesetzänderungen. Seitdem hat sich im deutschen Föderalismus eine Menge getan. Darüber hinaus haben globale Entwicklungstendenzen die Bedeutung der föderalen Staatsform deutlich gestärkt, woraus sich entsprechend auch neue Themen und Interessengebiete in der Föderalismusforschung entwickelt haben. Diese Veränderungen lassen es angeraten erscheinen, eine erneute Bestandsaufnahme zu versuchen...

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Pruysers, Scott**
**Two Political Worlds? Multi-level Campaign Integration in Canadian Constituencies**
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 165-182

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, using survey data from Canadian constituency associations, the article explores the extent to which federal and provincial parties engage in cross-jurisdictional coordination. In doing so, this study builds on and empirically tests findings that have been derived from earlier case studies (i.e. Koop, 2011). Far from inhabiting ‘two political worlds’ the data reveal that parties are much more connected than previously thought.

Second, the article seeks to uncover why some parties and associations are more integrated than others. Examining organizational design, the article concludes that vertical party integration is not simply an organizational phenomenon, as organizationally truncated parties still engage in modest levels of informal integration. In addition, constituency level factors are also considered. The results of a multinomial logistic regression demonstrate that parties are significantly more integrated in districts where they are electorally viable compared to those where they are weak.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Cosa intende fare lo Stato delle Regioni? (con un post scriptum di aggiornamento)**
**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 59-68

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Scheller Henrik**
**Der 'erschöpfte Föderalstaat'. Reformdebatte und Verfassungsrealität in Deutschland**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209066/der-erschoepfte-foederalstaat

Seit der Wiedervereinigung ist die Frage einer umfassenden Reform der bundesstaatlichen Ordnung immer wieder Gegenstand politischer Debatten. Der Marathon an Föderalismus- und Finanzausgleichsreformen begann mit der Gemeinsamen Verfassungskommission von Bundestag und Bundesrat 1992 bis 1994 und wurde fortgesetzt mit den ersten gesamtdeutschen Finanzausgleichsverhandlungen 1995 bis 2001, an die sich 2003 bis 2009 zwei Kommissionen zur Ausarbeitung der Föderalismusreformen I und II anschlossen. Seitdem bemühen sich die Länder um eine Neuordnung des Bund-Länder-Finanzausgleichs, der nach geltender Rechtslage Ende 2019 ausläuft. Die Verhandlungen erweisen sich jedoch als zäh: Bisher von Baden-Württemberg und dem Bund vorgelegte Kompromissvorschläge wurden von der Mehrheit der Länder abgelehnt und Beratungen mehrfach vertagt. Interesse an einer Reform scheinen nur die drei Geberländer Bayern, Baden-Württemberg und Hessen zu haben – obwohl sich im Koalitionsvertrag der schwarz-roten Bundesregierung ein Bekenntnis zu einer Föderalismusreform III findet. Die Ambitionen, von denen der darin enthaltene Themenkatalog zeugt, sind allerdings einer gewissen Ernüchterung gewichen, da es inzwischen offenbar nur noch um eine für alle Seiten belastungsneutrale Modifizierung der Detailregelungen des Finanzausgleichssystems geht...

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Céline Romainville**
**Dynamics of Belgian Plurinational Federalism: A Small State under Pressure**

**in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review**, Volume 38, issue 2 , 225-250

This Essay outlines the dynamics of Belgian plurinational federalism. It focuses on the major driving forces of Belgian federalism by identifying the sources of change and instability, which are reshaping the institutional and constitutional layers of Belgian federalism. It then analyzes the recent Reform of the State before reviewing the indirect and direct sources of change of Belgian constitutional law originating in European law.

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**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 153-158

No abstract available

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**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 3-16

No abstract available

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**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 123-138

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 177-186

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No abstract available

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**Andrea Ambrosi**
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**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 21-38

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Ugo De Siervo**
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**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 139-152

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Leunig Sven**
**Subsidiarität als Kompetenzverteilungsregel im deutschen Föderalismus?**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209068/subsidiaritaet-als-kompetenzverteilungsregel

Die Föderalismusreform 2006 in Deutschland hat gezeigt, dass Föderalismus in der Tat ein "dynamisches System"[1] ist – offenbar auch bei Verfassungsänderungen. Ziel der Reform war die Entflechtung der Kompetenzen zwischen beiden bundesstaatlichen Ebenen, um insbesondere den Bund wieder handlungsfähiger zu machen. Zugleich sollten, nicht nur als Ausgleich für den Verlust von Mitwirkungsrechten der Länder über den Bundesrat, Kompetenzen auf die Landesebene (zurück)verlagert werden. Wenn dies innerhalb eines Bundesstaates geschieht, stellt sich für die Wissenschaft und die handelnden Politikerinnen und Politiker die Frage, an welchen Zielen beziehungsweise Kompetenzordnungsregeln diese Verlagerung sich orientieren sollte. Denn es wäre absurd, Kompetenzen zu verschieben, ohne davon auszugehen, dass sie auf der neuen Ebene sinnvoll angesiedelt sind...

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Palfreyman Brett**
**The Loyalists and the Federal Constitution: The Origins of the Bill of Attainder Clause**
**in Journal of the Early Republic**, Volume 35, Number 3, Fall , 451-473

During American Revolution, rebel state governments adopted bills of attainder to contain and control loyalists, dangerous internal enemies who would apply their blood, treasure, and influence to put down the rebellion. In this extreme form of punitive legislation, state assemblies identified specific Tories by name, judged them guilty of treason, and prescribed a variety of punishments ranging from property confiscation to permanent banishment. Just four years after the war, however, delegates at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia passed an unconditional ban on attainder laws with a unanimous vote and almost no debate. In fact, protection from bills of attainder was one of the handful of individual rights that the Framers included in the actual text of the Constitution. So why the change? Why did so many Americans view bills of attainder as acceptable during the war, then turn around and reject them just a few years later?
The Framers' unanimous decision to ban attainder laws was predicated on two related developments that took place in

the aftermath of the Revolution. The first was the peaceful reintegration of loyalists who chose to remain in the states after the war. Once loyalists ceased to pose a special threat, states no longer needed extraordinary measures to manage them. The second was the Framers' increasing fear that state assemblies had grown too powerful. In this sense, the attainder ban was part of a larger effort to take power away from the people—particularly the alarming power to confiscate private property.

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**Antonio Ruggeri**
**Una riforma che non dà ristoro a Regioni assetate di autonomia**
**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 243-256

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**Paolo Caretti**
**Venti domande su Regioni e riforme costituzionali**
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**Luca Antonini**
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**Carlo Fusaro**
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**Giovanni Tarli Barbieri**
**Venti questioni su Regioni e riforme costituzionali**
**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 257-282

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Elisabetta Catelani**
**Venti risposte, o quasi, su Regioni e riforme costituzionali: occorre ancora fare chiarezza sul ruolo dello Stato e delle Regioni**
**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 109-122

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Woods Neal D.**
**Separation of Powers and the Politics of Administrative Rule**
**in State Politics & Policy Quarterly**, Vol. 15, No. 3 , 345-365

In many states, agency rules are subject to review and possible veto by elected political officials in the legislative and/or executive branches. The consequences of this rule review authority are little understood. Using time-series cross-section data on state environmental compliance costs, this study investigates the impact that several types of administrative rule review procedures have on the stringency of state environmental regulation. The findings suggest that (1) both gubernatorial and legislative rule review powers are systematically associated with reduced environmental compliance costs, (2) legislatures controlled by the Democratic Party use rule review powers to reduce these costs less than Republican ones, and (3) the latter effect is observable only when legislatures have the power to amend or veto rules without the approval of the governor. These results indicate that rule review plays an important, but complex, role in shaping regulatory outcomes.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Grönebaum Stefan**
**Bundesländer im Clinch, Bundesrat ohne Linie**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 13-16

Bis 2019 müssen die Finanzbeziehungen zwischen Bund und Ländern neu geregelt werden. Und da man ungern während der Wahlkampfjahre 2016/2017 darüber verhandeln will, läuft das Fingerhakeln über einen neuen Finanzausgleich zwischen Bund und Ländern, aber auch unter den Ländern, derzeit auf Hochtouren. Kleinster

gemeinsamer Nenner aller Länder ist, hier wie überall, dass sie vom Bund mehr Geld fordern, derzeit rund zehn Mrd. Euro jährlich. Finanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble hatte lediglich acht Mrd. angeboten. Insider erwarten daher, dass man sich irgendwo dazwischen treffen wird.

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

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

**Sarah Buckley**

**Clean Air Post-Healthcare: The Federalism Limits of the Spending Power and the Future of Environmental Regulation**

**in Virginia Law Review**, Vol. 101, issue 3 , 807-848

Modern environmental regulation was born in the 1970s, at a time when federalism limits to congressional power were essentially an afterthought. Since then, U.S. constitutional law has undergone a federalism revival as Justices of the Rehnquist and Roberts Courts have sought to articulate principled limits to the federal power that ballooned during and after the New Deal. Because of federal environmental law's expansive scope, many commentators have predicted that this growing revolution could soon change the face of federal environmental regulation.

Emblematic of federalism's shifting landscape is the Supreme Court's decision in National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius, the politically charged controversy challenging the constitutionality of President Barack Obama's healthcare reform package, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act ("PPACA"). While the majority of headlines about the case reported the Court's dramatic split over whether the controversial "individual mandate" provision was permissible under the Commerce Clause, the less discussed yet perhaps more significant holding concerned the constitutionality of the "Medicaid expansion" and the scope of the Spending Clause. This new gloss on the Spending Clause could "seriously threaten the constitutionality of a broad swath of federal spending legislation," including environmental laws.

At the top of the endangered statutes list is the Clean Air Act ("CAA"). The CAA, like many environmental statutes, employs a "cooperative federalism" structure that requires states to take responsibility for administering a federal regulatory program. As "Congress's most aggressive effort to induce state regulation through the use of conditional spending," the CAA is considered the most vulnerable environmental statute—and perhaps the most vulnerable statute period—to a federalism challenge post-Sebelius. Just as the PPACA conditioned the receipt of existing Medicaid funds on adopting an expanded Medicaid program, the CAA conditions the receipt of some federal highway funds on the implementation of an air pollution control program tightly managed by the Federal Environmental Protection Agency ("EPA"). This "leveraging" of funds from one program to secure compliance for another was a major factor in the Sebelius majority's conclusion that the PPACA's Medicaid expansion was unconstitutional. And although federal highway funds make up a much smaller portion of state budgets than does Medicaid assistance, which might indicate less potential for impermissible "coercion," federal funds do make up a large proportion of states' transportation budgets.

EPA's recent greenhouse gas ("GHG") rulemakings are a prime example of how the CAA may be vulnerable to a Spending Clause challenge. Chief Justice Roberts's majority opinion in Sebelius pictured conditional spending as a contract with states, suggesting that Congress exceeds the scope of its Spending Clause power when the terms of that contract—of how states participate in the federal program—change drastically in contravention of states' reasonable expectations. Although the requirements of the CAA are always in flux as EPA crafts national air pollution control policy to conform to new science and changing environmental priorities, the GHG rulemakings represent the largest nonstatutory change in the Act's scope in its forty-year history.

This Note will explore the implications of the new Spending Clause jurisprudence for the CAA and how the doctrinal trajectory signaled by the Sebelius decision can undermine both the goals of federal environmental policy and those of

our system of federalism itself. Many scholars have already offered assessments of the constitutionality of the CAA after Sebelius, and most have concluded that the Act will stand. While this Note will concur with this conclusion, I hope to offer a more detailed look into the operation and effect of the highway funding sanction in Section 179 of the Act and apply Sebelius in the context of EPA's controversial GHG rulemaking. Most importantly, this Note will point out the danger of injecting a stronger brand of Tenth Amendment federalism into the Court's Spending Clause jurisprudence and will discuss how Sebelius might signal a dangerous trajectory for environmental policy and cooperative federalism regulatory schemes in general.
The argument will proceed in four parts. Part I will summarize the structure of the CAA and the importance of cooperative federalism within that structure. Part II will then dissect the Court's Spending Clause precedents in South Dakota v. Dole and Sebelius, and will dig deeper into the concept of "coercion" from those cases. Part III will apply the new Sebelius test to the CAA and EPA's GHG rulemaking. Finally, Part IV will discuss why this episode in the Court's federalism revival may hurt environmental policymaking—and may actually marginalize rather than elevate the power of states in our federal system.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Isaac Ravetllat Ballesté**
**Competencias autonómicas en materia de atención y protección a la infancia y la adolescencia: estudio al hilo del artículo 166.3 del Estatuto de autonomía de Cataluña**
**in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 159-201

El presente estudio tiene como objetivo el análisis exhaustivo del artículo 166.3, aparrado a), del EAC de 2006, en virtud del cual la Generalitat de Cataluña asume competencias exclusivas en materia de "protección de menores". Este precepto, que a primera vista pareciere no presentar excesivos problemas de interpretación, encierra, en realidad, un rico debate doctrinal acerca de la verdadera extensión y significación de sus palabras. La misma expresión "protección de menores" o la cláusula de cierre "respetando en este último caso la legislación penal", así como la inquietante referencia a los "menores infractores", todas ellas contenidas en la disposición objeto de nuestro análisis, muestran bien a las claras la necesidad de una reflexión pausada y profunda que, tomando en consideración los antecedentes inmediatos del artículo en cuestión – artículo 9.28 del EAC de 1979 -, nos faciliten la comprensión, a la vez que resuelvan nuestras dudas, sobre el contenido real de este título competencial.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Julien-Alexis Defromont, Séverine Menétrey**
**Concurrence normative en Europe : quelle attractivité pour les droits nationaux ?**
**in Revue internationale de droit économique** , t. XXVIII, 2014/4

Cet article retrace les origines de la concurrence normative qui s'inscrit dans l'analyse économique du droit et confronte ce discours économiste essentiellement nord-américain au discours intégrationniste européen. La concurrence normative, qui repose sur une logique utilitariste d'optimisation des intérêts privés, n'est pas étrangère à l'Union européenne, mais la dialectique entre harmonisation du droit et autonomie des États membres réduit la portée de cette concurrence pensée uniquement en termes économiques. De manière prospective, elle invite à s'interroger sur l'émergence d'une attractivité des droits nationaux fondée sur des valeurs autres qu'économiques.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Eliana Spadoni**
**Conflictos ambientales y relaciones intergubernamentales. El rol de la Defensoría del Pueblo en el caso de la Cuenca del Salí Dulce**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 36-71

Las relaciones intergubernamentales pueden entenderse como un conjunto de interacciones que suceden entre todo tipo de unidades gubernamentales y niveles (Anderson citado en Wright, 1997). En los conflictos ambientales emergen con fuerza tensiones, colaboraciones y falta de acciones concretas entre mismos y distintos niveles de gobierno por la transferencia de recursos económicos, las regulaciones legales y los marcos decisorios políticos que afectan el control, uso y manejo de los recursos naturales. El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar la influencia de las relaciones intergubernamentales y del ciclo del conflicto ambiental en las estrategias desarrolladas por la DP para canalizar el conflicto ambiental por el saneamiento de la Cuenca del Salí Dulce.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Julio Pinheiro Faro Homem de Siqueira**
**Democratic Dialogue for a Better Constitutional Synallagma. Discussing Giuseppe Martinico's ideas**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 11-18

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Ehs Tamara**
**Der VfGH als politischer Akteur. Konsequenzen eines Judikaturwandels**
in **Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Bd. 44, Nr. 2 (2015) , 15-28

Abstract

Wie Verfassungsgerichte grundsätzlich so erfüllt auch der österreichische Verfassungsgerichtshof (VfGH) eine politische Funktion. Deshalb kann die Beschäftigung mit seiner Judikatur nicht nur den Rechtswissenschaften überlassen sein, sondern verlangt einen stärker politikwissenschaftlichen Beitrag. Alltagsbefunde etwa zur „Macht der obersten Richter“ oder zu den „stillen Herrschern“ bedürfen der politologischen Auseinandersetzung. Gerade der seit den 1980ern erfolgte Judikaturwandel im Bereich der Grundrechte trug zu seiner politischen Akzentuierung im Institutionengefüge bei und bewirkte zahlreiche parteipolitische Kontroversen. Denn mit der Grundrechtsprechung greift er offensiver und über die Einzelfallentscheidung hinausgehend – damit einflussreicher – ins politische Geschehen ein.

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

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

**Martin A. Kurzweil**

**Disciplined Devolution and the New Education Federalism**

in **California Law Review**, Volume 103, issue 3 , 565-633

In the face of congressional gridlock and failed bureaucratic efforts to address evolving challenges, policy makers have increasingly turned to alternative governance frameworks. Three such frameworks are executive waiver of legislative schemes, enlistment of states to make policy under federal programs, and experimentalist collaboration between policy makers and citizens focused on continuous learning.

Analysis of each framework in isolation has overlooked the fact that, in a growing number of significant federal programs, they interact to create a distinct and promising governance model, which this Article calls "disciplined devolution." In these programs, a federal agency grants states waivers to design policies that deviate from a pre-existing legislative scheme, subject to a set of broad goals. The agency evaluates the initial plans and provides monitoring and feedback on their implementation. The agency also promotes collaboration with local stakeholders and benchmarks each state's success against that of other states.

The Obama Administration's education policies present a particularly vivid illustration of disciplined devolution. The Administration has used statutory waiver authority to allow fortythree states to replace the requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act with comprehensive education reform plans of their own devising, subject to ongoing monitoring for progress toward broad federal policy goals and efforts to incorporate stakeholders in decision making.

Analysis of these education initiatives shows that disciplined devolution can promote innovation, foster locally tailored policy, and encourage continuous institutional learning. Beyond that, disciplined devolution also answers some of the most trenchant critiques of waiver, cooperative federalism, and experimentalism, by offering greater democratic legitimacy as well as greater accountability for process and outcomes. At the same time, the disciplined devolution model represents a fragile balance of centralizing and decentralizing forces. This Article identifies and recommends steps to avoid the risk that internal tensions or external shocks will destabilize the new framework and tip it into rigid bureaucracy or unaccountable devolution.

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

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

**Tyler Hughes and Deven Carlson**

**Divided Government and Delay in the Legislative Process: Evidence From Important Bills, 1949-2010**

in **American Politics Research**, 43 (5) , 771-792

Despite a robust history of studies examining legislative outputs, little is known about how divided government affects the policymaking process. This article examines these dynamics by analyzing the relationship between divided government and delay in the consideration of important legislation. We also introduce a more nuanced measure of divided government—the strength of the president’s party in Congress—that measures both the presence and magnitude of inter-branch conflict. Using a Cox proportional hazards model to analyze delay of important legislation from 1949 to 2010, the results indicate both divided government and the strength of the president’s party in Congress are significantly related to legislative delay. Moreover, presidential party strength significantly interacts with partisan polarization. When the parties are moderately or highly polarized, there is a significant relationship between the strength of the president’s party and legislative delay; this relationship is insignificant at lower levels of polarization. Taken together, these findings enhance our understanding of how inter-branch conflict affects the policymaking process in Congress.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Sungjoon Cho and Thomas H. Lee**
**Double Remedies in Double Courts**
in **European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 26, no. 2 , 519-535

This article uses an ongoing trade controversy litigated in US courts and the World Trade Organization dispute resolution system as a vehicle for exploring different models to deal with parallel adjudications in different legal systems between the same or related parties on the same issue. In lieu of more traditional models of subordination or first-to-decide sequencing, the article proposes an engagement model as a solution to the double-courts, single-issue problem.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Bradley E. Markano**
**Enabling State Deregulation of Marijuana through Executive Branch Nonenforcement**
in **New York University Law Review** , Vol. 90, issue 1 , 289-324

In an apparent victory for federalism, the Obama administration has set out a policy of deference to state marijuana regulations, even when state laws conflict with federal prohibition. Critics of this policy have alleged that the executive is unconstitutionally leaving portions of federal law unenforced, effectively legalizing a drug that is still classified as a Schedule I narcotic. But in reality, current executive branch guidelines for the exercise of prosecutorial discretion are limited, vague, and largely unenforceable. Instead, the real risk is not that current federal nonenforcement policy will effectively legalize marijuana, but that the policy will fail to induce the reliance necessary for states to serve as effective laboratories of experimentation. This concern can be addressed, to an extent, by requiring that U.S. Attorneys use their enforcement authority in a more formal, transparent, and reliable fashion. However, constitutional limits on executive power mean that deregulation is likely to remain imperfect until a legislative solution is enacted.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Giuseppe Martinico**
**Exploring the Constitutional Complexity of the EU. An Introduction to a Symposium**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 6-10

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Francesca Iusi**
**Il rinvio pregiudiziale e il diverso approccio del giudice costituzionale italiano, spagnolo e tedesco**

in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 149-167

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Giulia Aravantinou Leonidi**
**La Corte Suprema e la separazione dei poteri negli Stati Uniti. Considerazioni a margine della Sentenza National Labor Relations Board, Petioner v. Noel Canning, et. al.**
in **Nomos**, 2/2014

ELEZIONI E PARTITI
– Il dibattito in vista delle elezioni di “mid term” e la riscossa del tea party
CONGRESSO
– L’inattività del 113esimo Congresso
PRESIDENTE E ESECUTIVO
– L’amministrazione Obama alla prova della riforma dell’immigrazione
CORTI
– Una Corte Suprema unanime
FEDERALISMO
– Pena di morte e same sex marriage ancora in Agenda

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**María Reyes Pérez Alberdi**
**La admisibilidad constitucional de un referéndum autonómico con base en la competencia estatutaria sobre consultas populares**
in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, No. 104 , 101-132

This study considers the constitutional acceptability of an autonomic referendum in Spain, based on the powers of public consultation laid out in most Statutes of Autonomy. It analyses the legal, jurisdictional and case-law framework surrounding this type of consultation. The study finds that it is fully constitutionally acceptable, since the general legal framework to which autonomy law on public consultation through referendum is subject is incorporated into state law – preferably the Constitutional Law on referendum procedures in Article 92 of the Spanish Constitution.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Anne Levade**
**La construction européenne et son incidence sur les compétences étatiques et la hiérarchie des normes**
in **Revue française de droit constitutionnel**, No. 102 , 287-305

Disons-le d’emblée, prétendre s’interroger, en quelques pages et au titre des « mutations du constitutionnalisme », sur «

la construction européenne et son incidence sur les compétences étatiques et la hiérarchie des normes » peut sembler exagérément ambitieux. On le dit d'autant plus volontiers que l'ambition revient aux organisateurs de cette manifestation qui, reconnaissons-le, n'ont à cet égard ménagé aucun des intervenants de cette journée. Je saisis l'occasion de les remercier, du défi bien sûr, mais aussi et surtout de leur invitation, en formant le vœu que mon intervention, nécessairement partielle, je l'espère pas trop longue et, par la force des choses, subjective répondra aux attentes qui étaient les leurs.
Entamons le propos par un constat : la question des mutations du constitutionnalisme et, spécialement, de la Ve République consécutives à la construction européenne est abondamment explorée.
On ne compte plus les articles, colloques et ouvrages qui s'y sont intéressés ; il n'est pas de manuel de droit constitutionnel qui n'y consacre des développements, à chaque nouvelle édition plus significatifs. Et l'on ajoutera que, selon les auteurs, la problématique qui s'y rattache est alternativement présentée en termes conflictuels ou conciliateurs, les uns et les autres d'ailleurs parfois exagérément.
Ce premier constat pourrait être rassurant : tout ayant été dit – et parfois fort bien – sur le sujet, le défi n'en serait peut-être pas un, sous réserve d'un nécessaire effort de synthèse.
Pourtant, à bien y réfléchir, l'exercice, imposé mais néanmoins toujours utile, de la définition des termes du sujet incite à plus de circonspection. Prenons-les un à un.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Silvio Gambino**
**Livello di protezione dei diritti fondamentali (fra diritto dell'Unione, convenzioni internazionali, costituzioni degli Stati membri) e dialogo fra le Corti. Effetti politici nel costituzionalismo interno ed europeo**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 92-148

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Arnaud Coutant**
**L'amendement fantôme, l'autre 13e révision de la Constitution américaine**
in **Revue française de droit constitutionnel**, No. 102 , 353-476

Ratifié en 1865, le XIIIe amendement, c'est-à-dire la 13e révision de la Constitution américaine, opère une triple transformation au regard du droit applicable aux États-Unis. D'une part, cet amendement consacre l'abolition de l'esclavage et la victoire du Gouvernement fédéral sur les États du Sud. La fin de la guerre civile dispose d'un prolongement juridique immédiat avec ce texte. D'autre part, cette révision s'intègre dans la procédure dite de reconstruction qui transformera en profondeur la Fédération américaine entre 1865 et 1877. Enfin, ce texte constitue un premier pas vers une démocratie fédérale aux États-Unis en intégrant une dimension en lien avec les droits fondamentaux dans la Constitution fédérale. Ce bref rappel qui concerne la révision adoptée après la guerre civile permet de comprendre l'importance de cette transformation au regard de l'histoire constitutionnelle des États-Unis. Cependant, un autre XIIIe amendement aurait pu être adopté quatre ans plus tôt, avec des conséquences à l'évidence très différentes pour l'ensemble du droit américain.
Au début de l'année 1861, c'est-à-dire avant le déclenchement militaire de la guerre civile, une proposition

d'amendement est débattue devant le Congrès américain. Cette proposition est même adoptée par les deux chambres. Le texte, renvoyé devant les États pour ratification, ne sera examiné que par trois d'entre eux. Relativement peu connu puisqu'on écarte fréquemment son analyse de l'approche américaine traditionnelle, ce texte, s'il avait été adopté, aurait constitué un véritable retournement dans la perspective américaine : cet amendement fantôme, surnommé ainsi en raison justement de son inexistence paradoxale, consacrait tout simplement l'esclavage et une forme de protection au niveau fédéral.
Afin d'analyser cette tentative de révision, il est nécessaire de se replacer dans le contexte américain, à la veille de la guerre civile. La tentative de révision constitutionnelle que cet amendement révèle obéit à une ultime conciliation entre les États du Nord et les États du Sud, au nom de la Fédération et de sa garantie. Cet ultime compromis qui s'inscrit dans une période d'extrêmes tensions aurait pu conduire à une consécration constitutionnelle de l'esclavage. Son échec conduit à s'interroger sur le texte lui-même, la procédure utilisée et son maintien en l'état, sans véritable existence, mais sans véritable suppression non plus, en droit américain. Qualifier cet amendement de fantôme se révèle pertinent à un double titre, d'une part, parce qu'il n'est que l'ombre de la révision qui était nécessaire à cette époque, d'autre part parce que, bien qu'il n'ait jamais été ratifié, il continue d'exister à travers une procédure toujours en cours, sans véritable espoir d'être consacré mais sans non plus de disparition programmée.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**John Mikhail**
**The Constitution and the Philosophy of Language: Entailment, Implicature, and Implied Powers**
**in Virginia Law Review**, Vol. 101, issue 4 , 1063-1103

The main purpose of this Article is to begin to recover and elucidate the core textual basis of a progressive approach to constitutional law, which appears to have been embraced in essential respects by many influential figures, including Wilson, Hamilton, Marshall, and the two Roosevelts, and which rests on an implied power to promote the general welfare.
To do so, I will rely on two strange bedfellows: the law of corporations and the philosopher Paul Grice. An ordinary language philosopher like Grice, who writes about truth-functional connectives, bald French kings, and the like, might seem like an unlikely ally to enlist in this endeavor. As I will seek to demonstrate, however, underestimating the significance of Grice's ideas for constitutional law would be a mistake. Plausibly interpreted, the Constitution vests an implied power in the government of the United States to promote the general welfare, and Grice's distinction between semantic and pragmatic implication is a helpful means of understanding why. In what follows, I first summarize some key aspects of Grice's philosophy of language (Part II) and briefly illustrate their relevance for constitutional law (Part III). The remainder of the Article (Parts IV to VI) is then devoted to explaining how, along with a relatively simple principle in the law of corporations, according to which a legal corporation is vested with the power to fulfill its purposes, Grice's distinction between semantic and pragmatic implication helps to illuminate a thorny problem of enduring interest: What powers does the Constitution vest in the government of the United States?

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Christilla Roederer-Rynning & Justin Greenwood**
**The culture of trilogues**
**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 8

There is surprisingly little knowledge about the informal ‘trilogues’ that play a pivotal role in almost 90 per cent of European Union legislation. This article maps out previously uncharted practices and explores their role in constituting the Parliament and Council as legislators. It proceeds by taking stock of the knowledge that actors in Parliament, the Council and the Commission have acquired and use to make sense of, and act in, trilogues. Our findings qualify the widespread belief that trilogues have drawn Parliament into unfamiliar territory of diplomatic culture, at a cost to political efficacy and democratic functions. Trilogues today are underpinned by norms, standard operating procedures and practices linking formal and informal institutions. They have imparted Parliament with a sharpened consciousness of its role and identity as a ‘normal’ parliament, while leaving the Council frustrated and less confident. Parliament has seen in norms of public accountability a means to develop leverage over the Council.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Jiří Přibáň**
**The semantics of constitutional sovereignty in post-sovereign “new” Europe: A case study of the Czech Constitutional Court’s jurisprudence**
**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 1 , 180-199

The article discusses recent constitutional developments and conflicts in the Czech Republic. These are used as an example of the semantic persistence of sovereignty and the new jurisprudence emerging in the post-sovereign constellation of the European Union. After a brief introduction to the problem of sovereignty in the EU and its member states, constitutional conflicts in the Czech Republic at the time of the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty are analyzed to show different conceptualizations of sovereignty by different constitutional bodies. In this struggle, the Czech Constitutional Court eventually formulated the concept of sovereignty as part of political and legal globalization. The Court considers sovereignty as an instrument for achieving the post-national rule of law and constitutional accountability beyond the classical notions of international politics and state organization. This approach is profoundly different, for instance, from the German Federal Constitutional Court’s more traditional dualistic perspective of national and European law. It also has not been affected by the Czech Constitutional Court’s recent conflict with the Court of Justice of the EU in the Landtová case. The article, therefore, concludes by stating that the Court’s doctrine of sovereignty significantly contributes to the Court’s tradition of fundamental value judgments and interventions.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Deborah Hellman**
**Unintended Implications: A Commentary on Mikhail's "The Constitution and the Philosophy of Language: Entailment, Implicature, and Implied Powers"**
**in Virginia Law Review**, Vol. 101, issue 4 , 1105-1110

In an elegantly written article, John Mikhail claims that the Necessary and Proper Clause of the Constitution grants to Congress an implied power to promote the general welfare. He is not talking here about the power needed to carry out the enumerated powers of Article I, Section 8. Rather he argues that the clause grants to Congress the power to enact laws that are necessary for the government of the United States to fulfill its purposes—one of which is to promote the general welfare of its people.
Mikhail builds his argument for this provocative and interesting claim using the contributions of philosopher of language

Paul Grice. For Grice, language is a cooperative enterprise and is thus governed by the principle that contributions to conversation should help facilitate the purpose of the particular exchange. Mikhail is particularly focused on Grice's distinction between entailment and implicature. Roughly, an entailment derives from the semantic meaning of the statement alone while an implicature derives from the semantic and pragmatic meaning—the words in the particular context.
To elucidate the Gricean idea of "implicature," Mikhail focuses on a modified version of Grice's example of the recommendation letter that damns with faint praise. In Mikhail's example, a fictional Professor Larry Lessig recommends a prospective law clerk to Judge Richard Posner by noting that the student is "unfailingly polite and punctual" and dresses extremely well. The implicature of this letter is, according to Grice and Mikhail, that the student (Jones) is weak. We know this is what the letter means "by virtue of the premise that the speaker is cooperative and . . . we infer that Jones is a poor student because we know or assume that a recommendation letter should highlight the most favorable things that can be said about a candidate." In other words, the "context and background assumptions" give the positive comments about Jones's punctuality and sartorial flair a different meaning.
Mikhail uses these insights about language and communication to say something about constitutional interpretation. But that is where the trouble begins. While Mikhail offers a masterful textual analysis of the Necessary and Proper Clause of the Constitution, I am not convinced that his analysis demonstrates its meaning, and if it does, I fear that Mikhail's efforts yield the perverse consequence of delegitimizing the very document he is at great pains to enlarge. In what follows, I raise three worries about Mikhail's analysis. First, a constitution is not a conversation between its drafters and some other people and, as a result, it is unclear whether the Gricean paradigm has anything useful to say about constitutional interpretation. Second, it is far from clear what a constitution is for and consequently there are unlikely to be accepted conventions about how to interpret the meaning of statements within them. Third, Mikhail's article presents evidence that the Constitution's drafters were strategic and crafty. But if the drafters are violating the cooperative principle Grice identified, this fact calls into doubt the significance of the ratification of the Constitution from which that document, purportedly, derives its legitimacy.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences*
**Stefania Parisi**
**I sistema delle competenze e la clausola di supremazia: un «falso movimento»?**
**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 187-202

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*
**Chiola Claudio**
**Disarmonie nella riforma del Senato**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 16

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*

**Koopa Royce, Sharman Campbell**

**National party structure in parliamentary federations: subcontracting electoral mobilisation in Canada and Australia**

in **Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 177-196

National parties in the Canadian and Australian parliamentary federations, despite the differences in their federal systems, are dependent for their success in mobilising electoral support on a similar network of local and subnational partisan activity over which they have, at best, only limited control. We find that, over the last 100 years, national parties in both federations have moved through a similar sequence of structural changes, none of which has altered their reliance on subnational agencies for mobilising local support. We argue that these regularities flow from the nature of parliamentary government in these two federations, their origins as federations by aggregation, and the use of single member districts for electing the lower house of their national legislatures.

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

*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*

**Raffaele Bifulco**

**Osservazioni sulla riforma del bicameralismo (d.d.l. cost. A.C. 2613-A)**

in **Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 69-82

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*

**Jonathan P. Kastellec, Jeffrey R. Lax, Michael Malecki and Justin H. Phillips**

**Polarizing the Electoral Connection: Partisan Representation in Supreme Court Confirmation Politics**

in **Journal of Politics (The)**, Vol. 77, No. 3 , 787-804

Do senators respond to the preferences of their state's median voter or only to the preferences of their copartisans? We develop a method for estimating state-level public opinion broken down by partisanship so that scholars can distinguish between general and partisan responsiveness. We use this to study responsiveness in the context of Senate confirmation votes on Supreme Court nominees. We find that senators weight their partisan base far more heavily when casting such roll call votes. Indeed, when their state median voter and party median voter disagree, senators strongly favor the latter. This has significant implications for the study of legislative responsiveness and the role of public opinion in shaping the members of the nation's highest court. The methodological approach we develop enables more nuanced analyses of public opinion and its effects, as well as more finely grained studies of legislative behavior and policy making.

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

*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*

**Emanuele Rossi**

**Procedimento legislativo e ruolo del Senato nella proposta di revisione della Costituzione**

**in Regioni (Le)**, No. 1 , 203-242

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*
**Singh Mahendra Prasad**
**The Decline of the Indian Parliament**
**in India Review**, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 352-376

Indian Parliament had a very promising start and worked well during the1950s-1960s. During the 1970s Parliament was squeezed by a great extra-parliamentary mass movement against authoritarianism and corruption and partial but crippling subversion of parliamentary-federal Constitution during the national emergency. Democracy was restored following the 1977 general elections. But the general decline of Parliament that set in the post-Nehru era has not yet been reversed. Major indicators of this decline are shortening sessions, time lost due to disruptions in proceedings by the opposition and violation of norms and precedents by the government, rampant absenteeism, actual hours of sitting as a percentage of available hours, phenomenon of weak legislative federalism via Rajya Sabha in the overall setting of parliamentary-federalism, challenges of new extra-parliamentary mass movements, and judicial activism. The new committee system introduced since 1993 is a welcome development. However, the parliamentary reforms recommended by the constitutional review commission (2002) remain unimplemented.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*
**Marco Lunardelli**
**The Finnish Parliament and its scrutiny of EU matters: an efficient model**
**in Nomos**, 1/2014

This paper aims at demonstrating that Finland’s parliamentary scrutiny of EU matters is particularly efficient and can be a model for other EU Member States. Even though the government is competent to deal with EU matters, the Finnish Parliament (the Eduskunta) is constitutionally empowered to participate in EU policy formulation. Deep involvement in the preparation of national positions on EU matters is consistent with the Eduskunta‘s “role as the supreme organ of state”. At the heart of the system laid down in the Constitution and the Parliament’s Rules of Procedure are parliamentary committees, especially the Grand Committee. The Parliament also enjoys the right to receive from the government comprehensive information enabling the Parliament itself to examine EU documents and express its view. As a result, Finland’s constitutional framework requires the government and the Parliament to steadily cooperate on EU matters.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*
**Romaniello Maria**
**Upper Chambers in EU affairs Scrutinising German and Belgian Bicameralism**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 16

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*
**Siim Trumm**
**Voting Procedures and Parliamentary Representation in the European Parliament**
**in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 5

Parliamentary representation is a fluid concept. Yet, while the behaviour of elected representatives during roll call votes has been widely analyzed, we know little about how parliamentarians act when their individual voting choices are not made public. This paper explores the relationship between voting procedures and the likelihood that Members of the European Parliament prioritize the interests of their EP party group versus the interests of their national party. Using an original survey, I find that MEPs are more likely to prioritize the interests of their national party over those of their EP party group when voting by show of hands or electronically, as opposed to by roll call. Moreover, this voting procedure effect is particularly salient among MEPs elected from 2004/07 accession countries.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 4.The legislative branch*
**Cesáreo Rodríguez-Aguilera de Prat**
**¿Es el Parlamento Europeo el principal responsable del déficit democrático comunitario?**
**in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 99-127

El Parlamento Europeo presenta características específicas que lo diferencian por su naturaleza y funciones de los Parlamentos nacionales. Al ser la única institución directamente elegida por los ciudadanos ha estado en el centro de los debates sobre el denominado “déficit democrático” de la Unión Europea ya que, pese al constante aumento de sus competencias, la percepción social sigue siendo crítica sobre tal fenómeno negativo. El Parlamento Europeo presenta singularidades representativas, normativas, presupuestarias y de control político que le impiden ser el centro decisional clave en el entramado comunitario. Una de las posibles claves para superar sus deficiencias sería la de politizar más las opciones comunitarias y atribuir un papel protagonista a los europartidos, hoy virtuales, pero con potencial de futuro. Son la competencia política y la institucionalización de una oposición los factores que revitalizarían al Parlamento Europeo y podrían contribuir a corregir el déficit democrático.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Eva Ruffing**
**Agencies between two worlds: information asymmetry in multilevel policy-making**
**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 8

European co-ordination is pivotal for an effective regulation of the common market, and European administrative networks are currently mushrooming. Recent quantitative empirical research reveals that national agencies are gaining policy autonomy from their parent ministries when they become involved in European networks. However, the quantitative approach has only partially elucidated the causal mechanisms of this effect. To close this gap, this article

examines two fields with dense European administrative networks: financial market regulation and energy regulation. It demonstrates that involvement in European networks exacerbates information asymmetries (particularly those regarding so-called negotiation knowledge) between agencies and their parent ministries. These information asymmetries aggravate ministries' control problems and can even be strategically exploited by agencies, which has far-reaching consequences for the process of multilevel co-ordination.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Fleischer Julia, Seyfried Markus**
**Drawing from the bargaining pool. Determinants of ministerial selection in Germany**
**in Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 4, July , 503-514

This article expands our current knowledge about ministerial selection in coalition governments and analyses why ministerial candidates succeed in acquiring a cabinet position after general elections. It argues that political parties bargain over potential office-holders during government-formation processes, selecting future cabinet ministers from an emerging 'bargaining pool'. The article draws upon a new dataset comprising all ministrable candidates discussed by political parties during eight government-formation processes in Germany between 1983 and 2009. The conditional logit regression analysis reveals that temporal dynamics, such as the day she enters the pool, have a significant effect on her success in achieving a cabinet position. Other determinants of ministerial selection discussed in the existing literature, such as party and parliamentary expertise, are less relevant for achieving ministerial office. The article concludes that scholarship on ministerial selection requires a stronger emphasis for its endogenous nature in government-formation as well as the relevance of temporal dynamics in such processes.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Carlo Curti Gialdino**
**L'elezione del nuovo presidente della Commissione europea: profili giuridico-istituzionali**
**in Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 1 , 137-198

This article analyses the election of Jean-Claude Juncker as President of the European Commission. For the first time since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, it took place, on July 2014, under the new procedure provided by article 17 par. 7 of the Treaty on European Union. Pursuing the aim to strengthen the role of the European Parliament and its relation with the European Commission, it states that the President of the Commission is proposed by the European Council taking into account the elections of the European Parliament and after having held the appropriate consultations. As consequence, the main European Political Parties have appointed the Person to be proposed as President of the European Commission, the Spitzenkandidaten, in case of electoral success. The election of Juncker gives the chance to examine in depth the legal aspects of the new rule and the political-institutional impact it is likely to have on the governance of the European Union. In fact, although the role of the European Council is still relevant, the new procedure makes the election of the President of the European Commission more democratic and transparent.

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

**Les agences de l'Union européenne: origines, état des lieux et défis**

in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 293-318

La présente contribution se penche sur le phénomène des agences décentralisées de l'UE. Elle propose, dans un premier temps, une déinition univoque permettant l'identiication facile de ces organismes parmi les nombreux organismes de l'UE. Dans un second temps, elle retrace les origines des agences, révélant que l'agenciication au sein de l'UE est poussée par une logique propre à l'UE. Par l'agenciication, les États membres ont réussi à échapper à la dichotomie entre administration directe et indirecte. L'agencification permet un renforcement de la capacité administrative de l'UE sans agrandir directement la Commission. À cet égard, dans l'affaire vente à découvert, la Cour a conirmé que le législateur dispose d'un pouvoir d'appréciation étendu lorsqu'il décide d'habiliter (ou non) une agence décentralisée. Cette affaire a tranché quelques questions fondamentales relatives à l'agencification, mais elle a aussi mis en évidence les défis que pose ce phénomène et la nécessité d'enraciner les agences dans le droit constitutionnel de l'UE, qui ne prévoit toujours pas la faculté pour le législateur d'établir et d'habiliter ces organismes.

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

*Subsection 5.The executive branch*

**Cataliana Ruiz-Rico Ruiz**

**Los Defensores del Pueblo autonómicos ante derechos emergentes de calidad democrática**

in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 1-34

A raíz de las últimas reformas autonómicas sobre transparencia, participación ciudadana y buen gobierno como desarrollo de los Estatutos de Autonomía, la función de los Defensores del Pueblo se reactiva para la protección de nuevos derechos de calidad democrática. Sin embargo, surge una problemática compleja ante la configuración de estos derechos y su escasa vinculación jurídica para los poderes públicos, que dificulta la actuación de los Defensores del Pueblo.

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

*Subsection 5.The executive branch*

**Gienapp Jonathan**

**Making Constitutional Meaning: The Removal Debate and the Birth of Constitutional Essentialism**

in **Journal of the Early Republic**, Volume 35, Number 3, Fall , 375-418

In one of its earliest debates, the first federal Congress divided over the question of whether the president could remove executive officers. Long neglected by historians, the episode has received ample attention from constitutional scholars who have interpreted it as a crucial contest over the scope of presidential power. However, the debate's significance owes less to these implications than it does to the language of constitutional essentialism that it produced. In the aftermath of ratification, American politicians were still reckoning with what it meant to be subject to the authority of a supreme, written constitution and in so doing debated not only the meaning of specific constitutional clauses but more generally the kinds of interpretive practices that could legitimately accompany Americans' governing document. The removal debate began because the Constitution, other than specifications for impeachment, was silent on removal. Some contended that, given this silence, nobody could remove. Most disagreed and as justification contended that Congress enjoyed discretion to fill the document's silences. However, those who favored removal divided over who

could remove: the president alone or in conjunction with the Senate. In waging this disagreement the two sides grounded their rival interpretations in two separate sources of authority: the ‘‘nature of things’’ and the original intent of the Constitution’s framers. In retreating from arguments built on congressional discretion in favor of ones premised on fixed constitutional meaning, politicians constructed a powerful language of constitutional essentialism that implied that the Constitution was equipped with unchangeable meaning.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Redondo Javier**
**Orígenes y justificación del presidencialismo americano**
**in Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, n. 47

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Yang Song, Limbocker Scott, Dowdle Andrew, Stewart Patrick A, Sebold Karen**
**Party cohesion in presidential races Applying social network theory to the preprimary multiple donor networks of 2004 and 2008**
**in Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 4, July , 638-648

Scholars have long been examining the presidential nomination process in the United States. In addition to studies considering the selection mechanism itself, there has been a movement towards analysing the contest even before voting begins. Campaign finance allows for a reliable and valid means to examine the year prior to the nomination with data that are not just vast in quantity but also consistent across time. Donors who gave to multiple campaigns represent a particularly important subset of elite participants in elections whose behaviour shed light on phenomena of parties functioning as a network. We find only rare instances of multiple donors giving across party and that Democratic contributors function as a far more cohesive unit. Also, without any supervising entity, the candidate that amasses the most shared donors goes on to win the nomination in the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**David Lindsey and William Hobbs**
**Presidential Effort and International Outcomes: Evidence for an Executive Bottleneck**
**in Journal of Politics (The)**, Vol. 77, No. 4 , 1089-1102

In this article, we identify and test an implication of the claim that chief executives are uniquely effective diplomatic actors. To the extent that a leader’s time is valuable and nonsubstitutable, there will always be more diplomatic problems that could benefit from a leader’s scarce time than he or she can possibly address. This executive bottleneck should tighten when the opportunity cost of spending time on diplomacy rises, leading to decreased time spent on diplomacy and a consequent reduction in outcome quality. Using newly collected data, we test for the existence of this bottleneck in American foreign policy. We demonstrate a large, persistent decrease in presidential time spent on foreign

policy immediately prior to presidential elections and show that this corresponds to a substantial increase in the level of conflict within the American bloc, where our framework predicts an indicative effect. We rule out prominent competing explanations for this distraction-conflict link.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Mark S. Winfield**
**Public safety in private hands revisited: The case of Ontario's Technical Standards and Safety Authority**
in **Canadian Public Administration**, Volume 58, issue 3 , 444-467

Delegated Administrative Authorities (DAAs) are widely employed for delivering public safety and consumer protection regulatory functions at the provincial level in Canada. Although strongly supported by governments, the model has been subject to considerable criticism from legislative committees and officers, non-governmental organizations, and the media. This paper examines Ontario's DAA experience through the case of the Technical Standards and Safety Authority (TSSA). It finds that, like other jurisdictions pursuing similar new public management (NPM) reforms, the Ontario government adopted legislation significantly strengthening its oversight and control, indicating substantial concerns about the structure and performance of the TSSA and by implication Ontario's other DAAs. Even with these changes, significant gaps are identified in the TSSA's governance and accountability structures.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 5.The executive branch*
**Joan Ridao Martín**
**Tendencias recientes de la configuración de los Ombudsmen autonómicos en España. De la institucionalización a la involución**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 1-21

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Astrid Zei**
**Il Presidente federale sotto lo sguardo di Karlsruhe**
in **Nomos**, 2/2014

PARTITI ED ELEZIONI
– Le elezioni europee del 25 maggio 2014 e l’inamissibilità della soglia di sbarramento per l’elezione degli eurodeputati tedeschi
– Inamissibilità di un referendum in materia elettorale nel Land Amburgo
– Incostituzionalità dell’elettorato attivo e passivo e degli stranieri extraeuropei: l’integrazione politica passa prima per il diritto di cittadinanza e poi per il diritto di voto
– Diritto di biasimo per i simpatizzanti del partito nazionale tedesco da parte di un ministro
– Parità di genere e libertà di voto

ASSEMBLEE LEGISLATIVE
– Sunset legislation: lo statuto dell'opposizione parlamentare in tempo di "grande coalizione"
– Il controllo parlamentare trova un limite nel diritto alla riservatezza dei singoli individui
– Diritto di parola e decoro dell'assemblea legislativa. In parte illegittimi i richiami all'ordine del Presidente del Landtag del Meclemburgo pomerania anteriore
TRIBUNALI
– L'insostenibile leggerezza del diritto di voto iscritto nell'art. 38 della Legge Fondamentale tedesca: esiste davvero un Diritto soggettivo ad un sindacato sulla discrezionalità politica dei supremi organi costituzionali?
– Dottrina v. Giurisprudenza costituzionale: quando se ne fa una questione personale …
– I Tribunali tedeschi si pronunciano di nuovo sull'apertura festiva dei negozi: ancora divieti e (piccole) deroghe
– Il Tribunale amministrativo federale si pronuncia sui limiti dell'autodichia delle comunità religiose: la garanzia della tutela giurisdizionale spetta anche agli
ecclesiastici quando vengano violati i principi basilari dell'ordinamento statale

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Adam Bonica and Michael J. Woodruff**
**A Common-Space Measure of State Supreme Court Ideology**
**in Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization**, Vol. 31, no. 3 , 472-498

We introduce a new method to measure the ideology of state Supreme Court justices using campaign finance records. In addition to recovering ideal point estimates for both incumbent and challenger candidates in judicial elections, the method's unified estimation framework recovers judicial ideal points in a common ideological space with a diverse set of candidates for state and federal office, thus facilitating comparisons across states and institutions. After discussing the methodology and establishing measure validity, we present results for state supreme courts from the early 1990s onward. We find that the ideological preferences of justices play an important role in explaining state Supreme Court decision-making. We then demonstrate the greatly improved empirical tractability for testing separation-of-powers models of state judicial, legislative, and executive officials with an illustrative example from a recent political battle in Wisconsin that ensnared all three branches.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Jeffrey R. Lax and Kelly Rader**
**Bargaining Power in the Supreme Court: Evidence from Opinion Assignment and Vote Switching**
**in Journal of Politics (The)**, Vol. 77, No. 3 , 648-663

How can we assess relative bargaining power within the Supreme Court? Justices cast two votes in every case, one during the initial conference and one on the final merits of the case. Between these two votes, a justice is assigned to draft the majority opinion. We argue that vote switching can be used to detect the power of opinion authors over opinion content. Bargaining models make different predictions for opinion content and therefore for when other justices in the initial majority should be more or less likely to defect from initial positions. We derive hypotheses for how opinion authorship should affect vote switching and find that authorship has striking effects on switching. Authors thus have disproportionate influence and by extension so do chief justices, who make most assignments. This evidence is

compatible with only the “author influence” class of bargaining models, with particular support for one model within this class.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Daniel Seikel**
**Class struggle in the shadow of Luxembourg. The domestic impact of the European Court of Justice's case law on the regulation of working conditions**
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 8

In recent years, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has extended the scope of the four fundamental freedoms to politically and economically highly sensitive areas such as the right to strike and the regulation of working conditions of posted workers. This article analyses the domestic impact of two of the most controversial judgments – Laval (C-341/05) and Rüffert (C-346/06) – in Denmark, Sweden and Germany. In order to explain the different outcomes of the national adaptation processes, the article connects the literature on judicial Europeanization with political economy perspectives on the role of employers in economic and social regulation. The findings show that the differences between the cases can be traced back to different preferences of employers towards wage competition. The reason for this is that the ECJ's case law has shifted the balance of power between labour and capital in the domestic arenas in favour of business.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Mauro Cappelletti**
**Is the European Court of Justice "running wild"?**
in **European Law Review**, Vol. 40, issue 3 , 311-322

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Francesco Campagna**
**La Corte europea dei Diritti dell’uomo fra inviolabilità dei principi di garanzia e conseguenti esigenze di riforma del sistema sanzionatorio**
in **Nomos**, 1/2015

SOMMARIO: 1. I nuovi percorsi di adeguamento interno alle decisioni della Corte di Strasburgo in ambito processualpenalistico: la revisione del processo iniquo e la rimozione del giudicato illegittimo. – 2. L’accertamento di una determinata violazione dei diritti fondamentali da parte della Corte EDU come fonte di un possibile giudizio di legittimità costituzionale ex art.117 Cost. – 3. La fondamentale funzione politico-costituzionale svolta dalla Corte EDU nel contesto penalistico italiano ed europeo. – 4. La dichiarata illegittimità del doppio binario sanzionatorio come complessiva remise en cause del sistema afflittivo. – 5. Le due questioni attualmente sottoposte al vaglio della Corte Costituzionale. – 6. La spinta riformatrice proveniente dalla giurisprudenza europea e l’auspicabile razionalizzazione dell’ordinamento penalistico in ossequio ai principi del ne bis in idem processuale e sostanziale.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Hjalte Rasmussen**
**The European Court's acte clair strategy in CILFIT - Or: Acte Clair, of Course! But What does it Mean?**
**in European Law Review**, Vol. 40, issue 4 , 475-489

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 6.The judiciary branch*
**Dave Bridge**
**The Supreme Court, Factions, and the Counter-Majoritarian Difficulty**
**in Polity**, Volume 47, Issue 4 , 420–460

In merging the theories and assumptions of the regime politics and political party literatures, this article identifies a rare but important type of “counter-majoritarian difficulty,” that is, a situation where the Supreme Court makes policy against the political will or preferences of a majority. When the Court rules in favor of the dominant political party’s preferences on issues that are of secondary importance to the party, the Court can paradoxically trigger a cross-partisan alliance built around the very premise of undermining the judiciary. Using case studies from the mature New Deal—including communism, school prayer, busing, and abortion—this article shows how non-leading factions in the Democratic Party allied with Republicans to form grassroots, congressional, and electoral majorities. These three majorities, inadvertently created by the Court, successfully obstructed implementation, curbed the Court, and helped realign the party system, respectively.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Heiko Sauer**
**Doubtful it Stood…: Competence and Power in European Monetary and Constitutional Law in the Aftermath of the CJEU’s OMT Judgment**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 4 , 971-1002

Quite unsurprisingly, the CJEU has held that the ECB’s OMT program does not violate EU law. In accordance with this holding, I argue in the first part of this note that the OMT program does not transgress the ECB’s mandate under the Treaty, which is often interpreted too narrowly, in particular by German legal scholars. Furthermore, I argue that a violation of the prohibition of monetary financing of the member States as enshrined in article 123, para 1 TFEU cannot be inferred from the ECB’s announcement of a program, which has never been implemented. In any case, there is clearly no manifest and grave transgression of EU competences which, according to the German Federal Constitutional Court’s (FCC) Honeywell doctrine, is required for an ultra vires finding. The second part of this note shows that the FCC’s doctrine regarding transgressions of competences by EU organs (ultra vires review) is not only unconvincing as a matter of principle but also and worse (as on premises we can always reasonably disagree) not consistently applied to the OMT program. The note also objects to the Court’s somewhat trendy blending of ultra vires and constitutional

identity review of EU law through which it increasingly conceals its approach of applying the so-called constitutional constraints of European integration to the EU organs' conduct. The forthcoming FCC judgment is therefore less important as regards the quite foreseeable finding on the lawfulness of the OMT program but – hopefully – of vital importance as it might embody a more coherent relaunch of the FCC's standards of judicial review with regard to EU law. The judgment of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) on the European Central Bank's (ECB) 2012 announcement of future Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) comes as no surprise.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Neck, Reinhard; Blueschke, Dmitri**
**"Haircuts" for the EMU periphery: virtue or vice?**
in **Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 153-175

We use a dynamic game model of a two-country monetary union to study the impacts of an exogenous fall in aggregate demand, the resulting increase in public debt, and the consequences of a sovereign debt haircut for a member country or bloc of the union. Two different scenarios for such a haircut are assumed: an expected and an unexpected haircut. In the union, the governments of participating countries pursue national goals when deciding on fiscal policies whereas the common central bank's monetary policy aims at union-wide objective variables. The union considered is asymmetric, consisting of a "core" with lower initial public debt, and a "periphery" with higher initial public debt. The "periphery" may experience the haircut due to the high level of its sovereign debt. We calculate numerical solutions of the dynamic game between the governments and the central bank using the OPTGAME algorithm. We show that a haircut as modeled in our study is disadvantageous for both the "core" and the "periphery" of the monetary union, both when expected and when unexpected.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Esposito, Marcello**
**A Model for Public Debt Sustainability and Sovereign Credit Risk in the Eurozone**
in **Economic Notes**, Volume 44, Number 3 , 511-530

There have been many attempts at solving the problem of determining the 'fundamental value' of the credit spread of a government bond. This is particularly important in the case of Eurozone, where the ECB intervention on the government bonds' market is allowed only if the 'spread' paid by the sovereign issuer is higher than the one justified by 'fundamentals'. The complication in determining what is a fair level of the spread stems from the fact that public debt sustainability depends on many factors, amongst them the level of interest rates paid. This sort of circularity between debt sustainability and interest rate paid by the sovereign issuer is the major source of complexity. This paper highlights a possible solution inside a simplified framework resembling the peculiar institutional settings of the Eurozone: no possibility of money‐financing, the famous Maastricht Treaty 3–60% parameters, availability of financial assistance programme subordinated to the acceptance of consolidation plans for public finances. We obtain the possibility of multiple equilibria for the credit spread, whose stability can be analysed through a phase diagram. The dynamics of the model is derived from probabilistic assumptions about the public debt process. It does not depend on 'loss' functions devised to model the strategic relationship between debtors and creditors, as in previous literature on public debt sustainability. Dynamic properties of equilibria can be used to gain insight on what does it mean 'good' or

'bad' equilibrium from the perspective of the ECB.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Federico Fabbrini**
**After the OMT Case: The Supremacy of EU Law as the Guarantee of the Equality of the Member States**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 4 , 1003-1023

This article analyzes the recent judgment of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in Gauweiler, answering the first preliminary reference ever by the German Constitutional Court (BVerfG), on the legality of the Outright Monetary Transaction (OMT) program of the European Central Bank (ECB). As the article explains, the ECJ rejected any possible claim of illegality of a key program devised by the ECB at the height of the Euro-crisis. However, because the BVerfG had defined the OMT program as ultra vires, and had threatened to strike it down if the ECJ did not reach the same result, the article defends the principle of the supremacy of European Union (EU) law, indicating that a possible nullification of the OMT program by the BVerfG would be clearly unlawful. To re-affirm the supremacy of EU law, the article argues that this principle is functional to ensure the equality of the member states before the law, preventing each country of the EU from cherry-picking which provisions of EU it likes or not. As the article suggests, respect of the principle of the supremacy of EU law — including by the BVerfG — is ultimately in the interest of every EU member state, including of Germany.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Edmondo Mostacci**
**Alla maniera di asghar Farhadi. Le operazioni straordinarie della BCE nelle dinamiche della separazione**
**in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, No. 1 , 221-245

Just as Asghar Farhadi. The European Central Bank extraordinary measures and the dynamics of separation. The essay focuses on ECB refinancing operations and purchase programmes from three different perspectives. First of all it analyses the role of rating agencies and the danger of disruption to the monetary policy transmission mechanism; then, it peruses the consequences of purchase programmes on income and wealth distribution; eventually it examines the effects of such programmes on credit risk allocation among ECB, State central Banks and private financial institution. The essay argues that the European fiscal constitution prevents ECB from implementing measures that can rescue euro economy.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Colliat, R.**
**Analyse empirique du polymorphisme fiscal européen**
**in Economie Appliquee**, N. 2

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Antoni Castells**
**Catalonia and Spain: Political and Fiscal conflict**
**in Pôle Sud**, 2014/1 (n° 40)

The relationship between Catalonia and Spain is currently nearing the end of the cycle that started with the democratic Constitution of 1978. Many reasons have led to a progressive deterioration of the Constitutional agreement. The most remarkable one is probably the failure in approving a new “Statute of Autonomy” in the second half of the 2000’s. Although the “Statute of Autonomy” was not abrogated, some of its essential aspects were eliminated or interpreted in a very restrictive way. In theory, four hypothetical scenarios can be envisaged : the “Spanish nationalist” involution; a constitutional reform that introduced some kind of generalised and explicit federalism; a specific and bilateral deal for Catalonia within Spain; secession.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Firgo, Matthias; Huber, Peter**
**Convergence as a heterogeneous process: what can be learnt about convergence in EMU from regional experiences?**
**in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 129-151

We augment the existing literature on regional convergence by uncovering a number of stylized facts on the heterogeneity of regional convergence processes in the absence of currency devaluation as a key policy instrument, and use them to highlight reform strategies that are most likely to be conducive to a successful catching-up of the periphery countries of EMU. We show that regional convergence processes in Europe were extremely heterogeneous, highly discontinuous and strongly concentrated during the last two decades. These stylized facts question the focus of the traditional literature on average (ß-)convergence and suggest substantial nonlinearities in regional convergence processes that have yet to be understood in detail. Our results further suggest that growth strategies based on increasing human capital investments and innovation capacities are the most likely to be successful in triggering convergence of lagging regions in currency unions.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Sven Simon**
**Direct Cooperation Has Begun**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 4 , 1025-1048

After three years of intense debate and skepticism, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has decided that the announcement by the European Central Bank (ECB), which did more to end the euro crisis than any other, was legal.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Roberto Cisotta**
**Disciplina fiscale, stabilità finanziaria e solidarietà nell'Unione europea ai tempi della crisi: alcuni spunti ricostruttivi**
**in Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 1 , 57-90

This article aims to shed some light on the systematic impact of the (re-)interpretation of Articles 123-125 TFEU offered by Member States and EU Institutions in the context of the crisis. The preservation of the "financial stability of the euro area as a whole" and the concept of solidarity appear key to understand the ongoing evolution of the EU legal order. The former sets the limits to financial bailouts and has also to be intended as a new constitutional value both at national and EU level: in fact, it has in some cases defined the boundaries of the acceptable restrictions both to national constitutional guarantees (especially parliamentary prerogatives) and to internal market rules. Moreover, it constitutes a new objective pursued by EU Institutions in the framework of the Economic and Monetary Union. As to the shift from negative to positive forms of solidarity we have witnessed, it is argued that it could become full and complete only with a Treaty reform.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Antonakakis, N.; Tondl, G.**
**Does integration and economic policy coordination promote business cycle synchronization in the EU?**
**in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 41, Issue 3 , 541-575

Previous studies have discounted important factors and indirect channels that might contribute to business cycle synchronization (BCS) in the EU. We estimate the effects of market integration and economic policy coordination on bilateral business cycle correlations over the period 1995–2012 using a simultaneous equations model that takes into accounts both the endogenous relationships and unveils direct and indirect effects. The results suggest that (1) trade and FDI have a pronounced positive effect on BCS, particularly between incumbent and new EU members. (2) Rising specialization does not decouple business cycles. (3) The decline of income disparities in EU27 contributes to BCS, as converging countries develop stronger trade and FDI linkages. (4) There is strong evidence that poor fiscal discipline of EU members is a major impediment of business cycle synchronization. (5) The same argument holds true for exchange rate fluctuations that hinder BCS, particularly in EU15. Since BCS is a fundamental prerequisite and objective in an effective monetary union, the EU has to promote market integration and strengthen the common setting of economic policies.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Bergstrand Jeffrey H., Larch Mario, Yotov Yoto V.**
**Economic integration agreements, border effects, and distance elasticities in the gravity equation**
**in European Economic Review**, Volume 78, August 2015 , Pages 307-327

Using a novel common econometric specification, we examine the measurement of three important effects in international trade that historically have been addressed largely separately: the (partial) effects on trade of economic

integration agreements, international borders, and bilateral distance. First, recent studies focusing on precise and unbiased estimates of effects of economic integration agreements (EIAs) on members׳ trade may be biased upward owing to inadequate control for time-varying exogenous unobservable country-pair-specific changes in bilateral export costs (possibly decreasing the costs of international relative to intranational trade); we find evidence of this bias using a properly specified gravity equation. Second, our novel methodology yields statistically significant estimates of the declining effect of “international borders” on world trade, now accounting for endogenous EIA formations and unobserved country-pair heterogeneity in initial levels. Third, we confirm recent evidence providing a solution to the “distance-elasticity puzzle,” but show that these estimates of the declining effect of distance on international trade are biased upward by not accounting for endogenous EIA formations and unobserved country-pair heterogeneity. We conclude our study with numerical general equilibrium comparative statics illustrating a substantive difference on trade effects of EIAs with and without allowance for the declining effects of international borders on world trade.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Ilenia Bernardini**
**Est modus in rebus. La politique fiscale entre souveraineté nationale et le fédéralisme exécutif**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

Eurosceptiques et europartisans: l’histoire de l’intégration européenne a toujours été caractérisée par des hommes qui ont fortement voulu l’Europe unifiée et des autres qui ont toujours défendu la souveraineté nationale. Et encore aujourd’hui, plus de cinquante ans après le Traité de Rome, ce conflit perdure et il ne s’agit pas seulement d’un conflit idéologique. C’est pourquoi, si l’Europe veut avoir un futur, il faut qu’elle fasse des étapes importantes sur le chemin de sa consolidation et, surtout, de sa légitimation.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Foresti, Pasquale; Marani, Ugo**
**Expansionary Fiscal Consolidations: Theoretical Underpinnings and their Implications for the Eurozone**
**in Contributions to Political Economy**, Volume 33 Issue 1 , 19-33

This paper deals with theoretical foundations justifying alleged expansionary effects of fiscal consolidations. In some European countries there have been episodes of fiscal retrenchments followed by an increase in output (Sweden, Ireland, Denmark, and Finland). These have been taken as a starting point for theories advocating, contrary to the Keynesian tradition, the possibility of a negative sign of the fiscal multiplier. We show that expansionary fiscal consolidations can occur under extreme circumstances: they are not the result of pure fiscal policies, but rather they result from a policy mix in which the central bank's behaviour is crucial. On the basis of this evidence we discuss why, given the current economic scenario, immediate austerity cannot be a plausible way out from the recession in the euro-area countries.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Maria Francesca Cucchiara**

**Fiscal Compact e Meccanismo Europeo di Stabilità: quale impatto sull'equilibrio istituzionale dell'Unione?**
in **Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 1 , 91-135

Adopted with the aim of strengthening the EMU, the ESM Treaty and the Fiscal Compact are international agreements signed outside the EU framework. These treaties are not binding for all the EU Member STates. However they make use of the European institutions, raising an issue of consistency with the principle of institutional balance. Moreover, the recourse to the intergovernmental method affects national parliaments powers without involving the EP. This paper compares the ESM and the Fiscal Compact to the previous experience of the Schengen Agreements and their subsequent integration into the EU framework. It argues that Schengen could be regarded as a model in order to face the legal issues raised by the new treaties. Therefore, the feasibilityof integrating the ESM and the Fiscal Compact within the EU framework is examined.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Troupin Steve , Steen Trui,Stroobants Jesse**
**Fiscal consolidation in federal Belgium**
in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , Vol. 81, No. 3 , 457-478

This article analyses fiscal consolidation policy in federal Belgium in the period 2009–14, until the initial 2014 budget. It relies on documentary analysis and interviews to examine the intensity, content and decision-making process of this policy. Explanations for this particular fiscal consolidation policy are looked for in the macro-economic context, the political-administrative system, and external influences. We find generally modest budget cutbacks punctuated by an exceptionally significant budget exercise. This pattern is best explained by the tensions within the Belgian political-administration, generating policy continuity, and by external pressure, that allowed policymakers to overcome these tensions

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Evers Michael P.**
**Fiscal federalism and monetary unions: A quantitative assessment**
in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 97, Issue 1, September 2015 , 59-75

In this paper, I provide a quantitative analysis of three different forms of fiscal federalism in monetary unions: fully decentralized regional fiscal authorities as the benchmark, fiscal equalization with nominal tax revenue sharing, and a common central fiscal authority. I assess the capability of the different arrangements to stabilize regional consumption, output, and employment over the business cycle. I also study the implications for interregional income, consumption risk sharing and welfare. From this analysis, the following results emerge. First, a central fiscal authority stabilizes consumption fluctuations and increases the scope of interregional income and consumption risk sharing. Second, fiscal equalization destabilizes consumption fluctuations and also reduces the scope of interregional income and consumption risk smoothing. Third, a central fiscal authority leads to welfare gains, whereas fiscal equalization leads to welfare losses.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Rosanne Altshuler1 Timothy J. Goodspeed**
**Follow the Leader? Evidence on European and US Tax Competition**
**in Public Finance Review**, 43 (4) , 485-504

This article breaks from the previous empirical literature that estimates Nash tax reaction functions of national governments competing with other national governments assuming that competitors play a Nash game and adjust to a Nash equilibrium in every year. We question this assumption and explore whether one country plays a leadership role in tax competition using data from 1968 to 2008. We test the leadership role of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany, and find support for a US leadership role. We also investigate whether countries react differently immediately after watershed tax reforms such as the 1986 US Tax Reform Act or the 1984 UK tax reform. We find some support for a different reaction to the United States following the 1986 US reform, but not for the United Kingdom or Germany.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Jukka Snell**
**Gauweiler: what next?**
**in European Law Review**, Vol. 40, issue 4 , 473-474

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Galletta Sergio, Jametti Mario**
**How to tame two Leviathans? Revisiting the effect of direct democracy on local public expenditure in a federation**
**in European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 39, September 2015 , Pages 82-93

We explore how the presence of direct democracy across hierarchical levels of government in a federation affects the level of public expenditure. In so doing we revisit the effect of direct democratic institutions on public policies. Particularly, we are interested whether the effect of upper-level (state) direct democratic institutions on lower-level expenditure varies with lower-level direct democracy. Empirically, we exploit the large institutional variation in the degree of direct democracy both for state (cantons) and local governments (municipalities) in Switzerland. Considering 119 municipalities belonging to 22 cantons for the period 1993–2007, we find that the cantonal fiscal referendum increases local spending for those municipalities without fiscal referenda, while this effect is significantly reduced for municipalities that also avail of referenda. This suggests that upper-level fiscal restraint can be undone by lower-level profligacy if direct-democratic control is limited to the upper level.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Ferrara, Ida; Missios, Paul; Yildiz, Halis Murat**

**Inter‐regional competition, comparative advantage and environmental federalism**
in **Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique**, Volume 47, Number 3 , 905-952

In this paper, we compare endogenous environmental policy setting with centralized and decentralized governments when regions have comparative advantages in different polluting goods. We develop a two‐region, two‐good model with inter‐regional environmental damages and perfect competition in product markets, where both regions produce both goods. Despite positive spillovers of pollution across regions, the model predicts that decentralization may lead to weaker or stricter environmental standards or taxes, depending on the degree of regional comparative advantage and the extent of transboundary pollution. This suggests that federalism can lead to either a “race to the bottom” or a “race to the top,” without relying on inefficient lobbying efforts or capital competition.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Carlos Sáenz Royo and Eva Sáenz Royo**
**La corresponsabilidad fiscal en Estados federales: una comparativa del sistema español frente al alemán y al estadounidense**
in **Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)**, No. 62

One of the foundations of fiscal federalism is the principle of the fiscal responsibility. As demonstrated in federal practice, this principle promotes fiscally responsible behavior of both federation and, above all, states.
This study analyzes the fiscal responsibility of Spanish autonomies compared to fiscal responsibility of states in other models such as the U.S. and Germany federal system. The federal model comparison aims to detect possible deficiencies in models and to propose improvements in the fiscal responsibility that could correct certain fiscal behavior of the states.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Frédéric Allemand**
**La dette en partage. Quelques réflexions juridique sur le traitement de la dette publique en droit de l'Union européenne**
in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 235-292

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Bhattarai Saroj, Lee Jae Won, Park Woong Yong**
**Optimal monetary policy in a currency union with interest rate spreads**
in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 96, Issue 2, July 2015 , 375-397

We introduce “financial imperfections” – asymmetric net wealth positions, incomplete risk-sharing, and interest rate spreads across member countries – in a prototypical two-country currency union model and study implications for

monetary policy transmission mechanism and optimal policy. In addition to, and independent from, the standard transmission mechanism associated with nominal rigidities, financial imperfections introduce a wealth redistribution role for monetary policy. Moreover, the two mechanisms reinforce each other and amplify the effects of monetary policy. On the normative side, financial imperfections, via interactions with nominal rigidities, generate two novel policy trade-offs. First, the central bank needs to pay attention to distributional efficiency in addition to macroeconomic (and price level) stability, which implies that a strict inflation targeting policy of setting union-wide inflation to zero is never optimal. Second, the interactions lead to a trade-off in stabilizing relative consumption versus the relative price gap (the deviation of relative prices from their efficient level) across countries, which implies that the central bank allows for less flexibility in relative prices. Finally, we consider how the central bank should respond to a financial shock that causes an increase in the interest rate spread. Under optimal policy, the central bank strongly decreases the deposit rate, which reduces aggregate and distributional inefficiencies by mitigating the drop in output and inflation and the rise in relative consumption and prices. Such a policy response can be well approximated by a spread-adjusted Taylor rule as it helps the real interest rate track the efficient rate of interest.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Greer, Robert A.**
**Overlapping Local Government Debt and the Fiscal Common**
in **Public Finance Review**, 43 (6) , 762-785

In a complex federalist system, the interactions across levels of government have important fiscal implications. Municipal debt has become increasingly important as local governments turn to tax-backed bonds as a significant source of funds. In a system of local governments that have overlapping borders, fiscal interactions become a factor in issuing debt. In this system, debt acts as a fiscal common resource similar to traditional common-pool resources. Specifically, vertical externalities are created with multiple levels of governments issuing bonds backed by the same tax base. Empirical results show that on average an increase in the total amount of debt issued by subcounty governments increases the true interest cost paid by county governments on tax-backed debt. Furthermore, increasing the number of overlapping governments also increases the interest costs for county debt. These findings show support for analyzing debt capacity as a fiscal common resource and have implications for debt management strategies.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Jessica N. Terman**
**Performance Goal Achievement in Fiscal Federalism: The Influence of State Partisan Environments and Regulatory Regimes**
in **Policy Studies Journal**, Volume 43, Issue 3

With tight budgets and hyper-partisan interactions within and between the states and federal government, attention is being paid to the implementation of federal programs. This is particularly important because, as the recently implemented American Recovery and Reinvestment Act suggests, state administrators are often the implementers of federal policy. This study integrates the fiscal federalism literature with that on implementation and bureaucratic response to examine the effect that within-state factors have on the degree of performance goal achievement in federally funded, state implemented programs. The findings suggest that, when implementing federal programs, state

administrators face conflicting political incentive structures and policy-specific capacity and capability deficits that influence their motivation and ability to achieve performance goals.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Canofari, Paolo; Di Bartolomeo, Giovanni; Piersanti, Giovanni**
**Strategic Interactions and Contagion Effects under Monetary Unions**
in **World Economy**, Volume 38, Issue 10 , 1618-1629

This paper applies game theory and a cost-benefit analysis to study voluntary exits and contagion effects in countries joined to a monetary union. The paper looks at two non-core or periphery countries of a large union and examines the role of structural asymmetries and strategic interactions as determinants of equilibrium outcomes, following both country-specific and common shocks. The paper finds that under almost symmetry between countries, country-specific shocks are never associated with multiple equilibria and, if large enough, can spread to other countries leading to contagion. By contrast, common shocks are seen to sustain multiple equilibria if almost-symmetric countries are considered and to have implications similar to those found in the country-specific case if large structural asymmetries are admitted.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Barrett Sam**
**Subnational Adaptation Finance Allocation: Comparing Decentralized and Devolved Political Institutions in Kenya**
in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3, Advancing Comparative Climate Change Politics: Theory and Method, August , 118-139

Adaptation finance is designed to help vulnerable populations withstand effects of climate variability and change. However, levels of vulnerability seldom determine finance distribution. Political and economic preferences of national and local government decision-makers tend to direct funding streams. This article takes an institutional approach to adaptation finance allocation by comparing decentralized and devolved local governance structures managing adaptation finance in Kenya before and after the Constitution of 2010. Prior to reforms, funding was directed through decentralized mechanisms operating within district councils and local authorities; recently, devolution of political, administrative, and fiscal decision-making to county governments coincided with piloting of new local adaptation funds. Theory suggests that devolution institutionalizes more participative decision-making and fairer allocations. Evidence suggests vulnerable communities are indeed more likely to access, design, and receive allocations of finance in devolved political systems.
Full text available online.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Furceri, Davide ; Zdzienicka, Aleksandra**
**The Euro Area Crisis: Need for a Supranational Fiscal Risk Sharing Mechanism?**

**in Open Economies Review**, Volume 26, Issue 4 , 683-710

The aim of this paper is to assess the effectiveness of risk sharing mechanisms in the euro area and whether a supranational fiscal risk sharing mechanism could insure countries against very severe downturns. Using an unbalanced panel of 15 euro area countries over the period 1979–2010, the results of the paper show that: (i) the effectiveness of risk sharing mechanisms in the euro area is significantly lower than in existing federations (such as the U.S. and Germany) and (ii) it falls sharply in severe downturns just when it is needed most; (iii) a supranational fiscal stabilization mechanism, financed by a relatively small contribution, would be able to fully insure euro area countries against very severe, persistent and unanticipated downturns.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Michael A. Wilkinson**
**The Euro Is Irreversible! … Or is it?: On OMT, Austerity and the Threat of "Grexit"**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 4 , 1049-1072

The promise of the ECB to act effectively as the Eurozone's 'lender of last resort' was widely praised as a central plank in a broader strategy to protect the Euro and avoid financial meltdown in its Member States. "Never has so much effect been gained by doing so little. Words alone, it seemed, calmed the markets . . . ." The OMT program appeared as a "watershed" in the Eurozone crisis, "one of the most effective announcements any central bank has ever made." The reason for its success was straightforward: Financial investors would be encouraged to buy the bonds of distressed member states with the knowledge that they could later sell them on to the ECB. The prospect that the ECB would move into sovereign debt markets "with the full weight of its balance sheet" was an offensive that "no market participant could hold a short position against." That is what Draghi meant when he said "the euro is irreversible." There was, however, a snag. The ECB had no authority to do it. Restricted by the rules set up by the Treaty of Maastricht, the ECB's objective is to ensure price stability alone—to avoid inflation, and in order to promote fiscal discipline it is prohibited from monetary financing of national budgets (Article 123 TFEU). OMT was not only ultra vires as a matter of European law; it was also a structural transgression of competence in breach of German Basic Law. This, at least, was the opinion of the German Federal Constitutional Court. After many decades of shadow-boxing, the German Court, in its first ever reference to the ECJ, made plain its objections to OMT but gave the ECJ the opportunity to do its work for it.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Judge Kathryn**
**The Federal Reserve: A Study in Soft Constraints**
**in Law and contemporary problems**, Volume 78  2015  Number 3 , 65-96

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Jimenez, Benedict S.**

**The Fiscal Performance of Overlapping Local Governments**
**in Public Finance Review**, 43 (5) , 606-635

Research on the fiscal consequences of multilevel governance has largely focused on the interaction between federal and state governments. Yet, the federal system in the United States is considerably more complex and includes the vertical layering of governments at the local level. This research examines the relationship between the overlapping system of local governments and fiscal discipline in the public sector. It focuses on both the static and dynamic aspects of fiscal performance, specifically own-source revenues and debt. Using different measures of the vertical structure of the local governance system, and controlling for the effects of other factors including measures of horizontal competition, the empirical analysis finds that the overlaying of local governments creates a bias for a bigger public sector, but much of the bias can be traced to a specific type of government.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Monica Claes & Jan-Herman Reestman**
**The Protection of National Constitutional Identity and the Limits of European Integration at the Occasion of the Gauweiler Case**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 4 , 917-970

This contribution revisits the Bundesverfassungsgericht's order for reference in the Gauweiler case and focuses on two aspects of that order that until now have not received much scholarly attention. The first concerns the German federal constitutional court's dissociation of constitutional identity review under the German Basic Law from national identity review under Article 4(2) TEU. While the decision on the Lisbon Treaty had suggested that the two go "hand in hand", the Bundesverfassungsgericht now emphasizes the "fundamental" difference between the concept of national identity under Article 4(2) TEU on the one hand and the German concept of constitutional identity on the other. The second element is the German federal constitutional court's contention that its approach to ultra vires and constitutional identity review can also be found in the constitutional law of many other member states. Yet, careful analysis demonstrates that while there does indeed seem to be a trend in that direction, and several elements of the German approach can also be found in other countries, very few national courts are as adamant as the Bundesverfassungsgericht, and only a handful have developed their position with the same level of detail and ardor.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Christodoulopoulou, Styliani**
**The effect of currency unions on business cycle correlations: the EMU case**
**in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 177-222

This paper examines empirically the effects of the introduction of the euro on the output correlation among the member economies. The similarity of shocks affecting the members is an important condition to minimize the costs from the loss of national monetary policy implementation. Eichengreen (Economic Policy 10:118–187; 1990) pointed that this is an important condition to be satisfied before joining a currency union. Frankel and Rose (Economic J 108:1009–1025 1998) state that membership could lead to an ex post rise in output correlations. In the current study, we employ ex post and ex ante data on output for 11 members and 11 non-members of the EMU and we test whether the adoption of the euro

increased the output synchronization among members compared to non-members. The main findings of this paper are that there is not robust evidence for a decrease in average correlation among members compared to the co-movement among non-members. Our sensitivity analysis reveals that for a group of countries considered to be the core of the European Union, the effect is statistically insignificant. Any decrease in correlation could be attributed to some extend to the countries of the periphery, and also to some of the countries considered as members of the core, giving credit to Eichengreen (Economic Policy 10:118–187; 1990) and Krugman (1990) arguments about increased specialization giving rise to idiosyncratic shocks.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Economou Emmanouil Marios L., Kyriazis Nicholas C., Metaxas Theodore**
**The institutional and economic foundations of regional proto-federations**
**in Economics of Governance**, Volume 16, Issue 3, August 2015 , 251-271

In the present paper we analyse the ancient Greek regional proto-federations of free-democratic city-states. We examine their political institutions and policies like common defence, representative federal bodies such as popular assemblies, parliament, state and regional organization, federal finance ministers as well as their economic institutions: common currency, federal budget and federal revenues. We address in more detail the case of the Aetolian League, or Federation, comparing it with some of today's federal states and the European Union and conclude that in some respects, the proto-federation was more advanced than the EU, and thus can serve as a benchmark in addressing current European integration issues.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*
**Kaplanoglou, Georgia**
**Who Pays Indirect Taxes in Greece? From EU Entry to the Fiscal Crisis**
**in Public Finance Review**, 43 (4) , 529-556

The article applies microsimulation modeling techniques exploiting five waves of Household Expenditure Survey (HES) data in order to study how the distributional impact of indirect taxes in Greece has changed over the last twenty-five years (1988–2011). It turns out that the radical simplification of the tax system, primarily induced by European Union (EU) membership, was achieved at a small cost in terms of equity. The recent successive fiscal consolidation packages, adopted in response to the fiscal crisis, involved major indirect tax hikes that significantly increased the indirect tax burden for Greek households. The 2011 indirect tax system appears as the most regressive along the period studied, both in terms of its effect on inequality and in terms of unfavorably targeting distributionally sensitive commodities. The impact of the reforms was particularly adverse for vulnerable population groups like families with children (especially the poorest ones) and the unemployed. For austerity not to further challenge social cohesion, policy measures have to be planned in a more informed manner.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Hayo, Bernd; Kutan; Ali M.; Neuenkirch, Matthias**

**Financial market reaction to Federal Reserve communications: Does the global financial crisis make a difference?**
in **Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 42, Issue 1 , 185-203

This paper studies the effects of Federal Reserve communications on US financial market returns from 1998 to 2009 and asks whether they changed significantly during the global financial crisis of August 2007–July 2009. We find, first, that central bank communication moves financial markets in the intended direction. In particular, shorter maturities are affected in an economically meaningful way. Second, speeches by the chairman generate relatively larger market reactions than communication by other governors or presidents. Finally, central bank communication is even more market relevant during the subsample covering the global financial crisis.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Alberto Oddenino**
**Il QE della Banca Centrale Europea fra politica monetaria, politica economica e dinamiche dei mercati finanziari internazionali**
in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno L, n. 212, gennaio-aprile , 5-17

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Luca Lionello**
**Il nuovo ruolo della BCE nella crisi del debito sovrano europeo**
in **Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVII, n. 1-2

“Se fallisce l’euro, fallisce l’Europa”. Con queste parole il Cancelliere tedesco Angela Merkel ha riassunto il significato politico, prima ancora che economico, della moneta unica per il processo di integrazione europea. La possibile implosione dell’Unione economica e monetaria sotto il peso di un default a catena di diversi Stati membri ha richiesto l’adozione di una serie di misure volte a garantire la stabilità finanziaria della zona euro. La Banca centrale europea, grazie alla sua vocazione federale, è stata l’istituzione che meglio ha saputo affrontare l’emergenza economica e finanziaria servendosi di tutti gli strumenti idonei a sua disposizione per garantire la sopravvivenza dell’unione monetaria. Tale responsabilità ha obbligato la BCE ad emanciparsi dal ruolo originariamente assegnatole dai Trattati e diventare un nuovo motore del processo di integrazione politica europea.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Hallett , Andrew Hughes; Lewis, John**
**Monetary policy and sovereign debt: Does the ECB take the eurozone’s fiscal risks into account?**
in **Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 42, Issue 3 , 499-520

In the standard Taylor rule, fiscal variables are absent and the central bank is assumed to respond in the same way to a

given inflation-output gap outlook regardless of the stance of fiscal policy or the outlook for government debt. This paper puts that assumption to the test. Estimating Taylor rules for the ECB using real time data, we find that there is no direct response to the usual instrument of fiscal policy, the cyclical adjusted primary balance. But there is a clear response to the level of debt. Monetary policy tightens by 25 basis points for every 2.5 pp rise in the expected debt to GDP ratio. With ex-post data, we see the opposite: the ECB appears, unfairly since they didn't have the data, to have acted as if it loosened in periods with a forecasted debt build-up (i.e. in recessions), but tightened in response to past fiscal excesses.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Benjamin Braun**
**Preparedness, Crisis Management and Policy Change: The Euro Area at the Critical Juncture of 2008–2013**
**in British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Volume 17, Issue 3 , 419–441

Focusing on the experience of the euro area in general, and the ECB in particular, this article argues that in the context of explosive financial crises a phase of emergency crisis management precedes the phase of purposeful institution building. Importantly for our understanding of policy change, crisis management measures create their own path dependencies. However, albeit often improvised, crisis management decisions are not entirely contingent. The article therefore introduces the notion of preparedness, which measures the extent to which the pre-crisis policy paradigm was prepared for the joint occurrence of, in this case, a systemic banking crisis and a sovereign debt crisis. The analysis shows that the Euro area's lack of preparedness caused the ECB to assume a dominant position in the euro area during the emergency phase of the crisis. This windfall gain in power for the ECB has already begun to shape the future institutional architecture of the EMU.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Nersisyan, Yeva**
**The repeal of the Glass–Steagall Act and the Federal Reserve's extraordinary intervention during the global financial crisis**
**in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 545-567

Before the global financial crisis, the assistance of the lender of last resort was thought to be limited to commercial banks. During the crisis, however, the Federal Reserve created a number of facilities to support brokers and dealers, money market mutual funds, the commercial paper market, the mortgage-backed securities market, the triparty repo market, and so on. In this paper, we argue that the elimination of specialized banking through the eventual repeal of the Glass–Steagall Act (GSA) has played an important role in the leakage of the public subsidy intended for commercial banks to nonbank financial institutions. In a specialized financial system, which the GSA had helped to create, the use of the lender-of-last-resort safety net could be more comfortably limited to commercial banks. However, the elimination of GSA restrictions on bank-permissible activities has contributed to the rise of a financial system where the lines between regulated and protected banks and the so-called shadow banking system have become blurred. The existence of shadow banking, which is directly or indirectly guaranteed by banks, has made it practically impossible to confine the safety to the regulated banking system. In this context, reforming the lender-of-last-resort institution requires fundamental changes within the financial system itself.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*
**Canova Timothy A.**
**Who Runs the Fed?**
**in Dissent**, Summer 2015

The 2008 financial crisis challenged many orthodox assumptions in finance and economics, including the proper role and accountability of central banks. The U.S. Federal Reserve, commonly known as the Fed, is the world's most powerful central bank. One major source of Federal Reserve power is its role as "lender of last resort," lending directly to commercial banks through its so-called discount lending window. Traditionally, only commercial banks had access to the Fed's discount lending since non-bank financial institutions were not subject to the same reserve and capital requirements as those imposed on banks. The other major source of the Fed's power ...

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Fabio Cappellettia, Manuel Fischer, Pascal Sciarini**
**'Let's Talk Cash': Cantons' Interests and the Reform of Swiss Federalism**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 1-20

In 2004 the Swiss people accepted a new equalization scheme and a new distribution of competences between the federal state and the cantons. It was argued that the reform was successful because of the capacity of veto-players to overcome their interests and adopt a 'problem-solving' interaction mode. We propose a different interpretation and argue that distributive issues and the accommodation of actors' interests crucially mattered. We identify three mechanisms that contribute to a successful reform, i.e. package-deals, side-payments and the downsizing of the reform. Our in-depth, mainly qualitative study of both the content of the reform and related decision-making process supports the pertinence of these strategies for the explanation of the successful reform of Swiss federalism.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Soja Edward**
**Accentuate The Regional**
**in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 39, Issue 2, March , 372-381

We are witnessing an unprecedented period in which the urban and the regional, formerly quite distinct from one another, are blending together to define something new and different. Never before have regional approaches been more important in urban research, and urban emphases more influential in regional development theory and planning. As one of the only forums that explicitly combines the urban and the regional, IJURR has a rare opportunity to take the lead in defining and expanding critical urban/regional studies. This essay identifies eight challenging themes for innovative critical and comparative regional research.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Ratto Trabucco Fabio**
**An Overview on Local Government in Estonia**
**in European public Law**, Volume 21 - Issue 03 , 461–479

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Souza, Celina**
**Breaking the Boundary: Pro-poor Policies and Electoral Outcomes in Brazilian Sub-national Governments**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 347-363

The article explores the role of state-led and of centre-led pro-poor policies in the electoral shift of state elections in the state of Bahia, in Brazil's Northeast. It analyses a pro-poor policy sponsored by a traditional party which has ruled the state for several decades during both the military and the democratic regimes. The article investigates the causes of the party's defeat in 2006 and its replacement by a non-traditional party. The argument is that the defeat of the traditional party and the victory of a non-traditional one can be explained as the result of the state's main pro-poor policy that has always created dependency between voters and sub-national politicians. Centre-led pro-poor policies introduced in the late 1990s, in contrast, have universal or clear targets, eliminating the intermediation of sub-national political brokers.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Francesco Bonini**
**Comuni e Province, circoscrizioni (all. A)**
**in Amministrare**, n. 2-3 , 55-90

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Piero Aimo**
**Comuni e Province, funzioni e controlli (all. A)**
**in Amministrare**, n. 2-3 , 7-54

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Asatryan Zareh, De Witte Kristof**

**Direct democracy and local government efficiency**
in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 39, September 2015 , Pages 58-66

This paper studies the role of direct democracy in ensuring efficient and cost-effective provision of goods and services in the public sector. The sample consists of the population of municipalities in the German State of Bavaria, where in the mid-1990s considerable direct democratic reforms granted citizens wide opportunities to directly participate in local affairs through binding initiatives. Using information on the municipal resources and the municipal provision of public goods, and applying a fully non-parametric approach to estimate local government overall efficiency, the analysis shows that more direct democratic activity is associated with higher government efficiency. This result suggests that more inclusive governance through direct decision-making mechanisms may induce more accountable and less inefficient governments.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**González, Lucas I.; Mamone, Ignacio**
**Distributive Politics in Developing Federal Democracies: Compensating Governors for Their Territorial Support**
in **Latin American Politics & Society**, Volume 57, Issue 3 , 50-76

Using original data from the period 1999–2011 on federal infrastructure investment for all subnational units in two federations, Argentina and Brazil, and a unitary nation, Colombia, this study shows that in developing federal countries with strong governors, presidents use nonearmarked transfers as a tool to compensate governors for sizable and secure territorial political support. The study argues that in these cases, resources do not make electoral power but chase it. In the unitary case, conversely, governors do not influence distributive politics. Variation also was found in the relevance of Congress, legislative overrepresentation, and programmatic criteria across cases. The article discusses possible reasons for these results and their implications for the comparative debate on distributive politics.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Vaishnav Milan, Swanson Reedy**
**Does Good Economics Make for Good Politics? Evidence from Indian States**
in **India Review**, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 279-311

The proposition that voters reward incumbent governments that perform well economically is considered received wisdom in many democracies. We examine this hypothesis in India, a developing democracy where scholars have found limited evidence of economic voting. Using a unique state-level panel dataset covering the years 1980–2012, we find that there is no relationship between growth and electoral performance in the aggregate. However, since 2000, there do appear to be increasing electoral returns to governments that deliver higher rates of economic growth. The positive returns to growth are much larger than those to improved law and order, while inflation has no clear impact. The results suggest a significant shift in Indian voter behavior.

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

**Beall Jo, Parnell Susan, Albertyn Chris**

**Elite Compacts in Africa: The Role of Area-based Management in the New Governmentality of the Durban City-region**

in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 39, Issue 2, March , 390-406

Through reflection on the practical post-apartheid (re)alignment of competing rationalities across the Greater Durban urban region, this essay teases out the interface between traditional and modern settlement management systems, and explores how governance cleavages are being renegotiated and mediated. It is suggested that, in building an integrated method of operating across the fragmented city-regional scale and navigating the competing interests involved, the practice of African urbanism is being defined. Without making any claims for what may or may not be uniquely African city-regional dynamics at the boundaries of tradition and modernity, what is clear from the Durban case is that both conventional city-regional literature and new city-regional ideas have glossed over the complexity of finding solutions to tensions between poor communities, urban managers, elected local authorities and the traditional rural elites of the functional city-regions of Africa.

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

**Royles Elin, McEwen Nicola**

**Empowered for action? Capacities and constraints in sub-state government climate action in Scotland and Wales**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 6, November , 1034-1054

Sub-state governments have emerged as important sites of climate policy innovation, but their capacity for action has rarely been examined. Although they are devolved regions within the same state, Scotland and Wales have varying degrees of constitutional competence. We conduct an inter- and intra-regional comparison to examine whether constitutional competence shapes the scale of ambition and achievement in climate policy outputs and outcomes. Focusing on emission reduction programmes and renewable energy, while there is a clear relationship between constitutional capacity and policy ambition, the impact of constitutional capacity is more evident in the capacity to deliver than in policy ambition. Other factors, such as civil society strength and the politics of territorial distinctiveness, also matter in shaping ambition, in spite of limitations in decision-making autonomy.

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

**Ouimeta, Hubert Rioux**

**From Sub-state Nationalism to Subnational Competition States: The Development and Institutionalization of Commercial Paradiplomacy in Scotland and Quebec**

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 109-128

Many of the most active regions in terms of commercial paradiplomacy are home to influential nationalist movements: Scotland and Quebec are cases in point. Conversely, many rich and export-oriented regions, such as South East England in the United Kingdom or Ontario in Canada, remain less active, if at all, in this domain. Nevertheless, the influence of nationalism as a driving force behind the practice of commercial paradiplomacy by subnational entities has often been subordinated to other variables such as ‘trade openness’ (exports as part of GDP) or ‘asymmetry’ with

national economic interests (export and FDI partners). This article describes the development of autonomous commercial paradiplomacy apparatuses in Quebec and Scotland by focusing on nationalism as a crucial motive, which is also partly responsible for the way such apparatuses developed, through the establishment of organizations and strategies institutionally distinct from those of the 'rest' of Canada and the UK.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Tomàs Mariona**
**If Urban Regions are the Answer, What is the Question? Thoughts on the European Experience**
**in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 39, Issue 2, March , 382-389

This essay contributes to the current debate in the field of critical urban and regional studies on the meanings of the 'regional' and the 'urban'. From a political science perspective, we focus on the European case. Firstly, we argue that the conception of the regional scale is not the same in various languages and traditions. Regions in Europe carry meanings and connotations that are not always easy to translate without losing their specific histories. Secondly, our analysis of contemporary debates on the 'regional' in the field of urban studies reveals that both practitioners and academics consider the regional scale mainly as a functional space, as the space for economic competitiveness. However, urban regions are also to be regarded as spaces for social and political mobilization. I argue that the political dimension of the 'regional' deserves more attention and that further research needs to be undertaken in this respect.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Smulovitz, Catalina**
**Legal Inequality and Federalism: Domestic Violence Laws in the Argentine Provinces**
**in Latin American Politics & Society**, Volume 57, Issue 3 , 1-26

This article shows that the institutional design of Argentine federalism allows for differences in the protective scope of the provincial domestic violence laws. It holds that the broad legislative capacities of subnational districts enable the working of political and social local factors, which, in turn, determine heterogeneity in these laws' protective scope. It analyzes, compares, and measures 37 laws on domestic violence sanctioned between 1992 and 2009. It advances a methodology to measure their differences and it evaluates the impact local factors have on legal variations across jurisdictions. The article shows that the protective scope of these laws is determined by the intensity of the local electoral competition and by the strength of women's organizational capacity. Results also show that time matters insofar as it allows for the diffusion of more protective laws.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**765–792**
**Local Civic Participation and Democratic Legitimacy: Evidence from England and Wales**
**in Political Studies**, Volume 63, Issue 4 , Carolina Johnson

Concern about declining legitimacy of national democratic institutions has driven an expansion of reforms to increase

public participation. This article tests the claim that greater local civic participation is associated with increased democratic legitimacy. It makes explicit a theoretical basis for this relationship and builds indices for civic participation and legitimating attitudes. Empirical implications are tested in a series of hierarchical linear and ordered probit models using detailed individual-level data from the UK Citizenship Survey. I find that participation is persistently positively associated with attitudes expressive of democratic legitimacy, even when accompanied by negative evaluations of local authority outcomes, and that this effect is specific to procedural and fairness evaluations of legitimacy rather than governmental trust. This article thus broadly supports assumptions of democratic legitimation from expanding civic participation.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Palermo Stefano**
**Local autonomies and economic development in Italy's incomplete transition**
in **Journal of Modern Italian Studies** , Volume 20, Issue 2 , pp. 245-251

Since the 1990s Italy's autonomous local governing bodies have experienced important changes in their powers and functions in ways that have been shaped by national and international developments. The two decades of Italy's ‘transition’ have seen structural changes in the system that enabled the country in the second half of the twentieth century to take a place at the centre of the world economic system. But the evidence of the last two decades indicates that the changes that have taken place do not constitute a transition, but reveal instead a country that in terms of its politics and the economy is living an extremely diversified and complex phase of its history. This essay explores these processes at the level of the provinces and local government, showing how their capacity to contribute, locally and nationally, to growth through increasing territorial competiveness has been hampered by uncertainties resulting from the reforms that have been introduced and by growing financial restrictions.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Balaguer-Coll Maria Teresa, Brun-Martos María Isabel, Forte Anabel, Tortosa-Ausina Emili**
**Local governments' re-election and its determinants: New evidence based on a Bayesian approach**
in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 39, September 2015 , Pages 94-108

We analyzed the effect of public spending on the probability of re-election of Spanish local governments during the 2000–2007 period using Bayesian techniques. Although the literature on political budget cycles is now fairly large, few contributions have explicitly analyzed the determinants of re-election. The use of Bayesian techniques in this context is particularly interesting because, unlike most previous studies, results are not presented as a summary effect such as the average. Rather, our findings show exactly how a given covariate affects the probability of being re-elected. We find that, in general, increases in local government spending positively impact on local governments' chances of re-election. Moreover, the capital expenditure over the whole term positively affects the re-election probability, although the pre-electoral capital expenditure has a stronger effect on the chances of re-election. We also find that the electorate only rewards increases in current expenditures made in the pre-election period.

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Astudillo Javier**
**Losers' Second Chances and Control of the Party Machine: Aspirant Premiers in Regional Spain**
**in South European Society & Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 181-201

In parliamentary democracies, controlling party machines has traditionally been a key asset for nascent political leaders, allowing them to continue in their position even after suffering a bad electoral start. Recent research suggests that in 'old democracies' this is no longer the case. Seeking to find whether this finding also applies to 'young democracies', the article analyses a dataset (built by the author) of candidates from the main national parties for the premiership of the Spanish Comunidades Autónomas, to ask whether being party chair increases the chances of 'reselection' after losing a first election. I conclude that in Spain, an example of a 'young' democracy, party machines still play a fundamental role at the start of politicians' leadership careers.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Elisabetta Colombo**
**Milano e i Corpi Santi (1860-1885)**
**in Amministrare**, n. 2-3 , 347-418

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Kull, Michael; Tatar, Merit**
**Multi-Level Governance in a Small State: A Study in Involvement, Participation, Partnership, and Subsidiarity**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 229-257

This article looks into the everyday practices of Estonian local governments regarding the emergence of multi-level governance (MLG) and their mobilization in EU affairs and policies, especially regional policy. The theoreti-cal framework is the concept of MLG, also emphasizing the principles of subsidiarity and partnership. The article contributes new empirical insights from a country outside of the mainstream scholarly debates on MLG. We test and answer five interconnected theses linking MLG with practices of the principles of subsidiarity and partnership and the status of a small, unitary state in the European integration process. For many Estonian municipalities, the EU has hardly any effect. We identified almost no adjustment of local-government structures and routines to EU pressures. There is hardly any involvement of local actors in policy-making processes or in networking. Estonian local governments are weak partners for the state

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Larissa Plüss**
**Municipal councillors in metropolitan governance: Assessing the democratic deficit of new regionalism in Switzerland**

**in European Urban and Regional Studies**, Vol. 22, no. 3 , 261-284

Metropolitan decision-making in flexible policy networks based on voluntary cooperation is present in most industrialised countries and a widely debated topic in governance research. The research focus primarily lies on the ability of metropolitan governance networks to organise area-wide public service provision efficiently and effectively – as opposed to hierarchical, bureaucratic policy-making. However, the inherent lack of input-orientated democratic legitimacy in governance institutions has only recently come to the forefront of research. In the present article, the democratic deficit of metropolitan governance is investigated with respect to the role of the municipal councillors and their inclusion in such institutions. The objects of study are local councillors in Swiss metropolitan areas, where regional cooperation is traditionally organised in functional associations that correspond to the flexible, informal logic of governance networks. The impact of metropolitan governance on the councillors' political influence and on their behavioural patterns is assessed on the basis of large-scale survey data and comprehensive multilevel analyses accounting for the multilevel system of Swiss federalism.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Pasquini Lorena, Cowling Richard M.**
**Opportunities and challenges for mainstreaming ecosystem-based adaptation in local government: evidence from the Western Cape, South Africa**
**in Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 17, Issue 5, October , 1121-1140

Ecosystem-based adaptation can reduce social vulnerability to climate hazards and can be more sustainable in the long term than hard technical solutions to adaptation. Thus, it can provide a strong argument for the conservation of natural ecosystems. As the entities most directly responsible for local-level planning and management, municipalities represent a potentially key site for implementing ecosystem-based climate adaptation. This paper presents the results of a study that investigated the extent of eight local municipalities' knowledge and mainstreaming of ecosystem-based adaptation issues in the Western Cape, South Africa. Most municipalities had little understanding of ecosystem-based adaptation issues and limited implementation of relevant actions. Our findings suggest that ecosystem-based adaptation mainstreaming in local governments will be assisted by increasing learning and networking opportunities for municipalities and by increasing the "profile" of the concept of ecosystem-based adaptation, as well as by conducting research on barriers and enablers to collaborative governance.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Morrison T.H., Lane Marcus B., Hibbard Michael**
**Planning, governance and rural futures in Australia and the USA: revisiting the case for rural regional planning**
**in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 58, Issue 9 , 1601-1616

Rural regions in post-industrial countries confront significant new challenges, particularly in relation to climate, biodiversity, unconventional resource development and energy. Yet at a time when the contours of these challenges are still being sketched, and preliminary, planned interventions undertaken, the practice of rural planning finds itself at a low ebb. We examine two 'critical cases', one each from Australia and the USA, to explore the issues and options for capacity of rural regional planning to surmount these new challenges. Our examination indicates the urgent need for a

renewed discourse on rural regional planning.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Marra Mita**
**Problemi di governance e dinamiche federali in Campania**
**in Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno**, n. 1-2 , 65-86,

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Addie Jean-Paul D., Keil Roger**
**Real Existing Regionalism: The Region between Talk, Territory and Technology**
**in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 39, Issue 2, March , 407-417

In this essay, we propose the notion of real existing 'lived' regionalism as a rejoinder to the normative and ideological debates around new regionalism. Regional forms have shown little convergence in this age of globalized regionalization. Instead of an ideational construct or set of predictable practices, we argue that regionalism is a contested product of discourses (talk), territorial relationships (territory) and technologies (material and of power). The concept of real existing regionalism confronts the tensions between the discursive constructions and normative interventions characterizing much current regionalist debate and the territorial politics and technologies reflecting, generating and directing new state spatial strategic choices. The essay demonstrates the utility of the real existing regionalism framework through an analysis of the greenbelt, transport planning and post- suburbanization in Southern Ontario. We argue that regulatory institutions capture the Toronto region in a mix of rhetorical and technological change that complies with neither preconceived notions of regionalization nor the pessimism of total regional dysfunctionality. Rather, the lived experience of regionalization illuminates the emergent assemblages, multiplicity of everyday flows and ongoing multiscalar negotiations of diverse communities that produce the real existing region.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Marciacq, Florent**
**Sub-State Diplomacy in Malfunctioning States: The Case of the Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 329-346

Diplomacy is no longer the preserve of the state. It is increasingly used by sub-state actors to contest state-level authority. In malfunctioning states like Bosnia and Herzegovina, where lengthy state-building efforts have not alleviated the risk of instability, this possibility is a cause for concern. This article builds on paradiplomatic and state-building studies to examine specific aspects of the Republika Srpska's (RS) bid for diplomatic actorness. Based on the content analysis of official documents and interviews, it assesses the level of diplomatic actorness of the RS in four dimensions (legal authority, external presence, internal presence, autonomy) and examines whether this has grown in collaboration or competition with state-level diplomacy. The article shows that the development of the RS's paradiplomatic activities is

driven by ethno-political competition, facilitated by state and sub-state actors' mutual disregard, and that it both echoes and amplifies the systemic malfunctioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Svensson, Sara**
**The Bordered World of Cross-border Cooperation: The Determinants of Local Government Contact Networks within Euroregions**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 277-295

The article discusses the determinants of local government contact networks within cross-border cooperation organizations (Euroregions). Relying on social capital theory, a combination of social network and qualitative analytical tools are applied on data from two Scandinavian and two East Central European cases. The analysis reveals that, even in favourable circumstances, contact networks are thin and Euroregions fail to develop into truly integrated political spaces. The analysis also shows that contact patterns on one side of the border, determined primarily by inter-municipal cooperation, will matter for how contact networks are formed across the border. The findings are important, as membership in a Euroregion is expected to foster cross-border political relationships that could have possible spillover effects in terms of encouraging policy cooperation outside the framework of the Euroregion, which in turn would enhance the likelihood of well-functioning cross-border governance spaces.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Allers Maarten A.**
**The Dutch Local Government Bailout Puzzle**
**in Public Administration**, Volume 93, Issue 2 , 451–470

The fiscal federalism and public choice literatures stress that government bailouts should be ruled out as they increase the probability that jurisdictions will incur unsustainable debt levels or take excessive risk (moral hazard problem). The recent problems in the euro area seem to confirm this view. However, in the Netherlands, the law explicitly stipulates that local governments which are unable to balance their books will receive a bailout grant. Surprisingly, this does not seem to create problems. Few local governments apply for bailout, and the amounts they receive are modest. We analyse the Dutch case and investigate possible explanations for this apparent anomaly. Our results challenge the dominant view in the literature. It is possible to avoid fiscal irresponsibility by means other than a no-bailout policy.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**David Siegel**
**The "public service bargain" in local government: A new way of looking at relations between municipal councils and CAOs**
**in Canadian Public Administration**, Volume 58, issue 3 , 406-425

This article examines the link in local government between the mayor and councillors, on one hand, and the chief administrative officer (CAO), on the other hand. The CAO is an essential link in the accountability process that flows from the electorate through the municipal council to the public servants who work for the municipality. In practice, this delicate linkage has frequently been forged in an ad hoc manner by trial and error. This article proposes a framework for a more solid structure for this important relationship.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Carlet Fanny**
**Understanding attitudes toward adoption of green infrastructure: A case study of US municipal officials**
in **Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 51, August , 65-76

The objective of this paper is to develop and test a theoretical model grounded in technology acceptance, diffusion of innovation and organizational theories to identify factors that influence attitudes of local jurisdiction officials toward adoption of green infrastructure for stormwater management. The hypotheses are tested using survey data on green infrastructure collected from 256 local governments' engineers, planners and other municipal officials across the US. Findings of structural equation modeling analyses partially support a hypothesis regarding the link between innovation characteristics and attitudes toward adoption, revealing that perceived usefulness has a significant direct influence on attitudes. They also confirm significant indirect effects of perceived compatibility, perceived internal readiness and perceived ease of use of green infrastructure on respondents' attitudes toward adoption. The contributions of this paper are two-fold. First, this study assesses the applicability of a model combining elements of technology acceptance, diffusion of innovation and organizational theory to predict municipal officials' attitudes toward green infrastructure. Second, it uncovers relevant innovation attributes explaining attitudes toward green stormwater infrastructure adoption.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*
**Parker Simon, Harloe Michael**
**What Place For The Region? Reflections on the Regional Question and the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**
in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 39, Issue 2, March , 361-371

In our introduction to this Debates & Developments forum, 'What place for the Region?', we discuss why the founders of the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (IJURR) regarded the regional question as having the same importance as the urban question, and how the region has remained a significant focus during the journal's subsequent development. We then explore some of the conceptual challenges in defining and investigating regions before considering some of the key developments in contemporary regional theory. Our introduction proceeds by highlighting the key insights of the contributions to the forum—essays by Edward Soja, Mariona Tomàs, Joe Beall, Susan Parnell and Chris Albertyn, and Jean-Paul Addie and Roger Keil—before concluding with a reaffirmation of the importance of the region in IJURR's mission as a journal of critical urban and regional studies.

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

**Andrew Sancton**

**What is a meeting? Municipal councils and the Ontario ombudsman**

**in Canadian Public Administration**, Volume 58, issue 3 , 426-443

In recent decisions, the Ontario ombudsman has developed his own definition of a “meeting” of a municipal council. The definition derives more from American statutes and judicial decisions than from any prior interpretation of Ontario (or other Canadian) law. The ombudsman's rulings claim that the law prevents municipal councillors from meeting together informally “to lay the groundwork necessary” for the council to exercise its authority. He mistakenly suggests that the policy-making process is much more open at the federal and provincial levels of government. His rulings unduly restrain groups of municipal councillors from organizing themselves to promote policy change.

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

*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Horace Yeung and Flora Huang**

**"One Country Two Systems" as Bedrock of Hong Kong's Continued Success: Fiction or Reality?**

**in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review**, Volume 38, issue 2 , 191-224

Despite the handover of sovereignty over Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China in 1997, the principles of "one country two systems" reaffirmed the autonomy of Hong Kong in a number of respects. In accordance with the Sino-British Joint Declaration and Basic Law of Hong Kong, the city is able to enjoy a high degree of autonomy over the systems and plicies practiced locally, including social and economic systems, as well as the executive, legislative and judicial systems. Additionally, with its image as a robust financial market largely thanks to the institutions inherited from its colonial era, Hong Kong is able to attract a number of financial activities from China and has firmly established itself as a leading international financial center. Nonetheless, there have been concerns that the advantages of Hong Kong started to fade after its reunification with China. This Article seeks to analyze how Hong Kong's capitalist system shields the city from the socialist system of China unde rthe principles of "one country two systems," allowing the city to maintain its position as a premier financial center. It explores the regulatory gap between Hong Kong and China, illustrating that Hong Kong's strength stems from the operation of a strong company and financial law regime independent of the legal regime in China.

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

*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Martin Blanco Ignacio**

**Aznar en el falso relato del secesionismo catalán**

**in Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, n. 46

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Marc Guinjoan, Toni Rodon**

**Beyond Identities: Political Determinants of Support for Decentralization in Contemporary Spain**

**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 21-41

Support for decentralization has generally been considered an outcome derived from the existence of regional or subnational identities. A recent complementary explanation has highlighted the role of politics to create regionally orientated support. We combine these two explanations by studying what determines the support for decentralization in Spain, an almost unique case where these two approaches can be tested. Using a hierarchical model, we show that in those regions without a different subnational identity, some citizens develop regionally orientated support because of their wish to bring the administration closer to the citizens and because their preferred party is pushing for further decentralization. In addition, we highlight the importance of considering decentralization as an outcome derived from party dynamics, which are able to shape political attitudes towards decentralization.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Audrey André, Jonathan Bradbury, Sam Depauw**
**Constituency Service in Multi-level Democracies**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 129-150

What are the patterns of legislator responsiveness to constituents in multi-level democracies, and what explains them? Previously, comparative research has been hampered by a lack of theory and a lack of data. The article first theorizes how constituency service may be explained by conventional arguments, such as electoral motivations and role orientations. It then considers how regionalization specifically might affect service responsiveness. Using data from the PARTIREP survey of legislators in eight multi-level democracies and six unitary democracies, the article demonstrates that national legislators devote less time to constituency service in multi-level than in unitary democracies; and that regional legislators devote more time than national legislators in multi-level democracies. While conventional arguments are important, the specific effects of regionalization are also significant in determining service responsiveness, establishing an agenda for future research of constituency service as a significant area in the study of multi-level democracy.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Mancini Susanna**
**Costituzionalismo, federalismo e secessione**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 779 -806

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Pištan Carna**
**Dalla balcanizzazione alla jugonostalgija: dissoluzione della Repubblica Socialista Federale di Jugoslavia**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 817-856

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Frosini Justin O.**
**Dall'evaporazione del federalismo belga alla jugonostalgija dei Balcani: il dibattito sempre attuale su centralismo e secessione**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 749 -778

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Caldeira, Emilie; Foucault, Martial; Rota-Graziosi, Gregoire**
**Decentralization in Africa and the nature of local governments' competition: evidence from Benin**
**in International Tax and Public Finance**, Volume 22, Issue 6 , 1048-1076

Decentralization has been put forward as a powerful tool to reduce poverty and improve governance in Africa. This paper will study the existence and identify the nature of spillovers resulting from local expenditure policies. These spillovers impact the efficiency of decentralization. We develop a two-jurisdiction model of public expenditure, which differs from existing literature by capturing the extreme poverty of some local governments in developing countries through a generalized notion of Nash equilibrium, namely constrained Nash equilibrium. We show how and under what conditions spillovers among jurisdictions induce strategic behaviors from local officials. By estimating a spatial lag model for a panel data analysis of the 77 communes in Benin from 2002 to 2008, our empirical analysis establishes the existence of the strategic complementarity of public spending in various jurisdictions. Thus, any increase in the local public provision in one jurisdiction should induce a similar variation among the neighboring jurisdictions. This result raises the issue of coordination among local governments, and more broadly, it questions the efficiency of decentralization in developing countries in line with Oates' theorem.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Gianfranco Baldini, Brunetta Baldi**
**Decentralization in Italy and the Troubles of Federalization**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 87-108

Since the mid-1990s, Italy has made significant steps towards federalism, decentralizing political, fiscal and administrative powers, also by means of a major constitutional reform. Yet, 20 years after the beginning of this process, the country is experiencing problems in finalizing these reforms towards a stable federal architecture. This article examines Italy as a case of failed federalization. Adopting a long-term focus inspired by the 'gradual institutional change' approach, we argue that federalization has been trapped between a rather anomalous (and pathological) alliance between a persistent centralism, which prevailed when Italy was born as a state in 1861, and an ever-present strong tradition of localism. This approach allows us to show the very incremental nature of institutional change and to map

changes and continuities along the 150 years of the Italian state, identifying both political and cultural factors that help to explain this unfulfilled journey towards federalism.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Gianfranco Baldini, Brunetta Baldi**
**Decentralization in Italy and the Troubles of Federalization**
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 87-108

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Thomas A. Koelble, Andrew Siddle**
**Decentralization in Post-Apartheid South Africa**
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 5 , 607-623

Decentralization in South Africa was entrenched in the new democratic constitution of 1996 and charged local government with bringing basic and other services to the population. Our in-depth empirical study of 38 municipalities across South Africa indicates that the experiment with decentralization has largely failed to achieve its main aims—democratizing local government and delivering adequate basic services to all communities. In order to provide some answers to the question as to why this failure occurred, we focus attention on the legislative over-burdening of local government and its concurrent lack of institutional capacity to actually turn legal obligation and decentralization principles into practice as two of the main and related causes for this failure. While the South African constitution gave clear mandates to local government, the issue of adequate institutional capacity for municipal government was largely overlooked or ignored altogether.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Galán Galán Alfredo**
**Del derecho a decidir a la indipendencia: la peculiaridad del proceso secesionista en Cataluña**
in **Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 885 - 908

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Weissert, Carol S.; Jones, David Blake**
**Devolution Paradox and the US South**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 259-276

There is an inherent trade-off in federalism regarding representation and equity. With the devolution of responsibilities to regional governments offering increased representation, there comes the inequity of services provided by some governments and not others. However, citizens in these federations may want the best of both worlds—desiring regional control but without the regional policy variation. This tension, dubbed 'the devolution paradox' in a study of federal countries in Europe, was less apparent in one key group of regions—those with historic ties through language, culture, or experience. This article examines US respondents to identify whether the devolution paradox is evident in this country and looks specifically at the South, a region with long-standing distinctiveness. We find that there is evidence of the devolution paradox among the American public and that the South is indeed different.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Alberto López Basaguren**
**Escocia: El referéndum sobre la independencia y la propuesta de reforma de la Devolution**
**in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, No. 104 , 135-167

This work aims to analyse the referendum on independence held in Scotland in September 2014. It shows the results of the referendum, highlighting the most significant aspects, such as, in particular, the imbalances in the geographical distribution of the vote against independence, as well as by sex and age groups. It explores the motivations of the electorate in the light of the arguments used and the development of the debate on independence, during the year preceding the vote. Finally, it presents the proposals made by the Smith Commission, established immediately after the victory of the «no», in relation to the reform of Devolution (territorial autonomy) to increase the powers of Scotland, and the initial reaction of the Scottish Parliament regarding the bill presented by the British Government for the implementation of those proposals.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Asnake Kefale**
**Ethnic Decentralization and the Challenges of Inclusive Governance in Multiethnic Cities: The Case of Dire Dawa, Ethiopia**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 5 , 589-605

Ethnic decentralization which could emerge in the form of autonomy and/or federalism has become an important way of responding to the challenges of ethno-nationalist conflicts. Since 1991, Ethiopia has adopted an ethnic federal structure which provides territorial autonomy to its various ethnic groups. This approach to autonomy, however, has brought challenges to multiethnic cities and ethnic borderlands where different ethnic groups coexist. By examining the

experience of Dire Dawa, the second largest city in Ethiopia, this article shows how federalism and territorial autonomy by themselves are not enough to address problems of participatory governance in multiethnic cities. The article finally underscores the need for policy innovations that would ensure power-sharing in multiethnic cities.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Mastromarino Anna**
**Evaporazione vs Solidificazione: la sfida belga**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 909 - 938

Belgium,

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Berge Benjamin L.**
**Faith in Sovereignty: Religion and Secularism in the Politics of Canadian Federalism**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 939 -962

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Jan Erk**
**Federalism and Decentralization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Five Patterns of Evolution**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 5 , 535-552

The 1990s were marked by democratic reforms throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. This went in tandem with decentralization reforms which either created or strengthened subnational levels of government. More than twenty years later it seems everywhere to the south of the Sahara there is a gap between the institutional/constitutional blueprints introducing the reforms and the facts on the ground. Understanding and explaining this gap in the workings of federalism and decentralization is important to both theorists and practitioners. This article proposes five benchmarks in order to map out the evolutionary patterns of the last two decades: a) symmetrical recentralization; b) differentiated performance; c) legitimizing traditional authority structures and indigenous conflict resolution; d) politicization of local conflicts over land, water, and other natural resources; and e) federal extinction.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Brachet Julien, Scheele Judith**
**Fleeting Glory in a Wasteland: Wealth, Politics, and Autonomy in Northern Chad**
**in Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 57, Issue 3, July , 723-752

In January 2012, a new derdé (traditional leader) of the Teda in northern Chad was officially appointed. Held in the Tibesti, a remote, notoriously unruly but strategically important part of the Sahara, the investiture ceremony was attended by Teda from throughout the country and neighboring Libya and Niger, as well as by an impressive number of Chadian civil servants and international diplomats. Yet the ceremony itself was short and messy. Similarly, the historical underpinnings of the institution of the derdé and the selection process were unclear, leaving much room for debate. This uncertainty appears to lie at the heart of the institution of the derdé. Far from a resurgence of “traditional authority” to make up for “state failure” or to partake in the restructuring of postcolonial states—as observed elsewhere on the African continent—the investiture ceremony confirmed the decentralized nature of Teda social organization and the absence of even attempted governance, both with regards to the Chadian state and local political institutions. What mattered from a local point of view were not long-term strategies of power and control, but rather the immediate and gloriously wasteful distribution of wealth. Admiring eyes were turned not toward the derdé or the state officials who appointed him, but instead toward high-ranking military officers, well-dressed urban Libyan Teda, and trans-border smugglers, models of rapid but often short-lived success. This provides a counterexample to the current emphasis on governance and power in the analysis of African states and politics.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
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**Sperandii Claudia**
**I sistemi elettorali regionali alla luce della recente giurisprudenza costituzionale**
**in Italian Papers on Federalism**, 3/2014

he aim of this paper is to analyze if and how we can extend to Regional electoral Laws the censures that led to declare the National electoral Law (no. 270/2005) as partially unconstitutional.
Since the most recent constitutional jurisprudence (with particular regard to decision no. 1/2014, but also no. 275/2014), the analysis considers the National and Regional legal provisions concerning the assignment of majority prize, without setting a minimum threshold of votes or seats to get it, and the voting procedures that allow to give a vote for a list or a coalition of list, but not a preferential vote for an individual candidate.
The paper emphasizes the common elements of both legislation levels, their differences (first of all the particular form of regional Government) and the differences among Regional electoral Laws, focusing on the analysis of the case of electoral Law in Lombardia (that is now sub iudice, due to the mechanism of the majority prize).
Lastly, we can observe the critical elements of Regional electoral Laws that lead to doubt their full constitutional legitimacy, with regard to the assignment of majority prize, but not with regard to the system of ?closed lists?, where they are current or where are introduced again.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Calzini Paolo**
**Il caso della Crimea: autodeterminazione, secessione e annessione**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 807-816

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Bilancia Francesco**
**Il "derecho a decidir" catalano nel quadro della democrazia costituzionale**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 985 - 998

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Nikolai G. Wenzel**
**Killing Federalism from Above: Constitutional Culture, the Italian Founding, and the Seeds of Contemporary Instability**
**in Historia constitucional**, No. 16 , 205-219

With chronic governmental instability, a dangerously high debt-to-GDP ratio, Northern secessionism, and Southern under-development, Italy continues to stagger along. This paper uses the lens of constitutional culture to examine the Italian founding in 1861. Despite arguments for imposed centralization from above, Italy would have fared better under a federal system that respected the peninsula's rich tradition of local autonomy. Although counter-factuals are impossible to prove, a federal system would likely have led to greater stability and growth.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Alexander Cruz Martinez**
**La idea de federalismo en las Constituciones nacionales de Argentina y Colombia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX**
**in Historia constitucional**, No. 16 , 387-404

A partir de las constituciones argentinas y colombianas de la primera mitad del siglo XIX, el presente artículo de reflexión académica presenta de manera comparada el enfrentamiento entre centralistas y federalistas, y el triunfo del federalismo, como forma de organización estatal que sirvió de base para legitimar los procesos de consolidación política y administrativa de ambas naciones en aquel momento histórico.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Tania Groppi**
**Lo stato regionale italiano nel XXI secolo, tra globalizzazione e crisi economica**
**in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 35-72

L'article tracta de l'evolució del regionalisme a Itàlia, des de la seva creació mitjançant l'Assemblea constituent de l'any 1947, fins a la recent reforma constitucional, aprovada pel Senat el 8 d'agost de 2014. Es posa en relleu l'existència de tres fases de descentralització, cadascuna de les quals ha anat seguida d'una fase en sentit invers. Tot i que l'any 2001

es va adoptar un model “quasi federal”, des d’aleshores aquest model institucional s’ha anat buidant pel legislador estatal i per la jurisprudència constitucional, i s’ha anat derivant cap a un procés de recentralització, especialment agreujat a partir del 2008 en què va esclatar la crisi econòmica. Aquest procés ha fet palès que la revisió constitucional de 2001 havia dissenyat un sistema de govern quasi-federal que no era adequat per la societat italiana que, en lloc de més autonomia regional, només demanava una bona governança a tots els nivells de govern. La reforma de 2014 sembla anar en aquesta direcció, vers un “neoregionalisme” consistent principalment en una descentralització administrativa regional.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Bort Eberhard**
**L’Écosse après le vote. Le Non à l’indépendance comme amorce du changement?**
**in Cultures & Conflits**, n. 97, Représentations, mobilisations, printemps , 97-121

The decisive No vote in the Scottish independence referendum on 18 September 2014 was not a vote for the constitutional status quo, although it confirmed that Scotland would remain, at least for the time being, part of the United Kingdom. The referendum outcome is likely to have far-reaching consequences for the power relations between London and Edinburgh and, perhaps more than expected, for the constitutional future of the entire UK. A tight timetable for the delivery of extra powers for the Scottish Parliament is in place, and the ‘elephant in the room’, the constitutional status and governance of England, is now firmly on the agenda. There is also pressure for decentralisation in Scotland itself. And the huge ‘democratic awakening’ which characterised this ‘national conversation’ about Scotland’s future, with massive democratic participation and a record turnout, demands that these changes will have to be brought about in a participative way – and not ‘top-down’, as a Westminster or Holyrood ‘stitch-up’.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Albert Branchadell**
**Monolingüisme oficial en estats lingüísticament heterogenis. El cas de l'estat català independent**
**in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 202-236

L'objectiu d'aquest article és doble. En primer lloc, volem donar una ullada al règim lingüístic dels estats lingüísticament heterogenis d'Europa que s'han independitzat des de la caiguda del Mur. Més concretament, es tracta de constatar el fracàs del monolingüisme oficial en la majoria d'aquests països, que tant per raons internes com externes han hagut d'adoptar polítiques lingüístiques més pluralistes. En segon lloc, i en part sobre aquesta base empírica, volem descartar el monolingüisme oficial com a règim lingüístic apropiat per a un possible estat català independent lingüísticament heterogeni. Les dades d'enquesta disponibles mostren de manera unànime el suport de la població a la doble oficialitat del català i del castellà en aquest escenari polític. Aquestes dades són coherents amb totes les enquestes d'opinió anteriors en què hi ha preguntes sobre l'acord o desacord amb el règim de bilingüisme oficial en vigor.

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

**Notes sobre l'ordenament lingüístic d'una Catalunya sobira. Quin model? Quin procés?**
in **Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 237-253

La definició del marc jurídic de les llengües en una futura Catalunya sobirana no és primordialment un exercici teòric o l'expressió d'una posició política en particular. La consecució d'un ordenament plurilingüe satisfactori per a Catalunya en un marc de sobirania ha de tenir en compte el procés polític i la legitimació social del futur règim lingüístic. La identificació majoritària de la societat amb el projecte polític de la sobirania depèn de factors lingüístics indestriables d'altres aspiracions col·lectives. En les etapes del procés (la situació de partida, l'accés a la sobirania, el procés constituent i el nou marc institucional i jurídic) hi ha factors que tenen una gran influència: la composició sociolingüística de la població, la gestió equitativa de la diversitat, la idea de ciutadania, l'enfocament universalista del plurilingüisme. És a partir d'aquests factors que cal prefigurar l'eventual oficialitat de les llengües i el seu marc institucional i jurídic. Les decisions sobre l'oficialitat de les llengües impliquen responsabilitats sociopolítiques que no poden ser obviades si es vol assegurar alhora la identificació majoritària amb l'objectiu de la sobirania i la plenitud del català i l'occità aranès com a llengües patrimonials de Catalunya.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Kadirbeyoglu Zeynep, Özertan Gökhan**
**Power in the Governance of Common-Pool Resources: A comparative analysis of irrigation management decentralization in Turkey**
in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 3, May-June , 157-171

The global trend in common-pool resource (CPR) governance is to decentralize resource use management to local user groups. Since the survival and sustainability of self-governing organizations are closely linked to the satisfaction of its members, listening to users who have the largest stake in CPR sustainability is crucial. The literature on CPR governance has two shortcomings: its analyses are restricted to the local community, excluding higher institutional and government levels; and power asymmetry among users is neglected, even though it can undermine collective action and hinder effective CPR management. In this study, multiple governance levels were linked, and the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework – which contextualizes how interactions among local actors lead to institutional outcomes that shape both individual and collective actions – was extended by controlling for the impact of power relations on institutional performance. The outcomes of irrigation management decentralization were assessed via three case studies on locally managed irrigation institutions from two provinces in Turkey. It was found that power asymmetries have a significant impact on user satisfaction across the cases, albeit in different directions. The implication of this finding is that, in contexts where land distribution is highly unequal, inequalities may have contradictory effects depending on how power operates and is reflected in CPR management.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Arban, Erika**
**Re-centralizing subsidiarity: Interpretations by the Italian Constitutional Court**
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 129-144

Subsidiarity has become one of the key principles of European Union law since its introduction in the Treaty of

Maastricht, but in recent years other federal or decentralized systems have cemented this principle into their constitutions: one example is Italy, where subsidiarity was encapsulated in art. 118 of the constitution as amended in 2001. This article surveys some of the contributions coming from Italian constitutionalism and adds to the debate on subsidiarity, especially with regards to the stimulating, yet controversial, interpretation of the principle offered by the Italian constitutional court, which permeated it with a “centralist” essence. The article explores how subsidiarity is construed beyond EU law and argues that, while revealing all the elasticity of this principle, the interpretation offered by the Italian constitutional judges presents some risky consequences.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Yang Anastasia L., Rounsevell Mark D.A., Haggett Claire, Wilson Ronald M.**
**Recentralisation through regionalisation in the implementation of Rural Development Policy in Scotland**
in **Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 58, Issue 9 , 1666-1689

In environmental policy, good governance is pertinent when inclusive decision making is recurrently associated with effective outcomes. This paper explores the European Union's good governance principles and the extent to which these have been adopted in the Rural Development Policy in Scotland. For the programme period 2007–2013 Scotland's Rural Priorities scheme has moved towards decentralisation by introducing regional decision-making committees. This study assesses the impact of this scheme on multi-level stakeholder relationships and the implications on policy outcomes. To do so, the study adopts a mixed method approach, applying a stakeholder mapping technique, to quantify perceptions of influence and interest and triangulate with data from in-depth semi-structured interviews. Results indicate that the attempts to widen decision making has resulted in a number of stakeholders perceiving themselves as less empowered. This analytical approach can provide the baseline against which governance improvements can be measured in the formulation of future policies.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Smoke, Paul**
**Rethinking Decentralization: Assessing Challenges to a Popular Public Sector Reform**
in **Public Administration and Development**, Volume 35, Issue 2 , 97-112

Decentralization is among the most globally ubiquitous public sector reforms. In the past few decades, many countries have taken formal steps to empower local governments, typically with a mix of stated developmental and governance goals. Although decentralization receives much attention, our systematic practical knowledge about it remains limited, and it is fair to say that it often does not meet expectations. Even supporters have begun to express frustration, and references to stalled decentralization or even recentralization have emerged in both policy debates and in practice. This paper briefly recaps what decentralization was expected to achieve, broadly summarizes what we know about performance, and highlights factors that support and impede reform. It also discusses weaknesses and challenges in how decentralization has been conceived, analyzed, designed, and implemented. The core argument is that this type of reform is more diverse and complex than has conventionally been acknowledged and that more careful analysis and strategic action tailored to a specific country are needed to help to realize more effective and sustainable decentralization. The paper closes with thoughts about future directions for how we conceptualize and pragmatically approach this diverse and consequential reform.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Amandine Catala**
**Secession and Annexation: The Case of Crimea**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 581-607

The recent crisis involving the territory of Crimea has been characterized both as a case of wrongful annexation and as one of rightful secession. Territory and competing territorial claims lie at the heart of the normative questions of secession and annexation. Any normative theory of secession or of annexation must therefore address their territorial aspect: It must explain why one agent rather than another has a valid claim to the disputed territory. One of the most interesting, yet controversial, normative accounts of secession has been offered by choice theorists of secession. Choice theorists adopt a rather permissive stance, based on the normative significance of political self-determination. Choice theories, however, have been widely criticized for failing to provide a satisfactory account of what legitimates the seceding group's territorial claim. This article argues that it is possible to remedy choice theories' failure to address the question of territorial justification adequately. To do so, this article offers a two-tier account of territory that is grounded in the normative significance of self-determination. It defends this account of territory by showing that it is implied by our normative condemnation of annexation. It argues that the same reasons that warrant opposition to annexation provide support for secession. In closing, this article revisits the case of Crimea in light of its two-tier account of territory, and considers what role international law and institutions might play in addressing this type of situation.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**De Fiores Claudio**
**Secessione e costituzionalismo. Alle origini di un dibattito ancora attuale**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 999 -1022

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Stephen Tierney**
**Sovereignty and Crimea: How Referendum Democracy Complicates Constituent Power in Multinational Societies**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 523-541

This article examines the specific issue of the referendum as an instrument in the re-ordering of territory, specifically in the context of the secession of Crimea from Ukraine. The article maps how in recent decades independence referendums have proliferated and considers how the Crimean situation exposes the deep pathology of uncertainty in international law and its understanding of self-determination, exposing the referendum as a dangerous outlier. The principle of democracy, present already in the context of Kosovo's unilateral independence, and which forced the hand of Canada and the UK to accommodate secessionist aspirations, is a growing feature of international legal discourse,

and one which suggests that the referendum is likely to remain a potential trump card to which nationalists will appeal to overcome both constitutional impediments and the black hole of international law in the path toward statehood.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Ayelet Banai**
**Territorial Conflict and Territorial Rights: The Crimean Question Reconsidered**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 608-630

This article focuses on contemporary theories of territorial rights in political and legal philosophy and explores their implications for the case of Crimea, focusing on three main accounts of territorial rights: Liberal nationalist, Lockean, and Kantian. The article advances the legal-political account of the “people” and its territorial rights as a promising approach to theorizing the corporate agents that have potentially valid territorial rights and claims. While normative theory does not yield a single unequivocal judgment that identifies one claimant as the solely justified territorial right-holder in Crimea, the application of general principles of territorial rights theory can help identify the pertinent considerations for the case, which clarify the normative implications of each potential resolution. While no party has an absolutely just territorial claim to Crimea, this article offers a qualified defense of the existence of a distinct “Crimean people,” defined by the distinct political history of Crimea and its long-standing legacy of autonomous legal-political institutions, which may constitute a shared political project for the culturally diverse population.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Jure Vidmar**
**The Annexation of Crimea and the Boundaries of the Will of the People**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 365-383

The secession of Crimea and—more broadly—the conflict in Ukraine reopened questions concerning the limits of a democratic expression of the will of the people and the use of force in order to procure annexation of a territory belonging to another State. This article seeks to clarify the law governing the change of the legal status of a territory through secession and merger with another state. It argues not only that the right of self-determination does not grant an entitlement to alter the legal status of a territory, but also that general international law does not prohibit such an alteration. The rules of international law favor the stability of the existing international borders and thus the territorial status quo, but this does not mean that a unilateral attempt at altering an existing territorial arrangement automatically constitutes an internationally wrongful act. Any change of the legal status of a territory becomes illegal, however, upon an outside use of force. Such an illegality cannot be “cured” by a democratically expressed will of the people.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Yaniv Roznai & Silvia Suteu**
**The Eternal Territory? The Crimean Crisis and Ukraine’s Territorial Integrity as an Unamendable Constitutional Principle**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 542-580

This article reflects on the protection of territorial integrity in the Ukrainian constitution, especially on its provision of unamendability, against the backdrop of the 2014 Crimean crisis. At the general level, we examine whether constitutional theory can offer answers when confronted with the apparent inefficacy of a constitutional claim to eternity. More specifically, we focus on what the Ukrainian case can teach us about the implications of designating territorial integrity or indivisibility of a state as an eternal/unamendable constitutional principle. Building on insights from the Crimean crisis, we argue that the unamendable protection of territorial integrity is an especially ineffective type of eternity clause because it is subject to both the internal threat of secession and the external risk of forceful annexation. The preservative promise of unamendable territorial integrity is severely curtailed by this double vulnerability, even when backed by a constitutional court with far-reaching powers of judicial review. Territorial integrity as an eternal constitutional principle then remains merely aspirational. Moreover, we argue that the act of entrenching territorial protection as an unamendable principle is in clear tension with the idea of popular sovereignty and with mechanisms for expressing popular will. "East-Central European constitutions play like songs of the liturgy on a very old gramophone. You hear the expected music performed in the service of constitutionalism, but you hear it with a crackle in the background. The performance is old-fashioned in order to receive the nulla obstat of the Council of Europe and sometimes (when territorial integrity comes up) the soprano's voice suffers from hysteria." ~~ András Sajó

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Michael Keating**
**The Scottish Independence Referendum and After**
**in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 73-98

Aparentment, el resultat obtingut pel referèndum per a la independència d'Escòcia del 18 de setembre de 2014 ha estat concloent: un 45 per cent a favor de la independència i un 55 en contra. Tanmateix, la qüestió constitucional no ha quedat resolta. Durant la campanya s'ha generat un immens compromís públic que ha deixat un llegat per a les relacions polítiques entre Escòcia i el Regne Unit. Escòcia n'ha sortit reforçada com a comunitat política. Els perdedors, partidaris del Sí, han quedat reforçats i encaren el futur amb optimisme, mentre que els guanyadors han de lluitar per complir la promesa de millorar l'autonomia escocesa. L'opinió pública segueix estant a favor d'una "devolució" màxima, propera a la independència. Escòcia és un cas particular dins de la tendència que s'està desenvolupant a Europa de reformular el concepte d'estat amb l'aparició de noves formes d'estat i d'evolució de la sobirania. L'opinió pública escocesa estava a favor de més autogovern però no va voler acceptar el tradicional model d'estat-nació que la pregunta del referèndum li va oferir.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Leyland Peter**
**The Scottish Referendum, the funding of territorial governance in the United Kingdom and the legislative role of the Westminster Parliament**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 857 - 884

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Rose Shanna, Bowling Cynthia J.**
**The State of American Federalism 2014–15: Pathways to Policy in an Era of Party Polarization**
**in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 3, Summer , 351-379

The state of American federalism in 2014–2015 is characterized by inertia and centrifugal force. Party polarization and divided government exacerbate gridlock at the federal level as President Obama faces Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. Policy activity has shifted outward to state legislatures and citizens, the federal and state executive branches, and the court system, creating a diverse set of alternative institutional pathways and outcomes. Some policies, like Medicaid and K-12 education, are largely shaped by federal-state executive branch negotiations, leading to individualized state programs. Other policies—such as marijuana, gun, and immigration laws—are made by state legislatures or citizens acting through the initiative process. Meanwhile, a series of court decisions has doubled the number of states where same-sex marriage is legal. In the current political context, American federalism is characterized by a substantial dispersion of power and a variety of pathways to policy-making.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Brad R. Roth**
**The Virtues of Bright Lines: Self-Determination, Secession, and External Intervention**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 384-415

The United Nations Charter-based international order sought to reconcile the self-determination of peoples with the inviolability of state boundaries by presuming sovereign states to be manifestations of the self-determination of the entirety of their territorial populations. This presumption, albeit notionally rebuttable, traditionally prevailed even where states could only by a feat of ideological imagination be characterized as “possessed of a government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction.” But the international reaction to fragmentation in the former Yugoslavia—regarding both the initial “dissolution” and the subsequent struggle over Kosovo—called into question the rigid doctrines of the past and opened the door to secessionist claims theretofore dismissible as beyond the pale. Although no vindication of Russian intervention in Ukraine can properly be drawn from the Yugoslav cases, the Ukrainian crises help to surface the hidden dangers of an emerging jurisprudence that would allow previously inadmissible considerations—whether ethnic, historical, constitutional, or “democratic”—to compromise the territorial inviolability norm.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Dannevig Halvor, Aall Carlo**
**The regional level as boundary organization? An analysis of climate change adaptation governance in Norway**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 168-175

This paper investigates how a requirement for regional government to coordinate adaptation planning has been interpreted and implemented. Using the theory of boundary organization applied to a multi-level context, and using four counties in Western Norway as a case, the paper develops a framework for assessing how regional level governance

actors can support local level implementation of climate change adaptation through boundary work. Even though adaptation is not treated as a salient issue in most of the municipalities studied, regional level coordination efforts are creating a hybrid management space that aids mediation between local knowledge and expert adaptation knowledge. They thus hold the potential for better local level adaptation planning.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Sherlock Ann**
**Wales: The Continuing Development of Devolution in Wales**
**in European public Law**, Volume 21 - Issue 03 , 429–441

No abstract available

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Janet I. Lewis**
**When Decentralization Leads to Recentralization: Subnational State Transformation in Uganda**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 5 , 571-588

Among other shortcomings of decentralization reforms undertaken by developing countries since the 1980s, recent research finds that the reforms' primary aim—devolution of authority to localities—has often not been achieved in practice. This article builds on that insight, examining an understudied pathway through which states that have undertaken decentralization can ultimately recentralize power: administrative unit proliferation. Rapid creation of numerous new subnational administrative units is an increasingly common occurrence in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. This phenomenon, I argue, allows for recentralization by reducing the intergovernmental bargaining power and administrative capacity of each subnational unit, as well as by substantially expanding both the reach of the national executive's patronage network and its ability to monitor emergent security threats on its periphery. The article illustrates these mechanisms with evidence from Uganda.

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***Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government***
*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*
**Lecours, André; Arban, Erika**
**Why Federalism Does Not Always Take Shape: the Cases of Italy and Nepal**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 183-201

Federalism has been discussed as a potential system of governance in many countries, but in some it has failed to take shape. This has been the case in Nepal and, to a certain extent, in Italy. In fact, in Italy the federal option was rejected at the time of Risorgimento, and constitutional reforms in the 2000s never transformed the country into a federation as desired by political actors such as the Northern League despite some decentralization. In Nepal, the 2007 interim constitution specified that the country would be federal, but the first Constituent Assembly elected to write a new constitution was unable to produce a federal map acceptable to the major political parties and the second is wrestling with the same issue. In both cases, federal structuring was attacked by political actors who argued that it could promote

disunity, undermine solidarity, and possibly lead to disintegration. This article argues that the idea of federalism held by prominent political actors as promoting division and conflict played strongly against its implementation.

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

*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Malcolm MacLaren**

**"Trust the People"? Democratic Secessionism and Contemporary Practice**

**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 3 , 631-657

Using the secession claims in Ukraine and elsewhere as points of reference, this article reflects on the meaning of popular sovereignty and consent of the governed in divided societies. The article begins by critiquing the approach to secession claims prevailing internationally. It finds that the imprecision of the applicable rules, the plethora of secession claims, and most importantly, the claims' adverse effects on relations between and within states urge different treatment. The article then assesses an alternative approach, based on realizing the principles of self-determination and democracy through independence referendums. It finds that a doctrine of democratic secessionism, if conceived consistently and implemented consequently, shows considerable potential as a guide in treating secession claims. Moreover, this alternative proves preferable to the prevailing approach, practically as well as conceptually. According the principles of self-determination and democracy higher legitimacy than and precedence to other considerations would in some conflict cases lead to striking outcomes. Nonetheless, such an alternative approach could prove not only intrinsically but also instrumentally valuable, contributing, ceteris paribus, to conflict resolution.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Pedraza, Jorge Morales**

**A New Organizational Structure for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA): A Proposal for the Future**

**in Public Organization Review**, Volume 15, Issue 3 , 353-364

The IAEA is one of the most important international organizations within the United Nations system, with a relevant mandate in the field of international peace, security, and the transfer of nuclear technology for its use with peaceful purposes only. The Peace Nobel Prize won by the organization in 2005 in recognition of its work in the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy is the confirmation of what has been said before. To accomplish its mandate, the IAEA should carry out its activities in the most efficient and effective manner, taking into account the limited human and financial resources now available in the Secretariat, and the level of the resources that could be available during the coming years. For this reason, the IAEA should periodically revise its internal organizational structure, the management process used by the Secretariat to carry out the supervision of the activities to be implemented, the contents of its programs, the working procedures used to implement the approved programs, enhance the training of its staff, among others things. If an organization wants to succeed in achieving the mission for which was established in the most efficient and effective manner, then it should choose adequately its goals, identify the correct course of actions or the best strategies to fulfil the adopted goals, adopt the most efficient internal organizational structure, and allocate the necessary resources to ensure the full implementation of the approved programs. To make sure that the adopted strategies are working, the organization needs to adopt the correct internal organizational structure. Choosing the correct internal organizational structure entails allocating tasks, responsibilities, and decision-making authority within the organization in the most effective manner. One of the main changes that the Secretariat should introduce in its working

procedures during the coming years is the establishment of multidisciplinary working teams. These teams will have the responsibility to implement all IAEA technical programs, including all technical cooperation projects approved by the policy making organs of the organization, in the most effective and economical manner.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Heike Krieger**
**Addressing the Accountability Gap in Peacekeeping: Law-Making by Domestic Courts As a Way to Avoid UN Reform?**
**in Netherlands International Law Review**, Vol. 62, issue 2 , 259-277

Two decades after the Srebrenica massacre legal accountability for serious human rights violations perpetrated by peacekeepers is still difficult to deliver. While there is an accountability gap where individuals seek redress from the United Nations, a number of court decisions seem to prompt a shift towards the domestic level so that member States might be held accountable for violations of (international) law which occur during peacekeeping missions: While national courts have upheld the immunity of the UN, developments in the domestic and regional jurisprudence on the rules on attribution and State liability point to the responsibility of the troop-contributing States. In view of the political difficulties in bringing about reforms within the UN system a focus on the decentralized law-making mechanisms at the domestic level might appeal at first sight. However, this paper argues that member States need to act and close the accountability gap above all at the level of the UN.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Inaudi Silvia**
**Assistenza ed educazione alimentare: l'Amministrazione per gli aiuti internazionali, 1947-1965**
**in Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900** , n. 3, luglio-settembre , 373-400

The article analyses the action and the role of the Italian Amministrazione per gli Aiuti Internazionali (Aai ) in spreading a new nutritional culture in the long period following World War II, with a particular focus on childhood. It describes the characteristics and the evolution of food protection plans, from emergency post-war interventions to the programs devoted to children in need during the Fifties and the Sixties. Those programs aimed at harmonizing social solidarity with the promotion of food politics and the diffusion of food education. The essay specifically focuses on the relationship between AAI and different international organizations - such as Unic ef and Fao - in the field of international food programs. It also investigates the role played by AAI in the complex relationship on foreign aid between Italian institutions and the United States.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**McAuliffe Padraig**
**Bad Analogy. Why the Divergent Institutional Imperatives of the ad hoc Tribunals and the icc Make the Lessons of Rule 11bis Inapplicable to the icc's Complementarity Regime**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 11, n. 2 , 345-427

ABSTRACT: The International Criminal Court ('icc') lacks the capacity to pursue accountability for all but a handful of alleged perpetrators. Scholars and policy-makers have argued that the natural response to this state of affairs is for the icc to reconstruct, enhance or develop both the ability and the willingness of the national legal system to effectively account for international crimes that lie beyond the reach of the Court, and assume the success of the ad hoc Tribunals' Rule 11bis process (adopted as a result of their Completion Strategies) in transferring responsibility to the states concerned offers a model for so doing. However, this first comprehensive comparison of the two processes demonstrates that the institutional imperatives of Rule 11bis process ensured it would have a more beneficial impact on the domestic justice sector than the icc, whose imperatives rely far less on the domestic assumption of the responsibility to prosecute. This article traces how the ad hoc tribunals' institutional Completion Strategy promotes different incentives to those of the icc's institutional continuation strategy. While the latter has undermined domestic prosecutions by seeking co-operative relationships with self-referring states under burden-sharing (and indeed congratulates itself on such collaboration), the former has been more successful in catalysing domestic trials by adopting a more competitive, transactional approach to jurisdiction that was modified over time in accordance with the emerging institutional capacities of the states in question.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Damiano De Felice**

**Banks and human rights due diligence: A critical analysis of the Thun Group's discussion paper on the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights**

in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Vol. 19, issue 3 , 319-340

The Thun Group's discussion paper The Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: An Interpretation for Banks lays the foundations for the first ever comprehensive guide on how universal banks should move from corporate social responsibility to human rights due diligence. As the arguments offered by the Thun Group are likely to influence not only public and private financial institutions but also companies belonging to other sectors, this article offers a critical assessment of the document. Notwithstanding several positive features, the Thun Group relies on a faulty subsidiary approach, avoids fundamental issues like access to effective remedy, and downplays the importance of engagement with affected stakeholders.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Dafna Gozani**

**Beginning to Learn How to End: Lessons on Completion Strategies, Residual Mechanisms, and Legacy Considerations from Ad Hoc International Criminal Tribunals to the International Criminal Court**

in **International and Comparative Law Review Loyola of  Los Angeles**, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 331-381

Countries recovering from widespread human rights violations face the challenge of restoring civic trust in the domestic rule of law, repairing the social fabric of society, and building a foundation for longterm peace and reconciliation.' Although the creation of international criminal courts and tribunals has been a positive step towards "advancing a global system of ending impunity for the most serious crimes," their creation alone is insufficient to promote a just and lasting resolution of conflict . The international community must take steps to ensure that the contributions of international tribunals are not undermined or reversed by the manner in which they close their operations and that their legacy is

preserved.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Schrijver Nico**
**Beyond Srebrenica and Haiti. Exploring Alternative Remedies against the United Nations**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 588-600

ABSTRACT: Since the end of the Cold War, international organizations have frequently called upon their member States to respect the principles of good governance and international law. Increasingly, however, questions are raised concerning the behaviour of international organizations themselves and whether their own practice corresponds to what they expect from their member States. In other words: do organizations practise what they preach? Since many international organizations aim to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, it is reasonable to consider the extent to which these organizations respect such rights and freedoms themselves. Given the immunity of the United Nations, this paper examines some alternative legal procedures for the settlement of claims against the United Nations, taking into consideration contemporary international principles in relation to access to court, due process and reparation. It concludes with a number of recommendations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Cummings-John Tamara**
**Cooperation Between the United Nations and the International Criminal Court. Recent Developments in Information Sharing and Contact with Persons Subject to Warrants or Summonses**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 1 , 223-246

ABSTRACT: As contemplated by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court ('Court'), the United Nations and the Court entered into a Relationship Agreement in 2004. The Relationship Agreement provides a framework for cooperation between the United Nations and the Court, including through logistical or administrative support to the Court, in particular in countries where the Prosecutor has opened investigations or is conducting preliminary examinations. The United Nations also provides substantive support and judicial assistance to the Court's organs, in particular to the Prosecutor, but also increasingly now to the Defence, by making available documents and information generated or obtained by the United Nations and its various field presences. United Nations staff and experts have also been made available to the Court for interview and some have testified before the Court, for which the United Nations Secretary-General has to waive their immunity. This commentary provides an update on recent developments in two areas of cooperation between the United Nations and the court: information sharing, and contact with persons subject to warrants or summonses.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Carter David B., Stone Randall W.**
**Democracy and Multilateralism: The Case of Vote Buying in the UN General Assembly**
**in International Organization**, vol. 69, issue 1, winter , 1-33

ABSTRACT: Democracies are more supportive of US positions on important votes in the UN General Assembly than of nondemocracies. Is this because democracies share common perspectives, or does this pattern reflect coercion? Since 1985, US law has stipulated that the US State Department identify important votes and that aid disbursements reflect voting decisions. To unravel these alternative explanations, we introduce a strategic statistical model that allows us to estimate voting preferences, vulnerability to influence, and credibility of linkage, which are theoretical quantities of interest that are not directly observable. The results reject the hypothesis of shared democratic values: poor democracies have voting preferences that are more oppositional to US positions than autocracies, and they are more willing than autocracies to take symbolic stands that may cost them foreign aid. Democracies support US positions, however, because US aid linkages are more credible when directed toward democratic countries. Splitting the sample into Cold War and post–Cold War segments, we find that the end of the Cold War changed the way US linkage strategies treated allies and left- and right-leaning governments, but the effects of democracy remained constant.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Coppen Tom**

**Developing IAEA Safeguards: An Institutional Perspective on the State-level Concept**

**in Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 20 Issue 2 , 169-193

The implementation of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards in the context of the State-level Concept (SLC) has faced significant opposition from a group of IAEA Member States. This article explores the possible reasons for such opposition. It focuses on the issues of the scope of the mandate of the IAEA and on right to use third-party information to draw safeguards conclusions. Both are controversial aspects of safeguards implementation that are connected to the SLC. Analysing these issues from a legal–institutional perspective, this article concludes that neither the IAEA nor its organs were acting ultra vires in incorporating these elements into the SLC. The fact that the institutional framework of the IAEA is sufficiently flexible to allow these developments despite minority opposition, however, camouflages the fact that this can cause problems on a deeper institutional level. Developing safeguards practice may have legal effects on IAEA Member States, which means implementing safeguards in the context of the SLC without consent may constitute a sovereignty issue. This means the IAEA should pay extra attention to achieve and maintain consensual support for its actions to avoid an institutional power struggle over the SLC.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Geoffrey Wiseman**

**Diplomatic practices at the United Nations**

**in Cooperation and Conflict**, 50 (3) , 316-333

This article considers the importance of informal, practice-based change as opposed to formal change at the UN. I first evaluate UN reform, showing that diplomacy and institutional change within the UN system are better understood as having evolved less from major, formal reform of the UN Charter (‘the Charter’) than from minor changes in routine practices. I then examine what practice theory and diplomatic studies can learn from each other in terms of how each views the role of leading individuals, illustrating specific practice-based change in relation to the Secretary-General’s role. Next, I show how the appointment process for a new Secretary-General has evolved through informal practice, after which I advance an argument that UN diplomatic practices should be considered not only within the narrow context

of a formal diplomatic corps of member state diplomats but also as part of an informal, wider diplomatic community of diplomats and non-state actors. Practice theory helps students of diplomacy think more abstractly and systematically about mundane diplomatic practices. Students of diplomacy can help guide practice theory toward empirical diplomatic activities that are often internalized and taken for granted. I conclude that a dialog between the two fields will promote a better understanding of diplomacy as undervalued practices.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Hwang Wonjae, Sanford Amanda J., Lee Junhan**
**Does Membership on the UN Security Council Influence Voting in the UN General Assembly?**
in **International Interactions**, vol. 41, issue 2 , 256-278

ABSTRACT: Recent studies report that temporary members of the UN Security Council receive favorable treatment from the IMF, the World Bank, or in US foreign aid in exchange for their political support for permanent members. Nevertheless, few studies have examined whether this favorable treatment and these benefits have actually made any significant changes in the member states' voting behavior in the United Nations. To explore this question, we investigate whether membership on the UN Security Council influences a state's voting in the UN General Assembly. In the analysis of panel data for 197 countries over the period from 1946 to 2008, the empirical results show that elected members of the UN Security Council tend to behave similarly with permanent members, especially with the United States, as the number of loan programs signed with the IMF and the World Bank increases. Also, US foreign aid significantly increases temporary members' vote coincidence with the United States and other permanent members. In this regard, this article contributes to our understanding of state voting behavior and power politics in international organizations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Voeten Erik**
**Does participation in international organizations increase cooperation?**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 3, september , 285-308

ABSTRACT: Recent research asserts that public commitments to international institutions promote behavior that is consistent with institutional purposes. Evidence for this proposition is based almost entirely on studies that compare the behavior of states that have and have not ratified treaties. This paper evaluates instances in which some member states temporarily experience increased entanglement with an IO because they or their nationals serve in a position of authority. Unlike selection into IOs, selection into positions of authority is often governed by a common, observable, and partially exogenous process. I exploit exogenous exit, random assignment to different term lengths, and competitive elections in three contexts: the International Criminal Court (ICC), the UN Human Rights Commission (UNHRC), and the UN Security Council (UNSC). The evidence implicates that acquiring a position of authority can make states more willing to reject U.S. advances to sign non-surrender agreements, adopt domestic legislation that changes the penal code (ICC case), ratify legally binding treaties (UNHRC case), and contribute to peacekeeping missions (UNSC case). On the other hand, there is no evidence that UN institutions successfully select more cooperative states for positions of authority. Similar research designs can gainfully be employed to identify the causal effects of other forms of institutional participation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Thivet Delphine**
**Défense et promotion des « droits des paysans » aux Nations unies : une appropriation oblique de l'advocacy par La Vía Campesina**
**in Critique Internationale**, n° 67 , 67-81

Plan de l'article

Plaider en son nom propre, être expert de sa propre cause
Une stratégie de plaidoyer en faveur des « droits paysans » : opportunités et contraintes
Une modération de la cause ?

In recent years, the international peasant movement, La Vía Campesina, has sought to transcribe the "peasant cause" into law. In response to rights violations in the countryside – civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural – an effort was launched to demand that the Human Rights Council adopt an "International Convention on Peasants Rights". By studying the case of La Vía Campesina, one may underscore the kind of skills and alliances needed by activists (who are initially wary of the risk of dispossession that is entailed by recourse to a more expert and institutional repertory of action) in order to implement their advocacy strategy within UN bodies. Light is thus shed on the ways in which this strategy of collective action may benefit from the involvement of La Vía Campesina members, even as it creates tensions and dilemmas relating to the possible de-radicalization of the cause. ?

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Lucy Richardson**
**Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (and Beyond) in the UN Human Rights Council**
**in Human Rights Law Review**, Vol. 15, no. 3 , 409-440

Economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR) have been subject to increased attention in recent decades including within the United Nations. Created in 2006, the Human Rights Council is the only intergovernmental UN body dealing exclusively with human rights. Since a flurry of activity at its inception, the academic attention paid to the Council overall, much less specifically on ESCR, has been surprisingly scant. This article lessens that gap by analysing the Council's performance on ESCR and ESCR-related rights. It demonstrates that there has been progress, which, as with anything in the multilateral system, remains measured. The old debate on the hierarchy between civil and political rights (CPR) and ESCR is less relevant: the ideological battleground now centres on the scope and nature of international cooperation, and so-called 'third generation rights'. Expectations should be realistic as to what an intergovernmental body can achieve but the Council's treatment of ESCR is undoubtedly an improvement on the situation prior its creation in 2006.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Schleußner Carl-Friedrich**
**Gegen den Klimadefätismus: Auf nach Paris!**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 29-32

Der UN-Klimagipfel in Paris rückt immer näher. In der Mai-Ausgabe der »Blätter« warnte der Klima-Aktivist Tadzio Müller davor, diesen »mit Erwartungen zu überfrachten«. Für die Lösung der Klimakrise seien andere Orte und Ereignisse wichtiger. Dem widerspricht entschieden der Klimawissenschaftler Carl-Friedrich Schleußner.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**De Guttry Andrea**
**How Does the un Security Council Control States or Organizations Authorized to Use Force? A Quest for Consistency in the Practice of the un and of Its Member States**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 11, n. 2 , 251-293

ABSTRACT: Various circumstances have brought about an increase in authorizations by the un Security Council of different types of military operations to be carried out by external actors, on the basis of a prior request by the State hosting the activities, or against that State. This practice raises several problematic issues which are connected with the need to find a proper balance between the interests of the Council and those of the implementing actors, who always act on a voluntary basis. This contribution aims to investigate how the Security Council has organized the sensitive task of monitoring the behaviour of the authorized or delegated institution in order to guarantee consistency between the activities performed and the mandate given. The manner in which the monitoring mechanism is organized is of pivotal importance to prevent abuses and to make the whole exercise more credible and capable of preventing additional disputes, as the recent case of Libya demonstrates. The author reaches the conclusion, on the basis of the practice of the Security Council and of member States, that the need to guarantee a more efficient and sophisticated un mechanism of control has not yet been met, and that there is still much to be done in the interest of transparency and increased overall credibility of un-mandated operations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Emmanuel Decaux**
**La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, Nova et Vetera**
**in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme**, No. 103 , 579-587

The recent publication of the “Travaux préparatoires” of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by Professor William Schabas, is a monument of scholarship. The book contains all the official documents of the UN from the first work of the nuclear Human Rights Commission established in New York in 1946, to the adoption of the Universal Declaration by the UNGA, in Paris on the 10th of December 1948. This fascinating book offers a fresh look on the historical basis of the International Human Rights Law as a whole.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Cedric Ryngaert and Nico Schrijver**
**Lessons Learned from the Srebrenica Massacre: From UN Peacekeeping Reform to Legal Responsibility**
**in Netherlands International Law Review**, Vol. 62, issue 2 , 219-227

This article introduces the special issue on Srebrenica by reflecting on how the fall of Srebrenica has served as a trigger for proposals to fundamentally transform international law, especially the law relating to international crimes, responsibility, and legal remedies for victims. It also assesses the efforts to reform UN peacekeeping in the wake of Srebrenica, including issues relating to mission creep and to robust peace-keeping. Lastly, the article introduces the six other contributions to this special issue.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Wheatley Natasha**
**Mandatory Interpretation: Legal Hermeneutics and the New International Order in Arab and Jewish Petitions to the League of Nations**
**in Past and Present**, Volume 227 Issue 1 May , pp. 205-248

The League of Nations was a prodigious producer and consumer of texts. For all the minutes taken, correspondence circulated, questionnaires composed, reports received and petitions considered, historians have had little to say about the League and textual style. This article contends that the League's mandate system was more than a political institution or a bureaucratic procedure: it was a culture of argumentation that engendered particular ways of reading and writing — not least for those in colonial territories conquered during the First World War who now fell under its jurisdiction. The petitions they sent to the League document how a new politics of textual interpretation and application arose in response to the League's theoretical limitation on colonial sovereignty. As an index to mandate sovereignty compiled by its subjects, these petitions offer the resources for a history of international order from below.

This article reassembles the history of the mandate system from the fringes of the League's dominion in Mandate Palestine. As a novel attempt to restructure the rules of colonial governance, the mandate system ostensibly subsumed imperial sovereignty under the higher authority of international law. The system's legal pivot was the oft-quoted article 22 of the League's covenant, which announced that the Allies, now in their guise as 'mandatory governments', would govern their wartime colonial acquisitions in the interests of the governed, as 'a sacred trust of civilisation', until they were capable of independence.2 Article 22 was supplemented by individual mandates that, as 'constitutions of limited governments',3 laid down the parameters of legitimate colonial administration and codified the responsibilities of the mandatories in each particular territory.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Laura Rival, Roldan Muradian andCarlos Larrea**
**New Trends Confronting Old Structures or Old Threats Frustrating New Hopes? ECLAC's Compacts for Equality**
**in Development and change**, Volume 46, Issue 4

With the end of the Millenium Development Goals era approaching, policy actors are fast positioning themselves in the battle to influence the design of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Position documents already indicate that tensions between economic growth and nature conservation, which have always been at the core of sustainability debates, continue to shape rival agendas (Cornia and Stewart, 2014: 20). Even if there is today a greater scientific and political acceptance of the fact that climate change necessarily alters the terms of the development debate, many social scientists are concerned that a geological-cum-biological vision of life on earth and threats to it may divert attention away from burning issues of distribution and social justice (e.g. West et al., 2014). Equality thus promises to be at the heart of the SDG debate. Where better to start this debate but in Latin America, the most unequal region on earth, according to many? This is exactly what ECLAC's Compacts for Equality proposes to do.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Hug Simon, Lukács Richard**
**Preferences or blocs? Voting in the United Nations Human Rights Council**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 1, march , 83-106

ABSTRACT: After four years in operation the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) is subject to criticism, and various scholars and practitioners alike present and discuss reform proposals. In the present paper we study systematically the controversial decisions in the UNHRC. We find that controversial proposals are introduced by countries with a blemished human rights record, and that in the votes on these proposals the council members belonging to the European Union (EU) vote very distinctly from the remaining members and have preferences quite different from those member states that violate human rights. Extending an empirical approach frequently used in parliamentary research we can also show that in votes in the UNHRC preferences of member states dominate over their membership to particular blocs. As controversial votes also heavily polarize the UNHRC we argue that the problems faced by the UNHRC’s predecessor, namely the Commission on Human Rights, have reappeared.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Kirsten Schmalenbach**
**Preserving the Gordian Knot: UN Legal Accountability in the Aftermath of Srebrenica**
**in Netherlands International Law Review**, Vol. 62, issue 2 , 313-328

To ensure the effective and independent exercise of its functions, the United Nations is endowed with ‘immunity from every form of legal process’, as Section 2 General Convention phrases it. The Supreme Court of the Netherlands perceived this immunity as absolute, clearing away assertions that the UN’s immunity should not be impervious to alleged ius cogens violations and for the failure to subsequently provide alternative dispute settlement. However, a critical examination of both of these arguments reveals that the UN’s immunity in relation to its legal accountability is a proverbial Gordian knot: seemingly impossible to smoothly disentangle so that the UN’s functional capacities in the realm of international peace and security are effectively protected whilst the need for greater accountability is satisfied.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Duyck Sébastien**

**Promoting the Principles of the Aarhus Convention in International Forums: The Case of the UN Climate Change Regime**

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 123-138

The 1998 Aarhus Convention constitutes a landmark international agreement to promote public participation, not only domestically, but also at the international level. In 2005, its parties adopted specific guidelines on the promotion of its principles in international forums and established institutional arrangements to promote the implementation of this instrument. This article provides an assessment of the work undertaken under the Aarhus Convention in the past 10 years in this respect, discussing the roles played by three main categories of actors: civil society organizations, national governments and international bureaucracies. The review of the promotion of the Aarhus principles in the international climate regime supports this analysis. This case study highlights that stakeholders and the secretariats established under the Aarhus Convention and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change have played primarily a cognitive role as they worked to increase awareness of the parties on participation issues in the climate regime. To implement the Aarhus Convention in the context of the climate negotiations, the parties tend to favour domestic solutions (such as the inclusion of civil society representatives in governmental delegations) rather than reflect the Aarhus principles in their negotiating positions.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Laskaris Stamatis, Kreutz Joakim**

**Rising powers and the responsibility to protect: will the norm survive in the age of BRICS?**

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 149-158

What is the view of the BRICS countries regarding the international community's Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) against civilian atrocities? This article revisits the debate on international humanitarian action in Libya and Syria in 2011–2012; a time with BRICS states as members of the United Nation Security Council. While BRICS countries from the outset had different views on RtoP, the experiences of the Libyan intervention led to a unanimous reluctance to initiate any humanitarian action in Syria. We find, however, that all BRICS except Russia in general are positive to the RtoP concept and are willing to participate in further developments to specify how and when it applies. On the basis of our analysis, we expect that RtoP will continue to be an important feature of international relations but that it primarily will be used against non-state actors and that the behaviour of the interveners may be subjected to UNSC scrutiny.
Full text available online.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Butler Sean**

**Separating Protection from Politics: The UN Security Council, the 2011 Ivorian Political Crisis and the Legality of Regime Change**

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 20 Issue 2 , 251-276

The relationship between the United Nations (UN) and its Member States is under constant evolution, in particular with

regards to the demarcation of the state's sovereignty. The global movement towards action against genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing has encroached substantially upon what would traditionally have been considered 'matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction' of a state; the parameters of the Security Council's power to 'maintain or restore international peace and security' is consequently of much contestation and negotiation. This article discusses the involvement of the Security Council through its peacekeeping force, the UN Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI), in the Ivorian political crisis of 2011, and its impact upon the line dividing 'domestic jurisdiction' and 'international peace and security'. Specifically, the article discusses the actions of UNOCI and its alleged participation in the removal of the government of Laurent Gbgabo from power, with reference to its Security Council mandate and the practical realities concerned with realising the civilian protection portion of its mandate. The article argues that regime change may be a necessary strategy in tackling government-committed atrocities. Moreover, with reference to the principle of self-determination, the article argues that Security Council-initiated regime change is within the boundaries of the Council's legal power. Finally, the article discusses its practical ramifications, with reference to the conflict over sovereignty arising between 'Western' states and the so-called 'BRICS' (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Kirsty Gover**

**Settler–State Political Theory, 'CANZUS' and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**

**in European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 26, no. 2 , 345-373

When the UN General Assembly voted in 2007 to adopt the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), only Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA cast negative votes. This article argues that the embedding of indigenous jurisdictions in the constitutional orders of these states via negotiated political agreements limits their capacity to accept certain provisions of the UNDRIP. Once the agreement-making process is set in motion, rights that do not derive from those bargains threaten to undermine them. This is especially true of self-governance and collective property rights, which are corporate rights vested to historically continuous indigenous groups. Since these rights cannot easily be reconciled with the equality and non-discrimination principles that underpin mainstream human rights law, settler governments must navigate two modes of liberalism: the first directed to the conduct of prospective governance in accordance with human rights and the rule of law and the second directed to the reparative goal of properly constituting a settler body politic and completing the constitution of the settler state by acquiring indigenous consent. Agreements help to navigate this tension, by insulating indigenous and human rights regimes from one another, albeit in ways not always supported by the UNDRIP.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Dijkstra Hylke**

**Shadow bureaucracies and the unilateral control of international secretariats: Insights from UN peacekeeping**

**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 1, march , 23-41

ABSTRACT: While formal decision power in most international organizations rests with the member states, the member states often delegate the preparation of decisions to international secretariats. To prepare decisions, secretariats gather and analyze information and subsequently provide the member states with an assessment on the alternative courses of

action. In this process, secretariats may accumulate an information surplus over the member states. They can use this advantage to suggest options close to their own interests. This article argues that, to counter such agency problem, the member states unilaterally invest in shadow bureaucracies with the aim to reduce informational asymmetries. Shadow bureaucracies are, however, costly. Member states have to weigh agency costs against the costs of domestic administrative capability. Strong states with outlier preferences are most likely to invest in shadow bureaucracies. They have most to gain. The use of shadow bureaucracies not only reduces agency costs. It also allows states more control over policy in international organizations. This article uses insights from peacekeeping in the United Nations to illustrate the argument.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Guy Fiti Sinclair**
**State Formation, Liberal Reform and the Growth of International Organizations**
in **European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 26, no. 2 , 445-469

This article argues that the growth of international organizations over the past century has been imagined and carried out in order to make modern states on a broadly Western model. The proliferation of international organizations and the expansion of their legal powers, through both formal and informal means, raise profound questions regarding the relationship between international law's reforming promise and its imperialist perils. The article proposes a new analytic framework for understanding these phenomena, focusing on the rationalities of international organizations' powers and the technologies through which they are made operable. It argues that both the growth of international organizations and the cultural processes of state formation are impelled by a dynamic of liberal reform that is at once internal and external to law. That dynamic and the analytic framework proposed here are both illustrated and exemplified through a critical account of the emergence of international organizations in the 19th century.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Desta, Melaku Geboye; McMaohn, Joseph A.**
**The Common Agricultural Policy and the UN Development Goals: Can Do Better?**
in **Journal of World Trade**, Vol.49, Issue 4 , 699-734

At the heart of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their successors, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), is the commitment to reduce and ultimately eradicate extreme poverty in all its forms. While extreme poverty can be measured in different ways, hunger is certainly one of its cruellest manifestations. The first MDG set the target of halving the proportion of people who suffer from hunger between 1990 and 2015 and the SDG's headline target is the ending of hunger by 2030.This article attempts to look back at the role European Union (EU)'s Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) may have played towards the MDG target and to look forward at the role it might play towards the SDG target, investigating, in particular, whether or not the recent focus on policy coherence for development at the EU level is likely to position the CAP as a force for good for the attainment of SDGs.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Binder Martin, Heupel Monika**

**The Legitimacy of the UN Security Council: Evidence from Recent General Assembly Debates**

in **International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 59, issue 2, june , 238-250

ABSTRACT: Existing research on the legitimacy of the UN Security Council is conceptual or theoretical, for the most part, as scholars tend to make legitimacy assessments with reference to objective standards. Whether UN member states perceive the Security Council as legitimate or illegitimate has yet to be investigated systematically; nor do we know whether states care primarily about the Council's compliance with its legal mandate, its procedures, or its effectiveness. To address this gap, our article analyzes evaluative statements made by states in UN General Assembly debates on the Security Council, for the period 1991–2009. In making such statements, states confer legitimacy on the Council or withhold legitimacy from it. We conclude the following: First, the Security Council suffers from a legitimacy deficit because negative evaluations of the Council by UN member states far outweigh positive ones. Nevertheless, the Council does not find itself in an intractable legitimacy crisis because it still enjoys a rudimentary degree of legitimacy. Second, the Council's legitimacy deficit results primarily from states' concerns regarding the body's procedural shortcomings. Misgivings as regards shortcomings in performance rank second. Whether or not the Council complies with its legal mandate has failed to attract much attention at all.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Kass, Malcolm ; Fatas, Enrique; Eckel, Catherine; Arce, Daniel**

**The UN in the lab**

in **Social Choice and Welfare**, Volume 45, Issue 3 , 625-651

We consider two alternatives to inaction for governments combating terrorism, which we term Defense and Prevention. Defense consists of investing in resources that reduce the impact of an attack, and generates a negative externality to other governments, making their countries a more attractive objective for terrorists. In contrast, Prevention, which consists of investing in resources that reduce the ability of the terrorist organization to mount an attack, creates a positive externality by reducing the overall threat of terrorism for all. This interaction is captured using a simple 3×3 “Nested Prisoner’s Dilemma” game, with a single Nash equilibrium where both countries choose Defense. Due to the structure of this interaction, countries can benefit from coordination of policy choices, and international institutions (such as the UN) can be utilized to facilitate coordination by implementing agreements to share the burden of Prevention. We introduce an institution that implements a burden-sharing policy for Prevention, and investigate experimentally whether subjects coordinate on a cooperative strategy more frequently under different levels of cost sharing. In all treatments, burden sharing leaves the Prisoner’s Dilemma structure and Nash equilibrium of the game unchanged. We compare three levels of burden sharing to a baseline in a between-subjects design, and find that burden sharing generates a non-linear effect on the choice of the efficient Prevention strategy and overall performance. Only an institution supporting a high level of mandatory burden sharing generates a significant improvement in the use of the Prevention strategy.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*

**Annika Björkdahl & Johanna Mannergren Selimovic**

**Translating UNSCR 1325 from the global to the national: protection, representation and participation in the**

**National Action Plans of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda**
in **Conflict, Security, and Development**, Volume 15, Issue 4 , 311-335

A decade and a half after the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, gendered peace gaps in post-conflict societies are still wide and deep. This raises pressing questions concerning how UNSCR 1325 and concomitant resolutions on women, peace and security (WPS) constitute women and gender, and how they as particular discursive configurations impact on post-conflict societies. In this article we zoom in on the role of National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of 1325 in national contexts. We undertake a discursive analysis of Bosnia-Herzegovina's and Rwanda's NAPs in order to trace how the 1325 agenda of protection, representation and participation is translated into national contexts. We conclude that the NAPs to a large degree perpetuate the status quo and are not used as instruments for greater societal transformation that support women's authentic participation. The article ends with a reflection on how to imagine agency beyond the scripted protection, representation and participation that the NAPs (re)produce and we suggest a possible role for the latest WPS resolution UNSCR 2122 as a vehicle for transformation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Michael Kirby**
**UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights Violations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: Ten Lessons**
in **Melbourne Journal of International Law**, Volume 15, issue 2 , 291-317

In this article, the author, who was Chair of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights Violations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), derives ten lessons from the Inquiry. These are: (1) the importance of appointing a strong and experienced commission and secretariat; (2) the necessity to adopt a transparent methodology; (3) the desirability of drawing on the power and vitality of oral testimony given in public hearings; (4) the importance of engagement with local and international non-governmental organisations; (5) the utility of assistance from appropriate international scholars; (6) the value of continuous engagement with national and international media; (7) the need for effective
follow-up to the report once delivered; (8) the inevitable frustrations in the UN system; (9) the utility of recognising the connection between universal human rights and internationalp eace and security; and (10) the appreciation of the significance of the inquiry as an instance of international human rights in action. A number of further conclusions about the inquiry are also suggested.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Andraž Zidar**
**WHO International Health Regulations and human rights: from allusions to inclusion**
in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Vol. 19, issue 4 , 505-526

As a response to an increasing threat of infectious diseases in the globalised world (e.g. SARS, H1N1 influenza, Ebola, MERS, Poliovirus), the World Health Organization adopted a reinvigorated version of the International Health Regulations in 2005. The regulations empower the WHO Director-General to proclaim a public health emergency of international concern and issue temporary recommendations of health measures to states parties. However, although

the regulations and related health measures inevitably touch upon human rights of affected individuals, the regulations contain but a few allusions to the international human rights framework. The aim of this article is to include the international human rights regime in the system for the fight against infectious diseases under the regulations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system*
**Narksompong Joanne, Limjirakan Sangchan**
**Youth Participation in Climate Change for Sustainable Engagement**
in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 171-181

Youth and children are identified as one of the nine major groups of civil society in Agenda 21, with the right and responsibility to participate in sustainable development. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, through its Article 6 on Education, Training and Public Awareness, calls on governments to implement educational and training programmes on climate change to educate, empower and engage all stakeholders. The New Delhi and Doha work programmes on Article 6, adopted in 2002 and 2012, respectively, target youth as a major group for effective engagement in the formulation and implementation of decisions on climate change. This article uses the case of Thailand to illustrate that national policies in the country insufficiently address educating and engaging youth in climate change issues. It argues that governments need to adequately educate youth and provide opportunities for them to become informed and to be active citizens.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Ronald Janse**
**(Why) Was the World Bank Supposed to Be a Nonpolitical Organization? An Interpretation of the Original Meaning and Rationale of Article 4(10) of the Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1941–1948**
in **Journal of the History of International Law**, Volume 16, Issue 2

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Caviglia Daniele**
**Arguing for a worldwide perspective: Italy and the reform of the international monetary system between transatlantic cooperation and European integration (1971–73)**
in **Journal of Modern Italian Studies** , Volume 20, Issue 3 , pp. 315-329

The end of the Bretton Woods system, following the US decision of August 1971, and the simultaneous re-launch of the European integration with the enactment of the Werner plan came at a critical moment of internal weakness for Italy. This article highlights how the Italian government and the monetary authorities – while not always on the same wavelength – tried to tackle these challenges with a view to preserving the principles of multilateral cooperation that had

promoted the country's recovery in the post-war years. By launching the project denominated ‘Global Approach’ in the summer of 1972, Italy tried to interconnect the modification of the Werner plan with the reform of the international monetary system within the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to restrain the growing trends towards unilateralism. However, despite all efforts, both initiatives were doomed to failure while the country entered a dramatic period of political instability and social unrest.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Brutger Ryan, Morse Julia C.**
**Balancing law and politics: Judicial incentives in WTO dispute settlement**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 2, june , 179-205

ABSTRACT: Can international courts ever be independent of state influence? If not, how do courts manage the tension between legal principles and political concerns? We address these questions through an analysis of one of the most independent international adjudication mechanisms – dispute settlement at the World Trade Organization (WTO). We find that the ad hoc nature of WTO panels, judicial hierarchy, and panelists’ concern for compliance create a set of incentives that encourage panelists to moderate rulings against the most powerful WTO members. Our analysis shows that WTO dispute settlement panels limit the negative effects of judgements against the United States and the European Union by reducing the scope of such verdicts through the use of judicial economy. We argue that WTO panels use this practice to balance the demands of the law with the concerns of powerful members, which results in a level of judicial restraint on the part of panels and increased prospects for compliance by the US and EU.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Shlomo-Agon, Sivan**
**Clearing the Smoke: The Legitimation of Judicial Power at the WTO**
**in Journal of World Trade**, Vol.49, Issue 4 , 539–589

What role, if any, does the search for judicial legitimacy play in judgments rendered by the World Trade Organization (WTO) Dispute Settlement System (DSS)? And with which audiences, and through which judicial means does the WTO DSS try to communicate in order to sustain its legitimacy? Empirical evidence generated through semi-structured interviews with WTO practitioners demonstrate that since its inception, the interstate WTO DSS has been engaged in a continuing quest for legitimacy amidst multiple audiences, well beyond WTO Member States. This quest – prominent in the dispute-category known as ‘trade-and’ disputes – has manifested itself in both the rhetorical, procedural, and substantive judicial choices taken by WTO adjudicators. Also, this quest has not been static, but rather dynamic in nature, whereas in response to some audiences’ demands, jurisprudential, procedural and rhetorical readjustments have been made along the way. The article demonstrates these assertions through discursive analysis of the recent US-Clove Cigarettes dispute, while revisiting several earlier jurisprudential milestones on the DSS’ road to legitimacy. Coupling this analysis with insiders’ views, the article sheds a novel empirical light on how the DSS’ legitimacy challenges in ‘trade-and’ disputes are experienced ‘from within’, and the manner in which they are subsequently weaved into the choices taken by WTO adjudicators in their strategic judicial space.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Li, Xiaoling; Chen, Yusong**
**Constraints of the WTO Compensation Mechanism and Implications from Recent Practice**
**in Journal of World Trade**, Vol.49, Issue 4 , 643-663

Though compensation, as one of the two temporary remedies offered by the World Trade Organization (WTO), is preferred over retaliation, it is less used because of some constraints. Compared with the compensation agreements reached in early cases, the compensation agreements entered into in US-Section 110(5) Copyright Act, EC-Hormones, US-Upland Cotton and China-Publications have made some developments to counteract those constraints. Such developments challenged systematic aspects of the current compensation mechanism, i.e., the application of MFN provisions, the temporary nature of compensation, and at the same time, embodied institutional innovations, i.e., introduction of monetary compensation, recourse to Article 25 on arbitration to determine the level of compensation. Compensation agreements reached in those cases have relieved or solved the deadlock of the compliance problems in sensitive disputes and shed some light on the reform of the compensation mechanism. Members should not wait for the successful conclusion of the Doha Round negotiations, but ought to fully utilize the existing WTO mechanisms to improve the efficiency of the compensation mechanism.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Poletti Arlo, De Bievre Dirk, Chatagnier Tyson J.**
**Cooperation in the Shadow of WTO Law: Why Litigate When You Can Negotiate**
**in World Trade Review**, Vol. 14 Special Issue S1 , S33 - S58

In the current multilateral trade regime, members often negotiate under the shadow of WTO law. This article develops a formal explanation of the way in which the credible threat to resort to and the actual use of WTO litigation can influence multilateral trade negotiations. We contend that the ability to impose costs on a defendant by way of litigation increases the complainant's bargaining power, opening a bargaining window and ultimately increasing the chances for cooperation in multilateral trade negotiations. On the other hand, the complainant's preference for loss-mitigation over gains from retaliation and its expectations about the likelihood that the defendant will not comply with an adverse ruling can augment the defendant's bargaining leverage. Thus, contrary to conventional wisdom, increased enforcement does not necessarily make actors shy away from further cooperation, although the credibility of the defendant's non-compliant threats crucially affects the location of any potential negotiated agreement. Empirically, we show that the argument can account for how Brazil, a potential complainant, and the EU and the US, two potential defendants, approached and bargained agricultural negotiations in the Doha Round.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Peng, Shin-yi**
**Cybersecurity Threats and the WTO National Security Exceptions**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 2 , 449-478

The practice of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/World Trade Organization (WTO) is inconclusive

on the issue of national security. From Nicaragua Embargo to China-Rare Earth, the key question of the security exceptions remains unanswered. The examination of Article XXI(b)(iii) in accordance with Articles 31 and 32 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties confirms that the security exception is not totally self-judging. This article argues that the principle of good faith can explain how far the self-judging power can go. After taking the potential dispute on Huawei as an occasion for exploring the trade implications of security measures, this article finds that fact-finding and evidence gathering are the most troubling aspect of application of such exceptions. The responding member invoking Article XXI(b) must 'reasonably' classify cybersecurity as 'essential security interests' in the context of an 'international relations emergency', and it must 'genuinely believe' that cybersecurity regulations based solely upon where the supplier's headquarter is located in a globally connected world can contribute to the achievement of the country's national security protection. After engaging in the two-stage exercises of the 'good faith' test, this article maintains that there is a need for a WTO panel to actively intervene by seeking information from other governments or nongovernmental bodies, evaluating and weighing the evidence, carefully balancing rights and obligations constructed by the WTO Agreement, and establishing an appropriate trade regime to deal with cybersecurity threats.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Mavroidis Petros C.**
**Dealing with PTAs in the WTO: Falling through the Cracks between 'Judicialization' and 'Legalization'**
in **World Trade Review**, Vol. 14 Special Issue S1 , S107 - S121

Preferential trade agreements (PTAs) have to be consistent with the WTO. Their monitoring at the multilateral level has failed so far for various reasons. The question arises what to do? Completion of the contract ('legalization') has failed repeatedly, and, in light of vested interests and incentives, there is no reason to believe it can succeed now. Judicialization can be discarded as well, since the incentives to enforce the WTO contract in this respect are lacking. The good arguments thus lie in favour of building bridges between the WTO and PTAs, and the weaker arguments with an effort to enhance enforcement against PTAs through either judicialization or legalization of the monitoring process.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Kuplewatzky, Nicolaj**
**Deflection of Trade upon Enlargement of the European Union**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 2 , 433-447

Enlarging the European Union (EU) permits traders to avoid the exposure to any contingent trade-protection measure without violating the letter of the law under which the protective measure is established. This practice is also known as the 'deflection of trade'. Not just since the solar panels investigations in 2013, but certainly with heightened attention to the issue, the deflection of trade is yet to be addressed by the European institutions. However, this practice is not solely confined to enlargement of the EU, and, in fact, is likely to resurface before enlargement of any customs union committed to a free circulation of goods and the removal of internal frontiers. In light of this obvious exploitation of the enlargement process, the guiding question for this article will be whether the deflection of trade is a necessary evil for such trade blocs. Looking at both EU and WTO law, this article will analyse whether the necessary tools to tackle the deflection of trade are already present. Ultimately, the author concludes that the EU law doctrine on the abuse of rights is the most appropriate tool to tackle this practice.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Hicks Raymond, Kim Soo Yeon**
**Does Enforcement Matter? Judicialization in PTAs and Trade Flows**
**in World Trade Review**, Vol. 14 Special Issue S1 , S83 - S106

This paper focuses on the variability of judicialization across preferential trade agreements (PTAs) and their impact on trade flows. We develop a categorization of PTAs that contrasts enforcement mechanisms with the level of trade policy discretion allowed by a trade agreement and the degree of flexibility allowed for members. Utilizing an original dataset of PTAs signed by countries in Asia, which has emerged as one of the most active regions of PTA formation and which exhibits wide variability in levels of judicialization, we compare the effects of trade policy discretion, flexibility provisions, and enforcement mechanisms in PTAs on trade flows. We examine the empirical strength of our theoretical framework distinguishing between discretion, flexibility, and enforcement using confirmatory factor analysis. The empirical analysis then goes on to examine their respective effects on trade flows. The results show that agreements with strong commitments, that is, those that remove more trade policy discretion from a government, lead to a greater expansion of trade between signatories. Enforcement and flexibility mechanisms, however, have mixed effects.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Paul, Justin**
**Does the WTO Increase Trade and Cause Convergence?**
**in International Trade Journal**, Volume 29, Issue 4 , 291-308

China and India implemented the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements, removing restrictions with the intent to increase international trade and foreign investment. This article aims to examine whether this objective was achieved by analyzing trends in exports and imports, and determining Granger Causality among FDI, exports, and imports during the pre- and post-WTO periods. Our results show that India’s imports have more than doubled throughout the post-WTO period, indicating substantial WTO effectiveness in India, while the WTO’s effect in China is mixed and not that significant. Further, four theoretical propositions have been posited to encourage further research.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Vera Thorstensen, Carolina Müller and Daniel Ramos**
**Exchange Rate Measures: Who Judges The Issue—IMF or WTO?**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 117-136

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

judging such issues. Also, this article aims to decipher what would be the IMF role in a dispute involving exchange rate brought before the dispute settlement body (DSB) of the WTO.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Bezuijen Jeanine**
**Exploring the Causes for Change in Regional Third Party Dispute Settlement**
**in World Trade Review**, Vol. 14 Special Issue S1 , S59 - S81

What explains change in third party dispute settlement in regional international organizations (RIOs)? This paper confronts this question by exploring the extent to which different explanations of institutional change hold in the context of trade RIO third party dispute settlement. The paper considers the role of three variables in explaining dispute settlement reform: the balance of power, the level of trade interdependence between member states and the nature of the organization's founding contract. A truth table reveals that although power and trade interdependence can explain some cases of institutional reform, the nature of the organization's founding contract is the strongest predictor for change in dispute settlement. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that not all cases can be explained, and that the influence of other institutions on the same issue can also play an important role. A case study of the Latin American Free Trade Association illustrates the importance of the institutional environment in which the RIO operates for institutional reform.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Hufbauer, Gary Clyde; Cimino-Isaacs, Cathleen**
**How will TPP and TTIP Change the WTO System?**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 679-696

The rise of new free trade agreements in the 1990s and early 2000s altered the dynamic of the World Trade Organization (WTO) as the arbiter of world commerce forever. Moreover, WTO negotiating rounds over the past decade have been beset with irreconcilable objectives among WTO members, with emerging market members fundamentally opposed to opening their markets to exports from advanced countries. The consequence was scant progress and missed deadlines, culminating in the failed Geneva Ministerial of 2008. At the Bali Ministerial in 2013, the WTO members could only muster strength to endorse the Trade Facilitation Agreement, while postponing action on numerous and more contentious Doha issues. The cumulative result is that the WTO is now at the back of the parade in addressing 21st-century trade issues. Two mega-regionals—the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)—will undoubtedly change the multilateral trading system. This article assumes both negotiations will be concluded and ratified by 2018. However, even if neither mega-regional agreement succeeded, their negotiating objectives and ultimate stumbling blocks will shape the future of the WTO. If WTO members collectively reject the lessons, the institution will fade as an arbiter of commercial relations between nations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Johnson Tana**

**Information revelation and structural supremacy: The World Trade Organization's incorporation of environmental policy**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 2, june , 207-229

ABSTRACT: The international trade regime offers various instruments by which states can pursue environmental policies, even at the expense of freer trade. Why - and what are the implications? This article traces environmental instruments to pressures on governments when the World Trade Organization (WTO) was designed in the early 1990s: environment-related trade disputes were on the rise, environmentalists were concerned even with regional trade agreements, and countries from the North and the South clashed over the possibility of green-protectionism. Today, WTO-permissible environmental instruments share key features: 1) information-revealing conditions compel states to divulge private information in order to maintain trade-restricting environmental measures, and 2) that information is funneled through the trade regime's formal dispute settlement mechanism, endowing WTO rules and officials with structural supremacy over areas of international law that lack such mechanisms of their own. An illustration from the WTO's Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Agreement shows how this works in practice, putting trade law experts in the delicate position of adjudicating in matters beyond their area of expertise. Examining this advances knowledge in political science, law, and policy: about dispute settlement, institutional design, and information-provision in international organizations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**De Bievre Dirk, Poletti Arlo**
**Judicial Politics in International Trade Relations: Introduction to the Special Issue**
in **World Trade Review**, Vol. 14 Special Issue S1 , S1-S11

International institutions have acquired an almost obvious presence in international politics and the question of their design has received prominent attention in recent years. Apart from key organizational characteristics like size of their membership, policy scope, depth of cooperation, decision-making rules, and their degree of openness towards non-state actors, one of their most striking features is their differing degree of legalization or judicialization (Goldstein and Martin, 2000; Zangl, 2008). Some institutions possess strong enforcement mechanisms or rules, while others rely on voluntary cooperation by their members.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Selva Simone**
**L'interdipendenza economica internazionale: ascesa e declino di una categoria tra keynesismo e monetarismo**
in **Storica**, a. XXI, nn. 61-62

The process of International Economic Interdependence: its Rise and Fall amid Keynesianism and monetarism
This study tracks the process of international economic interdependence since the origins of the post WWII international economic order to the beginnings of the 1980s as the changing ratio of transnational capital ows to domestic aggregate demand. Through the two-fold perspective of U.S. foreign economic policy and the Bretton Woods institutions assistance programs, and the shift from Keynesianism to monetarism typical of Post WWII economic theory, this contribution investigates the ways in which demand-management economic policies made way for strict monetary

policies based on the idea that private capital markets could nance growth. After reviewing the concept of interdependence in the economic literature from the end of WWII through the 1960s, we focus attention on the U.S. Federal Reserve, the IMF and the World Bank to suggest the persistence of demand management policies through the 1970s. As orthodox monetary targets replaced demand side-oriented policies at the turn of the decade, this work points to a striking discrepancy between an early turn to monetarism in the economic thought and the late rise of neoliberal economic policies.

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*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Conceição-Heldt Eugénia da**
**Machtverschiebung in internationalen Organisationen? Schwellenländer als Gestaltungs- und Verweigerungsmächte**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 1, 2015 , 99-106

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Jeff D Colgan and Thijs Van de Graaf**
**Mechanisms of informal governance: evidence from the IEA**
**in Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 18, Issue 4 , 455-481

How does informal governance occur in international organisations? While the existing literature suggests that power asymmetries matter a great deal for explaining the uncodified rules and procedures that often develop within international organisations, we argue that power asymmetries alone cannot explain informal governance. Consequently, we develop two specific mechanisms through which informal governance occurs. First, we suggest that regime complexity can act as a source of incentives and opportunities for informal governance. In the face of regime complexity, informal governance offers an attractive way of keeping states bound to the organisation and of managing complex interactions with adjacent regimes. Second, we propose that the coincidence of frozen formal structures and changing causal beliefs allows informal governance to emerge. Problems of great causal complexity are sometimes subject to swings in beliefs about cause–effect relationships, demanding new policy approaches. When such swings occur, and if it is costly to adapt an organisation's formal rules, states and institutions often simply create unwritten, informal practices as a way to render the institution dynamic. The plausibility of our conjectures is illustrated with evidence drawn from the International Energy Agency.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Parag Khanna**
**New BRICS Bank a Building Block of Alternative World Order**
**in New Perspectives Quarterly**, Volume 31, Issue 4

In 1990, right after the Berlin Wall fell, NPQ published our Spring edition, titled "The New World Disorder," about the

nationalistic chaos and up-in-theair sensibility of that fraught new historical moment.

Nearly a quarter of a century later, the regime of globalization that had supplanted the Cold War world of blocs is itself coming apart at the seams. Even Henry Kissinger these days says “the world order is crumbling.”

Will this New World Disorder 2.0 revert to a system of conflicting blocs, as during the Cold War, or will we be mature enough to save the interdependence of plural identities that is the foundation of a new global civilization?

In this section our contributors offer their perspectives on what the future holds.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Williamson John**
**Prospects for International Monetary Reform**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Andersen, Henrik**
**Protection of Non-Trade Values in WTO Appellate Body Jurisprudence: Exceptions, Economic Arguments, and Eluding Questions**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 2 , 383-405

The article suggests that the constitutional scope of the WTO leaves a wide space for the Appellate Body to protect non-trade values. That has, to some extent, materialized in Appellate Body practice; human health and environment are attaining general protection across the WTO treaties. They are recognized as vital and important values and protected through the exceptions in the WTO treaties. However, the Appellate Body has also found ways to protect those values without resorting to the exceptions. Instead, they are part of an economic argument in national treatment analyses and they are part of economic externality assessments in subsidy determinations. It is, however, still unsettled how other vital values, like those which can fall under peremptory norms, can be protected by the Appellate Body and whether its current approach provides the necessary tools for their protection.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Henry Alain, Badré Bertrand**
**Quand la Banque mondiale soulève le couvercle des cultures**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 185

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Thomas Cottier**
**The Common Law of International Trade and the Future of the World Trade Organization**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 3-20

The public perception of international trade law largely hinges upon the state of play of international negotiations, either at the World Trade Organization (WTO) or elsewhere in the context of preferential negotiations. The bicycle theory looms large: the life of international trade law depends upon successful negotiations, or otherwise fails and falls to the ground. According to this theory, the current state of play, 20 years after the inception of the WTO, is rather depressing: gone is the optimism of the post Uruguay Round years for institutional reform, still evident at its 10th anniversary in 2005. The facts are well known: the stalling of the 2001 Doha Development Agenda, producing minimal, albeit important results in a new type of softer law on trade facilitation in 2014, a non-transparent agenda on services formally outside the WTO (Trade in Services Agreement (TISA)), and the advent of new bi and multilateral interregional trade negotiations (Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP), Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)), diverting energy and efforts away from most-favoured-nation (MFN)-based multilateralism despite increasing global value chains. At the end of 2014, more than 790 preferential trade agreements (PTAs) existed worldwide.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Elsig Manfred, Eckhardt Jappe**
**The Creation of the Multilateral Trade Court: Design and Experiential Learning**
in **World Trade Review**, Vol. 14 Special Issue S1 , S13 - S32

The creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO)'s dispute settlement system (DSS) in 1995 remains one of the most puzzling outcomes in international politics and international law in the 1990s. We provide a new explanation for this move to law. We argue that important contextual variables of the negotiations have been largely overlooked by existing explanations, namely ‘experiential learning’. While negotiations to create institutions are characterized by uncertainty about distributional effects, negotiators will look for clues that moderate uncertainty. In the context of the Uruguay Round negotiations, a significant amount of information was drawn from actual practice and experience with the existing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) dispute settlement system. In short, experience gained with judicial institutions and outcomes is important to understand the key results of the negotiations: a legalization leap, more specifically a judicialization of the existing dispute settlement system. We focus on the two dominant actors in the negotiations (the United States and the (then) European Community) and provide evidence for our argument based on an analysis of GATT cases in the 1980s, GATT documents, and in-depth interviews with negotiators who participated in the negotiations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Evenett Simon J.**
**The Doha Round impasse: A graphical account**

in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 2, june , 143-162

ABSTRACT: Several factors potentially responsible for the failure to conclude the Doha Round of multilateral trade negotiations are analyzed. A two-stage negotiation and ratification game between the “North” (industrialized countries) and the “South” (developing countries) is employed and collapses into a single diagram. The choice of negotiating agenda, principles, and currency of the Doha Round interact with domestic political factors in leading WTO members, the fast growth of exports prior to 2007, and pervasive unilateral trade reform to eliminate the “landing zone” for this particular multilateral negotiation. Recent emphasis on differences between developing countries and on Chinese WTO accession as independent causes of the impasse seems misplaced.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*

**Neuwirth, Rostam J.; Svetlicinii, Alexandr**

**The Economic Sanctions over the Ukraine Conflict and the WTO: 'Catch-XXI' and the Revival of the Debate on Security Exceptions**

in **Journal of World Trade**, Vol.49, Issue 5 , 891-914

The international conflict over the events in Ukraine led to the application of unilateral restrictive measures by the parties involved – the European Union, the United States and the Russian Federation – all of which are World Trade Organization (WTO) members and permanent members of the UN Security Council. It has been alleged by all sides that specified restrictions on trade in goods and services may constitute a violation of WTO obligations. The possibility of a challenge of the restrictive measures using the WTO dispute settlement mechanism revived the debate on the invocation of security exceptions allowing WTO members to apply otherwise inconsistent measures justified by their ‘essential security interests’. The present article aims at providing a critical analysis of the restrictive measures adopted by the parties and the perspectives for invoking the security exception in case of eventual WTO dispute settlement. The article highlights the ambiguity in the interpretation of the security exceptions and questions the suitability of the WTO dispute settlement mechanism for the resolution of the current Ukraine crisis.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*

**Manuela Moschella**

**The Institutional Roots of Incremental Ideational Change: The IMF and Capital Controls after the Global Financial Crisis**

in **British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Volume 17, Issue 3 , 442–460

Although much scholarly attention has been devoted to examining the punctuated dynamics of ideational change, other dynamics exist. Ideational change may well occur incrementally in ordinary times or, as this study shows, can also materialise after a major shock, such as a financial and economic crisis. By examining the IMF's new approach to capital controls in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, the article demonstrates that the non-punctuated nature of ideational change can be explained in light of the enabling (and not solely constraining) features of the institutional context in which actors operate. Rather than preventing change until an explosion of radical change occurs, institutional frictions may also allow for successive adjustments over time. They may in fact allow for a gradual release of pressure, thereby preventing the impending explosion.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Bradlow Daniel D., Fourie Andria Naudé**
**The Operational Policies of the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation Buy this article Price: € 25,00+ Tax (if applicable) Creating Law-Making and Law-Governed Institutions?**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 1 , 3-80

ABSTRACT: International financial institutions ('IFIs'), such as the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation ('IFC'), have progressively refined their own operational policies and established institutional accountability mechanisms, such as the Inspection Panel and Compliance Advisory Ombudsman, in response to external and internal demands for their enhanced accountability. This article argues that these two developments are instrumental in transforming IFIs such as the World Bank and the IFC into law-making and law-governed institutions. We argue that the operational policies, as well as the institutional processes surrounding these policies (that is, rule-making, rule-application and rule-enforcement processes), should be assessed in legal terms – even though the legal nature of the operational policies are contested, and the policies are only applicable to IFI staff and their borrowers. The main objective of this article is to provide an analysis in support of this contention.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Ganelli Giovanni, Tervala Juha**
**Value of WTO trade agreements in a New Keynesian model**
**in Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 45, September 2015 , 347-362

We revisit the question of the quantitative benefits of WTO trade agreements in a setup that is non-standard from the traditional trade policy point of view. We show that in a New Keynesian model, unilateral trade liberalization reduces welfare due to terms-of-trade deterioration, creating an incentive for a trade agreement. For realistic parameter values, the value of an agreement, which cuts tariffs by one percentage point, is 0.5–2% of consumption, much larger than in trade models. The intuition for this result hinges on endogenous labor supply.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Baldwin Richard**
**WTO 2.0: Governance of 21st century trade**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 2, june , 261-283

ABSTRACT: The cross-border flows of goods, investment, services, know-how and people associated with international production networks–call it 'supply-chain trade' for short–has transformed the world. The WTO has not kept pace. This paper argues that adapting world trade governance to the realities of supply-chain trade will require a new organization–a WTO 2.0 as it were. Reasoning on the optimal nature of the new organization is based on the nature of supply-chain trade, the nature of the disciplines that underpin it, and the nature of the gains from cooperation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Bernard M. Hoekman and Petros C. Mavroidis**
**WTO 'à la carte' or 'menu du jour'? Assessing the Case for More Plurilateral Agreements**
in **European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 26, no. 2 , 319-343

Plurilateral agreements in the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) allow sub-sets of countries to agree to commitments in specific policy areas that only apply to signatories and thus allow for 'variable geometry' in the WTO. Plurilateral agreements share a number of features with preferential trade agreements (PTAs), which are increasingly used by governments to liberalize trade in goods and services. This article discusses the current institutional framework that governs these two alternatives and distinguishes them from the general, non-discriminatory agreements that are negotiated among – and apply to – all WTO members. Current WTO rules make it much more difficult to pursue the plurilateral route than to negotiate a PTA. We review the arguments for and against making it easier for 'issue-specific' clubs to form in the WTO and discuss how concerns raised by some WTO members regarding the potential negative impact of plurilateral agreements on the multilateral trading system might be addressed. We take the view that action to facilitate the negotiation of plurilateral agreements in the WTO should be considered and that the potential downsides for the multilateral trading system can be managed.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Pervez Fouad**
**Waiting for election season**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 2, june , 265-303

ABSTRACT: Why do countries frequently wait long periods of time before initiating disputes at the World Trade Organization (WTO) over antidumping duties? Since the WTO usually rules in favor of the complainant, countries should initiate disputes as quickly as possible to limit the time their domestic industries are subject to these duties. However, countries often wait years before initiating a dispute. I argue that government leaders time disputes around their elections to gain political support from large domestic industries, particularly in developing countries with fewer economic resources and countries with highly contested domestic politics, where even small electoral gains are crucial. Using data on all WTO disputes over antidumping duties, I run a discrete time hazard model and find evidence that countries are more likely to bring up a dispute the closer they get to elections. As expected, the effect is particularly strong for divided governments and developing countries as elections draw near.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Bechtel Michael M., Sattler Thomas**
**What Is Litigation in the World Trade Organization Worth?**
in **International Organization**, vol. 69, issue 2, spring , 375-403

ABSTRACT: Conventional wisdom holds that the creation of international, court-like institutions helps countries to

peacefully settle trade conflicts, thereby enhancing overall welfare. Many have argued, however, that these institutions remain ultimately ineffective because they merely reflect the distribution of power in the anarchic international system. We argue that international litigation provides economic spillovers that create opportunities for judicial free-riding and explore empirically how litigation in the World Trade Organization affects bilateral trade between countries involved in a trade dispute. We use a matching approach to compare the dynamics of trade flows between countries that experienced a panel ruling with trade relations of observably similar country pairs that did not experience a ruling. Based on this comparison we find that sectoral exports from complainant countries to the defendant increase by about $7.7 billion in the three years after a panel ruling. However, countries that have proactively filed a complaint and carried the main costs of litigation do not systematically gain more than less-active third parties that merely joined an existing trade dispute. This suggests that international judicial institutions can provide positive economic externalities and may thereby lead to a less power-based distribution of the gains from trade.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations*
**Johns Leslie, Pelc Krzysztof J.**
**Who Gets to Be In the Room? Manipulating Participation in WTO Disputes**
**in International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 3, summer , 663-699

ABSTRACT: Third parties complicate World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement by adding voices and issues to a dispute. However, complainants can limit third parties by filing cases under Article XXIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), rather than Article XXII. We argue that third parties create “insurance” by lowering the benefit of winning and the cost of losing a dispute. We construct a formal model in which third parties make settlement less likely. The weaker the complainant's case, the more likely the complainant is to promote third party participation and to settle. Article XXII cases are therefore more likely to settle, controlling for the realized number of third parties, and a complainant who files under Article XXIII is more likely to win a ruling and less likely to see that ruling appealed by the defendant. We provide empirical support using WTO disputes from 1995 to 2011.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Spohra Kristina**
**Germany, America and the shaping of post-Cold War Europe: a story of German international emancipation through political unification, 1989–90**
**in Cold War History**, Volume 15, Issue 2 , 221-243

German reunification within NATO in 1990 marked the end of the Cold War. It also cemented America's role as a ‘European power’. By focusing on three key moments in German-American security relations in 1989-90, this essay explains how this outcome materialised. For Chancellor Helmut Kohl, driving the process of unification offered Germans the prospect of international emancipation after four decades of limited sovereignty. For President George H.W. Bush, backing unification proved an opportunity to preserve and transform NATO. Moreover, the new, more political version of the Alliance that emerged became Washington's device to shape the post-Cold War era.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*

**Olson Peter**

**Immunities of International Organizations. A NATO view**

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 419-433

ABSTRACT: This article argues that recent developments in Europe have eroded the privileges and immunities nato has historically enjoyed. The European Court of Human Rights and national courts interpreting its jurisprudence have increasingly held States accountable for the actions of the international organizations to which they play host and to which they have granted absolute judicial immunities. This trend involves serious overreach by the courts and, at least in the case of NATO, fails to respect the intentions of the states that simultaneously prepared and adopted the core NATO treaties and the European Convention on Human Rights. This approach presents significant and unnecessary risks to the functioning of an Organization whose effectiveness is essential to maintaining international peace and security.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*

**Myriam Feinberg**

**International counterterrorism – national security and human rights: conflicts of norms or checks and balances?**

in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Vol. 19, issue 4 , 388-407

Security and human rights norms usually require a balancing act for their contemporaneous application but are often considered to conflict with one another. This is the case, especially when terrorism threats lead the executive branch to temporarily suspend or reduce its human rights obligations. Yet this presumption that these two norms inherently conflict is increasingly criticised. International terrorist sanctions regimes, such as that of the European Union and United Nations, are a prime example of this conflict because these organisations have been concurrently adopting counterterrorism measures, often through their executive branch and without any human rights protections. This article will use the 2008 Kadi case of the European Court of Justice as a framework to provide a contextual analysis of the term ‘conflict’ and provide criticism for the use of the conflict label to describe the relationship between national security policies and human rights, when norms of security and human rights should all form the benchmark of counterterrorism. This article will examine the legal issues created by the Kadi case and suggest that, despite the legal and normative uncertainties it raised, in practice, the case is an example of institutional conflict, or checks and balances that, in effect, actually enhances the fairness of sanctions regimes.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*

**Michael Rühle**

**NATO and the Ukraine Crisis**

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Volume 59, Issue 2 , 80-86

Russia's new assertiveness forces the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to put greater emphasis on reassuring its easternmost member states about the credibility of the Allies’ collective defense commitment. This is to be accomplished through the “Readiness Action Plan,” which foresees a greater rotational military presence in Central and Eastern Europe. However, the Allies will seek to ensure that this reemphasis on collective defense in Europe will not

come at the expense of expeditionary missions at Europe's periphery or beyond. Finding a compromise between collective defense and crisis management, as well as between hedging against Russia and seeking ways to constructively reengage, amount to a complex double balancing act. Hence, the idea that NATO could somehow be rejuvenated by the Ukraine crisis is underestimating the challenges that the Allies now confront.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Shea Jamie**
**NATO: the challenges ahead**
**in Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 121-128

This article discusses how NATO is transforming to address the new security situation in Europe in the wake of Russia's annexation of Crimea and the new challenges opposed by terrorist and jihadist groups in North Africa and the Middle East. It explores the issues associated with NATO's return to a primary collective defence role in Eastern Europe and the implementation of NATO's Readiness Action Plan. The article also comments on how NATO can address, with its limited defence budget and constrained military forces, threats coming from the East and the South simultaneously. The answer is to use NATO's budgets more efficiently and to produce more multi-national capabilities and role specialization using such concepts as Smart Defence, Pooling and Sharing and the Framework Nations concept whereby the larger Allies agree to lead clusters of medium sized and smaller Allies to develop specific capabilities. Given that these capabilities are also being looked at at the same time by the EU, the article also comments on how NATO and the EU can cooperate on the basis of comparative advantage and greater synergy.
Full text available online.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Cross Sharyl**
**NATO–Russia security challenges in the aftermath of Ukraine conflict: managing Black Sea security and beyond**
**in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 15, n. 2, Special Issue: Global and regional repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis , 151-177

NATO's relationship with the Soviet Union and then Russia has been central to defining the European regional and global security configuration for decades. This article explores the potential consequences of the Ukrainian conflict for the current and future NATO–Russia relationship. The analysis focuses on defining specific challenges and risks for NATO and Russia in managing the evolving security environment of the Black Sea region. The author offers an assessment of the potential for future NATO–Russia clashes or cooperation in the Black Sea, and for broader regional and global security. Some recommendations are suggested for managing the future NATO–Russia relationship during this period of heightened uncertainty and risk.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
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**Sverdrup Ulf, Wilson Rowe Elana**
**Norway is re-thinking its Russian relations**
in **Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Dealing with Russia is now among Europe's most pressing questions. Norway is pondering this from its position inside NATO and close to the EU, for Russia is its very large neighbour both on land and at sea. What are the Norwegian lessons so far?

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Larrabee Stephen**
**Putin's aim is to destroy NATO's credibility**
in **Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Europe and the United States are both entering a period of growing competition and tension in their relations with Russia. The Russia of today is more assertive, unpredictable and in many ways more dangerous than during the latter Cold War years.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Forsber Tuomas, Herd Graeme**
**Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors**
in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 1 , 41-57

ABSTRACT: The Ukrainian crisis and Russia's annexation of Crimea marks a new low in Russia–NATO relations. When we examine the relationship between NATO and Russia through the post-Cold War era, we can ask: was the deterioration in relations determined by geopolitical, historical, cultural and identity factors, or could sustainable partnership might have been possible had alternative decisions been taken? We argue that different reasons account for each of the four instances of deterioration in the relationship. Throughout the period some constants can be identified: cooperative rhetoric rarely mirrored reality; a mismatch in expectations, commitments and perceptions torpedoed the prospect of a more stable cooperative partnership; and, a surprising persistence in low-key but significant cooperation can be noted. The article concludes with the observation that dissonance at the heart of NATO–Russia relations is best understood as the consequence of Russia's attempt to navigate its way through a strategic trilemma and divorce signals Russia's failure to square the circle.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Alistair J.K Shepherd**
**The European Security Continuum and the EU as an International Security Provider**

**in Global Society**, Volume 29, Issue 2, , 156-174

The European Union has long been seen as a distinctive or sui generis actor in international politics, epitomised by the notions of civilian or normative power, or more recently by the “Comprehensive Approach”. However, these conceptualisations of the EU as a distinctive international security provider are being challenged by the blurring of the traditional internal-external security divide. The threats and challenges identified in the various EU security strategies increasingly transcend geographic and bureaucratic boundaries, creating a European security continuum, which complicates the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the EU as a security provider. Significant friction continues to exist in the formulation and implementation of security policy as EU institutions and capabilities struggle to overcome the traditional architecture separating internal and external security. In parallel, the cross-fertilisation of internal and external security norms and practices undermines understandings of the EU's role as a normative international security provider.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Kropatcheva Elena**
**The Evolution of Russia's OSCE Policy: From the Promises of the Helsinki Final Act to the Ukrainian Crisis**
**in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 1 , 6-24

ABSTRACT: In 2015, the OSCE will commemorate two seminal dates: the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and the 25th anniversary of the Charter of Paris for a new Europe. This study takes these seminal dates for the OSCE as well as the current dramatic Ukrainian crisis as starting points to analyze three questions: How has Russia's relationship and role with/within the OSCE evolved throughout the years? Which role has the OSCE been playing in European security governance? How does the Ukrainian crisis affect Russia's OSCE policy and what does it mean for the OSCE? Studying Russia's OSCE policy is key to understand the OSCE's role as a framework for security governance in Europe with both its successes and failures. In order to answer these research questions, this study uses insights from (regional) security governance literature.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Ruiz Palmer Diego A.**
**The NATO-Warsaw Pact competition in the 1970s and 1980s: a revolution in military affairs in the making or the end of a strategic age?**
**in Cold War History**, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 533-573

The NATO-Warsaw Pact military competition at the heart of the Cold War was also the incubator of a ‘Revolution in Military Affairs’ (RMA) in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s, which predates the better-known American concept of RMA of the 1990s.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
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**Johnson Jesse C**

**The cost of security. Foreign policy concessions and military alliances**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 5, September , 665-679

It is well recognized that military alliances can provide their members with important security benefits. However, less attention has been paid to the policy concessions states must grant others to enter into military alliances. To study this aspect of alliances, I develop a three-actor bargaining model of alliance formation that endogenizes both external threat and policy concessions. Specifically, a target state bargains with a potential defender over the concessions it must make to ally and then responds to a potential challenger. The model suggests that what is important for policy concessions in alliances is not just the power of the threatened state but its power relative to its challenger and how an alliance will change the distribution of power. I test implications of this model using data on promised policy concessions formalized in alliance treaties and find strong support for the hypotheses. More specifically, I find that states are willing to make more concessions in exchange for an alliance when they are unlikely to defeat their challengers alone and when their allies have a large effect on their probability of winning in war. These findings refine existing theories of alliances and offer the first large-N analysis of policy concessions in alliances.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations*
**Bryan Joe**
**War without end? Military humanitarianism and the limits of biopolitical approaches to security in Central America and the Caribbean**
in **Political Geography**, Volume 47, July , 33-42

In 2008, the U.S. Southern Command launched Operation Continuing Promise as an ongoing mission to provide humanitarian aid and assistance to vulnerable populations in the Caribbean and Latin America. Conceived as a means of fostering regional security, the Operation's humanitarian aim was designed to improve regional security by ensuring life against the risk of a range of disasters. Much as that mission reflects biopolitical analyses of humanitarianism that emphasize the ability to protect life as the basis for sovereignty, closer attention to the timing and location of SOUTHCOM's efforts offers a more contextual understanding. That approach is developed here through an analysis of Operation Continuing Promise's stop in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, contrasting SOUTHCOM's focus on biophysical vulnerability with intended recipients' sense of their condition as a historical and political outcome. That contrast frames a contextual understanding of Operation Continuing Promise, placing it within broader efforts to construct Puerto Cabezas as vulnerable. That approach also points up the limits of biopolitical analyses of humanitarianism, suggesting the ways in which vulnerability is never merely a biological condition. The narrow humanitarian focus of Operation Continuing Promise can therefore be assessed in terms of its inability to address political and historical factors shaping vulnerability. So long as vulnerability persists, the potential for intervention persists indefinitely, making humanitarianism into a means of waging war without end.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Thornhill Christopher**
**A Sociology of Constituent Power: The Political Code of Transnational Societal Constitutions**
in **Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 20, issue 2 , 551-603

ABSTRACT: This article proceeds from a critical sociological revision of classical constitutional theory. In particular, it argues for a sociological reconstruction of the central concepts of constitutional theory: constituent power and rights. These concepts, it is proposed, first evolved as an internal reflexive dimension of the modern political system, which acted originally to stabilize the political system as a relatively autonomous aggregate of actors, adapted to the differentiated interfaces of a modern society.

This revision of classical constitutional theory provides a basis for a distinctive account of transnational constitutional pluralism or societal constitutionalism. The article argues that the construction of transnational normative orders needs to be placed, in a sociological dimension, on a clearer continuum with classical constitutional models. Although contemporary society is marked by multiple, nationally overarching, and often functionally specific constitutions, such normative structures extend the original functions of constituent power and rights.

The article sets out the concluding hypothesis that rights form a running constitution in contemporary society, facilitating highly improbable acts of transnational structural construction and systemic inclusion. It is around the code rights-relevant/rights-irrelevant that transnational society constructs its processes of politicization and political inclusion. This code, however, brings to light a subsidiary or skeletal coding, which was latently co-implied in the political exchanges of modern society, and which was already expressed in early constitutionalism.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Gehring Thomas, Faude Benjamin**

**A theory of emerging order within institutional complexes: How competition among regulatory international institutions leads to institutional adaptation and division of labor**

**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 4, december , 471-498

ABSTRACT: The article examines the consequences of functional overlap among regulatory international institutions for governance within institutional complexes. Whereas the existing literature assumes that states tend to exploit forum-shopping opportunities to pursue their parochial interests, we show that multiple members of several overlapping institutions operate in a setting of ‘nested games’. They have a general interest in some form of institutional complementarity within the complex and therefore take the implications for overlapping institutions into account when determining their behavior within either of these institutions. On that basis, we show first that the multiple members are likely to induce complementary processes of institutional adaptation, even if their interests diverge with regard to the specific form of institutional rearrangement; second, that a balanced distribution of power among the advocates of different institutions may be expected to produce particularly sophisticated forms of institutional adaptation that do not simply separate the domains of overlapping institutions, but establish patterns of permanent co-governance; and third that state-induced processes of institutional adaptation gradually produce a spontaneously emerging division of labor among overlapping institutions that organizes their governance activities. These theoretical claims are probed by two case studies on institutional complexes that are characterized by sharp distributional conflicts among the multiple members: First, we demonstrate the emergence of a sophisticated division of labor in the institutional complex on international trade in agricultural GMOs. Second, we show that an equally sophisticated division of labor has emerged in the institutional complex on public health-related intellectual property rights.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Forsyth Tim, Levidow Les**

**An Ontological Politics of Comparative Environmental Analysis: The Green Economy and Local Diversity**

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3, Advancing Comparative Climate Change Politics: Theory and Method, August , 140-151

This article contributes to comparative environmental politics by integrating comparative analysis with debates about ontological politics as well as science and technology studies. Comparative environmental analysis makes two tacit assumptions: that the subject of comparison (e.g., an environmental policy framework) is mobile and can be detached from its contexts; and that studying this subject in more than one location can identify its diffusion and implementation anywhere. These assumptions are sites of ontological politics by predetermining (or restricting) environmental outcomes. Environmental analysis needs to consider how its own comparative acts might reify supposedly global frameworks rather than acknowledging how different localities appropriate and give meaning to them in diverse ways. The concept of civic epistemologies illustrates how domestic politics are organized around supposedly global concepts, rather than how global concepts diffuse around the world, as illustrated here by a comparative analysis of the United Nations' Green Economy Initiative.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Blake Daniel J., Lockwood Payton Autumn**

**Balancing design objectives: Analyzing new data on voting rules in intergovernmental organizations**

in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 3, september , 377-402

ABSTRACT: This article presents a new data set on one of the most visible features of institutional design - voting rules. The data set covers 266 intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) that vary in size and substantive scope and includes data on IGO issue area and founding membership characteristics that complement the measures on voting rules. The article outlines the characteristics and categorization of voting rules in the data set and establishes the broader importance of voting rules by illustrating how they help states achieve four core institutional design objectives: control, compliance, responsiveness, and effective membership. The utility of the data set and patterns in the relationships between its variables are identified through the evaluation of preliminary propositions connecting institutional context and voting rule selection. The preliminary findings emerging from this analysis establish a platform for further analyses of voting rules in IGOs, as well as other dimensions of the design and function of IGOs.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Lorenzo Casini**

**Beyond drip-painting? Ten years of GAL and the emergence of a global administration**

in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 473-477

This article presents a brief overview of a decade of global administrative law (GAL), shows how GAL productively frames international organizations in terms of global administrations, and outlines the pros and cons of this approach.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Lamy Pascal**
**Can Europe Civilize Globalization?**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

Globalisation is not in itself a threat. It's a reality. The fact that some EU Member States have succeeded to grasp more benefits than others derives largely from their capacity to conduct structural reforms during the past decades – Sweden in the 1980s, Germany in the 1990s.
Having said that, the sluggish trend of GDP growth in the EU for the coming decade, which is expected to be around 1.5%, while it should be around 3% in the US and 6% in the emerging economies, is threatening the sustainability of its social model, which is the main driver of the European civilisation. Addressing its demographic decline, its fossil energy dependency and restoring its innovation capacity will be three major priorities for the coming years to relaunch its economy and fuel the sustainability of this social model.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Skillington Tracey**
**Climate justice without freedom. Assessing legal and political responses to climate change and forced migration**
**in European Journal of Social Theory**, Vol. 18, No. 3, August 2015 , 288-307

Abstract

Storm surges, flooding, heatwaves, and prolonged drought, as ever more regular features of life under deteriorating climate conditions, are unmistakably violent. Their effects on the lives of vulnerable human populations and ecosystems across the world are widely known to be devastating. Yet a legal order that denies the victims of such ecological persecution safe haven, no matter how great its use of force (e.g., detention, arrest, forced return) cannot, by definition, be violent. The power of law, used to protect states' rights to exclude from their jurisdictions growing numbers displaced involuntarily by global climate harms, in being a source of 'legitimate right', is never the same as violence. This article challenges the ongoing validity of this assumption. It points to some of the ways in which legal instruments are used today to deny those displaced by climatic conditions sufficient normative status to guarantee their safety. What is needed instead is a new critical normative understanding of the evolving relationship between climate change, violence, justice, and law, one that re-assesses the democratic justificatory grounds for the current positions of non-responsibility for the climate displaced whilst re-affirming such people's legal and political status as equal co-members of the politically constituted international community of humanity.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Ho-fung Hung**
**Cold war and China in the (un)making of the global dollar standard**
**in Political Power and Social Theory**, Volume 26

Since the 1970s, many global political economists have been seeing the US as a declining hegemon. After four decades into this hegemonic decline, performance of economies having been regarded as candidates for new hegemons such as Germany/Europe and Japan fell far short of these expectations, while US share of the global economy and its military supremacy remained stable. This staying power of the US stems from the “dollar standard,” under which the US dollar is the dominant foreign reserve currency and international transaction medium in the world economy. The dollar standard originated in the Cold War era when all major capitalist powers relied on the US for military protection. It persisted after the end of Cold War, thanks to the continuous mutual reinforcement of the dollar standard and the global domination of the US military. The recent rise of China, which is the first major capitalist power outside the orbit of US military protection, poses a serious dilemma to the US. On the one hand, China’s export-oriented development drives China to purchase US Treasuries on a massive scale, hence lending support to the short-term viability of the dollar. On the other hand, US’s skyrocketing current account deficit, much attributable to China, precipitates a crisis of confidence over the dollar’s long-term prospects. China is likewise caught in a dilemma between sustaining its export-driven growth and shifting to a domestic-consumption-driven economy. The development of the US–China currency conflict, together with the transformation of the Chinese developmental model, will be the most important determinant shaping the future of the dollar standard and US global power in the years to come.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Morse Julia C., Keohane Robert O.**
**Contested multilateralism**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 4, december , 385-412

ABSTRACT: “Contested multilateralism” describes the situation that results from the pursuit of strategies by states, multilateral organizations, and non-state actors to use multilateral institutions, existing or newly created, to challenge the rules, practices, or missions of existing multilateral institutions. It occurs when coalitions dissatisfied with existing institutions combine threats of exit, voice, and the creation of alternative institutions to pursue policies and practices different from those of existing institutions. Contested multilateralism takes two principal forms: regime shifting and competitive regime creation. It can be observed across issue areas. It shapes patterns of international cooperation and discord on key security concerns such as combating terrorist financing, halting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and banning certain conventional weapons. It is also evident on economic issues involving intellectual property, on environmental and energy issues, and in the realm of global public health. The sources of dissatisfaction are primarily exogenous, and the institutions used to challenge the status quo range from traditional treaties or intergovernmental organizations to informal networks, some of which include non-state actors. Some institutions are winners from the process of contested multilateralism; others may lose authority or status. Although we do not propose an explanatory theory of contested multilateralism, we do suggest that this concept provides a useful framework for understanding changes in regime complexes and the strategies that generate such changes.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Hafner-Burton Emilie M., LeVeck Brad L., Victor David G., Fowler James H.**
**Decision Maker Preferences for International Legal Cooperation**
**in International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 4, fall , 845-876

ABSTRACT: Why do some decision makers prefer big multilateral agreements while others prefer cooperation in small clubs? Does enforcement encourage or deter institutional cooperation? We use experiments drawn from behavioral economics and cognitive psychology—along with a substantive survey focused on international trade—to illustrate how two behavioral traits (patience and strategic reasoning) of individuals who play key roles in negotiating and ratifying an international treaty shape their preferences for how treaties are designed and whether they are ratified. Patient subjects were more likely to prefer treaties with larger numbers of countries (and larger long-term benefits), as were subjects with the skill to anticipate how others will respond over multiple iterations of strategic games. The presence of an enforcement mechanism increased subjects' willingness to ratify treaties; however, strategic reasoning had double the effect of adding enforcement to a trade agreement: more strategic subjects were particularly likely to favor ratifying the agreement. We report these results for a sample of 509 university students and also show how similar patterns are revealed in a unique sample of ninety-two actual US policy elites. Under some conditions certain types of university student convenience samples can be useful for revealing elite-dominated policy preferences—different types of people in the same situation may prefer to approach decision-making tasks and reason through trade-offs in materially different ways.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Hooghe Liesbet, Marks Gary**

**Delegation and pooling in international organizations**

**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 3, september , 305-328

ABSTRACT:We conceive authority of an international organization as latent in two independent dimensions: delegation by states to international agents and pooling in collective decision making bodies. We theorize that delegation and pooling are empirically as well as conceptually different. Delegation is an effort to deal with the transaction costs of cooperation which are greater in larger, broader, and correspondingly more complex organizations. Pooling reflects the tension between protecting or surrendering the national veto. This paper theorizes that delegation and pooling are constrained by two basic design features: a) the scope of an IO's policy portfolio and b) the scale of its membership. We test these hypotheses with a new cross-sectional dataset that provides detailed and reliable information on IO decision making. Our major finding is that the design of international organizations is framed by stark and intelligible choices, but in surprising ways. Large membership organizations tend to have both more delegation and more pooling. The broader the policy scope of an IO, the more willing are its members to delegate, but the less willing they are to pool authority.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Copelovitch Mark S., Putnam Tonya L.**

**Design in Context: Existing International Agreements and New Cooperation**

**in International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 2, may , 471-493

ABSTRACT: This research note highlights an important element missing from rational design theories of international agreements: "institutional context"—the presence or absence of existing and prior agreements between prospective partners in "new" cooperation. If, as rational design theorists argue, agreement design is deliberate, strategic, and directed toward enhancing contracting parties' ability to credibly commit to future cooperation, then prior design "successes" should influence the terms of additional cooperation. We test for this omitted variable problem in three

agreement design outcomes: ex ante limitations on agreement duration, exit clauses, and dispute-settlement provisions. Through an augmentation and reanalysis of data from a key study in the rational design literature—Barbara Koremenos's “Contracting Around International Uncertainty”—we show institutional context is positively correlated with inclusion of ex ante time limitations in negotiated agreements and negatively correlated with the inclusion of exit clauses and third-party dispute-settlement provisions. Institutional context also mediates and conditions the effects of the explanatory variable at the heart of existing rational design theories—uncertainty about the future distribution of gains from cooperation. Our findings show that the collective appeal of particular design features varies not only with the nature of underlying strategic problems, but also with degrees of shared institutional context.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Wood Michael**
**Do International Organizations Enjoy Immunity Under Customary International Law?**
in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 287-318

ABSTRACT: The present article considers whether there is “a general practice accepted as law” establishing rules of customary international law on the immunity of international organizations from the jurisdiction of domestic courts. Apart from treaties, there does not appear to be a great deal of practice or opinio juris on the immunity of international organizations. And while there are many treaties dealing with the matter, their significance for the generation of a rule of customary international law seems questionable. This article sketches the historical development of the immunity of international organizations since the nineteenth century, describes various approaches that have been suggested to this question, and sets out such practice as there is and academic consideration of that practice. It then considers whether practice has to date generated any rules of customary international law regarding immunities, and finally suggests some conclusions.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Bluman Schroeder Michael**
**Executive Leadership in the Study of International Organization: A Framework for Analysis**
in **International Studies Review**, vol. 16, issue 3, september , 339-361

ABSTRACT: What can the scholarship on global international organizations (IOs) tell us about the contributions of the executive head (EH) to organizational change? The empirics of IO studies frequently credit EHs with important changes, but these studies seldom consider EHs separate from the rest of the bureaucracy and thus make few theoretical claims about them. Consequently, it is difficult to assess whether this credit is warranted and why some heads are given more credit than others. This article argues that heads, such as World Bank President Robert McNamara and United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, were influential because they did not just channel state and bureaucratic demands but made political choices that contributed to organizational adaptation. To make this argument, it draws on sociological institutionalist and constructivist scholarship on IO and leadership to develop an analytical framework where IO adaptation is linked to the EH's performance of two tasks commonly associated with executive leadership: defining a strategic plan and mobilizing support to implement that plan. However, it adds that when environmental constraints are severe, the conventional “follower-oriented” mobilization strategies found in leadership studies are less viable. Instead, EHs can adopt an “opposition-oriented” one intended to prevent the opposition from mobilizing while incrementally

implementing key reforms.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Teubner Gunther**
**Expanding Constitutionalism**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 20, issue 2 , 523-550

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Tallberg Jonas, Sommerer Thomas, Squatrito Teresa, Jönsson Christer**
**Explaining the Transnational Design of International Organizations**
**in International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 4, fall , 741-774

ABSTRACT: Past decades have witnessed a shift in international cooperation toward growing involvement of transnational actors (TNAs), such as nongovernmental organizations, multinational corporations, and philanthropic foundations. This article offers a comprehensive theoretical and empirical account of TNA access to IOs. The analysis builds on a novel data set, covering formal TNA access to 298 organizational bodies from fifty IOs over the time period 1950 to 2010. We identify the most profound patterns in TNA access across time, issue areas, policy functions, and world regions, and statistically test competing explanations of the variation in TNA access. The central results are three-fold. First, the empirical data confirm the existence of a far-reaching institutional transformation of IOs over the past sixty years, pervading all issue areas, policy functions, and world regions. Second, variation in TNA access within and across IOs is mainly explained by a combination of three factors: functional demand for the resources of TNAs, domestic democratic standards in the membership of IOs, and state concerns with national sovereignty. Third, existing research suffers from a selection bias that has led it to overestimate the general importance of a new participatory norm in global governance for the openness of IOs.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Donert Celia**
**Femmes, communisme et internationalisme La Fédération démocratique internationale des femmes en Europe centrale (1945-1979)**
**in Vingtième Siècle**, n. 126 , pp. 119-131

Cet article montre que les débats sur le genre et le communisme ne peuvent ignorer la question de l'internationalisme : l'idéologie internationaliste telle que les partis la revendiquaient, leurs activités internationales dans le domaine de la diplomatie culturelle, les organisations internationales et la coopération technique et non gouvernementale. En se fondant sur les archives des partis communistes et des organisations nationales de femmes en Europe centrale de 1945 à 1980, en particulier en République démocratique allemande (RDA) et en Tchécoslovaquie, cet article met en évidence l'importance des institutions telles que la Fédération internationale démocratique des femmes (FDIF) pour comprendre

comment et pourquoi les régimes socialistes ont fait des droits des femmes une question politique pendant la guerre froide.
Plan de l'article

- Les femmes et l'internationalisme en Europe centrale après 1945
  - Fascisme d'après-guerre et droits des femmes
  - Les droits des femmes et la paix dans les années 1960
- Redéfinir la paix : la remise en question de l'internationalisme socialiste
  - De l'internationalisme au transnationalisme ?
  - Les limites de l'internationalisme

Women, Communism and Internationalism. The Women's International Democratic Federation in East Central Europe, 1945-1979
This article argues that no debate about gender and Communism can ignore the question of internationalism – including the internationalist ideology as espoused by Communist parties, as well as the latters' international activities in the field of cultural diplomacy, international organisations and technical and non-governmental cooperation. Drawing on the archives of various national Communist parties and women's organisations in Central Europe from 1945 to 1980, in particular in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Czechoslovakia, this article highlights the importance of organisations such as the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) for understanding how and why women's rights became a key a political question for Socialist regimes during the Cold War.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Kirchhof Astrid Mignon**
**Finding Common Ground in Transnational Peace Movements**
**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 432-449

These concepts are discussed through the example of two globally significant mediators, Helen Caldicott and Petra Kelly. Drawing on ecofeminism and difference theory, both activists argued that women were, by nature, more peaceful than men, which meant that women provided the ideal model for humanity. Thus, they interpreted differential feminism as an emancipatory force that strengthened women's position in society. On the one hand both women found a powerful language that reached millions of people through these concepts; on the other hand, it can be argued that because their own "difference feminist" politics publicly emphasised qualities and aptitudes consistent with traditional views of women, Caldicott's and Kelly's influence was eventually weakened within their respective movements.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Borie Maud, Hulme Mike**
**Framing global biodiversity: IPBES between mother earth and ecosystem services**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 487-496

The Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) is an emerging expert advisory

institution that aims at tackling the loss of biodiversity and the degradation of ecosystem services. Building on the experience of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and on previous biodiversity-related assessments, IPBES aspires to create a new type of science–policy interface: achieving balance between developed and developing countries, and being inclusive of different disciplines and knowledge-systems. While competing framings and discourses about biodiversity are expressed in these global settings, IPBES has also adopted a single conceptual framework to support its work. Yet, this process was punctuated by many debates and the notion of ‘ecosystem services’ was contested. This paper uses Sciences and Technology Studies (STS) concepts and methods to investigate the development of the IPBES conceptual framework during the period 2012–2014. In particular we ask whether, and how, debates amongst participants about the nature of knowledge, the relationship between humans and nature, and about the meaning of ‘ecosystem services’ were reconciled through this process. We discuss what is achieved by the IPBES conceptual framework and whether it could prove itself a boundary object. Our findings serve to highlight the multiple ways in which the science–policy interface is being imagined and to reveal some of the challenges awaiting biodiversity governance as ontological and epistemic plurality are embraced at a global scale.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Schulte Felix**
**Frieden durch Föderalismus**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209073/frieden-durch-foederalismus

Homogenität als Wesensmerkmal einer Nation ist nichts Natürliches, sondern eine soziale Konstruktion. Darüber hinaus ist sie ein Produkt der Macht, entstanden aus jenem Prozess, in dem die Nation in eine politische Form gegossen und zum Nationalstaat wurde. Die Vereinheitlichung des Heterogenen gelang zum einen durch physische Macht – nur wenige der heute existierenden Nationalstaaten sind keine Kriegsgeburten –, zum anderen durch die kulturelle Macht der jeweils dominanten Gruppe. Nationen sind "vorgestellte Gemeinschaften"...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Leonarf Eric K.**
**Global Governance and the State: Domestic Enforcement of Universal Jurisdiction**
**in Human Rights Review**, vol. 16, number 2 , 143-159

ABSTRACT: The primary goal of this article is to analyze Belgium’s universal jurisdiction law concerning humanitarian law violations and its relationship to global governance norms. When discussing the notion of universal jurisdiction, there are relatively few empirical situations that scholars can draw on to illuminate the debate. In general, there is a very theoretical orientation to the universal human rights debate. Belgium’s 1993 universal jurisdiction law (expanded in 1999) brings a greater degree of empirical clarity to this debate. This law allowed Belgium to hear cases concerning violations of humanitarian law, including genocide and other crimes against humanity, which happened anywhere, without any connection to Belgium. In essence, this was an attempt at the protection of human rights on a universal

basis and may be the way forward in the prevention of mass atrocities.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Sabino Cassese**
**Global administrative law: The state of the art**
**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 465-468

Global institutions are about twenty years old. These institutions have attracted a great deal of intellectual interest, since scholarship has reacted quickly to global administrative law. And yet, the definition of global administrative law is still highly contested; its relations with international law and constitutional law are not yet settled; and no single account of the field has attained the status of orthodoxy and the literature has yet to capture all the peculiarities of the field.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Giulio Napolitano**
**Going global, turning back national: Towards a cosmopolitan administrative law?**
**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 482-485

Ten years ago, the global administrative law project represented a new promised land for administrative lawyers, escaping the crisis that was affecting the fundamental pillars of administrative law at national level. In these ten years, the global administrative law scholarship did a very good and hard job. It discovered new lands, challenging cognate disciplines and refreshing the mind of a scientific community traditionally enclosed in the national boundaries. From this point of view, global administrative law pushed for a significant renewal of national administrative law: sometimes you have to go to the moon to have a better and more comprehensive view of the Earth. Another important contribution of the global administrative scholarship was the rebirth of comparative studies, beyond the traditional cross-country approach. That is why going to the global level and turning back to the national one with a stronger comparative approach can open up a new frontier of cosmopolitan administrative law, which is everywhere concerned with the double task of empowering public authorities and controlling the bureaucratic behavior and dominated by functional needs and the logic of collective action.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Francesca Scamardella**
**Governance, governamentalità e legittimazione. Il possibile ruolo dell'argomentazione giuridica**
**in Sociologia del diritto** , No. 1 , 7-35

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Reber Bernard**

**Governance: Precautionary principle and pluralism**

in **International Social Science Journal** , Volume 64, Issue 211-212, March–June 2013 , 75–87

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Poast Paul, Urpelainen Johannes**

**How International Organizations Support Democratization: Preventing Authoritarian Reversals or Promoting consolidation?**

in **World Politics**, vol. 67, n. 1, january , 72-113

ABSTRACT: Democratization in the developing world is, according to Samuel Huntington, “an important—perhaps the most important—global political development of the late twentieth century.” While scholars of comparative politics have explored the domestic political economy of democratic transitions, they, along with scholars of international relations, also recognize that international actors, particularly international organizations (IOs), are crucial for successful political transformation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Andrew F Cooper and Vincent Pouliot**

**How much is global governance changing? The G20 as international practice**

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Volume 59, Issue 3 , 334-350

Is the G20 transforming global governance, or does it reinforce the status quo? In this article we argue that as innovative as some diplomatic practices of the G20 may be, we should not overstate their potential impact. More specifically, we show that G20 diplomacy often reproduces many oligarchic tendencies in global governance, while also relaxing club dynamics in some ways. On the one hand, the G20 has more inductees who operate along new rules of the game and under a new multilateral ethos of difference. But, on the other hand, the G20 still comprises self-appointed rulers, with arbitrary rules of membership and many processes of cooption and discipline. In overall terms, approaching G20 diplomacy from a practice perspective not only provides us with the necessary analytical granularity to tell the old from the new, it also sheds different light on the dialectics of stability and change on the world stage. Practices are processes and as such they are always subject to evolutionary change. However, because of their structuring effects, diplomatic practices also tend to inhibit global transformation and reproduce the existing order.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Lammers Johan G.**

**Immunity of International Organizations. The Work of the International Law Commission**

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 276-286

ABSTRACT: In December 1958, the General Assembly invited the International Law Commission to consider the question of relations between states and intergovernmental international organizations after undertaking a study of diplomatic intercourse and immunities, consular intercourse and immunities and ad hoc diplomacy. This paper presents a brief overview of the work of the ilc over a period of 30 years, which was led by two Special Rapporteurs: Abdullah El-Erian (1962–1979); and Leonardo Díaz González (1979–1992). In 1992, the ilc decided to discontinue its work on this topic: this paper will outline the main reasons given by the ilc for this decision, and draw some conclusions from the work of the ilc in this area.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Rashkow Bruce C.**
**Immunity of the United Nations. Practice and Challenges**
in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 332-348

ABSTRACT: The immunity enjoyed by the United Nations is fundamental to it being able to fulfill the many functions it is assigned under the United Nations Charter. As the responsibilities of the United Nations has expanded over the years, the system of privileges and immunities it enjoys to shelter the Organization from claims in domestic jurisdictions has been subject to challenges. This paper analyzes the practice of the United Nations in dealing with claims against the Organization, including with respect to existing dispute resolution mechanisms within the Organization for addressing such claims, and recent challenges to its immunity, such as claims brought against the Organization by the Mothers of Srebrenica and Haiti Cholera victims.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Spiegel Samuel, Keane Susan, Metcalf Steve, Veiga Marcello**
**Implications of the Minamata Convention on Mercury for informal gold mining in Sub-Saharan Africa: from global policy debates to grassroots implementation?**
in **Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 17, Issue 4, August , 765-785

In October 2013, after years of negotiation, governments from 92 countries signed a historic agreement called the Minamata Convention on Mercury, establishing mandatory measures to curb mercury use and pollution. Article 7 of the Convention stipulates that governments must create National Action Plans to reduce and where feasible eliminate mercury use in artisanal gold mining, a rapidly growing informal sector in much of Africa, with strategies to be monitored by the Convention Secretariat. The purpose of this study is to critically analyze the implications of the Minamata Convention for the artisanal mining sector in Sub-Saharan Africa, which currently depends upon mercury amalgamation for gold extraction. Our analysis draws on examples from Zimbabwe and Tanzania, countries with divergent political challenges but both with expanding artisanal mining sectors. We argue that a paradigm shift is needed to address intertwined technological, political and socio-economic challenges facing marginalized populations in mining communities. We highlight why meeting the Convention targets requires that international donors and national policymakers proactively engage—rather than vilify—artisanal miners who use mercury, prioritizing local knowledge and collaborative community-based decision making to develop effective pollution abatement initiatives in gold mining regions. We further argue that gender-sensitive grassroots empowerment initiatives including microfinance programs are vital to facilitate adopting cleaner technology, as required by Article 7. Finally, the analysis underscores the need for

fundamentally reforming national mining policy priorities, recognizing marginalized mining communities' resource rights and tackling livelihood insecurity as part of efforts to implement the Minamata Convention. In considering what 'grassroots' implementation could mean, the article contributes to a growing body of scholarship calling attention to fairness and equity concerns in order to achieve the aims of global environmental agreements.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Bondanella Taninchev Stacy**

**Intergovernmental Organizations, Interaction, and Member State Interest Convergence**

**in International Interactions**, vol. 41, issue 1 , 133-157

ABSTRACT: This article presents a general theory of how the interaction of state agents within intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) leads to a convergence in member state interests over time. The theory is based on the notion that, all else being equal, IGOs that facilitate more interaction between individuals from various states are conducive to greater member state interest convergence over time because there are more opportunities for agents from one or more member states to persuade agents from other member states to accept new ideas that affect how they define their states' interests. I argue that such persuasion does not necessarily have to involve a shift in state identities but can also involve a diffusion of ideas about cause-and-effect relationships. Also, by focusing on IGOs as structures within which state agents interact, I argue against a narrow focus on socialization defined as the induction of new members into community norms. I present three hypotheses regarding which institutional attributes are conducive to member state interest convergence and test them using an original IGO data set. The findings are supportive of my general theory but provide some interesting support for existing theory that runs counter to one of the hypotheses presented here.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Johnson Tana, Urpelainen Johannes**

**International Bureaucrats and the Formation of Intergovernmental Organizations: Institutional Design Discretion Sweetens the Pot**

**in International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 1, january , 177-209

ABSTRACT: Bureaucrats working in international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) regularly help states design new IGOs. Sometimes international bureaucrats possess limited discretion in institutional design; sometimes, they enjoy broad discretion. In fact, they gain discretion even when they openly oppose state preferences. This contravenes conventional thinking about delegation: discretion should decrease as preference divergence between states and international bureaucrats increases. We develop a principal-agent theory of how much discretion states grant to international bureaucrats in the design of new IGOs. This is novel: while principal-agent theories of international delegation are common, scholars have not analyzed principal-agent relationships in the creation of new IGOs. We argue that even an international bureaucracy that disagrees with states' design preferences may enjoy substantial design leeway, because of states' need for bureaucratic expertise. In developing this argument, we employ a formal principal-agent model, case studies, and an original data set.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Harrison Kathryn**

**International Carbon Trade and Domestic Climate Politics**

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3, Advancing Comparative Climate Change Politics: Theory and Method, August , 27-48

This article theorizes about the implications for domestic climate politics of three distinct roles countries play in the global carbon supply chain: fossil fuel producer, manufacturer of carbon-intensive goods, and final consumer. Because international responsibility is assigned to territorial emissions, countries at either end of the global supply chain effectively evade environmental responsibility by shifting fossil fuel combustion to manufacturing countries. In so doing, they lessen the political challenges of reducing domestic emissions. Although exporters of carbon-intensive goods are reluctant to disadvantage local producers, importers can craft policies that both reduce territorial emissions and create local jobs. Ironically, fossil fuel exporters can emerge as leaders in reducing their own territorial emissions, a finding illustrated by case studies of British Columbia and Norway. The conclusion argues that shifting responsibility for carbon emissions to the point of either final consumption or fossil fuel extraction could facilitate an international climate agreement.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Helfer Laurence R., Voeten Erik**

**International Courts as Agents of Legal Change: Evidence from LGBT Rights in Europe**

in **International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 1, january , 77-110

ABSTRACT: Do international court judgments influence the behavior of actors other than the parties to a dispute? Are international courts agents of policy change or do their judgments merely reflect evolving social and political trends? We develop a theory that specifies the conditions under which international courts can use their interpretive discretion to have system-wide effects. We examine the theory in the context of European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) rulings on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) issues by creating a new data set that matches these rulings with laws in all Council of Europe (CoE) member states. We also collect data on LGBT policies unaffected by ECtHR judgments to control for the confounding effect of evolving trends in national policies. We find that ECtHR judgments against one country substantially increase the probability of national-level policy change across Europe. The marginal effects of the judgments are especially high where public acceptance of sexual minorities is low, but where national courts can rely on ECtHR precedents to invalidate domestic laws or where the government in power is not ideologically opposed to LGBT equality. We conclude by exploring the implications of our findings for other international courts.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Blokker Niels**

**International Organizations: the Untouchables?**

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 259-275

ABSTRACT: Immunity rules belong to the traditional standard rules of international organizations. It has long been accepted that international organizations and their staff need to enjoy immunity from the jurisdiction of national courts.

This understanding is generally founded on the principle of functional necessity: international organizations need immunity in order to be able to perform their functions. However, the principle of the immunity of international organizations is increasingly criticized: if national courts cannot exercise jurisdiction over international organizations, who can? After outlining the intentions behind convening this Forum, this paper will discuss the origin of the immunity rules of international organizations. Next, it will give a brief overview of the codification of such rules, both in the 1940s and in recent years. Finally, it will present some observations on the question of whether there is a need to 'update' or revise the current immunity rules of international organizations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Hazenberg Haye**
**Is governance democratic?**
**in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2015 , 285-307

Abstract

This paper argues that governance can engender undemocratic inequality, exclusion and populism. It does so by analysing the concept of governance, and unearthing three theoretical justifications for it: one libertarian, one radical and one republican. These justifications are in turn refuted by showing how they respectively undermine a process-view of democracy, neglect structural avenues for accountability and encourage elites to wield power.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Benedetto Conforti**
**La Cour constitutionnelle italienne et les droits de l'homme méconnus sur le plan international**
**in Revue générale de droit international publique**, Vol. 119, no. 2 , 353-359

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Villani Ugo**
**La funzione giudiziaria nell'ordinamento internazionale e la sua incidenza sul diritto sostanziale**
**in Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXVIX, n. 1, primo trimestre , 7-37

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Di Stasi Angela**
**Le soft international organizations: una sfida per le nostre categorie giuridiche**

**in Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXVIX, n. 1, primo trimestre , 39-63

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Hori Shiro**
**Member state commitments and international environmental regimes: Can appeals to social norms strengthen flexible agreements?**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 263-267

In terms of regime evolution, there has been a general shift from blunt enforcement instruments to the improved transparency of a soft implementation style, involving data reporting and review processes, to ensure the commitments of parties. Flexible instruments are now attracting attention, and these instruments' effectiveness is dependent on stable social norms among the parties. From this perspective of enforcement, it is vital that fundamental infrastructure be created for stabilizing social norms—by promoting reciprocity, fairness and trust. The issue then becomes how to ensure the accountability and transparency of the member states' individual commitments to promote fairness and trust among all members. Reporting and review protocols may enhance these elements. This article illustrates how flexible agreements have sprung up and demonstrates the role of social norms in ensuring commitments in agreements, focusing particularly on UNFCCC negotiation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Witter Rebecca, Suiseeya Kimberly R. Marion, Gruby Rebecca L., Hitchner Sarah, Maclin Edward M., Bourque Maggie, Brosius J. Peter**
**Moments of influence in global environmental governance**
**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 6, November , 894-912

International environmental negotiations such as the 10th Conference of Parties of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD COP10) are state-dominated, and their outcomes are highly publicized. Less transparent is the role of non-state delegates who effect changes during negotiation processes through myriad strategies and relations. This article focuses on the influence of indigenous peoples and local community (IPLC) delegates in official COP10 negotiations using collaborative event ethnography to identify and evaluate 'moments of influence' that have gone largely unnoticed in the literature on global environmental politics. Findings indicate that IPLC delegates influenced negotiations by enrolling, shaming, and reinforcing state actors. Such relational maneuvers and interventions may appear inconsequential, but their implications are potentially far-reaching. Recognizing moments of influence improves understandings of non-state influence, relational power, and the multiple ways diverse actors reach across networks to overcome the power asymmetries that continue to characterize global environmental governance.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann**

**Multilevel governance of interdependent public goods in the 21st century: from national to multilevel and cosmopolitan constitutionalism?**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 74-91

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Walter Mattli and Jack Seddon**
**New Organizational Leadership: Nonstate Actors in Global Economic Governance**
in **Global Policy**, Volume 6, Issue 3 , 266–276

States and international organizations have found irresistible cause in a globalizing world to coopt nonstate actors (NGOs, private standard setters and so forth) to manage the manifold problems arising under their stretched mandates and resources. The pooling of capacities in the pursuit of common goals seems perfectly sensible. Yet although the strategy of cooptation has become a policy of choice, policy makers often lack full knowledge of its implications. As Philip Selznick first showed, cooptation can have unintended consequences, shifting leadership from one organization to another. We place this fertile insight in a better specified analytical framework. That is, one capable of explaining when and how leadership shifts occur and where the status quo leaders will remain at the helm. Using original interview data and structured focused comparisons to test the framework, we reveal dramatic variation in leadership changes following the cooptation of outside actors in global financial and environmental governance.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Salzborn Samuel**
**No Sovereignty without Freedom: Machiavelli, Hobbes and the Global Order in the Twenty-first Century**
in **Theoria**, Volume 62, Number 144, September 2015 , 19-59

Abstract:
In outlining a model of sovereignty, this article makes constructive reference to the ideas of Machiavelli and Hobbes concerning the fundamental structures of modern statehood, and ultimately argues for a sovereignty without morality – but not without restraints. A central element is the idea that in terms of legal theory, limitations on sovereignty should not come from some other context, but should instead be developed solely in reference to itself and its inherent contradictions: this could be the future of sovereignty.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Robert O. Keohane**
**Nominal democracy? Prospects for democratic global governance**
in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 343-353

Democracy requires a substantial measure of common values, institutions that reflect its principles, and a

well-established set of practices, or habits, that reinforce it. These practices are reinforced, in well-established democracies, by traditions and symbols with emotional value. Without the legal, institutional, and civil society infrastructure that makes democracy work, nominal adherence to democratic principles at a global level will be illusory. Furthermore, it may well appear that urgent challenges to security, global economic welfare, or the global climate are most expeditiously met through non-democratic means. As a result, realizing a vision of global democracy would involve serious tradeoffs and dilemmas. It is therefore unlikely to occur quickly.
Creating and sustaining global democracy will require constructing a democratic global political infrastructure. It will require not just rational institution-building but also attentiveness to symbolism that engages people's emotions. And it will require global leadership that is both visionary and accountable. None of this will happen quickly, even under the most favorable conditions.
Members of this Society should, first of all, avoid deluding themselves into believing that global democracy is about to appear, or into mistaking nominal for real democracy. They can do three more things as well: (i) work to develop legal structures that reduce arbitrariness and increase fairness; (ii) encourage, monitor, and criticize our current leaders; and (iii) continue to build transnational networks, which are not democratic but can provide some social infrastructure on which democracy could eventually rely.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Hackenesch Christine**
**Not as bad as it seems: EU and US democracy promotion faces China in Africa**
**in Contemporary European History** , vol. 24, n. 3, August , 419-437

The rise of China in Africa is often described as a major challenge to the United States (US) and the European Union (EU) democracy promotion policies. China is accused of providing important volumes of loans, development aid, trade and investments without "political strings" attached, thereby undermining the US and the EU's possibilities to set material incentives for reforms. This article investigates Ethiopia and Angola as two cases where one would expect that the growing presence of China has made it more difficult for the EU and US to support reforms. Empirical findings presented in this article go against this argument. In both countries, the EU and the US face substantial difficulties to make the respective government address governance issues. However, the presence of China has not made it more difficult for the US and the EU to implement their strategies. Instead the empirical analysis suggests that domestic factors in Ethiopia and Angola, notably the level of challenge to regime survival both governments face, influence both governments' willingness to engage with the EU and US.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Kim Rakhyun E., Bosselmann Klaus**
**Operationalizing Sustainable Development: Ecological Integrity as a Grundnorm of International Law**
**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 194-208

The current process of designing a set of post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) offers an opportunity to clarify the underlying idea of sustainable development. At its core is ecological sustainability, defined as the integrity of Earth's life-support systems, or ecological integrity in short. This definition is reflective of the science and ethics of

planetary boundaries that are referred to in international environmental agreements, and can be formulated as a priority goal in the context of the SDGs. The article argues for developing ecological integrity as a fundamental principle or grundnorm of international law, which is similar to the grundnorm character that human rights or the rule of law have in domestic and international law.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Lister Jane, Poulsen René Taudal, Ponte Stefano**
**Orchestrating transnational environmental governance in maritime shipping**
**in Global Environmental Change**, Volume 34, September , 185-195

Maritime shipping is the transmission belt of the global economy. It is also a major contributor to global environmental change through its under-regulated air, water and land impacts. It is puzzling that shipping is a lagging sector as it has a well-established global regulatory body—the International Maritime Organization. Drawing on original empirical evidence and archival data, we introduce a four-factor framework to investigate two main questions: why is shipping lagging in its environmental governance; and what is the potential for the International Maritime Organization to orchestrate emerging private 'green shipping' initiatives to achieve better ecological outcomes? Contributing to transnational governance theory, we find that conditions stalling regulatory progress include low environmental issue visibility, poor interest alignment, a broadening scope of environmental issues, and growing regulatory fragmentation and uncertainty. The paper concludes with pragmatic recommendations for the International Maritime Organization to acknowledge the regulatory difficulties and seize the opportunity to orchestrate environmental progress.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Hale Thomas, Roger Charles**
**Orchestration and transnational climate governance**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 1, march , 59-82

ABSTRACT: With multilateral efforts to mitigate climate change in gridlock, attention has turned to transnational climate governance initiatives, through which sub- and non-state actors seek to reduce greenhouse gases. These initiatives include networks of cities committed to lowering their carbon footprints, voluntary corporate reduction targets and disclosure processes, and many of the rules that govern carbon markets. The paper considers the role of "traditional" actors in world politics—states and intergovernmental organizations—in orchestrating such initiatives. This strategy accounts for nearly a third of transnational climate governance initiatives, we find, and upends the conventional dichotomy between "top down" and "bottom up" solutions to global collective action problems. We develop a theory to explain when states and intergovernmental organizations are likely to engage in orchestration, and we provide initial support for this theory with a new dataset of transnational climate governance initiatives and case studies of two of the most active orchestrators, the World Bank and the United Kingdom.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Jiajun Xu and Richard Carey**

**Post-2015 Global Governance of Official Development Finance: Harnessing the Renaissance of Public Entrepreneurship**
in **Journal of International Development**, Volume 27, Issue 6 , 856–880

The spirit of ‘public entrepreneurship’, reignited by large-scale and long-term official finance from emerging economies, is now driving a process of ‘creative destruction’ in the established systems for governing official development finance primarily forged among advanced economies. In response to this burgeoning official finance from emerging economies once on the margins or outside of these established systems, potentially seismic shifts are occurring in three central governance systems—the reporting systems for official development assistance in the OECD Development Assistance Committee, OECD export credit disciplines and debt sustainability in the Bretton Woods Institutions. Emerging economies create competitive pressures that work to redress the undue rigidities in these established frameworks, opening the way to meeting vast development financing needs. If not well managed or coordinated, however, growing official finance runs the risk of further rounds of financial arms races and debt crises. To harness the processes of ‘public entrepreneurship’ as a force for good in realizing a transformative post-2015 development agenda requires international cooperation to reshape global governance of official development finance.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Blue Gwendolyn**
**Public Deliberation with Climate Change: Opening up or Closing down Policy Options?**
in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 152-159

The principle of public participation is increasingly recognized as central for effective climate governance, although underpinning assumptions about what constitutes participation are not always clearly articulated. This article inquires into the challenges faced when lay citizens are asked to engage in deliberative ‘mini-publics’ geared towards providing input into climate policy. While advocates claim that these innovative forums improve collective decision making by creating the conditions for a socially diverse constituency to learn about and deliberate on salient public issues, critics caution that the democratic potential of deliberative initiatives can be compromised from the outset by a deeper set of assumptions that position public meanings as the domain of expert institutions. Rather than opening up public issues to diverse meanings, mini-publics can inadvertently close down public debate where only expert issue framings are considered valid, reasonable and credible. The admirable objective to include lay publics in climate policy can be limited in practice by a tendency to frame climate change as an inherently expert-based issue. Defining the discussions as the exclusive preserve of experts can implicitly preclude wider public involvement, in turn limiting the knowledge and perspectives available for policy makers.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Wood Tim**
**Reinforcing Participatory Governance Through International Human Rights Obligations of Political Parties**
in **Harvard Human Rights Journal**, vol. 28, issue 1 , 147-203

ABSTRACT: Contemporary human rights law has seen direct international obligations extended to armed groups and

businesses. This Article argues that international
human rights obligations are crystallizing with respect to a further category of nonstate actor, political parties, albeit only in relation to political participation rights. After briefly examining the largely procedural nature and scope of those rights under international law, this Article surveys existing international and transnational sources of obligations
of political parties, including both those in power and in opposition.
In an effort to buttress these sources and encourage their proliferation, this Article then considers rationales for such obligations, building in part upon the rationales for human rights obligations of
businesses and armed groups. Finally, the Article offers some thoughts on possible means of implementing political parties' emerging international obligations in respect of political participation rights.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Schammann Hannes**
**Rette sich, wer kann? Flüchtlingspolitik im Föderalismus**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 25, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/208005/fluechtlingspolitik-im-foederalismus

Flüchtlingspolitik sorgt bei steigenden Asylantragszahlen zuverlässig für Zündstoff zwischen den politischen Ebenen: Kommunen fühlen sich mit der Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen überfordert und rufen nach finanzieller Hilfe von Bund und Ländern. Der Bund wiederum sieht die Länder in der Pflicht, ihren gesetzlichen Zuständigkeiten effizienter nachzukommen und bemängelt beispielsweise ein inkonsequentes Vorgehen bei negativen Asylentscheidungen. Man kann dabei leicht den Eindruck gewinnen, flüchtlingspolitische Verantwortung ließe sich im Föderalismus "wie eine Flipperkugel hin und her schießen". Rasch kann zudem der Überblick verloren gehen: Wer ist eigentlich wofür zuständig? Wie funktioniert Flüchtlingspolitik im Föderalismus? Und wer entzieht sich seiner Verantwortung? Diese Fragen sind Gegenstand des vorliegenden Beitrags. Zunächst werde ich die Aufgabenteilung zwischen Europäischer Union, Bund, Ländern und Kommunen umreißen, ehe ich anhand einiger Beispiele den daraus resultierenden Flickenteppich deutscher Flüchtlingspolitik skizziere. Schließlich sollen durch einen Abgleich mit zwei Funktionen des Föderalismus Defizite und Lösungswege aufgezeigt werden...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Nielsen Richard A., Simmons Beth A.**
**Rewards for Ratification: Payoffs for Participating in the International Human Rights Regime?**
**in International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 59, issue 2, june , 197-208

ABSTRACT: Among the explanations for state ratification of human rights treaties, few are more common and widely accepted than the conjecture that states are rewarded for ratification by other states. These rewards are expected to come in the form of tangible benefits—foreign aid, trade, and investment—and intangible benefits such as praise, acceptance, and legitimacy. Surprisingly, these explanations for ratification have never been tested empirically. We summarize and clarify the theoretical underpinnings of "reward-for-ratification" theories and test these propositions

empirically by looking for increased international aid, economic agreements, and public praise and recognition following ratification of four prominent human rights treaties. We find almost no evidence that states can expect increased tangible or intangible rewards after ratification. Given the lack of empirical support, alternative explanations seem more appealing for understanding human rights treaty ratification.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Prys Miriam, Wojczewski Thorsten**

**Rising Powers, NGOs and North–South Relations in Global Climate Governance: The Case of Climate Finance**

**in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies** , vol. 41, n. 1 , 93-111

ABSTRACT: Climate finance is defined as all financial transitions to cope with the mitigation and adaptation of climate change additional to official development aid. This is, arguably, at the core to breaking the deadlock in international climate change negotiations within the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. This deadlock is characterized by multiple overlapping conflict lines, by increasingly diffuse actor groups and coalitions and the often stifling overarching ethical debate on climate justice and what is constructed as common but ‘differentiated responsibilities’. In this article, we look at climate finance as a site of power struggles and identify key actor groups and the types of conflicts that they engage in. Our findings are transferrable to the analysis of the international climate regime and, potentially, other fields of global governance in an area of complex multilateralism.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Wöbse Anna-Katharina**

**Separating Spheres: Paul Sarasin and his Global Nature Protection Scheme**

**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 339-351

In November 1913 the Swiss scientist Paul Sarasin delivered his speech to the first International Conference on Nature Protection in Berne in which he outlined his vision of a future global nature protection scheme. This article argues that Sarasin's assumptions were paradigmatic for the scientific ideal, patronising style and spatial concept of separated spheres in conservation at that time. His sanctuaries were not only presented as oases for flora and fauna; they were intended to include Indigenous people, and were also to become spheres where the rationales of free enterprise and capitalism were to be brought to a halt. Fostering this reserve system implied that the interpretational sovereignty of science would be extended to space. Legacies of Sarasin's assumptions remain in transnational projects of environmental conservation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Webb Philippa**

**Should the 2004 un State Immunity Convention serve as a model/starting point for a future un Convention on the Immunity of International Organizations?**

**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 319-331

ABSTRACT: This paper argues that the 2004 United Nations Convention on Jurisdictional Immunities of States and their Property should not serve as a model for a new convention with regard to international organizations. It has been suggested that there would be some advantages in preparing a draft convention on the jurisdictional immunity of international organizations: it would make the law governing the immunities of international organizations more 'easily ascertainable'; a convention would progressively develop the law; and it would make a useful counterpart and parallel convention to the 2004 convention. However, this paper contends that each of these reasons — while appealing from the perspective of harmonization and a notion of an accessible and predictable international 'rule of law' — does not overcome the problems of principle, practice and precedent. However, the immunities afforded to State officials may have greater value as a model for the immunities of officials of international organizations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Delcour Laure, Wolczuk Kataryna,**

**Spoiler or facilitator of democratization?: Russia's role in Georgia and Ukraine**

**in Democratization**, vol. 22, n. 3, Special Issue: Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers - Guest Editors: Nelli Babayan & Thomas Risse , 459-478

In the post-Soviet space, Georgia and Ukraine are broadly perceived as exceptions to the growing authoritarianism in the region owing to the far-reaching political changes triggered by the so-called Colour Revolutions a decade ago. This article examines Russia's reaction to political changes in Georgia and Ukraine in light of the interplay between the democracy-promotion policies implemented by the EU and US and domestic patterns of democratization. We argue that despite the relatively weak impact of EU and US policies vis-à-vis domestic structures, Russia has responded harshly to (what it perceives as) a Western expansionist agenda in pursuit of reasserting its own hegemonic position in the post-Soviet space. However, coercive pressure from Russia has also unintended, counterproductive effects. We argue that the pressure has actually made Georgia and Ukraine more determined to pursue their pro-Western orientation and has spawned democratization, thereby supporting the objectives of the Western democracy promoters.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Spash Clive L.**

**Tackling Climate Change, Breaking the Frame of Modernity**

**in Environmental Values**, Volume 24, Number 4, August , 437-444

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Esme Shirlow**

**Taking Stock: Assessing the Implications of the Kadi Saga for International Law and the Law of the European Union**

**in Melbourne Journal of International Law**, Volume 15, issue 2 , 534-559

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Christoph Möllers**
**Ten years of global administrative law**
**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 469-472

This contribution summarizes the achievements and shortcomings of the emerging field of global administrative law that has been developed mainly in the United States and Italy, and that has been the object of yearly workshops at the University of Viterbo for the past ten years. The research presented in the course of the workshops has brought us a remarkable quantity of insights into the nuts and bolts of international institutional law. The perspective on administrative law may allow for a more fine-tuned set of analytical tools than constitutional theory, yet it must not forget the political context of the subject of its research. The applied case-law method is empirically rich, but it is not always clear how representative the analyzed phenomena are of the more general assumptions on the development of international law.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Kumm Mattias**
**The Cosmopolitan Turn in Constitutionalism: An Integrated Conception of Public Law**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 20, issue 2 , 605-628

ABSTRACT: If the point of constitutionalism is to define the legal framework within which collective self-government can legitimately take place, constitutionalism has to take a cosmopolitan turn: it has to occupy itself with the global legitimacy conditions for the exercise of state sovereignty. Contrary to widely made implicit assumptions in constitutional theory and practice, constitutional legitimacy is not self-standing. Whether a national constitution and the political practices authorized by it are legitimate does not depend only on the appropriate democratic quality and rights-respecting nature of domestic legal practices. Instead, national constitutional legitimacy depends, in part, on how the national constitution is integrated into and relates to the wider legal and political world. The drawing of state boundaries and the pursuit of national policies generates justice-sensitive externalities that national law, no matter how democratic, can not claim legitimate authority over. It is the point and purpose of international law to authoritatively address problems of justive-sensitive externalities of state policies. In this way, international law helps create the conditions and defines the domain over which states can legitimately claim sovereignty. States have a standing duty to help create and sustain an international legal system that is equipped to fulfill that function. Only a cosmopolitan state—a state that incorporates and reflects the global legitimacy conditions for claims to sovereignty in its constitutional structure and foreign policy—is a legitimate state.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Liu Nengye**
**The European Union's Potential Contribution to Enhanced Governance of Offshore Oil and Gas Operations in the Arctic**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 223-231

This article focuses on the potential contribution of the European Union (EU) to an enhanced legal regime for Arctic offshore oil and gas operations. It first briefly describes existing international law for the regulation of offshore oil and gas operations in the Arctic. The article then discusses the development of the EU's Arctic policy and the EU's competence to regulate Arctic offshore oil and gas activities. Subsequently, it analyses potential actions and initiatives that could be taken by the EU to promote high safety standards for offshore oil and gas operations in the Arctic.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Sandra Pogodda, Oliver P. Richmond & Roger Mac Ginty**

**The Great Disconnect: Global Governance and Localised Conflict in the Cases of India and the EU**

**in Global Society**, Volume 29, Issue 4 , 551-573

Academic scholarship displays a curious disconnect between two trends, connecting peace and governance issues. At the same time when conflicts tended to shift inwards (from inter-state to civil wars), global governance approaches seemed to decentre the management of peace and conflict outwards (from the nation state to international forums). This paper investigates this disjuncture by examining the European Union and India's governance strategies in different conflict contexts. It studies whether their strategies operate close to the global governance model and/or whether they are able to connect with and effectively support local peace initiatives in conflict-ridden areas.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Oren Perez**

**The Hybrid Legal-Scientific Dynamic of Transnational Scientific Institutions**

**in European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 26, no. 2 , 391-416

The objective of the present article is to develop a better understanding of the institutional dynamic of transnational regulatory scientific institutions (RSIs). RSIs play a significant role in the transnational regulatory process by mediating between the scientific community and policy-making bodies. I argue that RSIs have a hybrid structure involving both political-legal and epistemic authority. The hybrid structure of RSIs – their capacity to exert both normative and epistemic authority – constitutes an innovative response to the demand of modern society for scientific certainty and to the scarcity of normative power in the international domain. This hybrid nature has a triple structure involving three complementary pairs: law~science, law~non-law and science~pseudoscience. I examine the way in which RSIs cope with the challenge of maintaining their epistemic and legal authority against the tensions generated by their hybrid structure. The discussion of hybrid authority is related to the problem of scientific uncertainty. I examine this theoretical argument drawing on an in-depth analysis of three RSIs that reflect the institutional diversity of the RSI network: the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the International Commission on Non-Ionizing Radiation Protection and the European Committee of Homeopaths. I conclude with a discussion of some of the policy issues associated with the institutional design of RSIs. The policy discussion refers, first, to the risk posed by RSIs' hybrid structure to their internal stability and, second, to some potential adverse social impacts that need to be considered alongside RSIs' projected benefits.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Maupain Francis**
**The ILO Regular Supervisory System: A Model in Crisis?**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 1 , 117-165

ABSTRACT: The right to strike has always been of fundamental importance to both workers and employers at the national level. However, the globalization of production has instilled it with renewed significance for their organizations at the international level. Beyond this fundamental substantive issue, there is also an equally fundamental institutional issue at stake for the International Labour Organization (ILO). This is the so-called “regular supervisory system”, which combines two complementary types of review and assessment of the action Members have taken to meet their obligations under ratified Conventions: an objective and impartial review conducted by the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations; and a more political and moral review exercised through the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. In June 2012, the effectiveness of this system was called into question when employers criticized the historical interpretations of ILO Convention 87 on Freedom of Association as building up a detailed and expansive right to strike, and retaliated by blocking the adoption of the proposed list of cases to be examined by the Conference Committee. For the first time in its existence, the Applications Committee and the Conference found themselves unable to fulfil what is considered to be the ILO’s core function. This crisis is unlikely to be just a passing episode. This paper considers how this crisis might be avoided or resolved. By unearthing the deep and bifurcated roots of this twin crisis of political support and of systemic sustainability, it suggests that any durable solution to the crisis needs to take into account a dual objective: first, rebuilding a tripartite compact around the supervisory system; and second, restoring institutional balance foreseen in the ILO Constitution.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Sconfienza Umberto**
**The Narrative of Public Participation in Environmental Governance and its Normative Presuppositions**
**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 139-151

This article argues that the narrative of public participation in environmental governance that emerged from the Earth Summit in 1992 can be read as a direct challenge to the neoliberal approach to environmental governance. The challenge comes from constructing the concept of public participation as (i) the practice of providing decision makers with more and better information in order to help them design more equitable policies, and (ii) the practice of potentially influencing policy decisions by bringing new perspectives and values into the decision-making process. The article shows how this counter-narrative has itself now become a contested terrain: among a variety of normative presuppositions justifying practices of public participation, one can also find a market-friendly rationale.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Holmes Pablo**

**The Politics of Law and the Laws of Politics: The Political Paradoxes of Transnational Constitutionalism**
in **Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 21, issue 2 , 553-583

ABSTRACT: This essay addresses the ongoing debate on transnational constitutionalism and the theoretical assumptions related to the possibilities of internal politicization of transnational governance. After reconstructing the debate on the transnationalization of law and the emergence of fragmented forms of transnational governance, I engage with the description of emerging forms of constitutional law within the fragmented legal regimes of global governance. After doing that, I explore the assumption exposed by some legal scholars, which insists on the possibility of an internal politicization of legal discourse as a way to challenge the so-called “rule of experts” in transnational law. Drawing on the social-theoretical and political-philosophical formulations of Claude Lefort, I will then address what I call the social conditions of the politicization of law. My claim is that the very possibility of carrying out a certain politics of law depends on features, typical of the political constitutionalization of law, which do not seem to be present in transnational governance.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Kwakwa Edwad, Rols Marie-Lea**
**The Privileges and Immunities of the World Intellectual Property Organization. Practice and Challenges**
in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 373-394

ABSTRACT: In light of their particular role and position, international organizations have long benefited from specific privileges and immunities. Most notably, it is usually understood that these organizations enjoy jurisdictional immunity and that their premises are inviolable, while some privileges and immunities have been extended to their staff. Those privileges and immunities, however, are not absolute and can be curtailed, or waived, under certain circumstances. As a result, not only may the practice regarding privileges and immunities vary from one organization or jurisdiction to another, but the precise scope of said privileges and immunities could be challenged. The World Intellectual Property Organization (‘wipo’) benefits from a comprehensive protection in that respect, based either on the 1947 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies or bilateral agreements, complemented by relevant domestic provisions. Nonetheless, the Organization rarely had to exercise them so far. In fact, it seems that wipo’s policy and related practice with regards to potential claims or claimants, rather than an intricate web of privileges and immunities provisions, has kept the Organization out of the courts.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Sundaresh Menon**
**The Transnational Protection of Private Rights: Issues, Challenges, and Possible Solutions**
in **Asian Journal of International Law**, Volume 5, issue 2 , 219-245

The global community faces the challenge of dealing with movements in opposite directions: the emphasis on decolonization and self-determination in the postwar world has encouraged the building of barriers and boundaries between jurisdictions, while globalization has encouraged the breaking or transcending of the same. This paper focuses on the legal protection of private economic rights in the transnational arena by considering the regulation of transnational economic relationships at three different levels: (a) where a party's rights are not regulated or governed by any contract;

(b) where there is a contract between the parties; and (c) where a foreign investor looks to protect its investment against unlawful interference by a host state. It concludes with some thoughts on what might lie ahead and suggests possible solutions to the issues and challenges faced.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Richard B. Stewart**
**The normative dimensions and performance of global administrative law**
in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 499-506

Global administrative law (GAL) scholarship largely follows a positivist approach. A priority is systematic work, both theoretical and applied, on the normative foundations and performance of GAL's procedural and institutional elements. This enterprise must address four overlapping types of normative contributions that GAL can make to global regulation and administration: enhancing the net effectiveness of global regulation, thereby promoting social welfare and providing other benefits; promoting more public-regarding decision-making, mitigating institutional tunnel vision and domination by the powerful; securing rights against arbitrary and unlawful impositions; and nurturing democratic values and practises in both global and domestic administration.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Babayan Nelli**
**The return of the empire? Russia's counteraction to transatlantic democracy promotion in its near abroad**
in **Democratization**, vol. 22, n. 3, Special Issue: Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers - Guest Editors: Nelli Babayan & Thomas Risse , 438-458

Russia's recent actions in its neighbourhood have not only upset Western policies but have also reinvigorated arguments that Russia may be promoting autocracy to counteract democracy promotion by the European Union and the United States. They have also underlined a broader problem: that of how illiberal powers may react to democracy promotion, especially when their strategic interests are at stake. This article investigates these issues by studying Russia's interactions with the countries in its neighbourhood and democracy promoters. First, the article argues that even if Russia has contributed to the stagnation of democratization and ineffectiveness of democracy promotion in its neighbourhood, its actions do not constitute autocracy promotion and largely lack ideological underpinnings. Second, Russia's counteraction to democracy promotion stems from its ambitions of restoring its great power status, maintaining its regional influence, and perceiving Western policies as a threat to its interests. Third, when it considers its strategic interests undermined, Russia employs economic and military threats (sometimes incentives) against its neighbourhood countries to make the compliance with Western policies less preferable.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Rickard Stephanie J., Kono Daniel Y.**
**Think globally, buy locally: International agreements and government procurement**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 3, september , 333-352

ABSTRACT: Do international treaties constrain national governments? The answer appears to be “yes” when it comes to the use of traditional barriers to trade, such as tariffs. Yet, while many governments have cut tariffs to comply with international agreements, they have often raised non-tariff barriers in their place. One increasingly prominent non-tariff barrier is discrimination in public procurement. Governments frequently discriminate against foreign suppliers in favor of domestic ones when buying goods and services. In an attempt to reduce procurement discrimination, international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, have devoted ever more attention to members’ procurement practices. Additionally, a growing number of preferential trade agreements seek to regulate public procurement. It remains unclear, however, whether international rules are effective in changing governments’ purchasing behavior. Using original data, we find that neither multilateral nor preferential procurement agreements substantially reduce governments’ propensity to “buy national.” These results illustrate the difficulty of regulating non-transparent policy areas via international treaties.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Stavros Gadinis**
**Three Pathways to Global Standards: Private, Regulator, and Ministry Networks**
**in American journal of international law**, Volume 109, issue 1 , 1-57

Critics have attacked both the inputs to network standard setting, be it lobbying by powerful industries or pressure from rich states, and the outputs, portrayed as homogeneous
regimes with little concern for the needs of different economies. What remains elusive are the mechanisms through which networks absorb these inputs, shape their own operation and governance around them, and translate them into standards. These mechanisms are the focus of this study. By opening up the black box of network standard setting, this study will (1) present a systematic study of networks’ operations, (2) identify general trends that extend beyond subject-matter particularities, (3) pinpoint the elements of network governance that inspire adopters to join, and (4) evaluate the reach of diverse criticisms leveled against networks.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Benedict Kingsbury**
**Three models of “distributed administration”: Canopy, baobab, and symbiote**
**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 478-481

The present paper proposes three basic organic models for the generation of distributed administration systems in global governance. These are here termed the canopy, baobab, and symbiote models. These models are analytically distinct, but in many sectors and institutions elements of two models or all three models may be found in one system as it evolves.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Reinisch August**
**To What Extent Can and Should National Courts ‘Fill the Accountability Gap’?**

**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 572-587

ABSTRACT: International organizations are generally recognised as requiring privileges and immunities, in particular immunity from the jurisdiction of domestic courts, in order to remain independent and unimpeded in the fulfilment of their functions and duties. However, this approach often neglects the effect of a grant of immunity to international organizations, in that potential claimants may be deprived of their ability to raise claims against international organizations before the 'natural forum' of domestic courts. Recently, both legal doctrine and practice have devoted particular attention to the potential accountability gap created by sweeping jurisdictional immunities of international organizations. This has even led to calls for filling the gap by denying immunity. This paper will outline the development of the increased awareness of accountability gaps and assess the reactions so far. Finally, it will turn to an evaluation of the suitability of national courts as institutions for securing the accountability of international organizations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Canto Lopez Maria**
**Towards Dual or Multiple Attribution. The Strasbourg Court and the Liability of Contracting Parties' Troops Contributed to the United Nations**
**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 1 , 193-222

ABSTRACT: The Strasbourg Court is dealing with situations arising out of the military conduct of Contracting Parties abroad. Some of this conduct arises from European troops acting within the framework of international multinational forces under the UN's auspices. While the Strasbourg Court in the Behrami and Saramati case started by attributing exclusive liability to the UN — in an attempt to stay clear of interfering with the UN's universal peace and security mission —, its latest case-law has moved away from that path. In the Al-Jedda case, the Strasbourg Court admits the possibility of dual or multiple attribution, which means that the same conduct can be attributed both to the UN and to one or more Contracting Parties. Through dual or multiple attribution, the Strasbourg Court has opened a way to avoid confrontations with the UN's universal mission, and has returned to supervising the conduct of the individual Contracting Parties that send troops to be part of the UN multinational forces, improving the protection offered to victims of those Contracting Parties in foreign lands.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Gallemore Caleb, Di Gregorio Monica, Moeliono Moira, Brockhaus Maria, Prasti H. Rut Dini**
**Transaction costs, power, and multi-level forest governance in Indonesia**
**in Ecological Economics**, Volume 114, June , 168-179

Since 2005, there has been considerable international interest in Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD +), a program intended to finance protection of tropical forests through the sale of carbon offsets or from donor funding. Requiring the collaboration of local and international civil society stakeholders, firms, and donor and host governments, REDD + is inherently a multi-level governance project, but to date participation in REDD + and coordination across governmental levels have been weak. Combining literature on multi-level and polycentric governance of socioecological systems with transaction-cost economics, we argue that transaction costs structure cross-level information-sharing and collaboration relationships among organizations engaged in REDD + policy

development at the national and provincial levels in Indonesia. Using an exponential random graph modelling approach with data collected from interviews with over 80 organizations between 2010 and 2012, we find that powerful organizations tend to dominate cross-level connections, though this effect is somewhat mediated by organizational similarity, which reduces transaction costs. We suggest that explicit efforts to help local organizations overcome the transaction costs of building cross-level relationships will be a central component of building an effective and equitable multi-level governance system for REDD + in Indonesia.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Mario Savino**
**What if global administrative law is a normative project?**
in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 492-498

Since its birth, a decade ago, the global administrative law (GAL) project has been criticized for the lack of elaboration of its normative foundations. GAL scholars either belittle the import ance of the “normative deficit” question, or they cautiously suggest that the GAL project is “normatively modest” and its constitutional ambition limited. The aim of this contribution is to challenge that modesty and suggest one way of reconciling GAL with constitutionalism. In the following, I argue that (a) GAL focuses on three functional dimensions—global regulation, global execution, and global adjudication—each involving a different legitimacy problem; (b) GAL scholarship proposes for each problem a specific recipe, that, despite its seemingly “neutral” administrative envelope, bears a normative content; (c) this normativity can be best conceptualized in constitutional terms, by relying on the theoretical framework offered by constitutional pluralism, in its cosmopolitan version.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Pelc Krzysztof J., Urpelainen Johannes**
**When do international economic agreements allow countries to pay to breach?**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 2, june , 231-264

ABSTRACT: What explains how some international agreements allow countries to buy their way out of violations? In some regimes, offering to compensate affected parties renders a violation permissible; in others, compensation serves at most a provisional function, with full compliance the only satisfactory outcome. While allowing for breach-and-pay in instances where it leaves all parties better off appears optimal, institutions vary a great deal in the extent to which they tolerate such “efficient breach.” To account for this variation, we consider how the design of the agreement affects the odds of mobilization of domestic groups. We argue that when the benefits from violations accrue mainly to government itself, efficient breach does leave governments better off. Yet when governments benefit only indirectly, through the political support offered by interest groups who are the direct beneficiaries of violations, the possibility of efficient breach increases the payoffs from mobilization. In those cases, allowing for efficient breach strengthens the domestic opposition to the very liberalization pursued by the treaty. Our model predicts that international trade agreements should spurn efficient breach, while investment agreements should favor it. We test these implications by considering dispute settlement and enforcement mechanisms in both regimes.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Mauerhofer Volker, Kim Rakhyun E., Stevens Casey**
**When implementation works: A comparison of Ramsar Convention implementation in different continents**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 51, August , 95-105

What are the processes that shape implementation of multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) in multilevel governance? In an attempt to address this question, we move from a top-down view of implementation as compliance with international rules to viewing it as a dynamic process shaped by action at various levels. The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands offers an important context to understand the mechanisms that shape multilevel implementation outcomes. We examine Ramsar Convention implementation in Austria, Mexico, and the Republic of Korea in order to identify relevant processes that define multilevel implementation. These cases represent three different types of government, and shed light on the ways in which international law is implemented by respective governments. The Austrian case, a federal government, illustrates the ways in which subnational authorities (the provinces) are influenced by binding regional institutions (EU-rules) to create a more robust context for protection in terms of designation of Ramsar sites. The Mexican case, a semi-federal government, shows how spurred involvement by local NGOs, states, and scientists can result in significant expansion of efforts. The Korean case, a unitary government, demonstrates the ways in which aligning institutional interests (in this case local governments with national ministries) can lead to strong implementation. Analysis of these cases provides two robust findings and one deserving additional study. First, overlapping governance efforts where activity has ties with multiple regional and international biodiversity efforts tend to see cumulative implementation. Second, institutional and organizational complexity can provide opportunities for local actors to drive the implementation agenda through a mix of processes of coordination and contentious politics. A third, more tentative finding, is that multilevel funding sources can ease implementation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*
**Edoardo Chiti**
**Where does GAL find its legal grounding?**
**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 486-491

Historically, administrative law has evolved as a body of law internal to the legal orders of nation states, governing the functioning of the state administrative machinery and its relationships with the addressees of administrative action. But what about global administrative law (GAL), which regulates the functioning of a vast array of new types of administrations beyond the state? Under what legal order is GAL emerging and consolidating? This short contribution on GAL aims to underline the fact that four main conceptions co-exist in GAL scholarship. They link GAL, respectively, to the legal orders in terms of the sector run by global regulatory systems, to the “global administrative space,” to the “global polity,” and to the “global legal order.” Each of these conceptions encapsulates a specific functional and normative understanding of GAL. None of them, however, is fully convincing. In this sense, this contribution intends to draw the attention of GAL scholarship to an unresolved issue and to call for further reflection on the merits and the shortcomings of the various conceptions, as well as on possible alternatives.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Nili Shmuel**

**Who's afraid of a world state? A global sovereign and the statist-cosmopolitan debate**

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2015 , 241-263

Abstract

Wary of quick statist dismissal of their proposals, cosmopolitans have been careful not to associate themselves with a world state. I argue that this caution is mistaken: cosmopolitans should see the vision of a world state as strategically valuable in exposing weaknesses in statist accounts, particularly of the Rawlsian variety. This strategic value follows if the only cogent arguments against a world state belong to non-ideal theory which assumes non-compliance, rather than to ideal theory with its core assumption of full compliance. If our only convincing reasons to reject a world state are non-ideal, then any liberal theory revolving around separate states must itself be considered a non-ideal theory. As a non-ideal theory, a statist law of peoples cannot be presented as an end-state, but is rather a transitional stage. Yet once seen as a transitional theory, the statist "realistic utopia" can no longer dodge the cosmopolitan charge that it is neither sufficiently realistic nor sufficiently utopian.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Shortis Emma**

**"Who can resist this guy? Jacques Cousteau, Celebrity Diplomacy, and the Environmental Protection of the Antarctic**

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 366-380

Captain Jacques-Yves Cousteau was perhaps one of the most recognisable international celebrity environmentalists of his time. Cousteau is not remembered, however, for his pivotal role in the defeat of the 1988 Antarctic Minerals Convention, which, if ratified, would have paved the way for mining to begin in Antarctica. Using the full weight of his celebrity, his personal charisma and his ability to marshal international public opinion, Cousteau was central to the successful campaign for a World Park Antarctica. The new international agreement that Cousteau ultimately helped to bring about is one of the most significant pieces of international environmental legislation in existence today, and Cousteau's crowning environmental achievement. Cousteau's successful Antarctic campaign demonstrates the indelible impact celebrities can have on international environmental negotiations, and political developments more broadly.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Quirk James M.**

**Angell and Mahan: Technology, Globalization, and International Security Today**

in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 26, Number 2, June , pp. 80-98

Norman Angell and Alfred Thayer Mahan were two of the leading thinkers on pre–World War I "interdependence," offering competing lessons on the changes in technology, economics, and security. At different times during the twentieth century, each one's ideas seemed to best explain global politics and strategy. This essay reconsiders their ideas in the current era of globalization and global threats.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Nölke Andreas, Claar Simone, May Christian, Brink Tobias ten**
**Bildet sich in den Schwellenländern eine neue Form des Kapitalismus heraus? Implikationen für die Weltwirtschaftsordnung**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 1, 2015 , 89-97

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Kraft Jeffrey**
**Changing Tides: Tax Haven Reform and the Changing Views on Transnational Capital Flow Regulation and the Role of States in a Globalized World**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 21, issue 2 , 599-617

ABSTRACT: The transnational free flow of capital represents one of the core factors driving the globalization of the world since the beginning of the Bretton-Woods era. Under the “traditional” Neoliberal theory of globalization, this free flow of capital remains sacrosanct, an unstoppable force with which state actors cannot and should not interfere. However, the recent financial crisis has caused some to question this absolute faith in the benefits of unregulated transnational capital flows and to assert that the state still has a role to play in influencing the creation of international norms on capital. Tax haven regulation represents one area that has seen a significant increase in interest in the United States since the financial crisis, most notably in the forms of the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act and the Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act. Although much has already been written on the purported benefits and drawbacks of tax haven reform, this note will instead focus on the view of globalization and the state’s role in it that underlie these pieces of legislation. In short, this note will argue that this legislation, and the renewed interest in tax haven regulation surrounding it, represents a shift away from the absolutist neoliberal view of globalization toward one that both recognizes the potential benefits of capital-flow regulation and the ability of state actors to use their domestic law-making capacity to influence the creation of these new international regulatory norms.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Duggan Niall, Naarajärvi Teemu**
**China in Global Food Security Governance**
**in Journal of Contemporary China**, Volume 24, Issue 95, 2015 , 943-960

The Chinese public's domestic expectation is that its state will ensure a safe and affordable supply of food. However, in doing so, China has acquired large amounts of farmland abroad which has raised concerns among many developing countries. It has been argued that land grabbing in the developing world is a form of neo-colonialism. This role of a colonial power is in conflict with China's historical role, which presents China as a leader of the developing world. In order to bring these role expectations into conformity with each other, China has taken a more active role in global food

security governance. It has brought food security to what is becoming the core of the global governance decision-making system, the G20. China's historical role, together with its growing economic power, has helped to push the G20 to understand the importance of food security. This has shifted the G20's understanding of economic global governance away from the traditional fields of banking and trade regulation toward understanding the developmental-oriented economic structure.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Mayer Maximilian, Huotari Mikko**
**China: Geopolitik durch Infrastruktur**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juli, 2015 , 37-40

Es ist das außenpolitische Kernprojekt von Präsident Xi Jinping: Eine neue Seidenstraße soll den Handel zwischen Europa, Asien und Afrika fördern. Schon seit 2012 verkehrt der Trans-Eurasia-Express zwischen dem zentralchinesischen Chongqing und Duisburg. Weitere Straßen- und Schienenverbindungen sollen folgen, ein System von Seerouten ist ebenfalls geplant.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Gottwald Jörn-Carsten**
**Chinas neue Rolle in der internationalen Politik: Auf dem Weg in eine Weltordnung mit chinesischen Besonderheiten**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 1, 2015 , 107-117

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**O'Mahony Patrick**
**Climate change. Responsibility, democracy and communication**
**in European Journal of Social Theory**, Vol. 18, No. 3, August 2015 , 308-326

Abstract

Reference to responsibility is prominent in discussions of climate change of every kind. Certain dimensions of the issue call it forth. These include, above all, the planetary scale of the problem and the corresponding sense of endangerment, along with lack of clarity on what exactly needs to be done and who should do it. The question of planetary responsibility has been around for some time. The limits to growth debate of more than 40 years ago already indicated concern about the ecological limits of industrial civilization (Meadows et al., 1972; Meadows et al., 2004). In this light, the article reviews and takes inspiration from key philosophical conceptualizations of global ecological responsibility before it goes on to add a necessary sociological approach that reveals the democratic, communicative mechanisms that might make it realizable.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Zhang Joy Yueyue**
**Cosmopolitan risk community and China's climate governance**
**in European Journal of Social Theory**, Vol. 18, No. 3, August 2015 , 327-342

Abstract

Ulrich Beck asserts that global risks, such as climate change, generate a form of 'compulsory cosmopolitanism', which 'glues' various actors into collective action. Through an analysis of emerging 'cosmopolitan risk communities' in Chinese climate governance, this article points out a 'blind spot' in the theorization of cosmopolitan belonging and an associated inadequacy in explaining shifting power relations. The article addresses this problem by engaging with the intersectionality of the cosmopolitan space. It is argued that cosmopolitan belonging is a form of performative identity. Its key characteristic lies in a 'liberating prerogative', which enables individuals to participate in the solution of common problems creatively. It is this liberating prerogative that forces the state from a position of political monopoly and marks the cosmopolitan moment.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Take Ingo**
**Das Dilemma der internationalen Staatengemeinschaft**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 2, 2015 , 263-270

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Kursko Jan**
**Der Gipfel der Illusionen**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juli, 2015 , 79-80

Dass sich beim Treffen der „Mächtigsten der Erde" fast alles um die Kunst der Inszenierung dreht, hatte ja bereits der Gipfel von 2013 bewiesen. Damals wurden rund um das nordirische Enniskillen massenweise leerstehende Läden kurzerhand in blühende Geschäftsstraßen verwandelt – durch aufgepappte Fototapete. Doch Elmau hat Enniskillen noch getoppt: Die deutsche Gastgeberin, Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel, ließ es sich nicht nehmen, sogar einen „echten" Biergarten aus dem Hut und auf den eigentlich leeren Marktplatz von Krün zu zaubern – als ob Bayern nicht über hinreichend originale Trinkanstalten verfügte.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Lipphardt Anna**

**Der Nomade als Theoriefigur, empirische Anrufung und Lifestyle-Emblem. Auf Spurensuche im Globalen Norden**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 26-27, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/208257/der-nomade-als-theoriefigur-empirische-anrufung-und-lifestyle-emblem-auf-spurensuche-im-globalen-norden

Während sich in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten die Lebensbedingungen für Hirtennomaden infolge offener politischer Diskriminierung und struktureller Benachteiligung, von Landkonflikten, sich wandelnden ökonomischen Rahmenbedingungen und des Klimawandels weltweit verschlechtert haben, entwickelte sich der Nomadismus im Globalen Norden – und insbesondere in (West-)Europa – im selben Zeitraum zu einem wichtigen Referenzpunkt. In zahlreichen Diskurs- und Praxiskontexten (post)industrieller Gesellschaften, in denen Mobilität eine herausgehobene Rolle spielt, wird heute emphatisch Bezug auf "das Nomadische", "den Nomaden" oder "Nomadismus" genommen. Eingeführt von den französischen Philosophen Gilles Deleuze und Felix Guattari in den 1980er Jahren, hat sich der Nomade seither als zentrale Theoriefigur etabliert, die für ein hohes Maß an Mobilität sowie für Freiheit, Grenzüberschreitung und Nonkonformismus steht. Großen Nachhall fand der Nomade auch im Kunstbereich, wo er längst zu einer Standardreferenz geworden ist. Darüber hinaus beziehen sich heute Vertreter aus zahlreichen, ganz unterschiedlichen professionellen Milieus in ihrer Selbstbezeichnung auf den Nomaden – von der sogenannten creative class über den Medien- und IT-Bereich bis hin zu Management und Unternehmensberatung. Besonderer Beliebtheit erfreuen sich nomadische Selbstreferenzierungen außerdem unter Backpackern, Lifestyle-Migranten und den sogenannten Superreichen. Inzwischen taucht der Nomade zudem regelmäßig als theoretische Referenz in empirischen Studien zur Mobilität dieser Gruppen auf. Und last but not least ist er zum populären Label in Architektur und Design geworden, was sich in einer wachsenden Zahl an entsprechenden Produktnamen von rollbaren Schlafsofas über Kopfhörer bis hin zu iPad-Hüllen und aufwendigen Bildbänden mit Titeln wie "New Hotels for Global Nomads" oder "The New Nomads. Temporary Spaces and a Life on the Move" widerspiegelt...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Conrad Sebastian**

**Die Weltbilder der Historiker: Wege aus dem Eurozentrismus**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 41-42, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/212825/die-weltbilder-der-historiker-wege-aus-dem-eurozentrismus

Die Kritik am Eurozentrismus der Geschichtsschreibung gehört heute bereits zum guten Ton. Seit den 1970er Jahren ist auch im "Westen" die Forderung nach einer "Überwindung des Eurozentrismus" und einer gleichberechtigten Einbeziehung der "Völker ohne Geschichte" nach und nach zu einem Bestandteil des Mainstreams geworden. In anderen Teilen der Welt, vor allem in kolonisierten Gesellschaften, ist diese Kritik wesentlich älter und geht bis in das

19. Jahrhundert zurück. In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten haben Ansätze wie die Transnationale Geschichte, die postcolonial studies und die Globalgeschichte dazu beigetragen, Wege zu einer nichteurozentrischen Geschichtsschreibung auszuloten.
Worin besteht der Eurozentrismus, und was ist daran so problematisch? In vielen Darstellungen werden zwei Ebenen vermischt, die sinnvollerweise auseinandergehalten werden sollten. Auf der einen Seite steht der Eurozentrismus als Sichtweise, als Deutungsmuster; auf der anderen Seite steht die Frage nach Europas Rolle in der Geschichte. Beide Aspekte sind natürlich eng miteinander verbunden, aber aus heuristischen Gründen ist es hilfreich, zwischen ihnen zu unterscheiden...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Lee Kangbok, Lu Wenling**
**Do bank regulation and supervision matter?: International evidence from the recent financial crisis**
in **Journal of Financial Economic Policy**, Volume 7 Issue 3 , pp. 275 - 288

Purpose
– The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of bank regulation and supervision on bank development, efficiency and fragility over the period of 1999-2011.
Design/methodology/approach
– The authors' approach is based on a multivariate difference-in-difference model which controls for potential endogeneity of the explanatory variables and unobservable country-specific effect. The paper investigates the changes of bank outcomes and a country's regulation and supervisory practices, in terms of capital regulation, supervisory power, private monitoring, entry into banking requirements, overall restrictions on bank activities and government ownership of banks in a sample of 53 countries with a total of 482 observations.
Findings
– Empirical results indicate that greater capital regulatory requirements reduce bank fragility, as measured by lower levels of non-performing loans but reduce bank efficiency, as measured by higher levels of net interest margin; supervisory practices that strengthen private sector monitoring of banks improve bank development, as measured by bank private credit as a share of gross domestic product; lower levels of non-performing loans are associated with greater enter-into-banking requirements and less restrictiveness on bank activities; and greater government ownership of banks is associated with both higher levels of net interest margin and higher levels of non-performing loans. Overall, the findings support Basel II's first and third pillars: capital requirements and private monitoring.
Originality/value
– This cross-country analysis provides evidence on which specific regulatory and supervisory practices work best in light of what was learned from the recent financial crisis.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Ghosh Jayati**
**Eine andere Welt ist möglich! Vom Krisenkapitalismus zur neuen Solidarität**
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2015 , 37-44

Darüber, dass der Weltwirtschaft ziemlich unerfreuliche Zeiten bevorstehen, herrscht fast allgemein Übereinstimmung. Selbst wenn sie nicht einer weiteren, verheerenden Krise entgegentreibt, dürfte sie in einer Art Stagnation münden. Das Gerede über „grüne Belebungsspritzen“, die in einigen Volkswirtschaften geholfen haben sollen, erweist sich als ziemlich übertrieben. OECD, IWF und andere Institutionen korrigieren ihre ohnehin ziemlich niedrigen Prognosen zur Einkommensentwicklung ständig weiter nach unten, woraufhin sich regelmäßig herausstellt, dass auch die neuen Schätzungen wieder zu optimistisch waren, da die wirtschaftliche Flaute im größten Teil des globalen Nordens anhält.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Pohoryles Ronald J.**
**Europe facing globalisation**
in **Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 28, Issue 2, 2015 , 101-103

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Passari Evgenia, Rey Hélène**
**Financial Flows and the International Monetary System**
in **Economic Journal**, Volume 125, Issue 584, May 2015 , pages 675–698

We review the findings of the literature on the benefits of international financial flows and find that they are quantitatively elusive. We then present evidence on the existence of a global cycle in gross cross-border flows, asset prices and leverage and discuss its impact on monetary policy autonomy across different exchange rate regimes. We focus in particular on the effect of US monetary policy shocks on the UK's financial conditions.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Pagliari, Stefano**
**Financial Industry Power and Regulatory Policies: What Lessons from the Global Financial Crisis?**
in **Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche**, numero 2 , 209-232

This article contributes to the debate on the influence of the financial industry over the design of financial regulatory policies by providing a critical review of the academic contributions that have investigated the involvement of the financial industry in post-crisis regulatory debates. This analysis will discuss the main sources of instrumental and structural power that have been theorised before the crisis in light of the evidence and theoretical contributions emerged since the crisis. This analysis will reveal how the challenges that financial industry groups face in shaping the content of regulatory policies have increased significantly in the aftermath of the financial crisis and identify what factors have shaped the influence of financial industry groups.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Prontera Andrea**

**Forms of State, Capitalism and Global Financial Orders. A Critical Perspective on Financialisation and World Politics**

**in Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche**, numero 2 , 179-208

The 2008 crisis has triggered a great debate on the transformation of global financial governance. The traditional state-market dichotomy has been widely used to describe the reconfiguration of financial regulation, which as a pendulum would have shifted from market to state in response to the failure of the pre-crisis practices and governance arrangements. In this article, the problem of global financial governance will be addressed from a different theoretical perspective, and a more complex image than the state-market dichotomy will be presented by adopting some assumptions and approaches derived from critical International Political Economy (IPE). In particular, a Coxian approach will be adopted to illustrate the emergence, consolidation and resistance of the neoliberal global financial order, as well as the main challenges to its survival.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Lanzalaco, Luca**

**Fragile Boundaries. The Power of Global Finance and the Weakness of Political Institutions**

**in Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche**, numero 2 , 255-275

The debate about the current financial crisis focuses mainly on how to regulate financial markets by means of appropriate policies in order to avoid further and future crises and instabilities. This article explores a preliminary question, namely whether global finance can be really governed. Given that a pronounced imbalance exists between the power resources of national and international political institutions and those of global finance, the answer to this question is substantially negative. There are structural factors that make, on the one side, global finance ungovernable and, on the other, national government policies dependent on markets' approval. Hence, a paradigm change is required, namely a shift from regulative to limitative policies. These are public policies aimed at redistributing power resources from global finance to national governments and international institutions.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Kumar Ashok**

**Global Workers' Rights through Capitalist Institutions?**

**in Historical Materialism** , Volume 23, Issue 3, 2015 , 215–227

In Workers, Unions, and Global Capitalism: Lessons from India, Rohini Hensman maintains that globalisation has afforded workers new opportunities for confronting capitalist exploitation. Using India as a point of departure, Hensman highlights globalisation as paradoxical, challenging anti-globalisers and the globalisation-as-imperialism thesis, to argue that capital's toilers are now becoming its gravediggers. This analysis also explains why the World Trade Organization (WTO) is so appealing to Hensman: a quintessence of capitalism's contradictions. Hensman argues for both transnational solidarity and independent trade unions, embodied in the 'employees' unions' of India, as well as in favour of the WTO's 'social clause' amendment, in which the global exploiter is transformed into an arbiter of workers' rights.

The review maintains that the terms of Hensman's twin position are impossible to reconcile. It evinces an underlying contradiction between opportunistic statism and a conception of revolutionary strategy predicated on action 'from below'.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Rodine-Hardy, Kirsten**
**Globalization, International Organizations, and Telecommunications**
**in Review of Policy Research** , Volume 32, Issue 5 , 517-537

Since the 1990s over 158 countries established pro-market reforms in telecommunications—a fast pace for such a drastic change. For example, Sweden and Botswana, two nations vastly different across multiple dimensions, both liberalized their telecom sectors. Why did so many countries adopt liberal reforms in such a short period of time? Conventional wisdom highlights the role of global markets and technology, powerful states, global diffusion, and domestic politics. I argue that contrary to these claims, diffusion through key international organizations is the critical and overlooked factor in explaining rapid global convergence of pro-market telecom reforms. Using an original dataset for 189 countries between 1970 and 2003 and event history analysis, I demonstrate that membership in key liberal trading organizations, especially the WTO and the OECD, increases the likelihood that countries will adopt liberal pro-market reforms in telecommunications. These results speak directly to current public policy debates about the reregulation of global markets and bridges the literatures of policy diffusion, institutional design, and regulatory regimes.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Brenda J Lutz & James M Lutz**
**Globalization, risk-taking and violence: too much too soon in the late Roman Republic and pre-Renaissance Italian cities**
**in Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 28, Issue 2 , 175-190

Past research has found that globalization and political violence have been linked in both modern and less modern times. Normally, groups that have been disadvantaged or displaced by globalization are seen as responsible for these outbreaks of violence. In the case of the Late Republic of Rome and medieval Italy before the Renaissance, violence was actually prompted by major increases in wealth among those who benefited when control of the political system became much more valuable. The increased value raised the stakes of political control and underlay the resulting higher levels of violence.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Kräfte Stefan**
**How manufacturing industries connect cities across the world: extending research on 'multiple globalizations'**
**in Global Networks**, vol. 14, issue 2, april , 121-147

ABSTRACT: In this article, I concentrate on a macro-level analysis of inter-urban linkages in a 'world city network'. Empirical research on the formation of a world city network has mostly concentrated on global service providers. Yet,

globally operating manufacturing firms also choose distinct urban regions throughout the world as locational anchoring points. In this article, using social network analysis, I present the first global-scale analysis of how manufacturing firms connected cities across the world (in 2010). To detect the differing 'sectoral profiles' and nodal centralities of cities functioning as geographical hubs of transnational production networks, it is necessary to analyse the network structure of distinct industrial subsectors within the global urban system. The data collected for analysis cover 120 top global firms from three manufacturing subsectors, of which two are analysed in more detail than the third. I then compare the nodal centralities of cities included in these subsectors' global networks with the GaWC research on the producer services sector that has been at the centre of previous analyses of the world city network. The comparison reveals the cities' differing positioning within 'multiple globalizations'. The aim of the article is to extend research on world city networks.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Levitov Alex**
**Human rights, self-determination, and external legitimacy**
in **Politics, Philosophy & Economics**, Volume 14, no. 3, August 2015 , 291-315

Abstract

It is commonly supposed that (a) at least some states possess a moral right against external intervention in their domestic affairs and (b) all human rights violations give members of the international community reasons to undertake preventive or remedial action against offending states. No state, however, currently protects or could reasonably be expected to protect its subjects' human rights to a perfect degree. In view of this reality, many have found it difficult to explain how any existing or readily foreseeable state could enjoy a moral right of nonintervention without denying the normative force of human rights. This article seeks to reconcile these apparently incompatible commitments by arguing that, in addition to acting in defense of human rights, outsiders must be appropriately responsive to individuals' distinct and potentially countervailing interests in collective self-determination. I show that, under certain demanding but not unrealistic conditions, individuals' interests in self-determination are of sufficient weight not simply to ground a judgment against intervention in particular cases but to generate arobust right of nonintervention on the part of some states that nevertheless fail to secure perfect protection of their subjects' human rights.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Zhu Xianli**
**International ethics and governance for climate change amid the rise of BASIC countries**
in **International Social Science Journal** , Volume 64, Issue 211-212, March–June 2013 , 55–74

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Aizenman Joshua**

**Internationalization of the RMB, Capital Market Openness and Financial Reforms in China**
in **Pacific Economic Review**, Volume 20, Issue 3, August 2015 , pages 444–460

This paper provides an overview of Chinese financial and trade integration in recent decades, and the challenges facing China in the coming years. China had been a prime example of export-led growth, benefiting from learning by doing, and by adopting foreign know-how, supported by a complex industrial policy. While the resultant growth has been spectacular, it comes with hidden but growing costs and distortions. The Chinese export-led growth path has been challenged by its own success, and the global financial crisis forced China toward rebalancing, which is a work in progress. Reflecting on the internationalization of the CNY, rapid acceleration of the commercial internationalization of the CNY is expected. In contrast, there are no clear-cut reasons to rush with the full CNY financial internationalization: the gains from CNY financial internationalization are overrated.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Matejova Miriam**
**Is Global Environmental Activism Saving the Polar Bear?**
in **Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development** , September-October

Over the past two decades, the polar bear has become a beloved character featured in Coca-Cola's animated TV ads, watching aurora borealis, struggling with Christmas trees, and partying with penguins. In 2011, the nature of these ads drastically changed. Instead of playful clips convincing us of polar bears' love of Coca-Cola, scenes of lone bears and adorable cubs amid the melting Arctic urged us to create a safer future for this species. Later in the year, the Coca-Cola Company turned its signature red cans white. This “Arctic Home” campaign was a collaborative effort with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) to bring attention to the plight of the world's polar bear populations–their shrinking home. What these ads did not say was that approximately 600 to 800 polar bears are legally hunted every year–for subsistence as well as sport–and more than half of these are legally traded as hides and trophies in international markets.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Durand, Cédric; Miroudot, Sébastien**
**Is labour the fall guy of a financial-led globalisation? A cross-country inquiry on globalisation, financialisation and employment at the industry level**
in **Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)**, Volume 151, Issue 3 , 409-432

Financialisation and globalisation have important implications for the functioning of economies and, in particular, for employment. However, their impact on labour market dynamics has not been sufficiently analysed. The aim of this article is to contribute to fill this gap in the literature with a cross-country analysis at the industry level. The authors identify four industry dynamics (Protection, Expansion, Escape from production and Decline with sunk costs) and explore the hypothesis that financialisation is a phenomenon mostly specific to mature developed economies. They provide an econometric analysis at the country and industry level of the relationship between globalisation, financialisation and employment over the period 1995–2009. They estimate a standard labour demand function in which they introduce financialisation as a demand shifter. They also propose a simple model to explain the financialisation phenomenon and provide a regression testing its prevalence, including regressions with an interaction term between

offshoring and financialisation. Their result does not point out to a financial-led globalisation but shows that labour is impacted negatively through the financialisation observed in certain industries.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Riccardo Viviani**
**La Post-2015 Agenda: il ruolo degli indicatori nel contesto della globalizzazione**
**in Politica del diritto**, n. 1 , 95-130

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Cama, Giampiero**
**Markets and Power. The Repercussions of Financial Globalisation on Autonomy and Power of States**
**in Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche**, numero 2 , 153-178

This work analyses the relationship between the financial market and power. The principal hypothesis is that the effects of financial globalisation on inner and international governance are not symmetrical, but they rather produce a very diversified distribution of opportunities and vulnerabilities. This diversification has important repercussions on the modalities and the spheres of power within the international arena. Then we have shown these dynamics in the following spheres: the one relating to the construction of the general structure of international financial systems (the polity), the one concerning the measures aimed to assure the functionality of the system (the policies), and the one regarding the potential balance of power among states (the politics).

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Daniel T. Dye**
**New Labour, New Narrative? Political Strategy and the Discourse of Globalisation**
**in British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Volume 17, Issue 3 , 531–550

At the Labour Party conference in 2005, Tony Blair declared that debating globalisation would be like debating ‘whether autumn should follow summer’. This articulation of the imperatives of a newly-globalised world was central to the creation of ‘New’ Labour. How should we understand this turn from the autonomous socialism promised a generation earlier? In this article, I propose that Labour's discourse was produced in response to strategic demands of political competition. Synthesising Riker's concept of heresthetics with insights from discourse analysis, the article proposes parties as discursive-herestheticians who constructively use rhetorical tropes to achieve concrete ends. This approach is applied to Labour through qualitative textual analysis of speeches and documents, read in the context of electoral strategy. The analysis produces an alternative interpretation of New Labour strategy that serves as a corrective to the ‘cartel party’ account of Labour having abandoned real political competition in favour of the centre ground.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Gertel Jörg**
**Nomaden – Aufbrüche und Umbrüche in Zeiten neoliberaler Globalisierung**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 26-27, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/208249/nomaden-aufbrueche-und-umbrueche-in-zeiten-neoliberaler-globalisierung

Die Welt ist erneut in Bewegung geraten: Durch Kriege und bewaffnete Konflikte, Armut und Umweltzerstörung sind Millionen von Menschen gegenwärtig auf der Flucht. Für andere ist die tägliche Mobilität, das Pendeln zum Arbeitsplatz oder auch die saisonale Arbeitsmigration Teil ihres Alltags. Eingebunden in diese Dynamiken der Moderne leben auch Nomaden. "Nomaden" – ein Wort, das heute bei vielen Europäern romantische Vorstellungen weckt. Doch nur wenige von uns sind ihnen jemals begegnet. Die Vorstellungen und Zuschreibungen sind umso abenteuerlicher. Nomaden gelten häufig als wild, freiheitsliebend, kriegerisch und geheimnisumwoben. Mobilität wird verklärt. In vielen Ländern, nicht nur Afrikas und Asiens, sind Nicht-Sesshafte den Behörden ein Dorn im Auge. Mit Herden und Zelten dem Regen und der Weide zu folgen, wird regelmäßig als Paradebeispiel für Rückständigkeit und Unzivilisiertheit verurteilt. Eine ganz andere Seite am Nomadentum hat in jüngerer Zeit die Tourismusbranche entdeckt: Nomadische Gruppen werden in Werbeprospekten häufig als vom Aussterben bedrohte, seltene Kulturen inszeniert, die es möglichst bald vor ihrem Verschwinden zu erleben gilt. Wieder andere denken bei Nomaden vor allem an die großen Dürren und Hungerkrisen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre, die viele afrikanische Tierhalter der Verarmung ausgesetzt und in die Slums von großen Ballungszentren getrieben haben...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Saunders Fred P.**
**Planetary boundaries: at the threshold… again: sustainable development ideas and politics**
**in Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 17, Issue 4, August , 823-835

The implications of the planetary boundaries (PBs) proposal involves scientific, moral and political dimensions. The core of the PBs idea is that humankind is transgressing global environmental tipping points resulting in changed conditions that threaten to unravel human progress. The growing status of the proposal potentially makes it a highly influential organising concept that seems to contain within it aspirations to dramatically reconstitute the relationship between society and the environment—thereby transforming the politics of sustainable development. This paper situates PBs in contemporary green thinking. Key planning events and related documents supporting the Post-2015 Development Agenda process are then examined to identify strategies and reactions to the PB proposal. The findings show that divisions reminiscent of older North/South environment and development tensions related to the role of experts, democracy and the Right to Development threaten to prevent PBs from being mainstreamed in key UN environment and development programmes and fora.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Hisashi Owada**

**Problems of Interaction Between the International and Domestic Legal Orders**

in **Asian Journal of International Law**, Volume 5, issue 2 , 246-278

With the rapid advent of globalization, international law has come to expand into new areas which had traditionally been under the exclusive domain of municipal law. As a result, problems concerning interaction between the international and domestic legal orders have become increasingly common. Specifically, difficulties have arisen concerning the implementation of international law decisions into the domestic legal order. This paper examines this problem in three different areas: the process of incorporation of international treaties into the domestic legal order; the issue of giving effect to Security Council resolutions in domestic law; and the issue of the implementation within the domestic legal system of judgments of international courts and tribunals. The paper concludes that, in an age of the emergence of a global community as a matter of socioeconomic reality, the two legal orders should work together to promote common public policy, paying due respect to the decisions of international institutions.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Sandelind Clara**

**Territorial rights and open borders**

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 18, Issue 5, 2015 , 487-507

Abstract

Territorial rights consist of the right to jurisdiction, the right to resources and the right to exclude immigrants and are assumed to be essential to state sovereignty. Scholars who have discussed the justification of these rights have mostly focused on the right to jurisdiction. Few engage with the implications of such justification for the right to exclude immigrants. This paper argues that the justification for territorial rights cannot justify the right of states to exclude immigrants. Allowing immigrants to settle within the territory does not undermine any of the interests territorial rights are meant to protect. In addition, the interests of current inhabitants do not provide sufficient reasons to grant the state the right to exclude immigrants from the territory that everyone has equal right to in an original situation. State sovereignty is therefore seen as compatible with open borders.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Burrows Mathew**

**The Emerging Global Middle Class—So What?**

in **Washington Quarterly (The)**, Volume 38, Issue 1 , pp. 7-22

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Burrows Mathew**

**The Emerging Global Middle Class—So What?**
in **Washington Quarterly (The)**, Volume 32, issue 1, winter , pp. 7-22

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Kumiko Haba**
**The Power Shift: National Anxiety, Territorial Disputes, and Confidence Building in Asia under the American Rebalance Strategy**
in **Les Cahiers Irice**, n° 14, 2015/2

The Roman Empire came to ruins after 500 years. The British Empire lasted 300 years. Will the United States Empire last another century? All empires collapse. Thus, it is necessary to examine power shifts in a larger and more historical context.Although the 21st century is only 15 years old, what is happening in the contemporary world foretells an important power shift in international relations.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Lisa Groß**
**The journey from global to local: norm promotion, contestation and localisation in post-war Kosovo**
in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 311–336

In peacebuilding, international norms travel frequently from the global sphere of international organisations to local contexts — but what happens when international norms touch the ground? This article deals with norm diffusion in post-war Kosovo from the vantage point of the local, making localisation strategies, contestation patterns and translation practices the subject of analysis. It shows that the ‘local meaning’ of norms can be ambiguous, but nevertheless supportive of the liberal norms promoted by peacebuilding and that norm diffusion is shaped by conditions that are specific to post-war societies. First, norm contestation is influenced by wartime polarisations leading to segregated discursive arenas and by conflict goals that shape local interpretations of international norms. Through strategic emphasis and selection, local agents then aim to build congruence with the conflict goal. The rejection, localisation or acceptance of international norms depends on whether the established local meaning allows congruence building with the conflict goal or not. These claims are based on an empirical analysis of local interpretations (or ‘local meaning’) of the internationally promoted norms of democracy and minority rights at the municipal level in Kosovo.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Tazzioli Martina**
**The politics of counting and the scene of rescue. Border deaths in the Mediterranean**
in **Radical Philosophy**, Issue 192, July/Aug 2015

The full text is free:

www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/the-politics-of-counting-and-the-scene-of-rescue

Border deaths are not a new phenomenon. Since the early 2000s, the Mediterranean Sea has been named a 'maritime cemetery' by activists and critical migration scholars. However, over the last two years migrant deaths at the borders have gained more and more attention in the media and EU political debate after two deadly shipwrecks near the island of Lampedusa on 3 and 11 October 2013, causing the deaths of 636. Since then, the Mediterranean has become the focus for a practice of 'counting the dead' that has been at the core of databases set up by human rights groups, migration agencies and NGOs. The number of deaths is, however, difficult to ascertain: according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), for instance, in 2014 3,072 people died in the Mediterranean, while UNHCR counted 3,419 dead migrants in the same year; in 2011, according to UNHCR's statistics, about 1,500 migrants died in the Mediterranean, but human rights associations estimate that the real number is around 3,000. The differences in statistics are very often the result of the choice whether to count missing persons; that is, those migrants who supposedly died but whose corpses have not been found. The Deaths at the Borders Database, for example, produced by an academic research team based at the University of Amsterdam, counts exclusively migrant deaths recorded by states in civil registries. It is precisely in this gap between the countable deaths and the uncountable ones that, I suggest, it becomes necessary to put into place an alternative politics, one that accounts for border deaths beyond the logic of mapping and counting...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Carney Richard W.**
**The stabilizing state: State capitalism as a response to financial globalization in one-party regimes**
**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2015 , pages 838-873

One of the most important developments in the modern global economy is financial globalization. This has raised threats to the stability of political regimes in two ways: (1) by enhancing the possibility of a financial crisis that could cause political turmoil; and (2) by easing access to foreign sources of financing for opposition political groups. I argue that state capitalism – defined as state-owned publicly listed corporations – is greater among one-party regimes as a way to address these dual threats. One-party regimes have both the motivation and a greater institutional capacity for addressing these threats in comparison to other regimes. Tests are conducted on 607 firms in 1996 and 856 firms in 2008 across seven East Asian economies, and are supplemented with case studies of Malaysia and South Korea. The evidence suggests that financial globalization is contributing to the rise of the state as a counter reaction.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Mitchell Audra**
**Thinking without the 'circle': Marine plastic and global ethics**
**in Political Geography**, Volume 47, July , 77-85

Marine plastic has received significant attention as a spectacle of consumer waste and ecosystemic fragility, but there has been little discussion of its ethical implications. This essay argues that marine plastic poses a direct challenge to the basic frameworks of global ethics. These frameworks are dominated by the image of the 'circle', an abstract boundary

intended to separate ‘humanity’ from the rest of the universe and insulate it against harm. However, this article argues that marine plastic undermines the ‘circle’ in two ways. First, it embodies conditions of ‘hyper-relationality’, including entanglement and the properties of toxicity, that penetrate the boundaries of ‘the circle’. Second, it exerts ‘forcefulness’, but at scales that radically exceed the dominant spatio-temporal dimensions of ‘the circle’. By virtue of these features, marine plastic thoroughly penetrates the boundaries of ‘the circle’, making it impossible to expel harm beyond its boundaries. Although this essay focuses on marine plastic, its core argument can also be fruitfully applied to other phenomena that share similar material, scalar, spatio-temporal and relational features (for instance, atmospheric particulate, nuclear waste and nitrate pollution). The essay concludes by exploring the alternative ethical possibilities that marine plastic and similar phenomena prompt: in particular, a responsive ethos based on a sense of shared vulnerability and exposure.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Benediktsson Karl, Brunn Stanley D.**

**Time Zone Politics and Challenges of Globalisation**

**in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 106, Issue 3, July , 276-290

Time zones are an under researched topic in geography. In this paper, their political construction is examined, and the conflicts that can arise between biological temporalities on one hand and the interests of international business and state politics on the other are discussed. A detailed map of major deviations from theoretical time zones in China and Europe is presented. The geographically complex and uneven adoption of daylight saving time is also shown on a map. An extended case study of time zone politics in Iceland is then presented. Its current time zone allocation has been contested from two very different viewpoints, where business concerns and geographical position are in conflict. Finally, new challenges to the global time zone system, arising from the increased economic globalisation and opportunities for social interaction in the new reality of cyberspace, are discussed. The concept of ‘time elasticity’ is proposed for partially grappling with these conditions.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Kirchhof Astrid Mignon, McConville Chris**

**Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century**

**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 331-338

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***

*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*

**Sidhu Ravinder K.**

**Transnational higher education as a hybrid global/local space: A case study of a Malaysian-Australian joint**

**venture**
in **Journal of Sociology**, vol. 51, no. 2, June 2015 , 299-316

Abstract

One aspect of transnational education that is anticipated to grow in prominence is the international branch campus. This article is a case study of Monash University Malaysia, a Malaysian-Australian transnational education alliance which has achieved a measure of success in a field fraught with risk. It offers an analysis of the dynamic interplay between global processes and the logics of practice of situated national and institutional interests. The article shows that global processes such as marketization are realized in specifically local conditions. The joint venture was able to find its market in the particular configurations of the Malaysian postcolonial state, ethno-nationalism and neoliberalization.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Knittel Siegfried**
**USA vs. China: Der pazifische Handelskrieg**
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 25-28

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/august/usa-vs.-china-der-pazifische-handelskrieg

Nach Turbulenzen an der Shanghaier Börse sah sich die Nationalbank in Peking Anfang Juli zum Eingreifen genötigt. Sie unterstützte groß angelegte Aufkaufprogramme und federte so die vorherigen massiven Kursstürze ein wenig ab. Die Unruhe auf den chinesischen Finanzmärkten kann jedoch nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass im asiatisch-pazifischen Raum das künftige Zentrum der Weltwirtschaft liegen wird. Längst ist dort der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in vollem Gange.
Rund um zwei neue Wirtschaftsverbünde zeigt sich eine fatale politische Lagerbildung, bei der sich die USA und China gegenüberstehen. Washington bleibt auf Abstand gegenüber der neuen, von China initiierten Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Gleichzeitig halten die USA Peking beim geplanten Freihandelsabkommen Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)zumindest vorläufig außen vor.
Beide Zusammenschlüsse sind weit gediehen. Der Startschuss für die AIIB fiel am 29. Juni, als Delegationen aus fünfzig Ländern eine Gründungsvereinbarung unterzeichneten, in der auch ihr jeweiliger Kapitalanteil festgelegt wurde. In sieben Staaten ist die Zustimmung des Parlaments noch nicht erreicht, aber zwanzig weitere wollen der Bank beitreten. Zum Jahresende soll sie ihre Geschäftstätigkeit aufnehmen...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**van Bergeijk Peter A.G.**
**Visible and invisible walls: World trade patterns and the end of the Cold War**
in **Acta Oeconomica**, Volume 65, Issue 2 , 231–247

This paper revisits the empirical trade literature on East-West trade in the early 1990s and provides a replication of the traditional gravity findings of that period with the Baier-Bergstrand version of the model, providing thereby better estimates of the trade hindering impact of the Cold War by including multilateral and world resistance factors and simultaneously considering country fixed effects. Breaking down the Cold War Walls increased world trade by 2.7% of world GDP. The replication with the Baier-Bergstrand model also reveals that Cold War trade distortions also significantly impacted China's trade with the West.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Maull Hanns W.**
**Von den Schwierigkeiten des Regierens in Zeiten der Globalisierung**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 31-32, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209964/von-den-schwierigkeiten-des-regierens-in-zeiten-der-globalisierung

Der apokryphen Definition eines US-amerikanischen Diplomaten zufolge bedeutet die Globalisierung, "dass alles mit allem zusammenhängt, nur noch mehr als früher". Präziser, aber weniger einprägsam formuliert, lässt sich Globalisierung definieren als grenzüberschreitende Interaktionsprozesse aller Art (von Gütern, Dienstleistungen und Geld über Ideen und Informationen bis hin zu Menschen), die sich mit immer größerer Reichweite, höherer Geschwindigkeit und zunehmenden Wirkungen ausbreiten und damit alle Bereiche des menschlichen Lebens immer stärker durchdringen und miteinander verknüpfen. Natürlich verlaufen diese Prozesse nicht gleichförmig, ihre Ausbreitung erfasst Gesellschaften in durchaus unterschiedlicher Weise und Intensität. Aber sie sind grundsätzlich unumkehrbar und gewinnen weiter an Tempo und Durchschlagskraft: Niemand kann sich den Auswirkungen der Globalisierung mehr entziehen.
Globalisierung ist demzufolge der wichtigste Megatrend unserer Zeit, und nicht erst der unsrigen: Sie bildet ein Kernphänomen der Moderne und treibt seit rund zweihundert Jahren Modernisierungsprozesse voran. Ihre ungeheure Durchschlagskraft bezieht die Globalisierung aus fortschreitendem technologischen Wandel, mit anderen Worten: aus den Erkenntnisfortschritten der Wissenschaften und deren Umsetzung in praktische Problemlösungen...

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Terhalle Maximilian**
**Warum das Governance-Axiom gescheitert ist – eine notwendige Kritik**
**in Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 62, Heft 3, 2015 , 263-288

Abstract

The so-called governance turn has been widely accepted by German IR. The concept's underlying assumptions, however, have turned out to be misleading. Why? Because questions both in regard to balance-of-power and normative aspects of managing the global order have prematurely been disregarded during the ongoing re-negotiations of the foundations of the order. Ironically, all of this has occurred despite the widely believed predominance of the governance

paradigm, which is why the era of the governance turn may now come to an end. In fact, it might already have turned into a Lakatosian obstacle to progress in research. A conceptual analysis of the governance turn powerfully confirms this. Following a brief discussion of the key contributions of distinguished scholars (e.g. Risse, Zürn), three assumptions underlying (and connecting) their research agendas on governance have been identified that need to be problematized: its social purpose, the role of great powers in it and leadership in global governance. In line with the diffusion of global power, Chinese perspectives were integrated in the analysis. The third section addressed two influential German research traditions that might further hinder any developments towards reforming existing schools of thinking in IR (e.g. regime theory, Habermasian theory of communication). The conclusion briefly hints at the notion of »global order«, which might require much more attention in the years to come. Otherwise, German IR will remain trapped in a constraining set of assumptions introduced some 20 years ago.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Mancheno Tania**
**What culture for the post-national subject? Understanding the nation through translation**
**in Social Identities**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 211-227

Abstract

The central question guiding this project asks: what are the possibilities of conceptualizing a political subject beyond the national cultural boundaries? In order to answer this question, I undertake, from the perspective of conceptual history, a historical reconstruction of the meaning of cultural translation, as a process that frames the integration of designed cultural minorities into the national, majoritarian community. This paper evaluates the possibility of political theory to oppose cultural racism, from neither a normative nor absolute point of view, but from the movement beyond cultural assimilation suggested by a redefinition of cultural translation.

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Schirm Stefan A.**
**Wie verändern die Schwellenländer die internationale Ordnung?**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 1, 2015 , 87-88

No abstract available

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***Section B) Global governance and international organizations***
*Subsection 5.The Globalization process*
**Barberis Mauro**
**«Civis europaeus sum». Una ragionevole apologia della cittadinanza**
**in Filosofia Politica**, numero 2, agosto 2015 , 317-332

The three sections of this paper trace many distinctions. The first section distinguishes three different ways of

understanding the very concept of citizenship: a social understanding, in terms of integration; a political understanding, in terms of democracy; a legal understanding, in terms of legal rights. The second section distinguishes three main reasons for the current abuse of «citizenship»: first the confusion of the three conceptions analyzed in the first section; second, the confusion between citizenship as a means and citizenship as an end; third, the necessary subrogation of the second citizenship by the first. Lastly, the third section distinguishes three possible extensions of the legal conception of citizenship: a minimal, already overcome by the evolution of law; an intermediate, which in European Union's law includes almost equality, freedom of movement and residence, and the right to work; a maximal one as cosmopolitan citizenship. The former, however, either masks other concepts, as solidarity between strangers, universal brotherhood, human dignity and so forth, or unfortunately coincides with the dissolution of the very concept of citizenship.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes*
**Gradeva Katerina, Jaimovich Dany**
**Multilateral determinants of regionalism revisited**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 2, june , 163-203

ABSTRACT: The idea that some features of the multilateral trading system create incentives for countries to join preferential trade agreements (PTAs) is among the first and most influential explanations for the wave of regionalism in the last decades. Until recently, only a few empirical studies have explored this hypothesis and their results have been accepted by many researchers and policy-makers to be a fact. In this study we revisit the question of whether multilateral events are important determinants of regionalism. We use an extended dataset and implement several empirical specifications in the analysis. Unlike previous work, our results provide little support for the relevance of variables such as the number of GATT/WTO members, ongoing trade negotiation rounds, and trade disputes as predictors of PTA formation.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes*
**241-260**
**Sustaining multilateral trade cooperation in a multipolar world economy**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 2, june , Hoekman Bernard

ABSTRACT: The deadlock in the WTO Doha Round has been accompanied by an increased focus on the negotiation of preferential trade agreements, including so-called ‘mega-regionals’. This paper discusses possible implications for—and possible responses by—excluded countries that have little prospects of participating in most of the mega-regionals. A number of complementary avenues are identified through which such countries might attenuate the potential downsides of preferential trade liberalization among large countries, as well as some proposals that would expand the scope to pursue cooperation on regulatory policies in the WTO as opposed to PTAs.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes*
**Cavallo, Alberto; Neiman, Brent; Rigobon, Roberto**

**The Price Impact of Joining a Currency Union: Evidence from Latvia**
in **IMF Economic Review** , Volume 63, Issue 2 , 281-297

Does membership in a currency union matter for a country's international relative prices? The answer to this question is critical for thinking about the implications of joining (or exiting) a common currency area. This paper is the first to use high-frequency good-level data to provide evidence that the answer is yes, at least for an important subset of consumption goods. It considers the case of Latvia, which recently dropped its pegged exchange rate and joined the euro zone. The paper analyzes the prices of thousands of differentiated goods sold by Zara, the world's largest clothing retailer. Price dispersion between Latvia and euro zone countries collapsed swiftly following entry to the euro. The percentage of goods with nearly identical prices in Latvia and Germany increased from 6 to 89 percent. The median size of price differentials declined from 7 percent to zero. If a large number of firms also behave this way, these results suggest that membership in a currency union has significant implications for a country's real exchange rate.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes*
**Dür Andreas, Baccini Leonardo, Elsig Manfred**
**The design of international trade agreements: Introducing a new dataset**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 3, september , 353-375

ABSTRACT: Preferential trade agreements (PTAs) have been proliferating for the last twenty years. A large literature has studied various aspects of this phenomenon. Until recently, however, many large-N studies have paid only scant attention to variation across PTAs in terms of content and design. Our contribution to this literature is a new dataset on the design of trade agreements that is the most comprehensive in terms of both variables coded and agreements covered. We illustrate the dataset's usefulness in re-visiting the questions if and to what extent PTAs impact trade flows. The analysis shows that on average PTAs increase trade flows, but that this effect is largely driven by deep agreements. In addition, we provide evidence that provisions that tackle behind-the-border regulation matter for trade flows. The dataset's contribution is not limited to the PTA literature, however. Broader debates on topics such as institutional design and the legalization of international relations will also benefit from the novel data.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes*
**Van der Marel Erik, Miroudot Sébastien**
**The economics and political economy of going beyond the GATS**
in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 2, june , 205-239

ABSTRACT: This paper addresses the economic and political economy factors explaining why countries agree upon services commitments in regional trade agreements (RTAs) going beyond the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), what we call the commitments gap. Using a unique dataset comprising of detailed schedules of services commitments disaggregated by sub-sectors and covering almost all countries that are members of a services RTA, we are able to quantify the extent to which geographical, systemic as well as economic and institutional factors correlate with a country's pattern of RTA commitments that go further than commitments made at the WTO. Strong explanatory variables are asymmetries between negotiating partners and market size, together with endowments in mid-skilled labor and institutional governance. Whereas some of these forces are strongly positively associated with commitments made

beyond GATS, others are significant determinants that correlate negatively with a country's commitment patterns in RTAs. We also find strong differences between services industries providing evidence that not all economic and political economy factors are of equal importance for all services. For instance, financial and construction services often diverge significantly from our general pattern of explanations.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Zajontza Tim, Leysens Anthony**

**Civil Society in Southern Africa – Transformers from Below?**

**in Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 4 , 887-904

This article assesses the potential of civil society in the region of southern Africa to act as a catalyst for transformation towards broader inclusivity and a people-centred approach to regional integration and socio-economic development. This is done through an empirical case study which focuses on four regional civil society organisations (CSOs), namely the Council of NGOs (CNGO) of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (SATUCC), the Economic Justice Network (EJN) of the Fellowship of Christian Councils in Southern Africa (FOCCISA), and the Southern African People's Solidarity Network (SAPSN). We found that the organisations are constrained by a lack of financial autonomy, and dependency on donor funding. Capacity is further hampered because the CSOs are managed by a small number of professional activists. Moreover, the organisations' representativeness and legitimacy among the regional populace is limited. There are also important ideological and strategic differences between them, and a lack of effective (strategic) co-ordination has so far inhibited the creation of a broader, transformative regional civil society alliance. Yet we could also identify an awareness of the necessity to strengthen organisational capacity, to increase popular support and to enhance collaboration, using a strategy that combines the technocratic development of an alternative regionalism and meaningfully incorporates social movements and grassroots initiatives. Furthermore, there is evidence that regional civil society plays an increasingly important role in articulating popular contestation to neoliberal modes of governance in southern Africa, as well as in linking localised, nationalised and regionalised struggles in the region. Finally, the dynamics of regional civil society investigated here show that regionalism is anything but a 'states only' domain. Civil society regionalisation constitutes a crucial feature of the southern African region. Regional civil society as a force for transformation is constrained and must overcome some serious challenges, yet it remains a possibility.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Ali Abdilahi, Imai Katsushi S.**

**Crises, Economic Integration and Growth Collapses in African Countries**

**in Journal of African Economies**, Volume 24 Issue 4 August 2015 , 471-501

The objective of this article is to explore the effects of crises and openness on a large sample of African countries. Focusing on sudden stops, currency, twin and sovereign debt crises, the article shows that crises are associated with growth collapses in Africa. In contrast, openness is found to be beneficial to growth. More specifically, consistent with standard Mundell–Fleming type models, greater openness to trade and financial flows is found to mitigate the adverse effects of crises. These findings are robust to various measures of both openness and crises as well as to endogeneity concerns.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Tarek Majzoub**
**De l'utilité de la future Cour arabe des droits de l'homme. De quelques réflexions sur son Statut**
**in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme**, No. 103 , 645-671

On September 7, 2014, the Council of the League of Arab States adopted the "Statute of the Arab Court of Human Rights". Drawing on existing regional human rights protection systems, the Statute seems however disappointing : despite the similar organization to other regional courts, the future Arab Court will have only reduced functions.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Adam Hanieh**
**Development through Unity. Assessing ESCWA's Arab Integration: A 21st Century Development Imperative**
**in Development and change**, Volume 46, Issue 4

In the aftermath of the uprisings that swept the Arab world in 2011, the potential impact of cross-border processes on the region's development pathways has perhaps never been more apparent. The apogee of the older Arab nationalist movements may have been reached in the 1960s and 1970s, but the sentiments and cultural accoutrements of a shared identity continue to resonate strongly throughout the region. At a political level, the commonality of the Arab lived experience was reflected in the striking mimesis of slogans and organizational forms over the course of the uprisings — quickly generalized throughout states from the Atlantic to the Gulf. More recently, however, the divisive rise of religious and ethnic sectarianism has become a stark feature of the region's political landscape, transgressing and reconfiguring the old borders and national demarcations established by colonial powers in the early twentieth century. The current conjuncture points to the importance of understanding the region as much more than simply an additive function of discrete nation states; approaching the region as a region is essential to any assessment of future political and social trajectories.

In this context, the publication of Arab Integration: A 21st Century Development Imperative (hereafter AI) by the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) represents one of the first serious attempts to grapple with the nature of the regional order in the post-uprising context. The report, published in early 2014, brings together some of the most respected development economists and social scientists, as well as political leaders, from across the region. Its 310-page argument attempts to recover — and go beyond — earlier Arab unity projects by setting out a lengthy case for both the desirability and imperative of Arab integration as the key institutional means for overcoming the profound social and economic issues that the region faces. The report is concerned with much more than simply closer economic integration, exploring the potential ramifications of unification on the cultural, economic and political spheres.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Tariq Majeed, Muhammad**
**Distributional Consequences of Globalization: Is Organization of the Islamic Conference Countries Different?**

in **International Trade Journal**, Volume 29, Issue 3 , 171-190

This article investigates distributional effects of globalization using new comparable panel data for Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and non-OIC developing countries from 1965 to 2010. The results show that the Kuznets Curve does not exist in OIC countries, while it holds in non-OIC countries. International trade tends to widen income inequality in OIC countries while it helps to ameliorate inequalities in non-OIC countries. Financial development decreases inequality only in OIC countries. The study concludes that OIC countries are different from non-OIC countries in their exposure to globalization.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Saville Adrian D., White Lyan**

**Ensuring that Africa keeps rising: The economic integration imperative**

in **South African Journal of International Affairs** , vol. 22, issue 1 , 1-21

ABSTRACT: Cyclical factors and the commodities boom have played a big part in Africa's impressive growth record since 2000. Yet the ‘Africa rising’ narrative is increasingly supported by significant macroeconomic reforms and structural changes that bode well for sustained levels of growth and development. A critical determinant of whether this positive growth trend continues will be the extent of Africa's economic integration with the rest of the world and within the continent. The TCIP framework – tracking the flow of trade, capital, information and people – developed by Pankaj Ghemawat demonstrates how economic openness and integration facilitate economic growth and socio-economic advancement. However, poor levels of integration, a lack of understanding and the data deficit that measure these flows have left Africa out of these empirical studies. In this article, data from traditional sources together with the TCIP framework provide insights into the state, nature and contribution of these flows in Africa. In addition, a look at proprietary data from Visa further elucidates the changes and opportunities presented by Africa's economic integration.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**J. Tyler Dickovick**

**Federalism in Africa: Origins, Operation and (In)Significance**

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 5 , 553-570

Recent years have seen major advances in the comparative study of federalism and a growing literature on decentralization in Africa, but there has been surprisingly little systematic comparison of African federalism. This article explains several commonalities in the origins and operation of Africa's three main federal states: Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa. Each country used ‘holding-together’ federalism in order to accommodate ethnic pluralism. Each country—especially Ethiopia and South Africa—also experienced several key centripetal forces: dominant governing parties, top-down state administration and high degrees of fiscal centralism. Federalism mattered in offering accommodative decentralization, but in its operation subnational governments have limited autonomy because of these interlocking centralizing features. This African variant of federalism can have certain salutary features, even as it precludes the possibility of many of the theorized advantages of federalism that are predicated on real subnational autonomy.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Tarek Majzoub and Fabienne Quillère-Majzoub**
**La future Cour arabe des droits de l'homme: des espoirs à la déconvenue**
in **Revue générale de droit international publique**, Vol. 119, no. 2 , 361-382

Several important events contributed to the evolution of the protection of human rights within the framework of the League of Arab States (LAS): the signature of the revised version of the Arab Charter on Human Rights in 2004, and its entry into force in 2008; the establishment of the Arab Committee for Human Rights in 2010. The Kingdom of Bahrain has proposed to host an Arab Court of Human Rights in November 2011; experts and/or representatives presented many projects and held several meetings. The member States of the LAS decided in September 2013 that the permanent headquarters of the future Court would be in Manama (Bahrain). On September 7, 2014, they finally adopted the "Statute of the Arab Court of Human Rights"; its implementation needs seven ratifications. In this regard, the creation of a judicial body seems to be a necessity for the protection mechanism. However, if the preliminary draft was ambitious and promising, the actual Statute is disappointing: it lacks meaningful access to justice for all persons.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Habib Kazzi**
**Les pays arabes dans le Cycle de Doha : entre ambitions et réalités**
in **Revue internationale de droit économique** , t. XXVIII, 2014/2

Depuis 2001 à Doha, l'OMC s'est engagée dans un nouveau cycle de négociations qui a pour but d'accélérer la libéralisation des politiques commerciales tout en s'assurant que les pays en développement (PED), et en particulier les moins avancés d'entre eux, obtiennent une part de la croissance du commerce mondial qui corresponde aux besoins de leur développement économique. Mais, à l'instar de nombreux PED, les pays arabes entretiennent des relations ambiguës avec le processus de négociations multilatérales, ambiguïté qui caractérise plus généralement leur position au sein de l'OMC. D'un côté, le Cycle de Doha a montré l'adhésion des pays arabes aux vertus du libre-échange et leur souci d'intégration au sein du système commercial multilatéral. D'un autre côté, l'impact des pays arabes sur le déroulement des négociations commerciales reste faible et traduit, en fin de compte, leur marginalisation au sein de l'OMC. La présente contribution tente, justement, d'analyser les enjeux considérables du Cycle de Doha pour les pays arabes et les raisons de cette ambiguïté.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Lepetit, Laetitia; Rugemintwari, Clovis; Strobel, Frank**
**Monetary, Financial and Fiscal Stability in the East African Community: Ready for a Monetary Union?**
in **World Economy**, Volume 38, Issue 8 , 1179-1204

We examine prospects for a monetary union in the East African Community (EAC) by developing a stylised model of policymakers' decision problem that allows for uncertain benefits derived from monetary, financial and fiscal stability and

then calibrating the model for the EAC for the period 2003–10. When policymakers properly allow for uncertainty, none of the countries wants to pursue a monetary union based on either monetary or financial stability grounds, and only Rwanda might favour it on fiscal stability grounds; we argue that robust institutional arrangements assuring substantial improvements in monetary, financial and fiscal stability are needed to compensate.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Nicolosi Salvatore Fabio**

**The African Union System of Refugee Protection. A Champion, not a Recipient?**

**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 11, n. 2 , 318-344

ABSTRACT: Africa has often been treated as a mere recipient of legal systems, particularly by the former colonial powers. However, an examination of the African practice of international law reveals that, in the specific area of refugee protection, Africa has been championing a legal framework capable of successfully addressing the African region's 'peculiar' refugee problem. The rise and evolution of the refugee protection system in Africa, within the African Union (which in 2001 replaced the Organisation of African Unity), dates from a time when the process of decolonisation, and the increasing number of refugees and displaced persons in Africa, laid bare the inadequacy of the international regime of refugee protection for dealing with the problem. Accordingly, the African states established a complementary system of refugee protection that has, over the years, contributed to the development of new legal instruments, an analysis of which will answer the question of whether the innovative African system of refugee protection is likely to have an influence on the development of international law in this area.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Martin Beck**

**The End of Regional Middle Eastern Exceptionalism? The Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council after the Arab Uprisings**

**in Democracy and Security**, Volume 11, Issue 2 , 190-207

Up to the Arab uprisings, Middle Eastern exceptionalism served as an important paradigm for analyzing politics in the Arab world. With the numerous upheavals of the Arab uprisings, which caused fundamental political change in significant parts of the Arab world, this paradigm has been challenged for analyzing the domestic affairs of contemporary Middle Eastern politics. The present article aims at contributing to the debate by focusing on the regional dimension of Arab Middle Eastern exceptionalism. The Arab uprisings vitalized regional institutions, particularly the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council. Two main arguments are critically discussed. First, in sharp contrast to the revolutionary period of the 1950s, the conservative Gulf monarchies, particularly Saudi Arabia, have been spearheading regional politics since the Arab uprisings. Second, in striking difference to the conservative character of the Gulf States' domestic agenda, the means that the Arab League (and the Gulf Cooperation Council) has recently used are innovative—for instance, policies of softening the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. However, despite the recent animation of regional institutions under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, it is unclear whether the recent trend of new regionalism will be sustained.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Gastorn Kennedy**
**The Inevitable Reforms of the Legislative Competencies of the East African Legislative Assembly**
**in Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee**, Heft 1, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*
**Frahm Ole**
**Zentralisierung und Föderalismus in Afrika**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209075/zentralisierung-und-foederalismus-in-afrika

Seit Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, als noch ein Großteil des afrikanischen Kontinents unter europäischer Fremdherrschaft stand, hat sich die politische Landkarte Afrikas wenig verändert: Abgesehen von einigen Ausnahmen wie Eritrea und Südsudan, decken sich die Grenzen der heute unabhängigen Staaten mit jenen ihrer kolonialen Vorgänger. Die meist kaum ein Jahrhundert währende Kolonialherrschaft hat die politische, gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Struktur der afrikanischen Staaten stark geprägt und wirkt bis heute nach – auch mit Blick auf die innerstaatlichen Entscheidungs- und Verwaltungsstrukturen...

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*
**Houle David, Lachapelle Erick, Purdon Mark**
**Comparative Politics of Sub-Federal Cap-and-Trade: Implementing the Western Climate Initiative**
**in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3, Advancing Comparative Climate Change Politics: Theory and Method, August , 49-73

Why have only two of the eleven original members of the Western Climate Initiative implemented a cap-and-trade system? This article compares the implementation of cap-and-trade in California and Quebec versus in New Mexico and British Columbia. Ideas around the reality of anthropogenic global warming and the legitimacy of cap-and-trade created favorable context in three jurisdictions, although institutions condition the expression of these ideas in the policy-making process. Since parliamentary institutions concentrate power, elite consensus is more important in Canada, while in the United States public opinion plays a more significant role. However, ideational factors shaped by political institutions do not explain differences in cap-and-trade implementation. Growth in shale gas production, welcomed in British Columbia and New Mexico but resisted by Quebec and marginal in California, further explain different outcomes. Ideas, mediated by institutions, are the necessary prerequisites for action, while material factors influence policy instrument choice.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*
**Domínguez Jorge I.**
**Los cambios en el sistema internacional a partir de 2000**
in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LV - NÚMERO 2

This article characterizes three moments of change in the structure of the international system but focuses on this century. It looks at opportunities created for Latin American states by the rise of China in world markets; the enhanced capacities of Latin American states vis-à-vis major powers and institutions as a consequence of the international commodity boom; the disruption of the international system caused by U.S. foreign policy at the start of the century and the subsequent balancing against U.S. power; the breakdown in the inter-American ideological consensus from the 1990s; and the intensified securitization of relations with the United States.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*
**Rouquié Alain**
**México y el tlcan, veinte años después**
in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LV - NÚMERO 2

This paper discusses the relations between nafta and the following transformations on economics, society, politics, and Mexican policies. This agreement was not an isolated project nor an unexpected shift, but the result of a program of structural reforms that turned the page on the Revolution's "national popular" model. The treaty continues and ensures the new liberal trend on Mexican economy. In addition, there was no incidence–but to defer it–within the transition towards democracy. Mexico's foreign defensive policies continuity after 1994 and its international influence are also examined.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*
**Gómez-Mera Laura**
**La complejidad del régimen internacional y la gobernanza regional: evidencia de Latinoamérica**
in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LV - NÚMERO 2

The proliferation of overlapping agreements and organizations, and the resulting density in international regimes, lead to increasing attention to the consequences of growing regime complexity on the politics and the effectiveness of global governance. This paper analyzes if the increasing density of economic regimes in the region worked strengthen or undermine the effectiveness of collaboration efforts. I discuss empirical evidence suggesting the presence and relevance of some of these mechanisms in the Americas. It is observed that competitive dynamics among states and regimes with divergent visions and objectives undermines regional cohesion and solidarity.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*
**Ledo Gretel**
**Parlasur Direct Elections: A Step Towards Integration**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*
**Pía Riggirozzi**
**UNASUR: construcción de una diplomacia regional en materia de salud a través de políticas sociales.**
**in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, n.181 , 29-50

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Saad Tan Sri Halim bin**
**ASEAN Focus, Southern Star: Halim Bin Saad Provides a Malaysian Perspective on New Zealand's Role in South-East Asia**
**in New Zealand International Review**, July 2015

Although New Zealand was one of the first nations, together with Australia and Japan, to embrace ASEAN as a partner when it became ASEAN's dialogue partner in 1975, economic relations between New Zealand and her ASEAN partners can best be described as lukewarm. New Zealand has yet to make a real impression on the ASEAN economic wave. New Zealand has made good progress on the diplomatic front in the past ten years, setting the stage for closer economic cooperation with ASEAN. However, New Zealand is still far behind in terms of actual economic engagement. New Zealand businesses have yet to lose their fear of going abroad into the region.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Prijadi Soesilo Wibowo Antonius**
**ASEAN Treaty on MLA and Applicability of CRC Convention in Indonesia and Malaysia**
**in Indian Journal of International Law**, Vol. 53, no. 3

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Seng Lim Jock**
**ASEAN-New Zealand Political and Security Relations: Lim Jock Seng Provides a Brunei Darussalam Perspective**
**in New Zealand International Review**, July 2015

Brunei Darussalam's relationship with New Zealand is very close, both bilaterally and through the ASEAN process. Within ASEAN, it began in July 1985 when Brunei Darussalam, shortly after joining the association, became a country co-ordinator for ASEAN-New Zealand dialogue relations, a three-year role. Politically, the two countries' leaders, ministers and senior officials have established warm friendship and good contacts. Economically, New Zealand is one of Brunei Darussalam important trading partners. On the multilateral level Brunei Darussalam values New Zealand's interest and participation in ASEAN affairs, which have been substantial in the last 40 years and are still very strong.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Shein Nyunt Maung**
**ASEAN-New Zealand's Four-Decade Long Relationship: Nyunt Maung Shein Notes New Zealand's Improved Relations with Myanmar and Proposals to Upgrade Its Ties with ASEAN to a Strategic Partnership**
**in New Zealand International Review**, July 2015

New Zealand has had a long and fruitful relationship with ASEAN. Its ties with Myanmar were limited until recently, for it consistently supported UN-mandated sanctions against Myanmar and hesitated to engage. But relations have warmed more recently, reflected in a series of high-level visits to both countries. This development stands alongside New Zealand's efforts to achieve closer ties with ASEAN. Earlier this year it proposed upgrading the existing comprehensive partnership into a strategic partnership. This idea was discussed at the 22nd ASEAN-New Zealand dialogue in Auckland and efforts are now in train to create a plan of action to achieve this goal.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**SEE SENG TAN**
**Asian Multilateralism in the Age of Japan's ‘New Normal’: Perils and Prospects**
**in Japanese Journal of Political Science**, Volume 16 - Issue 03 , 296-314

This paper makes three related points. First, Japan has played an instrumental role in helping to define the shape and substance of multilateralism in Asia in ways deeper than scholarly literature on Asia's regional architecture has allowed. A key driving force behind Japan's contributions is the perceived utility of multilateralism in facilitating Japan's engagement of and/or balancing against China. Second, Japan has been able to achieve this because of the United States' support for Asian multilateralism and Japanese security interests. In the immediate post-Cold War period, Japan facilitated US participation in regional arrangements such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and the ASEAN Regional Forum. But Japanese ambivalence over its dependence on the United States was also apparent in Tokyo's attempts to exclude Washington from the newly formed East Asia Summit in late 2005, despite Japan's felt need to balance China. Japan's reliance on quiet diplomacy and an implicit regional leadership has equally been instrumental to

its achievements in regional integration. Third, in the light of Japan's longstanding aim to become a normal military power and adopt a more assertive policy toward China, Japan‒US security ties are likely to deepen with negative consequences for Asian multilateralism. However, if its ties with China and South Korea worsen over their islands disputes in the East China Sea, Japan risks undermining its relations with the United States. How Japan balances its normalization with a continued engagement with multilateralism could be key to a stable and secure Asia.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Pempel T.J.**
**Back to the Future? Japan's Search for a Meaningful New Role in the Emerging Regional Order**
**in Asian Perspective**, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 361-380

“Is Japan back?” Economically, the evidence is mixed at best due largely to slowness in carrying out vital structural reforms. In electoral terms, the Liberal Democratic Party has regained much of its prior dominance under Abe Shinzo. Most problematic of all, Japan is not back at all in regaining a commanding position within East Asia, in part due to its slow economic transformation, but due also to the atavistic positions taken by Abe's government on the historical interpretations of Japanese behavior in World War II.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Stuart McMillan**
**Facing East Asia's Complexities with out a Grand Vision: Stuart McMillan Discusses How East Asia's Great Powers Relate to One Another**
**in New Zealand International Review**, May 2015

Recent economic, security and strategic moves by China, Russia and Japan, great powers in North-east Asia, are part of a long process of positioning themselves with or against one another in efforts to further their own hopes and ambitions in the region. The pace of the adjustments has picked up, and cannot fail to influence the US-China relationship, which will be the ultimate factor determining whether we have peace in East Asia and the Pacific. The sobering conclusion of an assessment of the relationships among the great powers of Asia and of the United States itself is that none of them has a grand vision of how they could all exist in peace.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Pisanò Attilio**
**Human Rights and Sovereignty in the ASEAN Path Towards a Human Rights Declaration**
**in Human Rights Review**, vol. 15, number 4 , 391-411

ABSTRACT: Sovereignty and non-interference principles are trademarks of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional approach. Starting from 1993, ASEAN has been developing a process aimed at creating a human rights system. This process reached its acme in August 2013 when the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD) was

formally launched. In the frame of the tension between sovereignty and human rights, the paper firstly analyzes the roots of the ASEAN path towards the creation of the regional human rights system grounded on the Vienna World Conference debate. Next comes an analysis of the political commitments assumed by ASEAN in the last 20 years in the process of creating a human rights body in the region. Furthermore, the paper presents an in-depth analysis of the most problematic issues connected with the nature, functions, mandate, and purposes of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Human Rights Commission (2009). This is followed by an analysis of the AHRD.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Baselli Vanessa**
**Il ruolo della Cina nell'ASEAN**
in **Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici** , XXXVIII (2-2015), "La muraglia che non crolla"

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Joshi Yogesh, Pant Harsh V.**
**Indo-Japanese Strategic Partnership and Power Transition in Asia**
in **India Review**, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 312-329

As the U.S.-led security order in Asia gradually comes under stress, regional powers such as India and Japan are formulating a strategic partnership to hedge against the vulnerabilities accruing out of the unfolding power transition in Asia. China's unprecedented economic and military rise coupled with America's perceived relative decline is drawing New Delhi and Tokyo into a strategic embrace. To insure their interests in this era of great power transition, New Delhi and Tokyo are keen to hedge against America's possible failure in containing China's growing assertiveness in Asia. This hedging strategy is evident in their growing strategic partnership which consists of a triple hedge: increasing bilateral defense partnership against fears of American retrenchment; economic engagement against an over-dependence on China; and a multilateral hedge against China's growing influence in international and regional institutions. However, for Asia's two prominent middle powers, transforming these nascent attempts into an effective strategic response to Asia's current power transition would also require cooperation in the nuclear domain, an area where their policies continue to diverge.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Abdulrahim Rahimah, Almuttaqi A. Ibrahim, Polhaupesy Steven Yohanes**
**Indonesia-New Zealand Relations: Platform for a Stronger ASEAN: Rahimah Abdulrahim, Ibrahim Almuttaqi and Steven Yohanes Polhaupesy Assess the Prospects for Closer Ties between New Zealand and ASEAN's Largest Member**
in **New Zealand International Review**, July 2015

New Zealand's relationship with Indonesia has its roots in the latter's independence struggle. New Zealand was one of

the first countries to recognise the new republic on its proclamation in 1949. But the establishment of diplomatic ties was long delayed, New Zealand not upgrading its representation in Jakarta until 1968. But the relationship remained relatively shallow, not helped by New Zealand's active participation in operations in opposition to Indonesia's Konfrontasi with Malaysia in the 1960s and later differences over East Timor issues. Today there are good and growing trade relations, while co-operation in other fields, especially tourism and education, is increasing.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Pasha L. Hsieh**
**Liberalizing Trade in Legal Services under Asia-Pacific FTAs: The ASEAN Case**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 153-185

The article examines the liberalization of trade in legal services in the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its reform prospects to meet the challenges of multi-jurisdictional practice. It argues that while the ten-country bloc pledges to progressively liberalize the legal sector, ASEAN commitments under free trade agreements (FTAs) constitute merely ‘paper commitments’. To achieve the goal of the ASEAN Economic Community to form a single market and production base, a feasible, incremental roadmap is imperative to integrate the legal services market. The article first analyzes the economic impact of foreign law firms on ASEAN’s legal capacity building and the evolution of emerging ASEAN law. By assessing legal services negotiations under the World Trade Organization, the European Union, and Asia-Pacific FTAs, the article identifies issues of complexity in international arenas. The Singapore experiment further explores the effectiveness of FTAs with Australia and the USA and self-initiated FTA-plus measures such as Joint Law Ventures and Qualifying Foreign Law Practices. These case studies, along with law firms’ operations vis-à-vis regulatory changes, demonstrate the best practices. Finally, the article provides reform proposals that will accelerate the integration of ASEAN’s legal services market and enhance its competitiveness under the multilateral trading system.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Ragnolini Davide**
**L’Organizzazione di Shanghai: strumento per un “mondo armonioso”**
in **Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici** , XXXVIII (2-2015), “La muraglia che non crolla”

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Thanh Vo Tri**
**Managing Domestic Consensus for ASEAN Community Building in Vietnam**
in **ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 32, Number 2, August 2015 , pp. 275-288

Ever since the policy of economic renovation (Doi Moi) was initiated in 1986, comprehensive domestic reforms and proactive economic integration have been major pillars of Vietnam’s economy. Deepening cooperation and integration

through the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) framework lies at the centre of Vietnam's trade and investment liberalization agenda. Any domestic reforms undertaken in the lead up to the announcement of the AEC by the end of 2015 should engage the ongoing economic restructuring process as well as the country's growth paradigm. Reforms will also entail narrowing the development gap between Vietnam and more advanced ASEAN economies. The Vietnamese government has to weigh adjustment costs from reforms and greater liberalization as well as ensure that benefits are distributed among a diverse set of stakeholders in the domestic economy. Past experiences have shown that stakeholders can be sensitive to adjustment costs and accompanying uncertainties. This paper focuses on three key issues related to managing consensus during the community-building process: (i) increasing consultation with stakeholders during reforms; (ii) building community awareness of potential changes; and (iii) mitigating adverse impacts of reforms.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Watson ain**

**Middle powers and climate change: the role of KIA**

**in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 15 Issue 3 September 2015 , 505-536

The paper assesses the role and impact of the middle-power alliance of South Korea–Indonesia–Australia (KIA) in the region. KIA is a middle power and informal grouping. Its three constituents play a key role in the South Korean-based Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI). The paper identifies and discusses how KIA states, within the GGGI, and as a result of their intentions and middle-power strategies, represent a shift away from previous asset or attribute-based middle-power leverage. Instead, a strategic emphasis on issue-specific network positioning is emerging. These strategic and behavioral developments are impacting upon and reflect certain challenges to traditional understandings and expectations of middle-power activity and alliance building in the Asia-Pacific region, and, in the context of their specific responses to climate change impact and governance in the region.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Sermcheep Sineenat, Chirathivat Suthiphand**

**Moving the AEC Beyond 2015: Managing Domestic Economic Interests in Thailand**

**in ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 32, Number 2, August 2015 , pp. 260-274

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is Thailand's current priority and the AEC Blueprint is being progressively implemented in the country. However, different domestic economic interests have contributed to the slow pace of implementation. Three case studies — the agricultural sector, the logistics industry, and the mobility of medical professionals — are used to illustrate this. To move the AEC beyond 2015 and to enhance consensus-building during the community-building process, this paper puts forth the following policy recommendations: (i) the Thai government should enhance awareness of the community-building process and convey more details about the AEC to stakeholders and the general public; (ii) closer consultation and more integrated relationships between the government and stakeholders should be fostered; (iii) the government should formulate policies to improve the competitiveness of the affected stakeholders and industries to reduce the adverse impact from the AEC.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Andrew D. Mitchell, Tania Voon and Devon Whittle**
**Public Health and the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement**
in **Asian Journal of International Law**, Volume 5, issue 2 , 279-309

The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) has an ambitious agenda and could radically reshape trade in the Asia-Pacific. At the same time, TPP obligations have the potential to significantly restrict the ability of governments to regulate in the interests of public health. This paper examines the impact the TPP could have on two areas of public health regulation—tobacco control and access to medicines. It concludes that a number of legitimate concerns arise from the known content of the TPP, that the inclusion of a general health exception would be the preferable means of safeguarding the regulatory space of governments in relation to public health, and that the United States' proposals for stronger intellectual property protections be resisted. With negotiations shrouded in secrecy, TPP parties' desires to promote international trade and investment must not overshadow the need of governments to be able to implement sensible and effective public health policy.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Jetschke Anja, Acharya Amitav, De Lombaerde Philippe, Katsumata Hiro, Pempel T.J.**
**Studying Asian and comparative regionalism through Amitav Acharya's work**
in **International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 15 Issue 3 September 2015 , 537-566

The field of regionalism has been flourishing for some time. Amitav Acharya has been a persistent and powerful voice in the field, and he has contributed to and actively shaped paradigmatic debates within it. His theoretically sophisticated and contextually grounded approach to Southeast Asia's regional order and beyond has inspired countless scholars and better informed generations of students. A group of scholars, therefore, decided to discuss Acharya's contribution to the field of Asian and comparative regionalism more systematically with a view of the balance between disciplinary and area studies, ideas and institutions and non-Western international relations theorizing.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Gurudas Das, Ujjwal K. Paul, Tanuj Mathur**
**Sub-regional Cooperation for the Development of Landlocked Peripheral Areas The Case of BCIM**
in **South Asian Survey** , 20 (1)

Development of peripheries has always been a major challenge for large states. One of the drivers of the underdevelopment of the peripheries has been the traditional state-centric security perception. As a result, state-led development suffers from a built-in bias against the peripheries. Market signals emanating from the operation of the national economy are not strong enough to bring the resources of the peripheries into immediate use. This is the theoretical rationale to look beyond the framework of the national economy and the state-centric mindset while formulating the development strategy for border areas. Sub-regional cooperation like Bangladesh–China–India–Myanmar Forum for Regional Cooperation (BCIM) has the potential to promote growth in southwest China, Bangladesh, Myanmar and northeast India by way of utilising the complementarities of these regions.

The mobilisation of cross-border synergies is destined to make the BCIM one of the economically vibrant zones that may develop the cross-border connectivity among the land-linked areas.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Beņkovskis Konstantīns, Wörz Julia**
**Summary Measure for Price and Non-price Competitiveness for ASEAN+3**
**in Asian Economic Journal**, Volume 29, Issue 2, June 2015 , 165–180

In this paper we apply a comprehensive measure that allows us to distinguish price and non-price aspects of competitiveness. Our measure is computationally demanding but has the advantage of building on a single data source of highly disaggregated trade data. We extend the methodology pioneered by Feenstra (1994), and Broda and Weinstein (2006), and construct an export price index that adjusts for changes in the set of competitors (variety) and changes in non-price factors (quality in a broad sense) for six ASEAN members (the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam) plus China, Japan and Korea. Based on trade data from UN COMTRADE at the Harmonized System six-digit level over the period 2000−2011, we find notable differences between price and non-price competitiveness across markets. China and Vietnam show huge gains in international competitiveness due to non-price factors, while we observe some deterioration in the non-price competitiveness of Japan and Singapore. However, these relative developments do not reflect the existing differences in the absolute levels of the quality of exported goods by those countries.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Siow Yue Chia, Das Sanchita Basu**
**The AEC Beyond 2015: Implementation and Challenges for Singapore**
**in ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 32, Number 2, August 2015 , pp. 239-259

This paper discusses Singapore’s progress in implementing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and tries to explore whether the city-state has encountered any domestic conflict whilst doing so. It concludes that being a highly trade- and FDI-dependent economy, it is in Singapore’s national interest to be a part of the AEC. It is one of the leading ASEAN countries to implement the AEC initiatives. When examining domestic conflicts, Singapore presents a unique case as the city-state has long been exposed to the competitive forces of globalization, well before the development of the AEC. The country adopts non-protectionist measures to manage competitive pressures from the global economy. Almost full employment and a low incidence of poverty also minimize the negative impacts of liberalization. Case studies of the electronics and aviation sectors highlight how these two sectors are adjusting to liberalization and competition from the global economy, including the AEC. With respect to the electronics sector, which is an integral part of regional production networks, Singapore is continually progressing up the value chain. In the case of the aviation sector, the city-state continues to meet global and regional challenges through cooperative arrangements with the aviation industries of other countries and by upgrading and expanding its air services.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Siew Yean Tham**

**The AEC and Domestic Challenges in Malaysia: Examining the Liberalization of Services in AFAS**

**in ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 32, Number 2, August 2015 , 202-219

As the end of 2015 draws nearer, the prospect of meeting all the goals of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint appears dimmer by the day. The literature identifies two prominent gaps in ASEAN's journey towards an economic community as defined by its own vision. First, the extensive literature on the AEC, and this includes the scorecard designed to monitor the implementation of its goals, suggests that there appears to be a gap between commitments and the achievements of the AEC Blueprint targets. Second, attaining a "free flow of services" as stated in the AEC goals, is also hampered by a gap between commitments in liberalization and actual practice. The objectives of this paper are twofold. First, it seeks to review the gap between commitments and practice in Malaysia. Second, it aims to examine domestic conflicts that may constrain Malaysia's services liberalization efforts in ASEAN. A key question considered in the analysis is the source or sources of these conflicts. Is the conflict confined to the private sector or is the government conflicted from within in terms of services liberalization? In other words, are there certain policies that may negate or off-set liberalization efforts? The key finding in this paper shows conflicting objectives in government policies to be the main reason for the slow pace of liberalization thus far.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Yean Tham Siew, Das Sanchita Basu**

**The ASEAN Economic Community and Conflicting Domestic Interests: An Overview**

**in ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 32, Number 2, August 2015 , 189-201

The ten Southeast Asian economies will announce the formation of an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) on 31 December 2015. The AEC aspires to deliver an integrated market and production base with the free movement of goods, services, capital and skilled labour. However, member economies are still a long way from achieving an integrated production space as they have not yet fulfilled all the stipulated targets set in the 2007 AEC Blueprint. A possible explanation for the current state of economic integration is the presence of conflicting domestic economic interests in member countries. This paper reviews the literature on this issue and synthesizes main observations from selected country studies examining the nature of these conflicting interests. It concludes by providing key policy recommendations for fostering domestic consensus in the respective countries studied in this special issue so that they may support the implementation of their respective commitments as well as deeper ASEAN economic integration beyond 2015.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Desker Barry, Shan Sarah Teo Li, Hui Dylan Loh Ming**

**The ASEAN Regional Forum and Its Continued Relevance: Barry Desker, Sarah Teo Li Shan and Dylan Loh Ming Hui Discuss the Performance and Prospects of an Important ASEAN Process**

**in New Zealand International Review**, July 2015

The ASEAN Regional Forum plays an important role in helping create a more predictable and stable pattern of relationships between major powers and South-east Asia. Established in 1994, and now boasting a membership of 27

states, it has the objective of facilitating open dialogue and constructive discussions on political and security issues that were of concern to all member states, as well as a contribution to confidence-building and preventive diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region. But to continue to be relevant the ARF needs to transform itself into a problem-solving institution. It should initiate concrete and practical activities and programmes to strengthen regional co-operative security.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Andrew F. Cooper and Asif B. Farooq**

**The Advocacy of Democratic Governance by India and China: Patterns of Consistency/Inconsistency between Declaratory and Operational Practices**

**in India Quarterly**, Volume 71, no. 3 , 221-238

This article examines the patterns of consistency and inconsistency between how India and China advocate democratisation at the global and national levels. Addressing this question through a dualistic framework, we develop a detailed map of the rhetorical promotion of democratic governance by India and China through an analysis of 10 years of foreign affairs speeches, remarks, interviews and statements of political elites of both countries. The article argues that although China has not shied away from declarations on democracy domestically as well as on global governance, the contradictions between the clear and consistent push for democracy and equity at the global level and the highly contingent commitment to democracy at the national level remain highly salient. India's deficiencies, by way of contrast, come not in the domain of legitimacy but effectiveness. India's struggle to translate its domestic democratic credibility into more equitable representation at the global institutional level and into a stellar economic model at the domestic level exposes it to criticism in relationship to China. Yet, even with these gaps, the article concludes that India has some comparative advantages over China precisely because it can play a consistent two-level game in terms of the promotion of democracy both at global and state levels.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Pietri Diana M., Stevenson Todd C., Christie Patrick**

**The Coral Triangle Initiative and regional exchanges: Strengthening capacity through a regional learning network**

**in Global Environmental Change**, Volume 33, July , 165-176

Natural resource management and conservation programs that promote building capacity and social learning among participants often lead to the formation of learning networks: a type of social network where learning is both a goal and potential outcome of the network. Through forming relationships and sharing information, participants in a learning network build social capital that can help a network achieve social and environmental goals. In this study, we explored social capital in a learning network that emerged through a large-scale marine governance effort, the Coral Triangle Initiative on Coral Reefs, Fisheries, and Food Security. Through a mixture of social network analysis and key informant interviews, we examined the major patterns of information exchange among individuals who had participated in regional learning exchanges; evaluated whether the network's structure resulted in information sharing; and considered implications for strengthening network sustainability, capacity building, and learning. We found that the Regional Exchange network fostered information sharing among participants across national and organizational boundaries. While the network had individuals who were more central to information sharing, the network structure was generally

decentralized, indicating potential resilience to changes in leadership and membership. Participants stressed the importance of the knowledge and connections they had acquired through the learning network; however, they expressed doubts regarding its sustainability and stressed the need for a strong coordinating entity. Our findings suggest that conservation learning networks have the ability to bridge cultural divides and promote social learning; however, a strong network coordinator and continuing efforts to support information sharing and learning are crucial to the network's strength and sustainability. The tangible learning and capacity development outcomes cultivated through Regional Exchange network underscore the value of and need to invest in conservation networks that support peer-to-peer learning.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Nurhidayah Laely, Alam Shawkat, Lipman Zada**

**The Influence of International Law upon ASEAN Approaches in Addressing Transboundary Haze Pollution in Southeast Asia**

**in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, Volume 37, Number 2, August 2015 , 183-210

Transboundary haze pollution from land and forest fires is an annual environmental disaster in Southeast Asia that cannot be resolved without applying both domestic and international legal systems. This article will examine the extent to which international law has influenced ASEAN approaches in addressing transboundary haze pollution. It does so by examining two international legal frameworks. The first is customary international law, namely the state responsibility for transboundary environmental harm principle, and the second is Multilateral Environment Agreements (MEAs) in atmosphere and biodiversity. It discusses how international law frameworks can contribute to solving regional environmental problems, and how fully applying the principles of international law and improving cooperation in ASEAN can strengthen the regional legal framework. Ultimately, the best solution to land/forest fires is to improve collaboration at the local level through capacity-building and customary practices. ASEAN approaches to transboundary haze pollution do not currently address the problem effectively.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Thanh Nguyen Duc**

**The New Zealand-ASEAN Trade Partnership: 40 Years of Development and Prospects: Nguyen Duc Thanh Outlines the Process by Which New Zealand and Vietnam Changed from Neigbours to Strategic Partners**

**in New Zealand International Review**, July 2015

With two-thirds of New Zealand's trade and investment now occurring in the Asia-Pacific region, New Zealand can be expected to look for increasing opportunities in the ASEAN area in future. Its longstanding relationship with ASEAN, dating back to 1975, will stand it in good stead. The ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement, which came into force in 2010, gives New Zealand exporters many possible advantages, especially as tariffs are progressively eliminated to priority markets. One of those markets is Vietnam, with which New Zealand's trade has increased four-fold in the last five years. A collaborative approach will bring many benefits.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Austria Myrna S.**
**The Philippines and the AEC Beyond 2015: Managing Domestic Challenges**
**in ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 32, Number 2, August 2015 , 220-238

As the deadline for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) approaches, the Philippines has yet to complete the implementation of its commitments in the AEC Blueprint. While it is true that the government has implemented most of them, these policy reforms have yet to make an impact on the economy. This paper examines the country's performance in terms of its commitments in the AEC by identifying the gaps between those commitments and actual implementation. It also examines the domestic economic conflicts that have hampered Philippine policy reform efforts, focusing on the automobile industry. The conflicts may be due to a lack of common economic interests among firms in the industry as well as because of the lack of coherence of domestic policies that have limited, if not negated, progress towards economic integration. Domestic conflicts have created an industry that has failed to develop as a major exporter as well as a source of employment and income for the country.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Helen Quane**
**The Significance of an Evolving Relationship: ASEAN States and the Global Human Rights Mechanisms**
**in Human Rights Law Review**, Vol. 15, no. 2 , 283-311

This article analyses the changing nature and level of engagement between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) States and the global human rights mechanisms especially the Universal Periodic Review mechanism. The relationship is significant for several reasons. It provides valuable insights into how these States approach the interpretation and application of human rights as well as the extent to which they are willing to open up to external scrutiny of their domestic human rights record. It calls into question claims that there is a collective approach to human rights within ASEAN, specifically one that embodies Asian Values or Asia's Different Standard on human rights. As this study shows, the approach of ASEAN States is far more complex, heterogeneous and dynamic than such claims would suggest. Above all, by analysing the relationship between ASEAN States and the global human rights mechanisms, it is possible to place recent human rights developments in ASEAN within their broader normative and institutional context.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Tongzon Jose L., Lee Sang-Yoon**
**The challenges of economic integration: the case of shipping in ASEAN countries**
**in Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 28, Issue 4, 2015 , 483-504

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has agreed to establish an ASEAN single-shipping market (ASSM) by 2015. This paper aims to assess the impediments in achieving this vision and how they can affect the pace of integration. These impediments include the differences in their national shipping capacity, national shipping policies and regulations, and in their quality of shipping-related infrastructure and institutions. Due to these differences, the economic implications are likely to vary and raise important conceptual and implementation issues. The ASEAN

experience could contribute to the understanding of shipping market integration and provide some lessons for other countries.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Nadalutti Elisabetta**
**The rise of trans-border regions in Southeast Asia: behind the dynamics of informal and formal integration processes in the 'Indonesia–Malaysia–Singapore' growth triangle**
**in Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 28, Issue 4, 2015 , 607-630

This article aims to generate new thinking through application of the concept of trans-border governance to Southeast-Asia within the framework of new regionalism theory in order to fill some gaps in trans-border governance theory. In doing so, it will first elucidate in more detail what actors are involved in trans-border cooperation activities, how their responsibilities, jurisdictions and relative powers can be or have been altered by the interaction and whether trans-border cooperation can be used as a tool for further 'integration' or conversely whether it can enhance, as a counter effect, 'disintegration'. In examining the (economic and political) power relations developed within and between different levels of governments and relevant economic and political stakeholders in 'growth triangles', the author aims to clarify the impact of these elements on trans-border governance.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Sohn Yul**
**The "Abe Effect" in Northeast Asia: The Interplay of Security, Economy, and Identity**
**in Asian Perspective**, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 357-360

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*
**Michael Wesley**
**Trade agreements and strategic rivalry in Asia**
**in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 69, Issue 5 , 479-495

The Asia Pacific is currently beset by two contradictory trends: growing economic interdependence and deepening strategic rivalry. Amidst these trends, new sets of regional trade agreements are being negotiated, primarily the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). This article argues that these proposals represent a third phase of competitive regionalism in the Asia Pacific, which will be more complex than the previous two rounds. This complexity is driven by two factors: this time, rivalry is not over scope or leadership but regional order; and this time there is a greater number of leading players in the rivalry.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Jeffrey McGee, Liam Phelan and Joseph Wenta**

**Writing the Fine Print: Developing Regional Insurance for Climate Change Adaptation in the Pacific**

in **Melbourne Journal of International Law**, Volume 15, issue 2 , 444-472

Proposals to form an insurance mechanism to support Small Island Developing States' adaptation to climate change were first raised in 1991. At that time, the Alliance of Small Island States proposed an international, state-based insurance framework to assist adaptation to sea level rise. After two decades, an effective agreement and institutional structure on climate change insurance is yet to be realised. However, in the last two years, insurance has resurfaced in negotiations within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change process. The 2013 United Nations climate conference meeting in Warsaw created a loss and damage mechanism and reinvigorated interest in risk transfer mechanisms to assist developing countries in adapting to climate change. This article argues that an existing regional international disaster risk-pooling facility, the Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility, offers an instructive model for a regional risk transfer mechanism to further adaptation to climate change-related extreme weather events in the Pacific. The article concludes that there is a good case, on pragmatic grounds and also under existing burden sharing principles in global climate governance, for leading developed states to take a leadership role in developing regional risk-pooling initiatives in the Pacific.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Augusto Cerri**

**La crisi economica e le prospettive europee**

in **Nomos**, 2/2014

La crisi prima finanziaria e poi anche economica venuta dall'America ha, però, turbato l'equilibrio e l'armonia del progetto di rientro o di contenimento del disavanzo pubblico, perché ha turbato uno dei presupposti di tale programma: un adeguato sviluppo economico.
In questo quadro si trova a navigare l'Europa senza una guida sicura, perché diverse ricette di politica economica si fronteggiano e nessuna riesce a prevalere decisamente, perché ancora non si configura una vera responsabilità politica di un qualche governante nei
confronti di tutti i governati (intendo dire nei confronti di tutti i cittadini europei, insieme
considerati, e non solo nei confronti dei cittadini di un certo Stato).

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Vlad Constantinesco**

**Los partidos políticos y sus fundaciones en el ámbito europeo: análisis a la luz del Reglamento (UE, EURATOM) nº 1141/2014 del Parlamento Europeo y del Consejo de 22 de octubre de 2014 sobre el estatuto y la financiación de los partidos políticos europeos y las fundaciones políticas europeas**

in **Teoria y realidad constitucional**, No. 35 , 341-354

The European Parliament and the Council had already adopted, in 2003, a regulation on the foundations and political parties at European scale, as was requested by art. 191T EC. The new regulation aims to fill the gaps of the former text,

establishing a High Authority able to keep a record and verify the registration of European foundations and political parties, making them eligible to a financing listed in the general budget of the European Union. The new text, in much detail, should allow better transparency regarding the use of the financial contributions from the European Union. But, at the end of the day, are this new status and this financing sufficient to give life to these European foundations and political parties so as to increase the European citizens' awareness and wish to express their will, that is to ensure political representation at the level of the European Union, this new political area?

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Louis Jean Victor**
**Vers une réforme de l'Union?**
**in Cahiers de Droit Européen**, Vol. 51, N. 1 , 9-18

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Caravita Beniamino**
**'Parlamentarizzare', semplificare, razionalizzare i percorsi decisionali europei**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII- Nr 14 -

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kirshner Jodie A.**
**A Call for the EU to Assume Jurisdiction over Extraterritorial Corporate Human Rights Abuses**
**in Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights**, vol. 13, issue 1

ABSTRACT: This article calls on the EU to fill the governance gap developing as the United States
retreats from holding companies responsible for extraterritorial human rights abuses.
Doing so would facilitate the location of a new European identity in human rights leadership. The leadership would provide a compelling justification for European
integration, one that the public could more easily understand and support. In the current economic climate, this is more necessary than ever.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cipolletta Innocenzo**
**A Growth Model for Europe in the World **
**in Economia internazionale**, 2015, Volume 68, Issue 1 , 47-55

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Padoan Pier Carlo**
**A Long-term Economic Plan for Europe and the World**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Adrienne Héritier and Aseem Prakash**
**A Resource-based View of the EU's Regional and International Leadership**
**in Global Policy**, Volume 6, Issue 3 , 247–255

How does one explain the variation in the EU's success in enacting and enforcing policies that lead to the supply of regional or global public goods? We examine how the EU deploys its positional resources to enact laws that compel governments or firms to contribute to the provision of public goods. We suggest that leaders such as the EU are able to compel public goods contributions if they have the legal authority to do so, and are able to deploy their positional resources to build effective coalitions or reduce the leverage of potential veto players. We look at two issue areas empirically: banking and the environment. In the banking cases, the EU sought to provide regional public goods; in the environmental cases, it sought to provide regional and global public goods. We examine instances of leadership success as well as failure. In the banking cases, we examine Outright Monetary Transactions (success) and banking single resolution mechanism (less successful); the environmental cases pertain to chemical regulation (success) and airline emissions (failure). These cases reveal the EU's skill and limitations in deploying its positional authority to induce contributions for public goods provision from EU member governments, EU firms and nonEU firms.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mosconi Antonio**
**A United World for a United Europe**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

In 1968, the US dollar convertibility to gold was limited to central banks alone, and was soon permanently archived by Nixon in 1971 together with the “Bretton Woods system” on which the former had been established. In the same year, 1968, the European Common Market fully entered into force, much earlier than the expected duration for its transitory phase. The first contradiction in the path toward European integration unfolded. The market, which had come into being thanks to a “good currency”, founded on the common reference to the US dollar, found itself oscillating through fluctuant exchange-rates and competitive devaluations, putting its survival at risk. European responses demonstrated a well-timed and farsighted understanding of the problem, but were too fragile to tackle the immediate speculation. The Barre Plan of 1969 opened the way for policy convergence among European economies and those countries in difficulty

that were implementing support mechanisms to restore stability in terms of their balance of payments. The Werner Report of 1970 formulated a road map aiming to achieve a European currency union in three phases. In 1971 the so called “snake in the tunnel” was created; an attempt that revealed, as predicted by federalists, its truer “eel-like” nature.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Merritt Giles**
**A more humane EU would boost its popularity**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

The EU is struggling to regain its lost popularity. There’s a sense of foreboding in Brussels that the radical and generally eurosceptic parties like Spain’s Podemos, Germany’s AfD, the Front National in France and even Britain’s UKIP and Greece’s Syriza are not the fleeting flash-in-the-pan phenomena they were first thought to be.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Narine Ghazaryan**
**A new generation of human rights clauses? The case of association agreements in the Eastern neighbourhood**
**in European Law Review**, Vol. 40, issue 3 , 391-410

Human rights clauses are found in most international agreements of the EU. The Association Agreements concluded between the EU and Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia in 2014 are not an exception in this respect. The standard human rights clauses incorporated in all three agreements contain certain variations, nevertheless. This article argues that these variations can be explained with reference to the legal and political context within which the relevant agreements have been concluded. In addition, it argues that a much wider role should be ascribed to these provisions than merely their negative function related to treaty suspension.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Nölke Andreas**
**Abschied vom Euro? Europas Linke nach der Griechenlandkrise**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2015 , 68-76

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/september/abschied-vom-euro

Im linken und linksliberalen Spektrum der Bundesrepublik herrscht großer Unmut über das dritte Griechenland-Programm der Eurogruppe vom Juli 2015. Während es in der SPD zumindest brodelt, artikulieren viele Grüne offen ihre Empörung, selbst wenn ihre Bundestagsfraktion das Abkommen unterstützt hat. Gregor Gysi brachte in seiner Bundestagsrede vom 17. Juli die zentralen Kritikpunkte nicht nur der Linkspartei auf den Punkt: Das Brüsseler

Abkommen sei „unsozial, undemokratisch und antieuropäisch“. Aus ökonomischer Sicht ließe sich hinzufügen, dass es zudem noch „unwirksam“ ist...

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Niggol Seo S.**
**Adaptation to Global Warming as an Optimal Transition Process to A Greenhouse World**
**in Economic Affairs**, Volume 35, Issue 2, June 2015 , 272–284

This article develops the economics of adaptation to global warming as an optimal transition process to future climates. Three policy approaches that encompass the existing theories and policy options are initially outlined: measures based on individuals' social responsibility, government regulations, and carbon pricing. Evidence suggests that each of these options has little chance of being agreed upon and implemented at a global level. The economics of adaptation begins with climate signals which force individuals to adapt. Private adaptations are simultaneously tapped into for carbon dioxide removal and abatement. With increasingly severe damage over time, public sectors will be compelled to work in partnership with individuals and communities. Responding to amplifying climate signals, adaptation strategies evolve in such a way as to accelerate carbon dioxide reductions through low-carbon energy sources and technological solutions. Adaptations in a centuries-long timescale would effectively fend off dangerous global warming, but in a manner that is unbearably slow for the world's communities. The optimality of the transition process is based on micro efficiency, coordination, and the public goods nature and unique characteristics of specific adaptation strategies.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Ellen Schneider, Berthold Rittbergerb, Arndt Wonka**
**Adapting to Europe? Regional MPs' Involvement in EU Affairs in Germany**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 407-427

The Lisbon Treaty has led to an expansion of the rights of parliaments in scrutinizing EU decision making, including—for the first time—also regional parliaments. Yet, theoretically informed empirical work on how regional legislatures adapt to the increasing relevance of the EU for subnational jurisdictions remains scarce. Drawing on data from an original survey of 251 MPs, conducted in seven German Länder in 2011, we explore regional MPs' involvement in EU affairs. We find strong variation among MPs' level of EU involvement. Exploring different sets of explanations, we show that individual-level factors—the perceived salience of the EU and MPs' perceived influence in EU matters—hold the highest explanatory power.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Auel Katrin, Christiansen Thomas**
**After Lisbon: National Parliaments in the European Union**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 261-281

ABSTRACT: The role of national parliaments in EU matters has become an important subject in the debate over the

democratic legitimacy of European Union decision-making. Strengthening parliamentary scrutiny and participation rights at both the domestic and the European level is often seen as an effective measure to address the perceived 'democratic deficit' of the EU – the reason for affording them a prominent place in the newly introduced 'Provisions on Democratic Principles' of the Union (in particular Article 12 TEU). Whether this aim can be met, however, depends crucially on the degree and the manner in which national parliaments actually make use of their institutional rights. This volume therefore aims at providing a comprehensive overview of the activities of national parliaments in the post-Lisbon era. This includes the 'classic' scrutiny of EU legislation, but also parliamentary involvement in EU foreign policy, the use of new parliamentary participation rights of the Lisbon Treaty (Early Warning System), their role regarding the EU's response to the eurozone crisis and the, so far under-researched, role of parliamentary administrators in scrutiny processes. This introduction provides the guiding theoretical framework for the contributions. Based on neo-institutionalist approaches, it discusses institutional capacities and political motivation as the two key explanatory factors in the analysis of parliamentary involvement in EU affairs.

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**Majocchi Alberto**
**After the Oil Price Crash, it's Time for a Carbon Tax**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

n just over a year, the price of Brent crude has plummeted from $107.78 to $47.44, a fall of over 55%. At a time when the European economy is suffering from a severe recession and looming deflation has yet to be dealt with by courageous decisions from the European Central Bank, the reduction in the cost of energy should be a positive shock from the supply side and provide a boost in production. The problem is that Europe is primarily suffering from a lack of effective demand, so that measures which only act on the supply side are not sufficient. But the reduction in oil prices should also be a good opportunity for Europe to adopt important decisions to put in place the appropriate tools for combating climate change and to start the transition to a sustainable economy.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Lefebvre Marianne, Espinosa Maria, Gomez y Paloma Sergio, Paracchini Maria Luisa, Annette Piorr Annette, Zasada Ingo**
**Agricultural landscapes as multi-scale public good and the role of the Common Agricultural Policy**
**in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 58, Issue 9 , 2088-2112

During the last 50 years, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has impacted the evolution of European agricultural landscapes by driving changes in land use and farming practices. We propose a typology characterising the scales relevant for agricultural landscapes management and argue that action is required on three scales: (1) a landscape oriented management at the farm level; (2) the coordination of land managers' actions at the landscape level; and (3) the conservation of the diversity of agricultural landscapes in the EU. We provide evidence that until now the CAP has mainly focused on the first scale. We also illustrate how agricultural policy could encourage coordinated actions at the landscape- and EU-scales. In particular, we propose policy instruments to coordinate actions of individual land owners (e.g. collective bonus in agro-environmental contracts or support to environmental cooperatives (scale 2)). We also analyse how the recognition and transposition of the European Landscape Convention could promote trans-frontier landscape cooperation in order, not only to conserve high-quality rural landscapes, but also to ensure the conservation

of the diversity of EU landscapes (scale 3). This paper provides a knowledge base to support an integrated CAP design in the direction of improved landscape management, as an important component of the EU project towards more sustainable agriculture.

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**Matteo Pati**
**Alcune riflessioni sul processo di strutturazione del sistema politico europeo**
in **Nomos**, 2/2014

Grimm denuncia l'autonomizzazione dei poteri Esecutivo e Giudiziario, vale a dire della Commissione europea e della Corte di Giustizia UE. Questa eccessiva autonomia – a detta dell'autore – si è potuta realizzare, da un lato, a causa del deficit di rappresentatività del Parlamento europeo e
della debolezza, se non evanescenza, del sistema partitico sovranazionale; dall'altro, a causa della costituzionalizzazione de facto dei Trattati.
Si analizza nel saggio urgenza di correggere le disfunzioni che gravano sulla costruzione europea sotto due profili: quello della rappresentatività delle istituzioni e quello della responsabilità degli attori istituzionali. Storicamente queste due esigenze hanno trovato un momento di incontro attraverso l'intermediazione del partito politico, grande assente nel contesto di cui si discute.

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**Rizzo Alfredo**
**Alcuni profili problematici della competenza dell'Unione Europea in materia di investimenti diretti esteri**
in **Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXVIX, n. 2, secondo trimestre

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Chang Michele, Leblond Patrick**
**All in: Market expectations of eurozone integrity in the sovereign debt crisis**
in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 626-655

The behaviour of sovereign bond investors stands at the heart of the euro area debt crisis. By pushing upward the yields on the government debts of member states standing in the eurozone's periphery, investors caused, in a self-fulfilling way, the crisis that ultimately threatened the eurozone's integrity and the euro's survival. So how do we explain the behaviour of market investors before, during and after the eurozone's sovereign debt crisis? Why did investors not discriminate in their pricing of eurozone sovereign bonds before the crisis? Why did they abruptly change their minds in 2010? And why have they gradually felt reassured enough from mid-2011, depending on the country, to ask for significantly lower yields on sovereign bonds? To answer these questions, the paper argues that investors' confidence rests to a large extent on the expectation of the eurozone's solidarity, which is why large-scale multilateral solutions

coming from the euro area were more successful in resolving the crisis than unilateral ones coming primarily from the debtor countries. As a result, this paper improves our understanding of the international political economy of financial (currency, bank and debt) crises by looking at the particular case of a monetary union with a single currency.

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**Andrea Ceron, Luigi Curini, Marco Mainenti**
**Alla ricerca dell'euroscetticismo sui social media: un confronto tra 12 Stati membri in occasione delle elezioni europee 2014**
**in Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno L, n. 212, gennaio-aprile , 61-76

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**De la Porte Caroline, Natali David**
**Altered Europeanisation of Pension Reform in the Context of the Great Recession: Denmark and Italy Compared**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 732-749

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the Europeanisation of national pension systems in Denmark and Italy. Through the analytical framework of a 'two-level' game, it analyses pension reforms in the two countries, which, in the wake of the crisis, breached EU budgetary requirements, and shortly after reformed their pension systems. The EU affects pension reform in both cases, but in distinct ways. When Denmark's economy was financially vulnerable, the EU's excessive deficit procedure affected the decision to reform pensions indirectly, by triggering a rapid political decision to speed up a pension reform. By contrast, the Italian economy's critical vulnerability and the consequent risk for the whole Eurozone led to a situation whereby the European actors entered the domestic political scene and thereafter more forcefully induced reforms. The findings from the two cases show that the EU's role in pension reform has been significant during crises, but through interaction with domestic actors. Furthermore, from a theoretical perspective, the intervening variables – domestic and EMU vulnerability as well as EU and domestic politics – are crucial to understanding the reform decisions through two-level games.

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**Bojnec Štefan, Fertő Imre  **
**Are new EU member states catching up with older ones on global agri-food markets?**
**in Post communist economies**, Volume 27, Issue 2, 2015 , pages 205-215

This article investigates price and quality competitiveness and comparative advantage in the new and old European Union member states' agri-food trade on the global market between 2000 and 2011. The empirical results show that the new and old member states have become more similar in successful agri-food competitiveness and comparative advantages. The shares of successful price and successful quality competition were greater in the structure of the two-way matched agri-food trade than the shares of unsuccessful price and unsuccessful quality competition. Only the

one-way export share or the one-way import share was less important in their agri-food trade structures. Successful price competition and successful quality competition were consistent with revealed comparative advantage as confirmed by the duration analysis.

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**António José Avelãs Nunes**
**As últimas reformas 'constitucionais' na 'Europa'. O Tratado Orçamental, a ameaça federalista e o colonialismo interno**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 45-73

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Christos Kourtelis**
**Assessing EU Aid to the 'Southern Partners' of the European Neighbourhood Policy: Who Benefits from the Reforms in the Agricultural and Industrial Sector?**
in **Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding**, Volume 9, Issue 2 , 190-211

This article critically assesses the claims of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) to support the economic development of 'southern rim' states. By amending Putnam's two-level game analysis, the paper exposes the interactions between domestic, national and supranational actors and demonstrates the outcomes of the ENP reforms in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Particular attention is given to the contribution of the ENP to the development of a dual agricultural market in these countries and to the effects of standardization for North African businesses. The article concludes by arguing that in both case studies, and despite the changes brought by the 'Arab Spring', (recalibrated) elites still retain established vertical ties with domestic businesses (especially small and medium-sized enterprises)—a situation that benefits certain EU industrial and agricultural companies as well.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Alorse Raynold Wonder, Nadège Compaoré W.R., Grant J. Andrew**
**Assessing the European Union's engagement with transnational policy networks on conflict-prone natural resources**
in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 245-257

Transnational policy networks (TPNs) are attracting greater scholarly interest given their impact on the contemporary conduct of international affairs. While this has been a welcome development for International Relations scholars and provided some preliminary insights, there is a need for more scholarly studies of TPNs that delve into specific issue-areas on a comparative basis. The paper addresses the above need by providing analyses of the role of European Union (EU)-based actors – the European Commission, member states, civil society organizations, and firms – in regulatory frameworks on conflict-prone natural resources such as oil, diamonds, coltan, tin, tungsten, and gold. To that

end, the paper draws upon participant observations, interviews with state and non-state actors, and access to primary documents in order to provide a comparative examination of EU-based state and non-state actors within the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and draft EU legislation that seeks to prevent the trade of conflict-prone minerals.

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**Hatton Timothy J.**
**Asylum Policy in the EU: the Case for Deeper Integration**
in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 61 Issue 3-4 September-December 2015 , 605-637

Over the last 15 years, the locus of policymaking towards asylum seekers and refugees has shifted away from national governments and towards the European Union (EU) as the Common European Asylum Policy has developed. Most of the focus has been on the harmonization of policies relating to border control, the processing of asylum claims, and reception standards for asylum seekers. But this still falls far short of a fully integrated EU-wide policy. This article examines the basis upon which a joint EU policy can be justified. I then ask whether superior outcomes can be achieved by harmonization alone or if more centralized policymaking is necessary. I chart the progress of harmonization and burden-sharing in the development of the Common European Asylum System and explore its effects. I also study the political feasibility of deeper policy integration by analysing public attitudes in the European Social Survey. I conclude that deeper integration is both desirable and politically possible

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**Dakowska Dorota**
**Au nom de l'Europe. Les fondations politiques allemandes face à l'intégration européenne**
in **Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande**, 47 (2015), 1 , 37–46

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Grimm Dieter**
**Auf der Suche nach Akzeptanz. Über Legitimationsdefizite und Legitimationsressourcen der Europäischen Union**
in **Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft** , Volume 43 (2015), Issue 3, 2015 , 325-338

Abstract

The European legitimacy problem has multiple sources. There is, however, one source which is either ignored or underestimated: the independence of the EU's executive and judicial organs from the democratic processes in the member states and in the EU itself. The driving force behind this development is the European Court of Justice. In two revolutionary decisions in 1963 and 1964, the European treaties were „constitutionalized" and thereby enabled a creeping power shift from the member states to the EU. Decisions of high political impact are thus made in a

non-political mode. At the same time they are immune from interventions by the democratically legitimated organs of the EU, the Council and the European Parliament. Consequently, European citizens face a state of integration which neither they nor their elected representation are able to influence. In order to change this, the article suggests a re-politicization of political decision-making in Europe. This, in turn, presupposes a de-constitutionalization of the treaties. They should be reduced to those provisions that reflect the function of a constitution, whereas all other provisions would be downgraded to the level of secondary law and thereby opened up for political intervention if the member states find that the interpretation and application by the Commission and the Court do not reflect their intentions when the treaties were signed or when they produce detrimental effects.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Győrffy Dóra**

**Austerity and growth in Central and Eastern Europe: understanding the link through contrasting crisis management in Hungary and Latvia**

in **Post communist economies**, Volume 27, Issue 2, 2015 , pages 129-152

Within the context of international debates on fiscal consolidation this article examines the experience of the 10 Central and Eastern European countries which joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 (CEE-10) and asks how austerity influenced growth in the region. By looking at the composition of adjustment, the analysis confirms the pre-crisis consensus – from the perspective of economic growth and competitiveness, expenditure-based consolidations are superior to consolidations which are based on raising revenue. The mechanisms behind this outcome are examined by comparing the fiscal consolidations in Latvia and Hungary, which represent two different approaches to fiscal consolidation. While Latvia followed the textbook approach, Hungary aimed to save households from the burden of adjustment and stimulate the economy. Although both achieved substantial improvements in their fiscal balance, competitive gains and dynamic growth appeared only in the case of Latvia. In explaining this outcome, the article emphasises the consequences of unorthodox measures on expectations – while a shared economic philosophy fostered trust and confidence among the major actors in Latvia, growing state intervention and the deterioration of institutional quality increased uncertainty in Hungary and undermined long-term growth prospects.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Parízek Michal, Hosli Madeleine O., Plechanovová Běla**

**Avoiding Paralysis: The Eastern Enlargement and the Council of the European Union**

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 649-665

Why does the Council of the European Union continue to function without apparent problems, despite the increase in the number and heterogeneity of its members brought about by the Eastern enlargement? We argue that the reason why the Council has not become paralysed lies in the increased delegation of its agenda load from the ministerial meetings downwards to the Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper). We assess our argument on the basis of quantitative analysis of the amount of the so-called A-points (decided by Coreper) and B-points (decided by ministers) on the Council agenda in the years 2000 through 2007. Studying the delegation mechanism deeper, we argue that two design features of Coreper — its permanent nature and its broad scope of agenda coverage — enabled the delegation from ministerial meetings to take place and thus helped the Council cope with the larger and more heterogeneous

membership.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cesaratto Sergio  **
**Balance of Payments or Monetary Sovereignty? In Search of the EMU's Original Sin. Comments on Marc Lavoie's "The Eurozone: Similarities to and Differences from Keynes's Plan"**
in **International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2015 , pages 142-156

In a recent paper, Marc Lavoie (2015) criticized my interpretation of the Eurozone (EZ) crisis as a balance of payments (BoP) problem. He identifies the original sin "in the setup and self-imposed constraints of the European Central Bank." This is referred to here as the monetary sovereignty view, which belongs to a more general view that sees the source of EZ troubles in its imperfect institutional design. According to the (prevailing) BoP view, sustained in different ways by a variety of economists from the conservative Sinn to the progressive Frenkel, the original sin lies in the current account (CA) imbalances brought about by abandoning exchange rate adjustments and in inducing peripheral countries to become indebted with core countries. An increasing number of economists would add German neomercantilist policies as an exacerbating factor. While the BoP crisis is a fact, better institutional design would perhaps have avoided the worst aspects of the current crisis and permitted more effective action by the European Central Bank (ECB). Leaving aside the political infeasibility of a more progressive institutional setup, it is doubtful that this would fix the structural imbalances exacerbated by the euro. Be that as it may, one can of course blame the flawed institutional setup and the lack of ultimate action by the ECB for the crisis, as Lavoie seems to argue. Yet, since this institutional set up is absent, the EZ crisis manifests itself as a balance of payment crisis.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Valiante Diego**
**Banking union in a single currency area: evidence on financial fragmentation**
in **Journal of Financial Economic Policy**, Volume 7 Issue 3 , pp. 251 - 274

Purpose
– The purpose of this paper is to assess the impact of the impact of the single currency on the institutional design of the banking union, through evidence on the financial integration process.
Design/methodology/approach
– Data analysis uses multiple sources of data on key drivers of financial fragmentation. The paper starts from a snapshot the status of financial integration and then identifies the main components of this trend.
Findings
– Evidence shows that financial integration in the euro area between 2010 and 2014 retrenched at a quicker pace than outside the monetary union. Home bias persisted. Under market pressures, governments compete on funding costs by supporting "their" banks with massive state aids, which distorts the playing field and feed the risk-aversion loop. This situation intensifies frictions in credit markets, thus hampering the transmission of monetary policies and, potentially, economic growth. Taking stock of developments in the euro area, this paper discusses the theoretical framework of a banking union in a single currency area with decentralised fiscal policy sovereignty. It concludes that, when a crisis looms over, a common fiscal backstop can reduce pressures of financial fragmentation, driven by governments' moral

hazard and banks' home bias.
Research limitations/implications
– Additional research is required to deepen the empirical analysis, with econometric modelling, on the links between governments' implicit guarantees and banks' home bias. This is an initial data analysis.
Originality/value
– Under market pressure, governments in a single currency area tend to be overprotective (more than countries with full monetary sovereignty) towards their own banking system and so trigger financial fragmentation (enhancing banks' home bias). To revert that, a common fiscal backstop is an essential element of the institutional design. The paper shows empirical evidence and theory, as well as it identifies underlying market failures. It links the single currency to the institutional design of a banking union. This important dimension is brought into a coherent framework.

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**Quaglia Lucia, Royo**
**Banks and the political economy of the sovereign debt crisis in Italy and Spain**
**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 485-507

This paper sets out to explain why Spain experienced a full-fledged sovereign debt crisis and had to resort to euroarea financial assistance for its banks, whereas Italy did not. It undertakes a structured comparison, dissecting the sovereign debt crisis into a banking crisis and a balance of payments crisis. It argues that the distinctive features of bank business models and of national banking systems in Italy and Spain have considerable analytical leverage in explaining the different scenarios of the crises in each country. This 'bank-based' analysis contributes to the flourishing literature that examines changes in banking with a view to account for the differentiated impact of the global banking crisis first and the sovereign debt crisis in the euroarea later.

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**Stoddard Edward**
**Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Internal–External Legitimacy Tensions and EU Foreign Policy in the European Periphery**
**in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 5 , 553-570

In the wider EU periphery, the effectiveness of EU policy is dependent on external perceptions of EU legitimacy and the local resonance of EU norms. However, the EU often faces tensions between the internal legitimacy demanded by key non-state actors within the EU and the external legitimacy needed for the effective export of policy — leaving the EU caught at times between internal legitimacy and external effectiveness. Furthermore, these tensions are often the product of 'antagonistic' relationships between European transnational actors and third-party states. These legitimacy tensions, and the antagonistic relationships which exacerbate them, help to explain how legitimacy plays an important role in both the 'capability-expectations' and the 'normativity-outcomes' gaps that are said to afflict EU foreign policy. This article seeks to provide a conceptually rich discussion of these legitimacy tensions and present empirical examples through a case study on the issue of human rights and democracy in Central Asia.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gattermann Katjana, Hefftler Claudia**
**Beyond Institutional Capacity: Political Motivation and Parliamentary Behaviour in the Early Warning System**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 305-334

ABSTRACT: The Early Warning System gives national parliaments the right to intervene in European Union policy-making. This article investigates their incentives to submit reasoned opinions. It analyses the reactions of 40 parliamentary chambers to 411 draft legislative acts between 1 January 2010 and 31 December 2013 by ReLogit models. The article argues that, beyond institutional capacity, political motivation explains cross-chamber and inter-temporal variation. Higher levels of party political contestation over EU integration have a positive effect, but greater party dispersion on the left–right dimension negatively affects submissions. Furthermore, salient and urgent draft legislative acts incentivise parliaments to become active in the Early Warning System. Finally, some findings suggest that minority governments and economic recession represent positive conditions for unicameral parliaments and lower chambers to submit reasoned opinions. The findings are discussed with reference to the role of national parliaments in EU democracy.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Vollaard Hans, Sindbjerg Martinsen Dorte**
**Bounded Rationality in Transposition Processes: The Case of the European Patients' Rights Directive**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 711-731

ABSTRACT: Studies explaining the timeliness and correctness of the transposition of EU directives into national legislation have provided rather inconclusive findings. They do not offer a clear-cut prediction concerning the transposition of the patients' rights directive, which is one of the first that concerns the organisation and financing of national healthcare systems. This article applies the perspective of bounded rationality to explain (irregularities in) the timely and correct transposition of EU directives. The cognitive and organisational constraints long posited by the bounded rationality perspective may affect the commonly employed explanatory factors of administrative capacities, misfit and the heterogeneity of preferences among veto players. To prevent retrospective rationalisation of the transposition process, this paper traces this process as it unfolded in Denmark and the Netherlands. As bounded rationality is apparent in the transposition processes in these relatively well-organised countries, future transposition studies should devote greater consideration to the bounded rationality perspective.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Claudio De Fiores**
**Brevi considerazioni sulla democrazia rappresentativa in Europa**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

Commento ai due saggi proposti da Grimm e Guarino sul deficit democratico europeo e sull'empasse del processo di

integrazione.
L'autore si concentra sulla tesi del rilancio della democrazia rappresentativa: dovrebbe essere il Parlamento europeo ad assumere le decisioni politiche fondamentali e a
esprimere l'indirizzo politico dell'Unione.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Klüver Heike, Spoon Jae-Jae**
**Bringing salience back in Explaining voting defection in the European Parliament**
**in Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 4, July , 553-564

What explains when Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) defect from their EP party group? While previous research has focused on the policy distance between an MEP's national party and her party group, it has been overlooked that not all issues are equally important to national parties. As parties prioritize certain issues over others, we argue that it is both the distance and the salience of the issue for the MEP's national party that explains defection. To test our theoretical claim, we explore more than 400,000 vote decisions across 1,948 different roll-call votes in four issue areas – agriculture, environment, social policy and external trade – from 1979 until 1999. To measure policy salience and distance, we combine roll-call analysis with data from the Euromanifestos Project. Our findings have important implications for understanding the dynamics of party competition and the role that national parties play in the European Parliament.

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**Kerr John**
**Britain's Brexit Battle: Advice Cameron should heed**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

A new and potentially decisive stage in the chequered history of Britain in Europe is opening. David Cameron, now re-elected as UK prime minister with a majority in the House of Commons and a mandate for a 'Brexit' referendum, must now act on his promise of a prior negotiation about reform of the EU

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Florent Marciacq**
**Building European security in the Western Balkans: the diffusion of European norms in the context of inter-organisational interactions**
**in Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 337–360

European security is not the preserve of the European Union (EU). Other international organisations (IO) participate actively in the diffusion of European norms, ideas and practices. And yet, the impact of the EU-IOs interactions on domestic processes often fails to attract the attention of researchers. This article claims that the meaning ascribed to

international norms in security matters is also constituted by the inter-organisational context in which the diffusion takes place. On the basis of the analysis of the EU's conditionality dialogue with the chosen Western Balkan states, the article examines, first, how the EU, in international justice, amplifies the prescriptive power of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and how conditionality induces full compliance in this area; second, how the EU, in security and defence, conveys NATO norms and standards, promotes technical and political cooperation with the Alliance and, thus, indirectly fosters NATO accession; and third, how the EU, in multilateral diplomacy, distorts the principles and practices of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) by expecting Western Balkan states to relinquish their commitment to sovereign equality, thereby stirring up confusion in diffusion patterns. The findings suggest that the EU-IOs interactions and norm trajectories contribute to explain diffusion patterns in international security matters.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Schwarzer Daniela**
**Building the euro area's debt crisis management capacity with the IMF**
**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 599-625

Since the financial crisis hit the EU in 2007/8, the governance structures of the euro area have undergone significant changes, most of them incremental. There is, however, one substantial innovation: the euro area's building of its capacity to deal with liquidity crises in member states. This article seeks to explain why the governments, which initially seemed to converge on a euro-area-only approach, decided to shape their crisis management structures around an external actor, the International Monetary Fund. It argues that the concept of learning under severe time constraints and external pressure helps to understand the sudden decisions taken on crisis management and governance reform which embed the IMF in the euro area. The analysis identifies learning in three areas crucial for the design of the crisis management set-up: in the field of practical lending and programme implementation, in the understanding of the nature of the crisis and in the evolving acknowledgement of the incompleteness of the euro area's governance set-up.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Bauer Matthias**
**Campaign-triggered mass collaboration in the EU's online consultations: the ISDS-in-TTIP case**
**in European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 121-129

For EU institutions, public consultations represent a key tool for transparent and accountable policymaking. By means of e-participation tools, both the European Parliament and the European Commission aim to encourage multiple stakeholders to provide input on legislative processes in ways that go beyond traditional consultations, which are sometimes aimed exclusively at a small group of stakeholders. Online questionnaires are frequently used to give individual citizens, civil society organisations and other interest groups the opportunity to express their opinions. Although it is widely accepted that e-participation can improve the democratic legitimacy of EU policymaking, online consultations entail a number of democratic challenges. With the Commission's recent online public consultation on Investor–State Dispute Settlement in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, the flaws of online participation have once again become a focus of political debates. As a result of new societal trends that favour 'low-effort, feel-good' political participation via the Internet, e-participation will remain a challenge for the EU as well as

for political parties. This challenge will not be appropriately addressed by having a high degree of transparency about the consultative procedures alone. What is required is more effective multi-level communication of the proceedings of the consultation and of its results.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Wolf-Georg Ringe**
**Capital Markets Union for Europe: a commitment to the Single Market of 28**
in **Law and Financial Markets Review**, Volume 9, issue 1 , 5-7

The merits of the “Capital Markets Union” project lie with its political importance, rather than its legal coherence or significance. Despite a number of substantial flaws, the initiation of this project comes at the right time. The Commission first and foremost sends a political message to the UK and other non-Euro Member States, as well as a commitment to the Single Market.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Borghesi Simone, Crespi Francesco, D’Amato Alessio, Mazzanti Massimiliano, Silvestri Francesco**
**Carbon abatement, sector heterogeneity and policy responses: Evidence on induced eco innovations in the EU**
in **Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 377-388

The paper offers sector-based qualitative evidence concerning the climate and energy policy effects on eco innovations in the EU. Through interviews with industry associations of Emission Trading Scheme (ETS) sectors, it analyses the extent to which past innovation adoption dynamics were influenced by policy and regulatory levers, by looking at the single and interaction effects of policies. As could be expected from the neo-Schumpeterian theory on innovation, differences emerge across sectors. Policies appear to be relevant in some sectors, namely energy, coke and refinery, and paper, but energy costs considerations dominate over the potential effects of CO2 targeted policies. Overall, technological and organisational levels are both relevant: organisational innovations emerged as important in most sectors, often operating as a leading force in technological development. We expect this ‘complementarity’ to play a crucial role in the future path towards 2030 and 2050 aims, whose achievement is possible only by integrating technological, organisational and behavioural innovations.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Artur MAS**
**Catalogne: demain l'indépendance?**
in **Politique internationale**, N°147 - PRINTEMPS

Entretien avec Artur MAS conduit par Michel FAURE

Michel Faure - Vous avez toujours eu, pendant des années, l'image d'un nationaliste modéré, d'un homme de centre droit éloigné des extrêmes. Et voilà que, avec le scrutin régional du 27 septembre, vous apparaissez comme bien plus

radical que vous ne l'étiez ! Comment l'expliquer ?

Artur Mas - Ce n'est pas seulement moi, ni seulement la classe politique, mais une partie significative de la société catalane qui est en train de bouger pour défendre sa vision de l'avenir et ses aspirations politiques. Les causes de ce mouvement se trouvent dans la manière dont s'est achevée la négociation sur le nouveau statut d'autonomie de la Catalogne avec la décision, le 28 juin 2010, du Tribunal constitutionnel espagnol qui a porté un coup mortel aux aspirations autonomistes de la Catalogne (1)...

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Acanfora Paolo**
**Christian Democratic Internationalism: The Nouvelles Equipes Internationales and the Geneva Circles between European Unification and Religious Identity, 1947–1954**
**in Contemporary European History** , vol. 24, n. 3, August , 375-391

This article analyses Christian Democratic International organisations after the Second World War, namely the Nouvelles Equipes Internationales (NEI) and the Geneva Circles (secret discussion groups), in order to understand how and to what extent this international network has been important for European Christian Democratic Parties and for the overall process of European unification. The goal is to describe the relationship between the Christian-inspired parties and their efforts to define a common ideological framework and a successful Europeanism capable of competing with other political groups and ideologies, especially communist and nationalist forces. The main sources used are the minutes of meetings of the NEI and the Geneva Circles.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Ruzza Carlo**
**Civil Society Actors and EU Fundamental Rights Policy: Opportunities and Challenges**
**in Human Rights Review**, vol. 15, number 1 , 65-81

ABSTRACT: This paper examines how civil society actors in the EU utilize the political and legal opportunities provided by the EU’s fundamental rights policy to mobilize against discrimination, notably racism, and xenophobia. It emphasizes the multiple enabling roles that this policy provides to civil society associations engaged in judicial activism, political advocacy, and service delivery both at the EU and Member State levels, and assesses their effectiveness. It describes several factors that hinder the implementation of EU fundamental rights policy and reviews the strategies of civil society to overcome them. It highlights the reluctance of parts of public opinion to combat ethnic prejudice, considers reactions against what at a time of crisis is perceived as a costly project of social regulation, and examines civil society responses. The data sources consist of interviews with bureaucratic and civil society actors at EU level.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kourtikakis Kostas, Turkina Ekaterina**
**Civil Society Organizations in European Union External Relations: A Study of Interorganizational Networks in**

**the Eastern Partnership and the Mediterranean**
in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 5 , 587-609

Networks of civil society organizations are a feature of the Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean, the two strategies of the European Union (EU) for relations with the countries of the Neighborhood. We examine these structures as instances of interorganizational networks. We employ social network analysis and multiple regression to test empirically a number of hypotheses about these networks. Our results show that the networks are highly centralized around EU institutions, but we also find that gradually relations among all participants become more horizontal and cooperative, that EU institutions become less dominant over time, and that organizations from neighboring countries gain centrality. We also find that interorganizational cooperation is stronger in the southern than in the eastern Neighborhood.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mastenbroek Ellen, Spendzharova Aneta, Versluis Esther**
**Clawing Back Lost Powers? Parliamentary Scrutiny of the Transposition of EU Social Policy Directives in the Netherlands**
in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 750-758

ABSTRACT: For quite some time parliaments were seen as the losers of European integration. As a reaction, several parliaments have sought to exert more control over the executive branch in EU decision-making. An alternative venue for ‘clawing back’ these lost powers is by influencing the domestic transposition of EU policies. Surprisingly, this opportunity for greater parliamentary involvement has not received much scholarly attention. Under what conditions do the parties in parliament engage in ex post scrutiny over transposition? To shed light on this question, this article provides a detailed study of scrutiny by the Dutch parliament over the transposition of two social policy directives, investigating four hypotheses regarding vote-seeking, policy-seeking and office-seeking incentives for parliamentary oversight. The analysis shows that the ex post scrutiny that takes place can mostly be summarised as low-profile scrutiny aimed at information-gathering and position-taking, especially by opposition parties.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Brandsma Gijs Jan**
**Co-decision after Lisbon: The politics of informal trilogues in European Union lawmaking**
in **European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 300-319

Informal trilogues have become a standard operating procedure in the European Union’s ordinary legislative procedure. Generally, their occurrence is seen as a trade-off in which speed is prioritized over inclusive decision making. Hence, a relationship is assumed between intra-institutional processes and inter-institutional interactions. This article therefore tries to explain the number of informal trilogues in first readings. The contribution of this analysis is twofold. First, it shows that intra-institutional political processes such as contestation of the rapporteur’s preferences, politicization inside the Council and the number of shadow rapporteurs matter. Second, it for the first time measures the number of informal trilogues directly for the full population of post-Lisbon legislative files.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Juraev Shairbek**
**Comparing the EU and Russia engagements in Central Asia**
**in Europe en formation (L')**, n° 374, 2014/4 , 77-93

The paper reviews the engagement of the European Union and the Russian Federation in Central Asia. Both are among major external actors in the region, joined by the USA and China, engaged in sustained political, economic and security relations with Central Asian states. Given the current dynamics of the EU-Russian relations over the conflict in Ukraine, the paper attempted to examine how Brussels and Moscow formulate their interests in this part of the former Soviet Union, and to what extent their the goals and policies in Central Asia can be seen as competitive. The paper concludes that the EU and Russia assign different level of priority to Central Asia in their foreign policies, and despite promoting opposing political values and having competing energy interests, these two actors do not have critical confrontation on matters sensitive to any of them.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Villani Ugo**
**Considerazioni sulla democratizzazione dell'Unione europea**
**in Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno X, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 217-224

A common, necessary feature of democracy is that the public power is based on the will of the people, but this feature must be adapted to the peculiar nature of the European Union. In the latter the principles of democracy are shaped both as representative and participative, and
they imply the necessity to strengthen the power not only of the European Parliament, but also of the national parliaments. As to the right of the European citizen to participate in the democratic life of the Union, a special focus is given to the Initiative of the European Citizens, and to the practice related to it.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Patrick Howell**
**Coordination in a Crisis: Domestic Constraints and EU Efforts to Address the 2008 Financial Crisis**
**in Foreign Policy Analysis**, Volume 11, Issue 2 , 131–149

This article explores possible theories of international economic policy coordination, and then proceeds to test these theories through a qualitative analysis of four EU member states – Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands – and their preferences and experiences during the financial market crisis period of Fall/Winter 2008–2009. Both institutional and basic realist theories for coordination preferences are evaluated for explanatory power against the case of the 2008 financial crisis and are found lacking. Instead, this analysis finds that a comparative foreign policy theory of political constraints – institutional design, political polarization, and leader time horizons – emerges as the best fit for explaining the divergence in foreign policies among these EU member states.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Tirole Jean**
**Country Solidarity in Sovereign Crises**
**in American Economic Review**, Vol. 105 No. 8 August 2015 , 2333-63

When will solidarity, which emerges spontaneously from the fear of spillovers, be reinforced through contracting? The optimal pact between countries that differ substantially in their probability of distress is a simple debt contract with market financing, a borrowing cap, but no joint liability. While joint liability augments total surplus, the borrowing country cannot compensate the deep-pocket guarantor. By contrast, the optimal pact between two countries symmetrically exposed to shocks with an arbitrary correlation is a simple debt contract with joint liability, provided that shocks are sufficiently independent, spillovers sufficiently large, liquidity needs moderate, and available sanctions sufficiently tough

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Canale Rosaria Rita, Marani Ugo**
**Current account and fiscal imbalances in the Eurozone: Siamese twins in an asymmetrical currency union**
**in International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 12, Issue 2, June 2015 , 189-203

The paper aims at connecting fiscal and external imbalances in the Eurozone. After the shock of the 2007 financial crisis, the current account position was the root cause of discriminatory behavior of foreign lenders towards single countries. Once the interaction between the current account and fiscal imbalances started, the only way out to restore stability and stem capital outflows was to implement fiscal retrenchments and real devaluation. The choice governments of peripheral countries face is therefore, at least in the short run and in recessive conditions, either to restore the equilibrium to their public finance, or to counteract the real shocks coming from the crisis. This suggests to consider that the stability of the Eurozone could be realized at expenses of a lower output in peripheral countries.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Birkinshaw Patrick**
**Das Verhältnis der Richter des Vereinigten Königreichs zu Europa und der europäischen Integration. Kompetenzen, Grundrechte und Identität**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 3, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hansen Randall, Gordon Joshua C.**
**Deficits, Democracy, and Demographics: Europe's Three Crises**

**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 1199-1222

ABSTRACT: This article argues that the EU and, above all, the eurozone are facing not one crisis – an economic and fiscal one – but three: an economic crisis, a crisis of institutions, and a crisis of demography. These crises are not simultaneous; they are overlapping and self-reinforcing, and there is a high degree of feedback across all three crises. Economically, the euro inflated economic growth and government revenue in the peripheral economies, giving those member states a false sense of their economic prospects. Institutionally, mechanisms were too weak at the EU level to prevent a dangerous escalation of asset (above all house) prices and too fragmented to confront the crisis through an immediate and decisive plan that would provide calm to the markets. Demographically, Europe's economic and fiscal problems are and will increasingly be exacerbated by the continent's demographic situation and its projected development, especially in southern Europe.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Habermas Jürgen**

**Democracy in Europe: Why the Development of the EU into a Transnational Democracy Is Necessary and How It Is Possible**

**in European law journal**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 546–557

Can the process of European unification lead to a form of democracy that is at once supranational and situated above the organisational level of a state? The supranational federation should be constructed in such a way that the heterarchical relationship between the Member States and the federation remains intact. The author finds the basis for such an order in the idea of the EU constituted by a 'doubled' sovereign—the European citizens and the European peoples (the States). In order to sustain such an order, reforms of the existing European treaties are needed. It is necessary to eliminate the legitimation deficits of the EU in a future Euro-Union—that is, a more closely integrated core Europe. The European Parliament would have to gain the right to take legislative initiatives, and the so-called 'ordinary legislative procedure', which requires the approval of both chambers, would have to be extended to all policy fields.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Polakiewicz Jörg**

**Der Abkommensentwurf über den Beitritt der EU zur EMRK**

**in Europaische Grundrechte zeitschrift**, vol. 40, issue 16-19, Oktober , 472-482

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Kobott Juliane, Sobotta Christoph**

**Der EuGH - Blick in eine Werkstatt der Integration**

**in Europaische Grundrechte zeitschrift**, vol. 40, issue 16-19, Oktober , 465-471

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Papadimitriou Antigoni, Gornitzka Åse, Stensaker Bjørn**
**Designed Diffusion? The Impact of an EU Instrument for Public Management Reform in the Western Balkans**
**in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 629-647

In pursuit of the European Union's (EU's) agenda to promote public sector reform in countries beyond the member states, the EU has relied on softer instruments to induce domestic reforms through technical and financial support. The impact and durability of such measures are contested and the research findings are mixed. This article examines the Tempus program, a core neighborhood policy instrument the EU has used to promote public management reforms. Tempus is the oldest and most dominant instrument to modernize higher education in central and east European countries. It promotes the adoption of key managerial reforms elements. Drawing of these perspectives on policy diffusion, we analyze the relative impact of the program. Based on data from over 50 Western Balkan universities, we compare institutions deeply involved in the Tempus program and those minimally involved or non-affiliated with Tempus. Results show that Tempus projects had minimal direct effects in terms on adoption of public management reforms in the region.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Fritsche Ulrich, Tarassow Artur**
**Did the ECB Overstep Its Mandate?   **
**in Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2015 , Pages 165-170

Recent price developments in the euro area demonstrate that deflation is a serious issue of concern. Some euro area countries are already facing a deflation in the usual macroeconomic sense of a "general price decline". This article discusses the economic consequences of deflation and suggests that the ECB's expansionary monetary policy was inevitable.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Reho Federico Ottavio**
**Did we get it wrong? The true meaning of European federalism**
**in European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 85-92

This article reflects on the meaning of European federalism. Although many enthusiasts of European unity have referred to their vision as 'federalist', very little systematic analysis of what European federalism means and implies has been carried out. The result has been a tendency in the pro-European debate to identify the federalisation of Europe with the transfer of more and more powers to the EU level and the eventual creation of a continental state-like polity. This article argues that such a tendency is not in line with the proper and historical meaning of federation, a polity whose political and institutional logic is completely at odds with that of the modern nation state. The latter is characterised by an

emphasis on institutional hierarchy, bureaucratic uniformity and economic controls, while the former encourages institutional competition, societal diversity and economic openness. This article concludes that embracing a clearly articulated federalist doctrine could help pro-European forces, most notably the pro-European right, to recover a sense of purpose and successfully meet many of the present challenges in European integration.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cromme Franz**
**Die Einführung einer Wirtschaftsregierung der EU – ein Impuls für die fortschreitende Integration**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 4, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Schimmelfennig Frank**
**Die Eurokrise: Testfall für Integration und Integrationstheorie**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 2, 2015 , 249-256

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hilpold Peter**
**Die Unionsbürgerschaft – Entwicklung und Probleme**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 2, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gött Henner**
**Die ultra vires-Rüge nach dem OMT-Vorlagebeschluss des Bundesverfassungsgerichts**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 5, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Ingold Albert**

**Die verfassungsrechtliche Identität der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Karriere – Konzept – Kritik**

in **Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts** , Volume 140, Number 1, January 2015 , 1-30

Abstract:
Over the last decades the constitutional identity of the Basic Law became one of the most important topoi in the decisions of the Federal Constitutional Court. Although referred to in different decisions the meaning and implications of the term “constitutional identity” are still fluid. Furthermore, the concept of “constitutional identity” is heavy in meaning. In the use of the topos by the Federal Constitutional Court one can differentiate between three perspectives: Firstly, the term is used as a restraint to acts of amending the Basic Law, secondly, the constitutional identity is opposed to acts of the EU-law and thirdly, it is used as a limitation for the freedom of basic rights. The article analyzes these three different areas in which the term is applied. On this basis the concept of the topos is deconstructed: While the normative foundation of the idea of “constitutional identity” may lie in Art. 79.3 of the Basic Law, the term suggests a deeper significance. The chosen reference on the identity-concepts implies that there is more to it than Art. 79.3 of the Basic Law guarantees. However, the concept of “constitutional identity” cannot be thought as or likewise ontological-personal-identity. It rather has to be understood as a comparative perception. Reduced to this understanding “constitutional identity” is not a vague but an operable term. Nevertheless, the term does not only loose its glamour by this reduction but also can still be criticized. The main reason for this is that the idea of an identity of the Basic Law is inflexible to alterations of the constitution. Besides, the idea of “constitutional identity” ignores that the constitution can be understood as composed of fragments. The concept is even partially at odds with Art. 4.2 TEU. Another argument against the concept of “constitutional identity” can be brought up by thinking it in contrast to constitutional alterity. All these considerations show that the inflationary use of the term “constitutional identity” has to be reconsidered.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Böhmelt Tobias, Freyburg Tina**

**Diffusion of Compliance in the ‘Race towards Brussels?’ A Spatial Approach to EU Accession Conditionality**

in **West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 3 , 601-626

ABSTRACT: Previous studies identified several determinants that help explain candidate states’ compliance with EU accession conditionality. However, one influence has largely been neglected so far: states’ spatial dependency. Is it possible to observe diffusion to the extent that states’ interlinkages allow their compliance with the acquis communautaire to be assessed? Are candidate states more – or perhaps even less – likely to comply with EU law when other candidates do? The paper seeks to address these questions. By building on existing research on policy diffusion, it develops a theoretical framework for studying candidates’ compliance with EU law over the accession process according to their spatial dependence. The theoretical argument focuses on ‘competitive learning’ and is tested with quantitative data. The results suggest that candidates’ levels of compliance are indeed driven by spatial interlinkages; however, free riding seems more prevalent than enhanced compliance.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Chaltiel Florence**

**Dix ans après: mai 2005, mai 2015**

**in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 590, juillet-août , 393-394

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Verhaegen Soetkin, Hooghe Marc**
**Does more knowledge about the European Union lead to a stronger European identity? A comparative analysis among adolescents in 21 European member states**
**in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 28, Issue 2, 2015 , 127-146

Strengthening European identity is often considered as one of the mechanisms to address the perceived lack of legitimacy of the European Union (EU). In this study we test the explanatory power of cognitive mobilization for the development of European identity (more knowledge about the EU leads to a stronger European identity) and we challenge this model by the inclusion of both an economic utilitarian explanation for European identity (benefiting more from EU integration leads to a stronger European identity) and a political trust approach (having more political trust leads to a stronger European identity). The multilevel regression analysis on the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2009 data, which is collected among adolescents in 21 member states, shows that knowledge about the EU has a significant but limited effect on European identity. Personal economic benefits because of EU membership and having trust in national political institutions, in contrast, are more important determinants for the development of European identity.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Schmitt Hermann, Hobolt Sara, Popa Sebastian Adrian**
**Does personalization increase turnout? Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 3, September , 347-368

The 2014 European Parliament elections were the first elections where the major political groups each nominated a lead candidate (Spitzenkandidat) for the Commission presidency in the hope that this would increase the visibility of the elections and mobilize more citizens to turn out. Using data from the 2014 European Elections Study, an EU-wide post-election survey, we analyse whether and how the presence of the lead candidates influenced the individual probability to participate in these elections. Our findings show that the recognition of the candidates increased the propensity to turn out, even when controlling for a host of other individual-level factors explaining turnout and the context factors known to facilitate participation. Furthermore, the campaign efforts of the lead candidates are associated with higher turnout levels and are reinforced by candidate recognition.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Forte Anabel, Peiró-Palomino Jesús, Tortosa-Ausina Emili**
**Does social capital matter for European regional growth?**

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 77, July 2015 , Pages 47-64

This paper analyzes the role of different elements of social capital in economic growth for a sample of 85 European regions during the period 1995–2008. Despite the remarkable progress that social capital and European regional economic growth literatures have experienced over the last two decades, initiatives combining the two are few, and entirely yet to come for the post-1990s period. Recent improvements in data availability allow this gap in the literature to be closed, since they enable the researcher to consider the traditionally disregarded Eastern and Central European (ECE) regions. This is particularly interesting, as they are all transition economies that recently joined the European Union, with relatively low levels of social capital. On the methodological side, we follow the Bayesian paradigm, which enables us to make direct inferences on the parameters to be estimated and deal with parameter uncertainty, leading to a deeper understanding of the relationships being investigated. In particular, we analyze three indicators of social capital, namely social trust, associational activities and social norms. Results suggest that the two former might have some implications for regional growth while social norms are a weaker predictor for growth.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Yang Yifan**

**Does the Academic Programme Work? The Jean Monnet Programme and European Union Public Diplomacy**

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 611-628

Public diplomacy is crucial for all actors in world politics; the European Union (EU) is no exception. Under the support of the Jean Monnet Programme, professors and researchers who teach college students become proxies for EU public diplomacy in their home countries via the educational process. Through studying the implementation of this programme in China, we can see why and how it works. Although duplicating and implementing the successful experience of similar educational programmes should take more factors into account, the programme does have special advantages from the toolbox of EU public diplomacy.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Peter Bursens, Jan Beyers, Tom Donas**

**Domestic European Union Coordination and Interest Group Mobilization in Three Member States: Looking Beyond the Formal Mechanisms**

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 363-381

One conclusion in the literature on domestic European Union (EU) coordination is that the formal institutional properties of countries—devolved versus centralized or unitary—affect the nature of coordination practices. Basically, the view has emerged that domestic coordination is a largely bureaucratic process in which political control mechanisms remain relatively weak. Instead of only looking at public authorities and their formal networks, this article relies on a data set that allows us to analyse informal political-administrative networks and look at how societal interests mobilize and target policymakers in order to shape the position governments defend at the EU level. One of our conclusions is that despite devolution in Belgium, its intergovernmental coordination shows a considerable level of network centralization, even when compared to unitary countries such as France and the Netherlands, meaning that there are large differences between the three states with respect to the connectedness of the actors involved.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mourlon-Druol Emmanuel**
**Don't Blame the Euro: Historical Reflections on the Roots of the Eurozone Crisis**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 1282-1296

ABSTRACT: The article argues that many of the issues that are causing trouble in the eurozone today had long been debated, but not solved, prior to the beginning of the so-called euro crisis. Three thematic examples are used to show this: the decade-long discussion surrounding economic convergence and the question of a transfer union; the dispute over the alleged use of financial mechanisms as a substitute for addressing structural economic weaknesses; and the development of European banking regulation and supervision before the creation of the single currency. Finally, the article argues that even though some of the features of today's crises – in particular the debt and deficit issues – were outlined at the time of the euro's introduction, some important recent developments such as the various new operations undertaken by the European Central Bank were not. This should command modesty and cautiousness in the analysis of the evolution of the euro crisis.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Torcol Sylvie, Bonnet Baptiste, Burgorgue-Larsen Laurence, Monjal Pierre-Yves, Pierre-Caps Stephane**
**Définir le droit constitutionnel européen ...**
**in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 590, juillet-août , 456-463

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Grimm Dieter, Beaud Olivier**
**Démocratie européenne : les raisons de la défiance. Entretien**
**in Esprit**, Juillet 2015 , 83-94

Trop souvent, on déplore le « déficit démocratique » de l'Union européenne en disant qu'il suffirait pour le résoudre de renforcer les pouvoirs du Parlement. Or le problème est aussi celui du rôle de la Commission et de la Cour de justice. Mais dans le contexte actuel, il est compliqué d'avoir un débat serein sur ces questions sans se faire taxer d'euroscepticisme.

The European Union is often criticized for not being democratic enough, a flaw which could be solved by giving more powers to its Parliament. But the solution is not that simple, the problem also lies with the role of the Commission and the Court of Justice. But in the current context, it is hard to debate these issues without being accused of Euroscepticism.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Federico Casolari**
**EU Citizenship and Money: A Liaison Dangereuse? International and EU Legal Issues Concerning the Selling of EU Citizenship**
**in Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno L, n. 212, gennaio-aprile , 45-60

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Charokopos Michael**
**EU External Action and the Reproduction of the 'Rationality Myth': The EU Energy and Aviation Policies vis à vis its Neighbours in the Western Balkans and the Southern Mediterranean**
**in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 5 , 517-534

In the light of the discussion on the EU's tendency to reproduce itself in its external action, the article argues that the EU's international life is permeated by a 'western style rationality' culture, and that what is reproduced through its external action is its own 'rationality myth'. In order to substantiate this argument, I undertake a cross-sectoral and cross-regional approach. The two policy sectors under examination are energy and aviation, while the geographical scope of the study covers two regions: the Western Balkans and the Southern Mediterranean.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Louise Halleskov Storgaard**
**EU Law Autonomy versus European Fundamental Rights Protection—On Opinion 2/13 on EU Accession to the ECHR**
**in Human Rights Law Review**, Vol. 15, no. 3 , 485-521

In the recently issued Opinion 2/13, the Court of Justice of the European Union ruled that European Union (EU) accession to the European Convention on Human Rights on the basis of the current Draft Accession Agreement would be incompatible with the EU Treaties. This article examines the impact of Opinion 2/13 on European fundamental rights protection. It argues that the concerns for EU law autonomy expressed in the Opinion for the most part are unwarranted and that the Court, through the use of classic constitutionalist language, seeks to position EU law as the superior European fundamental rights regime. The article furthermore argues that the Opinion, in both form and substance, is in line with the pattern of the Court opting for a more autonomous EU approach to fundamental rights adjudication following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and that this development gives rise to serious concerns about the effectiveness and coherence of fundamental rights in Europe.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Christian Lequesne**

**EU foreign policy through the lens of practice theory: A different approach to the European External Action Service**

in **Cooperation and Conflict**, 50 (3) , 351-367

There is a proliferation of works on the new European External Action Service (EEAS). Most of these approach the EEAS through a rationalist framework, assessing how a new institution can solve long-term questions of EU foreign policy-making to ensure consistency and coherence while reducing transaction costs between actors (both supranational and national) in a multilevel governance structure. This paper takes a different direction. Using 30 interviews with officials from the EEAS, the European Commission, and national ministries of foreign affairs, conducted between 2010 and 2013, it shows how the study of practice aids understanding of the nature of the EEAS. As a new institution, the EEAS lends itself particularly well to practice-based study because new institutions must develop new practices.
The first section of the article defines the notion of practice and shows the importance of historicizing the struggles around practices in understanding the creation of the EEAS. The second section demonstrates how agents' practices shape professional cultures within the EEAS. The third section highlights the relationship between practices and rule-making. Going over the EEAS as a case study, the conclusion focuses on the importance of analysing actors' practices for understanding the current evolution of diplomacy and international relations in general.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Massih-Tehrani Nilgun, Baier Christian, Gengnagel Vincent**

**EU-Forschungsförderung im deutschen Hochschulraum**

in **Soziale Welt**, Jahrgang 66, Heft 1, 2015 , 55-74

Abstract

In accordance with the single market programme, EU-research policy aims at a stronger orientation towards the economy. Its core instruments are the 'Framework Programmes for Research and Technological Development' that emphasize a economic logic and challenging the traditional structure of the German academic field. European research policy is guided by the discursive model of a global knowledge economy. German research policy, however, is substantially shaped by the German Research Foundation, which represents the model of academic autonomy, financing diverse research topics and universities. Based on the latest data, this paper observes how the 7th Framework Programme's focus on economics and 'Global Research Universities' opposes the more pluralistic logic of the German Research Foundation. Tracing this tension empirically, fundamental questions are touched concerning the future of German higher education: While big and technical universities profit from European competition, smaller universities and especially those focusing on social sciences and the humanities are losing ground.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Mückenberger Ulrich**

**Eine europäische Sozialverfassung?**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 4, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Zha Daojiong**
**Energy security in China–European Union relations: framing further efforts of collaboration**
**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 308-322

The aim of this article is to help frame the China–EU dialogue on energy security, formally established in 2012, yet in reality adding to decades of sustained dialogue and collaboration to address energy development and policy-making in China. The paper begins by noting that the lack of mutual energy dependence between the EU and China can place a limit to the attractiveness of the security dimension of energy as a topic for further dialogue. China's energy challenges require fast delivery of industry-level results, against ideational aspects associated with search for energy security on the global scale. Then, the article proceeds in four parts: (1) a review and analysis of European and Chinese energy security concepts; (2) an explanation of the rationale for EU–China energy security cooperation and policy coordination; (3) an overview of the past and current undertakings in the energy field between China and the EU; and (4) a set of ideas to consider in making this new layer of formal dialogue effectual.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hartlapp Miriam**
**Enforcing Social Europe through Labour Inspectorates: Changes in Capacity and Cooperation across Europe**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 805-824

ABSTRACT: Despite its central importance for the implementation of EU social policy, the issue of member state enforcement of European regulations has attracted little academic attention. This paper analyses changes in national enforcement systems and horizontal cooperation between them by comparing labour inspectorates in the EU-15 member states over time (2000 versus 2010). Starting from the assumption that, as administrations, enforcement systems are strongholds of national sovereignty, it is argued that member states' interest in creating a level playing field and in enabling free movement in accordance with the 'four freedoms' should nevertheless bring about change. The results show insufficient enforcement capacity overall, but also that important changes have taken place regarding the coordination, steering and pressure capacity of national labour inspectorates, and also regarding cooperation amongst them. This points to the emergence of horizontal cooperation as a distinct feature of the European Administrative Space.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Zellner Wolfgang**
**Entfeindung durch Dialog. Vom heißen Krieg in der Ukraine zum Frieden in Europa**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 89-98

Im Ringen um eine diplomatische Lösung für den Ukrainekonflikt fiel auf, dass sich die USA – anders als in allen europäischen Krisen der letzten Jahrzehnte – deutlich zurückhielten. Dies machte es für Deutschland möglich und gleichzeitig nötig, sich stärker zu engagieren. Was aber kann der hohe Anspruch, Verantwortung für den Frieden in Europa zu übernehmen – der von Bundespräsident Joachim Gauck und Außenminister Frank-Walter Steinmeier auf der Münchener Sicherheitskonferenz 2014 fast gleichlautend formuliert wurde –, vor dem Hintergrund der Ukrainekrise konkret bedeuten?

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Javier Sánchez Cano**
**Entre lo interno y lo europeo: la acción exterior de las regiones en la Unión Europea**
in **Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, No. 21 , 128-158

El propósito del artículo es considerar y analizar la Europa de las regiones en su dimensión de proyecto orientado a la articulación y construcción de un nuevo sujeto político en el sistema de la UE: el gobierno regional. Un proyecto donde las regiones van a intentar ser no sólo actores (con capacidad de influencia), sino sujetos (con capacidad de decisión). Después de identificar la agenda política regional tal como se impulsa en los debates intergubernamentales europeos, se discute la gobernanza multinivel –el acercamiento que ha dominado el panorama politológico– y su visión del papel del Estado en la dinámica regional-europea. El artículo propone a continuación una pauta de análisis vinculada al estudio de los gobiernos no centrales como nuevos actores internacionales. Las conclusiones muestran la utilidad explicativa de esa propuesta, y ayudan a entender las limitaciones en el progreso hacia un mayor reconocimiento de las regiones en la estructura legal e institucional europea. Al mismo tiempo, y dadas las carencias en el desarrollo de sistemas internos de cooperación política en temas de la UE, que permitan la participación adecuada del nivel regional, parece adecuado considerar las relaciones de las regiones con la UE como la expresión de una polítíca exterior subestatal.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Casado Casado Lucia**
**Environmental Protection as an Exception to the Freedom of Establishment and the Freedom to Provide Services in the European Union**
in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 24, Issue 2, Special Issue: Public Participation and Climate Governance, July , 209-222

This article examines the tensions between European Union policy on environmental protection and the safeguarding of Community freedoms, focusing particularly on the freedom of establishment and the freedom to provide services. It offers an analysis of the scope of environmental protection as a justification for exceptions from Community freedoms in the case law of the European Court of Justice. It also examines the specific provisions on environmental protection set out in Directive 2006/123 on services in the internal market. In particular, it determines the scope of the environmental exception under the provisions of this Directive, according to which protection of the environment justifies specific derogations from the regulatory framework governing the freedom of establishment and freedom to provide services.

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**Toader Oana**
**Estimating the impact of higher capital requirements on the cost of equity: an empirical study of European banks**
in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 12, Issue 3, September 2015 , 411-436

The new regulatory framework imposes an increase in capital requirements for banks. Although core capital (equity) is more expensive than other liabilities (debt), it strengthens banks' stability and improves its loss-absorbing capacity. In this paper, we investigate the link between high-quality capital requirements and systematic risk. We further analyze the extent to which an improvement in the quality of the banks' balance-sheet will affect the expected return on equity. We show the impact of shifts in funding structure on information asymmetries (especially implicit guarantees) and on the average funding cost. Our results demonstrate that core capital is essential for increasing banks stability and for reducing the average funding cost for banks. Our empirical analysis provides support for the introduction of strengthened prudential requirements defined in Basel III.

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**Schulmeister Stephan**
**Europa auf die Couch! Eine politische Familientherapie zur Lösung der Griechenlandkrise**
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 37-46

The full text is free

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/august/europa-auf-die-couch

Der Leidensweg einer Familie von erster Entfremdung über einen Scheidungskrieg bis zur Trennung ist lang und hinterlässt keine Sieger. Vorwürfe tun weh und provozieren Gegenvorwürfe, man braucht Gründe für die eigene Enttäuschung und Wut, also sucht man im anderen das Schlechte. Was einem einmal gefallen hat, gilt nicht mehr. Im Kampf um die Kinder kommt man um Lügen und Intrigen nicht herum. Dann werden die Verwandten reingezogen, zum Schluss bekriegt man/frau sich um Finanzen und Besitz. Sind beide aneinander gekettet, weil eine(r) gesundheitlich oder finanziell zu schwach ist, steckt man/frau in einem zermürbenden Stellungskrieg fest.
Da kann nur eine Familientherapie helfen, also eine systemische Analyse der verbalen, intellektuellen und emotionellen Kommunikation – genau das Gegenteil der Suche nach dem/der Schuldigen. Hilfreich ist es, zurückzukehren zu den guten Zeiten und dann gemeinsam den Weg in Unglück und Verbitterung nachzugehen: Man/frau schaut sich die wichtigsten Ereignisse im Entfremdungsprozess an, auch – und gerade – mit den Augen des Partners (so gut es eben geht). Die Kinder helfen dabei, sie mögen ja Mama und Papa. Die Verwandten stören hingegen, sie nehmen fast immer Partei für den Partner aus ihrer Familie. Und es braucht Nachsicht, der erste Schritt dazu ist für den Stärkeren leichter als für den Schwächeren...

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Sylvie Goulard**
**Europa: guardare lontano**
**in Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno L, n. 212, gennaio-aprile

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kamp Karl-Heinz**
**Europe's defence project – time for transatlantic rearrangement**
**in Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 183-191

The idea that the European Union needs a credible military capability for autonomous action is undisputed as it lies in the logic of European integration. Still the discrepancy between EU ambitions and reality is striking: the EU has become a key security policy actor but not in the military field. The fundamental changes of the strategic landscape caused by Russia's aggression in Eastern Europe and the turmoil in the Middle East provide an opportunity to re-arrange European defence capabilities in a true Euro-Atlantic manner. Instead of aspiring military capacities outside of NATO, the EU should organize its military forces within NATO – as it did before 1998 with its European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI). Such an arrangement would permit the EU to act autonomously but at the same time to profit from NATO's experience as the most successful military alliance in history. Moreover, it would permit the EU to further evolve its military integration along the lines of its various pooling and sharing activities.
Full text available online.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Blaine D. Holt**
**Europe, Where Is Your Strategy?**
**in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Volume 37, Issue 3 , 123-131

A resurgent and aggressive Russia, refugee flows and terrorists, and rising antisemitism and xenophobia are all sitting on an economic house of cards with unity in Europe coming apart. Soberly stated, Europe is at the cliff's edge and the time for action is now. What action? A voracious 24-hour media cycle and rapidly developing crises seem to have leaders pinned in a caustic loop of act–react. Given that the top challenges of the day affect each of the European capitals differently, in terms of impact to national interests, it is little wonder that finding consensus, either at the European Union or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), is difficult. Whether it is monetary policy wielded at the European Central Bank or redefining defense postures, measures taken at the multinational level seem wanting for long-term approaches. A common vision of Europe's future is essential and it needs to be articulated in the form of a strategy. A variety of ways are available to get there but the time is now. The wolves are at Europe's door in ways that are reminiscent of what was seen in 1914 and 1938. Arguably, every nation on the planet has equities in the existing international system as well as Europe's success. After all, from Vladimir Putin to Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), both are being challenged. Europe needs her strategy now.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kovler Anatoly I.**
**European Convention on Human Rights in Russia**
**in Europe en formation (L')**, n° 374, 2014/4 , 116-135

On 5 May 1998, the Russian Federation put into effect the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. However, there have been cases in the Russian Federation that signalize the existing misunderstanding that European Court judgments are binding and not recommendatory. This article reevaluates Russia's implementation of the Convention by revisiting cases from the last 15 years. The article reviews legislative amendments that should contribute to the implementation of the Convention's laws at a national level. Moreover, the article evaluates the legal structure of the Russian Federation in regards to the Convention, including the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Supreme Commercial Court, the Prosecutor General, and the Ministry of Justice. Some deficits in the Russian legal system include the failure to enforce court judgments and the length of proceedings. The paper concludes that, while there is a strong Russian-European human rights dialogue with seemly results, Russia has room for improvement regarding its implementation of Convention laws.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gouzy Jean-Pierre**
**European Defense: Juncker's Trial Balloon**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

While waiting for the heavy administrative and judicial machine which regulates the steps of the EU to start moving towards the concrete implementation of the 315 billion Euro distributive plan bearing his name, Jean-Claude Juncker re-launched on March the 8th a Sunday's trial balloon regarding an unexpected subject: the creation of a united European army. Here all senior federalists can rejoice, including me. France, that had conceived the European Defence Community (EDC, i.e. European integrated Armed Forces), rejected its own newborn baby at the end of an Homeric debate taking place in the overheated arena of Palais Bourbon, on August 30th, 1954, since the idea of a European army, as conceived according to the supranational ideas of Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, was ill-supported by the grand battalions of Gaullism and of the French Communist party (both major players in France's political arena at that time). Moreover, under the pressure from Washington, D.C., Paris accepted to replace the EDC (with the active complicity of London) with a sort of military substitute, guaranteed on the intergovernmental level: the Western European Union (WEU).

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Stark,Oded; Wlodarczyk, Julia**
**European Monetary Integration and Aggregate Relative Deprivation: The Dull Side of the Shiny Euro**
**in Economics and Politics**, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 185-203

Drawing on the premise that the integration of economies revises people's social space and their comparators, we quantify social stress by aggregate relative deprivation, ARD; we calculate the effect of monetary mergers on ARD; and we document the validity of the superadditivity property of ARD for successive adoptions of a common currency by European countries. One feature of monetary unification, which replaces diverse currencies with a common currency, is that it brings about a change in the comparison environment, expanding the reference space of individuals in a given country to encompass individuals from the joining countries. Overall, calculations regarding six enlargements of the Economic and Monetary Union between 1999 and 2011 reveal an increase of ARD on six occasions when we hold incomes constant, and on five when we take into consideration changes in incomes. In addition, we observe an uneven distribution of the costs and benefits from monetary integration among the participating countries when these costs and benefits are measured in terms of ARD.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Windthorst Kay**
**European Stability Mechanism and Banking Union, Principals and Challenges**
**in Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario**, n.5 , 949-966

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Citi Manuele**
**European Union budget politics: Explaining stability and change in spending allocations**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 260-280

The marginal involvement of the European Union (EU) in redistributive policies and its limited fiscal resources have led to a notable lack of attention by EU scholars towards the EU budget and its dynamics. Yet the nature of the budgetary data and their high usability for statistical analysis make them an excellent tool for studying and measuring policy change in the EU. In this article, I analyse an original dataset containing yearly data for the main categories of expenditure and how they have changed over the last three decades (1979–2013). Using time-series analysis, I find that the ability to form winning coalitions in the Council, the ideological positioning of the co-legislators and the inclusion of the cohesion countries have played a significant role in driving budget change.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Fiott Daniel**
**European defence-industrial cooperation: from Keynes to Clausewitz**
**in Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 159-167

The European Union is still far from having a consolidated defence market but the European Defence Technological and Industrial Base (EDTIB) has emerged as a policy framework through which to liberalize and regulate defence markets, protect and sustain jobs and to improve the interoperability of Europe's armed forces; all at the EU level. This article

argues that a purely economic rationale for defence-industrial cooperation is being reformulated to include also questions of strategic relevance. Indeed, by charting the transition from a past policy framework called the European Defence Equipment Market (EDEM) to the EDTIB, the article examines the European Commission's role as a key driver in this policy evolution. This article shows how the European Commission is using dual-use technologies to increase its policy relevance in the defence-industrial policy milieu, but it also reaffirms the enduring role of the member states and the importance of national interests.
Full text available online.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Blauberger Michael, Krämer Rike U.**
**Europeanisation with Many Unknowns: National Company Law Reforms after Centros**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 786-804

ABSTRACT: Negative integration through the expansive interpretation of European market freedoms is said to undermine domestic social regulation – by vertically imposing a strictly liberal interpretation of EU rules and by pushing EU member states into horizontal regulatory competition. This article analyses domestic policy responses to one particularly prominent instance of negative integration: the CJEU's case law on the freedom of establishment since its first landmark ruling on Centros in 1999. The analysis shows that national company laws have only converged downwards in one particular subfield – minimum capital requirements – but they remain strikingly diverse across, and increasingly within, member states on most other issues, such as workers' codetermination rights. Legal uncertainty about the Court's case law, the mixed economic incentives it provides for firms and political disagreement about appropriate policy responses leave considerable space for differential Europeanisation. The crisis adds to these uncertainties and thus reinforces the trend towards differentiation rather than convergence.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Duff Andrew**
**Europe's Crisis Is Constitutional**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

The dilemma in which Mario Draghi found himself over quantitative easing is emblematic of the state of the European Union as a whole. Like other of the EU's crisis management measures, the resort to QE has been criticised for being too little and too late. The impact of QE is certainly undermined by relying so heavily on national central banks to act as backstops: only 20% of the bond purchases undertaken by the European Central Bank (ECB) is to be subject to the joint and several responsibility of the collective eurozone. In other language, QE is 20% federal and 80% confederal – with the larger part, if it all goes wrong, risking fragmentation of the monetary union.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Colombo Francesca**
**Europe's ageing prompts a revolution in healthcare**

**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Europe's health spending has dropped from the 2000-2009 year-on-year increases of around 5% before to the economic crisis to an average fall of -0.9% in 2010 and -0.4% in 2012. In half of the EU's 28 countries, health spending has suffered cutbacks, and slowed significantly in the rest.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gurría Angel**
**Europe's investment vicious circle**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

In 2008, the bottom dropped out of European investment. It wasn't just a European problem as foreign direct investment declined globally. This is far from uncommon for individual countries, but at a global level is rare and it showed how broadly the financial crisis had affected international investments.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Polaski Sandra**
**Europe's puzzling failure to cure its economic ills**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Europe suffers from high unemployment, wage stagnation and rising inequality. Of course there are differences among EU countries, but the overall pattern is one of inadequate job creation, more low-paid work, temporary jobs and increased income insecurity.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cavalli Alessandro**
**Europe's "Mare Nostrum"**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

It's good to hear every once in a while a voice outside the chorus. The common saying in Germany nowadays is that the South- European countries, from Greece to Portugal (Italy included, of course), are victims of their own vices: they spend more money than their revenues should be allowing to, they are highly indebted, and they constitute a peril to the common European currency, but above all to (economically) virtuous countries such as Germany. If a politician, either from the right or from the left, wishes to obtain immediate consensus and easy applauses he must continuously repeat that German tax-payers' money must not serve to pay other peoples' debts, particularly those of their "Southern" neighbours. It's better to divide the Eurozone in two, that of a strong currency and that of a weak one, thus forcing it to

resort to continuous periodical devaluations. ...

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kahl Wolfgang, Schwind Manuel**
**Europäische Grundrechte und Grundfreiheiten – Grundbausteine einer Interaktionslehre**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 2, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Barbato Mariano**
**Europäische Zwischenergebnisse. 25 Jahre Revolution in Mittel- und Osteuropa, 10 Jahre Erweiterung der Europäischen Union**
**in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 2, 2015 , 271-292

The full text is free:

www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/1430-6387-2015-2-271/europaeische-zwischenergebnisse-jahrgang-25-2015-heft-2?page=0

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**Schwerdtfeger Angela**
**Europäisches Unionsrecht in der Rechtsprechung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts – Grundrechts-, ultra-vires- und Identitätskontrolle im gewaltenteiligen Mehrebenensystem**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 3, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Huff Ariella**
**Executive Privilege Reaffirmed? Parliamentary Scrutiny of the CFSP and CSDP**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 396-415

ABSTRACT: The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) occupy a unique space in EU governance. Both policies have supranational elements, yet their formally intergovernmental status shields them from the increased scrutiny powers granted to national parliaments after Lisbon. National parliamentary scrutiny of these policy areas has thus received relatively little attention. Using an analytical

framework of ‘authority, ability and attitude’, this paper argues that attitude, meaning MPs’ willingness to scrutinise CFSP, is the most important factor in explaining the empirical variation in the quantity and quality of national parliamentary scrutiny of CFSP. Drawing on qualitative research and interviews conducted as part of the OPAL project, the paper demonstrates that formal powers do not, in practice, equate to ‘strong’ scrutiny, arguing that the strongest parliaments are those that make CFSP scrutiny a systematic, normalised and culturally accepted part of parliamentarians’ everyday work.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Donnelly Brendan**
**Federalism, What Federalism?**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Giulia Rossolillo**
**Financial Autonomy and Differentiated Integration**
**in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVI, Single Issue

The system of financing the European Union has, since the 1950s, been reformed several times and also the subject of heated debate. It is a question that today, once again, finds itself at the heart of discussions on the future of the process of European integration. The economic and financial crisis of the past few years has, in fact, exposed both the shortcomings of the current system — this system, still based largely on contributions from the member states, tends, in times of recession, to lead to a reduction in resources available at supranational level — and the need to find new resources in order to address the crisis.
The new aspect, which sets today’s situation apart from the situations of the past, is the fact that today the question of the financing of the EU intersects with two other issues: the growing presence of forms of differentiated integration between EU member states and, above all, the progressive emergence of the eurozone as an increasingly distinct entity within the European Union. It is no coincidence that the Council recently authorised an enhanced cooperation between eleven member states for the establishment of a tax on financial transactions, the proceeds of which should, in part at least, be used to finance the EU budget; or that there has emerged, within this debate, the idea of a eurozone fiscal and budgetary capacity — most recently in the Commission’s “blueprint for a deep and genuine economic and monetary union”.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gómez Urquijo Laura**
**Financial Exclusion in the European Union: Addressing Difficulties in Accessing Finance within the Current Integration Framework**
**in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 1 , 100-117

ABSTRACT: This article explores the role of the European Union (EU) in addressing financial exclusion. From a multidisciplinary point of view, we focus on the EU's approach, emphasising the peculiarities derived from the European integration process. In spite of the high level of financial inclusion in the EU in comparison with other regions, there is a substantial percentage of people and small and medium enterprises (SMEs) facing difficulty in accessing financial services; the population at risk of financial exclusion is growing due to increasing unemployment and cuts in social assistance services. This article, after contextualising the problem of financial exclusion in the global context, presents a revision of European initiatives associated with this problem, notably the reform of the financial system and the increasing integration of its internal market. We discuss the extent to which this legislation and related policy recommendations are effective, particularly considering the current framework of economic governance.

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**Johnson Juliet, Barnes Andrew**
**Financial nationalism and its international enablers: The Hungarian experience**
**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 535-569

Viktor Orbán and his centre-right Fidesz party won Hungary's April 2010 parliamentary elections in a landslide, running on a nationalist-populist platform of economic self-rule. This paper explores Hungary's financial nationalist turn and its surprisingly successful resistance to IMF and EU pressures to change course. We open by theorizing financial nationalism, and then trace its ideational roots and contemporary character in Hungary. We subsequently argue that two international factors ironically enabled Orbán to take his financial nationalist ideas from theory to practice: 1) IMF and EU policies that first contributed to Fidesz's electoral victory and then made it difficult to counter Orbán once in power; and 2) the tolerant behavior of international bond markets. In particular, Orbán's willingness and ability to use unorthodox, financial nationalist policies to control government deficits and debt both reduced EU and IMF leverage over Hungary and encouraged bond markets to overlook the unsavory politics that produced those numbers.

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**Hefeker Carsten, Neugart Michael**
**Fiscal Transfers in a Monetary Union with Exit Option**
**in Review of International Economics**, Volume 23, Issue 3, August 2015 , pages 489–508

It is widely debated whether a monetary union has to be accompanied by a fiscal transfer scheme to accommodate asymmetric shocks. We build a model of a monetary union with a central bank and two heterogeneous countries that are linked by a fiscal transfer scheme with repercussions on monetary policy. A central bank aiming at securing the existence of a monetary union in the presence of asymmetric shocks has to compensate single countries for the tax distortions arising from fiscal transfers. Monetary policy may become more expansionary or restrictive depending on asymmetries between member countries' inflation aversion and exit costs.

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**Chalmers Adam William, Dellmuth Lisa Maria**

**Fiscal redistribution and public support for European integration**
in **European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 3, September , 386-407

This article contributes to existing debates on public opinion toward European integration by examining when and why fiscal transfers and public support are systematically related. Drawing on economic and identity-related theories, we develop and test hypotheses about the links between European Union fiscal transfers among countries and subnational jurisdictions, and citizens' support for European integration. Using a three-level analysis of residents in 143 regions in 16 European Union member states, we find a positive effect of European Union transfers among both countries and subnational jurisdictions on support for European integration among those with a European communal identity. We also find that this effect increases the more politically aware individuals are. The article sketches the broader implications of our findings for public opinion research on regional integration beyond the European Union.

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**Bodea Cristina**
**Fixed exchange rates with escape clauses: The political determinants of the European Monetary System realignments**
in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 39, September 2015 , Pages 25-40

This paper studies the political economy of realignments to fixed exchange rates and suggests that the use of realignments is less likely when there are political benefits from stable exchange rates and when linkages across other issue areas increase the costs of realignment. More specifically for the case of the European Monetary System (EMS), the expectation is that realignments are related to partisanship, support for the broader European integration, trade integration, resource transfers from the European Community, as well as countries reacting to the political and economic costs of realignment in other EMS members. Hypotheses are tested using binomial logit models on monthly data on exchange rate realignments for all EMS countries from 1979 to 1993. I find lower realignment risk for left wing policy-makers and countries with more trade links to Germany, whereas more intra-European Community resource transfers appear to go to countries facing higher realignment risk. Also, realignments are less likely when the rest of EMS member countries have stable international reserves and their governments are pro-European.

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**Angenendt Steffen**
**Flucht, Migration und Entwicklung: Wege zu einer kohärenten Politik**
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 25, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/208001/wege-zu-einer-kohaerenten-politik

Die Zahl der Flüchtlinge in Deutschland steigt. Damit steht die Bundesrepublik aber nicht allein: Dem Hohen Flüchtlingskommissar der Vereinten Nationen (UNHCR) zufolge nehmen Fluchtbewegungen auf der ganzen Welt zu. So waren nach Schätzungen des UNHCR Ende 2013 weltweit 51,2 Millionen Menschen auf der Flucht vor Verfolgung,

Konflikten, Gewalt oder Menschenrechtsverletzungen. Davon waren 33,3 Millionen Binnenvertriebene, also innerhalb ihres Heimatlandes Geflohene, und fast 1,2 Millionen Asylbewerberinnen und Asylbewerber, also Menschen, die sich in einem laufenden Anerkennungsverfahren befanden. Hilfsorganisationen verzeichnen die höchsten Flüchtlingszahlen seit der Nachkriegszeit, ein weiterer Anstieg ist wahrscheinlich...

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**Matière Jean-Pierre**
**Fondements et enseignements de la crise de la zone euro**
**in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 591, septembre , 489-506

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-46662.htm

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Anna-Lena Högenauer**
**Formal Rules and Informal Cooperation: Inter-governmental Relations in Domestic European Policy Making in Comparative Perspective**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 321-340

One of the key elements of the strategies of interest representation of strong legislative regions in EU policy making is active participation in the co-ordination processes within the member state. This article argues that Europeanization of inter-governmental relations leads to a greater emphasis on cooperation in the formal rules on inter-governmental cooperation in EU affairs. However, when informal practices are taken into account, some member states become more cooperative, others arguably less. This divergence can be explained by the circular interplay of formal and informal practices.

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**Leconte Cécile**
**From pathology to mainstream phenomenon: Reviewing the Euroscepticism debate in research and theory**
**in International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 250-263

ABSTRACT: When taking stock of the now vast literature on Euroscepticism, one cannot but notice the often deeply normative character of much of the academic research on this topic. This article argues that it is as a result of the pro-integration bias in mainstream EC/EU studies that Euroscepticism has been conceptualized as a ‘phenomenon of the periphery’ – be it the periphery of party systems, the periphery of domestic societies or the geographical periphery of the EU, epitomized by the UK and the Nordic countries. However, since the early 2000s, the spread of Euroscepticism at public opinion and party levels across the EU has contributed to changing academic understandings of Euroscepticism, from a quasi-pathology to a mainstream and enduring phenomenon in European domestic societies and democracies. Considering the risk of conceptual overstretch ensuing from this ‘mainstreaming’, the article puts forward some theoretical and methodological proposals for future research on Euroscepticism, by drawing lessons from

comparable academic debates on the notion of populism, and by recasting debates on Euroscepticism in the light of the current financial and Eurozone crises.

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**Muir Elise**
**Fundamental Rights: An Unsettling EU Competence**
**in Human Rights Review**, vol. 15, number 1 , 25-37

ABSTRACT: For many years, fundamental rights were primarily protected in the European Union (EU) legal order in a negative way; EU institutions and Member States should not infringe fundamental rights when acting within the scope of EU law. However, since the Treaties of Amsterdam and Lisbon, the EU has gained greater competences to develop fundamental rights standards, and new mechanisms for the protection of these standards have emerged. Although these new instruments enhance the mandate of the EU regarding fundamental rights protection, they also trigger a number of important questions. They are capable of calling into question, to an unprecedented extent, sensitive domestic policy areas through a rights-based process of Europeanization. Furthermore, the EU regime for the protection of fundamental rights is increasingly difficult to contain within the limits of the traditional principle of attributed competences that was initially designed to circumscribe the process of European integration. Both types of questioning trigger significant resistances at the EU as well as national level.

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**VeČerník Jiří, Mysíková Martina  **
**GDP and life satisfaction in European countries – focus on transition**
**in Post communist economies**, Volume 27, Issue 2, 2015 , pages 170-187

This article contributes to the debate about the impact of the transition on subjective well-being. After reviewing the relevant literature the authors draw on the surveys of the European Values Study of 1991, 1999 and 2008 to describe the trends in life satisfaction in 13 Western and 11 Eastern countries. The analysis finds that life satisfaction levels in transition countries have come to approach those in the West: the ‘rather unhappy’ 1990s were followed by the ‘rather happy’ 2000s. The strengthening correlation between life satisfaction and GDP reflects this process of convergence. The characteristics of respondents, however, are more important than the national GDP, and a regression of life satisfaction with basic demographic and stratification variables shows their reinforcing effect, especially in Eastern countries. The findings of other surveys reporting on developments of attitudes since 2008 vary but are far from proving a uniform negative impact of economic recession on life satisfaction.

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**Mads Dagnis Jensen**
**Game Changing – Tracing the Positions, Strategies and Interaction Modes of the German Länder towards the (Ever Expanding?) European Union**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 263-280

This article investigates how the positions, strategies and modes of interaction of the German Länder have changed over time in response to the process of Europeanization. By applying the method of process tracing within a theoretical framework of rational choice institutionalism, the article concentrates on the Länder's responses to (1) the transfer of policy competences to the European level and (2) the enlargement of the European polity. Thereby, the article sheds new light on the Europeanization of the German federal system. It is shown that the transfer of policy competences to the European level have had the greatest impact on the Länder, which have reacted increasingly strategically by successfully demanding more power in the national coordination mechanism. However, the European Union enlargements have also had an effect as together with the transfer of policy competences they have resulted in a more sceptical attitude of the Länder towards (the perceived ever expanding) European Union.

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**Bulmer Simon**

**Germany and the Eurozone Crisis: Between Hegemony and Domestic Politics**

**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 1244-1263

ABSTRACT: This paper explores Germany's centrality to the outcome of the eurozone crisis. It argues that the eurozone crisis has led Germany's ordo-liberal principles to trump its other longstanding commitment – i.e. to European integration. These two principles are explored in order then to shed light on how they have played out during the crisis. German centrality has created high expectations for it to provide leadership. Exploring hegemony conceptually and in practice, it is argued that international legitimacy and increasing domestic constraints have limited a leadership role. Indeed, it is argued that it is the domestic political situation that explains why ordo-liberalism has trumped pro-Europeanism. Ordo-liberal emphasis on stability culture has provided a valuable strategic resource for securing German objectives within the eurozone while satisfying the requirements of domestic politics.

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**Luchena Giovanni**

**Gli aiuti di Stato e il consolidamento della governance duale nella crisi economica: elementi di innovazione e di continuità**

**in Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno X, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 225-242

The essay examines the evolution of the rules governing the exemption from prior notification for certain categories of State aids. In this regard, Regulation 651/2014 has elements of innovation and continuity in the legal rules on exemptions, as well as the implementation of the dual governance in the process of modernization through the strengthening of cooperation between the Commission and Member States in the control phase. The new Regulation could play a significant role in the
current crisis and could allow States to play a certain role in the economy, even if the mesh of control will not suffer substantial setbacks also because of the unchanged power of control, characterized, as it is known, by wide and quite undisputed discretion.

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**Bachmann Veit**
**Global Europa, ESPON and the EU's Regulated Spaces of Interaction**
in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 685-703

This paper seeks to bring together approaches to sociospatial theorising with debates on the EU's international role. It points to a general lack of engagement with the spatial underpinnings of EU geopolitical agency, citing the example of four visions for 'Europe in the world' from the EU's key spatial think tank (ESPON). Moreover, this paper illustrates how EU geopolitical agency can be better understood when examined in its historical and sociospatial context. Space is not defined as physical space, but as socially produced spaces of interaction within which different actors stand in particular relations to each other. Through the history of European integration, the EU can most effectively exercise influence if such spaces of interaction are regulated and institutionalised, as opposed to disordered and anarchic. Regulated spaces of interaction are therefore a key parameter of EU geopolitical agency and, consequently, the promotion thereof a key objective of EU external relations.

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**Amador João, Cappariello Rita, Stehrer Robert**
**Global Value Chains: A View from the Euro Area**
in **Asian Economic Journal**, Volume 29, Issue 2, June 2015 , pages 99–120

This paper describes the main features of global value chains (GVC) between the euro area taken as a whole and other large world trade players like the USA, China and Japan, which also operate as monetary unions. In addition, the individual euro area countries' perspective is considered, with a specific focus on intra-area linkages. The analysis is primarily based on the concept of foreign value added in exports, which is suitable to assess the pervasiveness of GVC. The paper uses the World Input–Output Database and covers the period 2000–2011, giving also some information on the sectoral dimension of production linkages. The paper concludes that GVC are important for the euro area as whole and there has been a rebound since the trade collapse in 2009. Moreover, there is a strong relevance of regional production linkages in Europe, with a large role for Germany and Central and Eastern European countries.

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**Mikhaïl Narinskiy**
**Gorbatchev, Mitterrand et la réunification de l'Allemagne : la fin de la guerre froide**
in **Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains**, n° 258, 2015/2

Mikhail Gorbatchev et François Mitterrand ont joué de grands rôles dans la réunification de l'Allemagne. Les buts essentiels de Gorbatchev étaient d'éliminer la crise internationale et de continuer la perestroïka en l'URSS. Mitterrand avait pour objectif de conserver l'Allemagne dans le processus d'intégration européenne et de développer ce processus. Ni Gorbatchev ni Mitterrand n'avait la possibilité de faire barrière à l'unification de l'Allemagne.

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**Skovgaard Jakob**
**Greener than expected? EU finance ministries address climate finance**
in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 6, November , 951-969

Climate finance constitutes an integral part of the European Union's climate policy. Yet, climate policy is increasingly addressed by non-environmental institutions. In examining the transfer of climate finance from the Environment Council to the Council for Economic and Financial Affairs (ECOFIN) in spring 2009, I analyse how climate finance has been framed in ECOFIN. Two finance ministerial framings quickly became intrinsic to ECOFIN and had a substantial influence on climate finance decisions: securing an effective response to climate change and limiting public expenditure. While policy entrepreneurs managed to build a consensus on most issues around an effective response to climate change, Member States at the October 2009 ECOFIN Council could not agree on a joint position due to some Member States' emphasis on limiting expenditure. Only the European Council was capable of resolving the issue.

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**Wassenberg Birte**
**Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit in Europa als Mittel der „kleinen" deutschen Außenpolitik: das Beispiel des Oberrheins**
in **Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande**, 47 (2015), 1 , 77–96

No abstract available

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**Chaltiel Florence**
**Grexit et Brexit ou les dangers de l'oubli**
in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 591, septembre , 465-466

No abstract available

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**Vogel Steffen**
**Grexit verhindert, Europa verspielt?**
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 5-8

The full text is free

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/august/grexit-verhindert-europa-verspielt

So tief wie dieser Tage hat die Eurozone noch nie in den Abgrund geblickt. Erstmals in seiner Geschichte drohte dem Währungsverbund der Verlust eines Mitglieds. Die Nacht vom 12. auf den 13. Juli, als in Brüssel Griechenlands Ausscheiden verhindert werden konnte, verdient daher ohne Zweifel das Attribut historisch – ebenso wie der 5. Juli, der Tag des griechischen Referendums. In den sieben Tagen dazwischen wurde aus einem lautstarken Nein zur Austerität ein kleinlautes Ja und damit der Verbleib Griechenlands in der Eurogemeinschaft.
Die rettende Einigung kam denkbar knapp zustande. Noch auf den letzten Metern musste sie gegen die immer offener auftretenden Grexit-Befürworter verteidigt werden. Die französische Regierung – und mit ihr die US-amerikanische – warfen zuletzt ihr ganzes Gewicht und Prestige in die Waagschale, um Hardliner wie den deutschen Finanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble und seinen finnischen Amtskollegen Alexander Stubb auszubremsen. Schäuble hatte zuvor Farbe bekannt, als er am 11. Juli einen „Grexit auf Zeit“ ins Spiel brachte...

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**Hwang Shu-Pern**
**Grundrechte unter Integrationsvorbehalt? Eine rahmenorientierte Überlegung zur Debatte um die Bindung der Mitgliedstaaten an die Unionsgrundrechte**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 4, 2014

No abstract available

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**Startin Nicholas**
**Have we reached a tipping point? The mainstreaming of Euroscepticism in the UK**
**in International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 311-323

ABSTRACT: Stephen George, the eminent scholar of the European Union, famously labelled the UK as the ‘awkward partner’ when analysing the country’s relationship with the EU. The ‘permissive consensus’ evident in most EU nation states, at least prior to Maastricht and more recently the Eurozone crisis, was never ‘clear-cut’ in the UK. However, recent developments have propelled the issue of UK membership to the centre stage of British politics. By analysing some of the key historic variables which have contributed to the UK’s ambivalence and hostility towards the EU as well as more recent factors such as Conservative Party splits over ‘Europe’ and the rise of UKIP, the article focuses on the role and influence of the tabloid press, and in particular the Daily Express, to demonstrate how the debate surrounding UK membership of the EU has completed its journey from the margins to the mainstream of British politics. It concludes that the lack of a ‘level playing-field’ in terms of EU coverage among the UK tabloid press has led to a situation where its citizens, in the context of an ‘in-out’ referendum, are unable to ‘weigh up’ the ‘costs’ and ‘benefits’ of EU membership in a rational and informed fashion.

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**Hartleb Florian**
**Here to stay: anti-establishment parties in Europe**

**in European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 39-49

Public attention has been drawn to the recent successes of the far right. This article claims that a new wave of anti-establishment parties has shaken European politics. A diverse array of outsiders from the left, right and no fixed ideological abode are attacking the mainstream centre–left and centre–right. Their anti-elitist approaches to politics have strategy, topics and style in common. Examples such as Syriza (The Coalition of the Radical Left), Podemos (We can!) and the Five Star Movement (MoVimento Cinque Stelle) show that this provocative new spectre of the twenty-first century is not just right wing.

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**Dalston Ward, Jeong Hyun Kim, Matthew Graham, and Margit Tavits**
**How Economic Integration Affects Party Issue Emphases**
**in Comparative Political Studies** , 48 (10) , 1227-1259

The economic dimension has typically been considered the primary dimension of political party competition. However, parties often rally voters on the basis of non-economic issues. In this article, we argue that integration into global markets and into the European Union (EU) constrains parties' abilities to credibly differentiate themselves on economic issues. Given these constraints, and voters' awareness of them, parties activate other non-economic issues along which to compete. Using data across 49 countries between 1961 and 2010, this study shows that increased economic integration is associated with increased emphasis on non-economic issues during election campaigns. This effect persists over time and remains robust to a number of alternative explanations and modeling strategies. We also explore the proposed causal mechanisms and show that integration is indeed associated with convergence of party positions on economic issues and that all types of parties—not just new and niche parties—respond to integration by politicizing non-economic issues. Finally, we leverage the latest round of EU enlargement to causally identify the effect of integration on party strategies.

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**Slapin Jonathan B.**
**How European Union Membership Can Undermine the Rule of Law in Emerging Democracies**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 3 , 627-648

ABSTRACT: The European Union views the spread of economic prosperity and rule of law to countries emerging from dictatorship as among its primary goals when considering countries as candidates for membership. Existing literature often suggests that EU membership confers significant benefits on the accession countries, and these countries are willing to undergo costly and difficult reforms to reap these benefits. Through strict membership conditions, member states force accession countries to commit to democracy. Drawing on theoretical work in the fields of law, politics, and economics, this article reassesses the conventional wisdom. It argues that, under certain conditions, the reforms required of would-be members could have the perverse effect of undermining the establishment of legitimate law in transitional democracies. Using an agent-based model, the article elucidates a theory in which placing laws on the books around which no societal consensus exists can create perverse incentives for citizens and government officials and may lead to an erosion of the rule of law.

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**Peglis Michalis**
**How can European political parties maximise their success in the 2019 elections?**
**in European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 21-30

During the 24 years that have passed since the Maastricht Treaty, there has been unprecedented progress in both the deepening and the widening of the EU. The European party federations, however, have not kept pace. This has created an asymmetry between the deepening of integration in the EU and its politically miniscule European political parties. There are several issues that need to be addressed. Doing so might improve the situation in the medium term.

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**Henökl Thomas E.**
**How do EU Foreign Policy-Makers Decide? Institutional Orientations within the European External Action Service**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 3 , 679-708

ABSTRACT: Four years after its formal establishment, the European External Action Service (EEAS) remains in a state of complex and overlapping areas of competence. There are interlocking layers of political and administrative governance, where the service has to interact with, and answer to, different national and intergovernmental political masters as well as supranational actors, notably the European Commission and the European Parliament. The formal political decision-making power with regard to the EU's common foreign and security policy lies with the Council, whilst substantial competences, notably in the field of the European Neighbourhood (ENP) and trade policies, as well as development and cooperation, remain under the control of the European Commission. The EEAS's autonomy and institutional orientation are both much debated and empirically unexplored. Based on quantitative and qualitative data, this article undertakes a behavioural analysis of EEAS decision-making. Empirical findings suggest that there are competing institutional logics at work among different groups of staff which affect their respective administrative decisional behaviour. Supranational recruits tend to be more community-minded, whereas officials with an intergovernmental background have a propensity to be more member state oriented.

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**Levi Lucio**
**How to Govern Disorder at Europe's Borders**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

In an interview published in Welt am Sonntag on 8 March Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, said "With its own army, Europe could react more credibly to the threat to peace in a member state or in a neighboring state…Such an army would help us to form common foreign and security policies and allow Europe to take on responsibility in the world". This is the most recent and influential statement that a new priority is emerging in the

European political agenda as an undeferrable necessity: European defense. This need manifests itself when the measures for the stabilization of the euro have proved unquestionably successful and the Juncker Plan has promoted an investment fund, destined to grow in the next years.

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**Arthur Borriello and Amandine Crespy**
**How to not speak the 'F-word': Federalism between mirage and imperative in the euro crisis**
**in European Journal of Political Research**, Volume 54, Issue 3 , 502–524

The recent financial and debt crisis has resuscitated the debate about European federalism – a theme that seemed not to have survived the painful constitutional adventure that ended with the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. With the adoption of significant policy and institutional measures for tightening macroeconomic and budgetary coordination (including a constitutionally enshrined debt brake), the reforms of the monetary union have undisputedly brought the European Union further on the path towards an ever closer union. In an era where EU integration has been increasingly politicised, and Euroscepticism has been on the rise and exploited by anti-system parties, national leaders have to face a political hiatus and respond to increased needs for symbolic and discursive legitimation of further federalisation. This is all the more crucial for French and German leaders who have brokered the main decisions during the crisis of the eurozone. Against this background, the purpose of this article is not to assess whether, or to what extent, the recent reforms of economic and monetary union have made the EU more federal. Rather, the purpose is to tackle the following puzzle: How have EU leaders legitimised the deepening of federal integration in a context where support for more European federalism is at its lowest? To elucidate this, a lexicographic discourse analysis is conducted based on all speeches held by the German Chancellor Merkel and the two French Presidents Sarkozy and Hollande, previous to, or after European summits from early 2010 until the spring of 2013. The findings indicate that federalism is both taboo and pervasive in French and German leaders' discourse. The paradox is barely apparent, though. While the 'F-word' is rarely spoken aloud, two distinctive visions co-exist in the French and German discourse. The coming of age of a political union through constitutional federalism is pictured as ineluctable, yet as a distant mirage out of reach of today's decision makers. At the same time, the deepening of functional federalism in order to cope with economic interdependence is a ubiquitous imperative that justifies further integration. The persisting gap between the constitutional and the functional vision of European federalism has crucial implications. Insofar as the Union is held responsible for not delivering successful economic policy, political leaders will fail to legitimise both functional and constitutional federalism.

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**Ülgen Sinan**
**How 'Brexit' could end the EU-Turkey deadlock**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

It is testimony to the short-sightedness of both sides that more than half a century after their formal engagement, and a decade of membership negotiations, the Turkey-EU relationship is stalled and its future uncertain. The Turkish body politic is blameworthy because it failed to seize crucial moments to fully anchor Turkey in the EU.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Ciancio Adriana**
**I nodi della governance europea: euro, politica fiscale, bilancio unico dell'Unione. Per una nuova legittimazione democratica della BCE**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 16

I nodi della governance europea: euro, politica fiscale, bilancio unico dell'Unione. Per una nuova legittimazione democratica della BCE European Central Bank, ECB,
di

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**Ruccia Nicola**
**Il Meccanismo di sorveglianza unico nella prospettiva dell'Unione bancaria: problemi aperti**
**in Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno X, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 273-290

The aim of this paper is to analyse the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM), established by Regulation (EU) No 1024/2013, particularly with regard to the relationship the SSM establishes between the ECB and national authorities of the participating Member States. It is firstly focused on the analysis of the general rule contained in Art. 6, para. 3, of the Regulation and on the evaluation of the criterion for the allocation of specific powers. Secondly, it examines the relationship between the ECB and EBA in the supervision of credit institutions. Finally it shows the deficiencies in the SSM.

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**Claudio Catalano**
**Il Presidente della Commissione Juncker propone un esercito europeo**
**in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, n.3 , 89-98

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Asta Gabriele**
**Il Protocollo n. 16 alla CEDU: chiave di volta del sistema europeo di tutela dei diritti umani?**
**in Comunità Internazionale (La)**, Vol. LXVIII, n. 4, quarto trimestre , 773-791

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Francesca Rosignoli**
**Il deficit democratico dell'Europa. Due punti di vista**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

I saggi che qui si prendono in considerazione offrono importanti spunti di riflessione non solo per comprendere le ragioni della crisi istituzionale in cui si trova attualmente l'Europa, ma anche per indagare su alcuni possibili rimedi a tale crisi. Malgrado i due autori abbiano analizzato il problema della crisi istituzionale seguendo diversi punti di vista (strettamente giuridico per Guarino, più "politico" per Grimm), è possibile rintracciare un punto di convergenza di questi contributi che può essere sintetizzato con il problema del
deficit democratico dell'Unione Europea e con l'idea, comune a entrambi, che l'Europa abbia agito in questi anni secondo una mera logica di "sottrazione", limitando la sovranità nazionale degli Stati membri e condizionandone le politiche economiche, senza offrire però un idoneo bilanciamento e una valida alternativa alla categoria giuridica dello Stato-Nazione, necessaria per fronteggiare le sfide che la globalizzazione pone all'Europa.

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**Sergio Fabbrini**
**Il nuovo populismo europeo**
**in Mulino (il)**, n.5 , 822-829

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Dieter Grimm**
**Il ruolo dei parlamenti nazionali nell'Unione Europea**
**in Nomos**, 2/2015

Si assiste secondo l'autore ad un ridimensionamento del ruolo dei parlamenti nazionali, e in questo modo del potere legislativo, non a vantaggio del Parlamento Europeo, quanto dei governi nazionali e del potere esecutivo, mentre l'incremento di competenze che il Parlamento Europeo ha invocato e ricevuto non è
sufficiente a compensare questa perdita di importanza. Anche a livello europeo il Parlamento resta debole, persino in confronto ai parlamenti nazionali. Una migliore attribuzione di competenze potrebbe anche essere immaginabile, ma non eliminerebbe il deficit di
legittimazione dell'UE.

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**Wessels Ramses A.**

**Immunities of the European Union**

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 395-418

ABSTRACT: The question of the immunities of the European Union ('eu') is clearly under-researched. However, with the new global ambitions of the eu, which are even more prominent in the current — post-Lisbon Treaty — legal regime, the classic institutional law theme of the immunities of international organizations deserves to be addressed in the context of the eu as well. This contribution first of all looks into the legal position of the eu under international law. This is followed by an analysis of the legal provisions on the eu's immunities in the treaties and other relevant documents. The paper also addresses actual and potential situations in which eu immunities are or can be invoked. It is concluded that, although the eu's legal regime in this area follows the rules of international diplomatic law, it is special because of the extensive, yet complex, international competences of the eu as well as of the role of the organization's own Court of Justice.

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**Sindbjerg Martinsen Dorte, Vollaard Hans**

**Implementing Social Europe in Times of Crises: Re-established Boundaries of Welfare?**

in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 677-692

ABSTRACT: This volume examines the state of social Europe when European Union principles and policies have to be implemented in the member states while the EU legitimacy crisis and the Great Recession prevail. The volume explores diverse processes, stages and subjects of implementation in a variety of social policies to identify different institutional dynamics and actor behaviours at play. The individual contributions examine the transposition of the patients' rights directive to the Europeanisation of pension reforms; the role of national parliaments in transposing social Europe; judicial Europeanisation; and the multi-level enforcement of EU decisions. Theoretically, the volume highlights that implementation is often conditioned by domestic politics or comes as a 'random walk' due to organisational and cognitive constraints. Empirically, the volume has three main findings. First, the constitutive components of the EU tend to have a contradictory impact on the EU's social policies and the national welfare systems. Second, crises influence the implementation of social Europe, at times leading to a modification of fundamental principles and content, but not across the board. Third, as a result, there is evidence of differentiated Europeanisation.

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**Lange Nico**

**In search of the 'core electorate': how should political parties react to an individualistic society?**

in **European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 13-19

Voters are becoming unstable in their voting behaviour, and party identification is in decline. These are only two of the developments that have their roots in a more individualistic society. Parties are confronted with these developments and have to find a way to maintain their attraction for the electorate. This article illustrates the challenges for parties and gives recommendations for action to maintain political stability.

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**Salvati Pierluigi**
**Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union after Charlie Hebdo: What Role for the EU Intelligence Analysis Center?**
in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno X, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 291-318

The terrorist attacks in Paris in early 2015 against the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo by Islamic extremists have drawn attention to the deficiencies of intelligence cooperation within the European Union as well as the weaknesses of the current bodies charged with collection and analysis functions existing therein (Europol, EUMS IntDir, IntCen). Among them, the EU Intelligence
Analysis Center (IntCen) is the main hub charged with analysing privileged information provided by member States as well asgathering and analysing open source information. The Union has gradually developed a cooperation within the broader framework of the common foreign and security policy (CFSP) which has also concerned the intelligence means, the IntCen representing
the arrival point of this path; however, the limits of such policies in the current EU institutional and
regulatory framework, whose normative steps will be examined, have led the IntCen to suffer from a number of criticalities which should be overtaken. The present work focuses upon the need of a strengthened IntCen in order to provide the EU with a stronger intelligence body to better answer the challenges it has to face, and critically considers to this purpose the proposal to overtake the present cooperation approach pivoted on the Center by establishing a downright EU Intelligence
Agency with a wider mandate and more effective tools.

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**Andreas Dür, Patrick Bernhagen, and David Marshall**
**Interest Group Success in the European Union: When (and Why) Does Business Lose?**
in **Comparative Political Studies** , 48 (8) , 951-983

Business lobbying is widespread in the European Union (EU). But because not all lobbying is successful, the following question arises: When does business win and when does it lose in the context of legislative policy making in the EU? We argue that business actors are, overall, less successful than citizen groups in the European policy process. However, they can protect their interests if interest group conflict is low or the role of the European Parliament is restricted. A new data set on the positions of more than 1,000 non-state actors with respect to 70 legislative acts proposed by the European Commission between 2008 and 2010 allows us to evaluate this argument. Empirical support for our expectations is highly robust. Our findings have implications for the literature on legislative decision-making in the EU and for research on non-state actors in international organizations.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Andreas Dür, Patrick Bernhagen, and David Marshall**

**Interest Group Success in the European Union: When (and Why) Does Business Lose?**
in **Comparative Political Studies** , 48 (8) , 951-983

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**Brack Nathalie, Startin Nicholas**
**Introduction: Euroscepticism, from the margins to the mainstream**
in **International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 239-249

ABSTRACT: With the advent of the Eurozone crisis, Euroscepticism has become increasingly mainstreamed. This is discernible across Europe at the level of public opinion, among political parties and civil society groups, within the EU institutions themselves and in terms of changing and more challenging media discourses. Against the backdrop of the 2014 European elections and a potential referendum on UK membership of the EU, the purpose of this article is to introduce an evolving debate. It begins with discussion of the 'state of the art' with regard to the study of Euroscepticism, before focusing on the significance of the latest European elections themselves. It then provides an overview of the various articles in the collection, explaining their relevance in helping to unravel the complexity and diversity of opposition towards 'Europe' and the extent to which Euroscepticism has become part of the mainstream with regard to European political debate.

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**de Vries Hent**
**Invocatio Dei, la discipline de la tolérance, et la vérité de la vérité. J.H.H. Weiler et la Constitution de l'Europe**
in **Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire**, n° 62 , 27-62

On fait souvent remarquer que les États membres de l'Union européenne se sont engagés par la loi à respecter le principe de l'État soi-disant impartial ou agnostique, qui garantit à ses citoyens ou sujets à la fois la liberté de religion et la liberté vis-à-vis de la religion. Aux yeux du droit constitutionnel européen, la neutralité de l'État en matière de religion est une condition sine qua non pour...
Plan de l'article

Le contexte
L'argument
La discipline de la tolérance et l'optique de la spiritualité

Dépositaire de valeurs, d'idéaux et de symboles
Objections évidentes
La vérité de la vérité
Somme toute

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**Elisabetta Nadalutti**
**Is EU Cross-border Cooperation Ethical? Reading Cross-border Cooperation Through the 'Needs for Roots' by Simone Weil**
**in Geopolitics**, Volume 20, Issue 3 , 485-512

This article applies Simone Weil's philosophical concept of 'uprootedness' and the '14 needs of the soul', set out in her 1943 book 'The Need for Roots', to the empirical case study of the border 'Italy-Slovenia' considered within Programme 2007–2013. A multi-dimensional qualitative approach that relies on an extensive literature, consultation of primary sources and semi-structured interviews carried out between October 2013 and February 2014 has been adopted.

The article questions why does cross-border-cooperation often fail to develop an 'integrated' border territory and a cohesive 'moral' community? Conversely, why does social fragmentation emerge from cross-border-cooperation? It is argued that while the EU (Commission) has focused on initiatives and projects in order to achieve regional, economic border integration, it has instead failed to develop an 'ethical framework' for promoting a 'rooted' integrated borderland and a cohesive moral community.

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**Cirillo Valeria, Guarascio Dario**
**Jobs and Competitiveness in a Polarised Europe**
**in Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2015 , Pages 156-160 

In the aftermath of the crisis, Europe is becoming more polarised in terms of employment, competitiveness and industrial specialisation. A "German-centred core"–which maintained employment and production–has emerged, contrasted by a "Southern periphery", where major economic losses have occurred. Such geographical divergence is associated with a further polarisation in terms of skills. A new European industrial policy is needed to reverse this polarisation process and its dangerous implications for trade balances and cohesion.

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**Schmidt Susanne K.**
**Judicial Europeanisation: The Case of Zambrano in Ireland**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 769-785

ABSTRACT: The Court of Justice of the European Union is an important motor of integration and is said to be particularly strong in those cases where the Council shows an inability to act. What is the relevance of the Court to social Europe? Europeanisation studies analyse how member states change due to European integration. Judicial Europeanisation is a topic that is under-explored in the literature. Using a case-study approach, this paper analyses the Zambrano case, one of the most notable recent cases of judicial activism of the CJEU with regard to EU citizenship rights. Although the literature often assumes that member states only reluctantly embrace the requirements of case law, the Irish government immediately obliged its administration to implement the required changes. Analysing this case in greater detail and comparing it to the responses of several other member states promises to shed some light on the under-explored question of how Europeanisation through case law proceeds, and what the Court may contribute to social Europe.

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**Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen**

**Judicial Influence on Policy Outputs? The Political Constraints of Legal Integration in the European Union**

**in Comparative Political Studies** , 48 (12) , 1622-1660

The ability of courts to generate political change has long been debated in national, comparative, and international politics. In the examination of the interaction between judicial and legislative politics, scholars have disagreed on the degree of judicial power and the ability of politics to override unwanted jurisprudence. In this debate, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) has become famous for its central and occasionally controversial role in European integration. This article examines to what extent and under which conditions judicial decisions influence European Union (EU) social policy outputs. A taxonomy of judicial influence is constructed, and expectations of institutional and political conditions on judicial influence are presented. The analysis draws on an extensive novel data set and examines judicial influence on EU social policies over time, that is, between 1958 and 2014, as well as for case studies of working-time regulations and patients' rights. The findings demonstrate that both the codification and overriding of judicial decisions are unlikely in the contemporary EU-28 of fragmented politics. However, modification and nonadoption constitute other political responses to attenuate unwelcome jurisprudence and constrain the legislative effect of judicial decisions.

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**Müller Harald**

**Konturen einer neuen europäischen Friedensordnung**

**in Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 62, Heft 3, 2015 , 306 - 322

Abstract

The european peace order needs a new start after the Ukraine war. It is necessary to recognize the new division of Europe through a systemic conflict between democratic and non-democratic systems of rule which have to live together despite their differences. The experiences from past détente policy offer important lessons. To avoid undesirable surprises, the West, decisively superior to its rival, must understand its past mistakes in treating Russia without excusing Moscow's breach of international law. The revival of OSCE and the NATO-Russia-Council, the constructive engagement

of the proposal of a European security treaty, and regular cooperative relations between the western institutions NATO and EU and the smaller regional organisations led by Russia are appropriate pillars of a new order.

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**Lenaerts Koen**
**Kooperation und Spannung im Verhältnis von EuGH und nationalen Verfassungsgerichten**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 1, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**kirchhof Ferdinand**
**Kooperation zwischen nationalen und europäischen Gerichten**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 3, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Ludwigs Markus**
**Kooperativer Grundrechtsschutz zwischen EuGH, BVerG und EGMR**
**in Europaische Grundrechte zeitschrift**, vol. 41, issue 9-12, Juni , 273-284

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Möllers Christoph**
**Krisenzurechnung und Legitimationsproblematik in der Europäischen Union**
**in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft** , Volume 43 (2015), Issue 3, 2015 , 339-364

Abstract

Making the „European Union“ responsible for the social and political crisis in Europe today invokes the question: who is addressed by this imputation. In most cases the supranational organs are meant: the European Commission, the European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank. According to widespread opinion, they have become increasingly independent from member state democratic politics. But an analysis of the development within the EU since

the Treaty of Maastricht shows another picture. Particularly for the European Commission, it is increasingly difficult to define a political profile on new policy areas. Meanwhile, many crises of the European Union, from the euro to its lethal migration policies, are better interpreted as the result of incoherent policy preferences of the member states. While they endorse sectoral Europeanization, they are not ready to accept many of its practical implications, which they blame on the „EU“. This is also a challenge for democratic theory, because we are dealing with problematic - but not necessarily democratically illegitimate - decisions. Therefore, the crisis is not aptly understood as the result of either loose European institutions or a lack of democratic input, but rather as the product of a problematic form of self-government. In this constellation it would be a wrong alternative to have to choose between either a hermetic national concept of democracy or a moral duty to further European integration.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Ferrari Zumbin Romano**
**L'Europa fra sovranità indecisa ed ipertrofia. Sciogliere le sovrapposizioni per un'Europa più snella?**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 13

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Tallet Pier-François**
**L'Union européenne et l'unification des certifications professionelles européennes: vers une plus grande mobilité intracommunautaire**
**in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 591, septembre , 484-488

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-46662.htm

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Marco Pacini**
**L'accesso dell'Unione europea alla Cedu: chiusura del cerchio o camicia di forza?**
**in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico**, No. 2 , 757-763

In an advisory opinion of last year, the European Court of Justice rejected the compatibility with the Treaties of a draft agreement on the accession of the EU to the ECHR. Common to the complex reason provided by the Court is an unconvincing rationale underlying the draft, which considers the EU as a contracting party that operates alongside the Member States, rather than the overarching component of the composite European legal order.

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**Ingolf Pernice**
**L'adhésion de l'Union européenne à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme est suspendue. Remarques à propos d'un avis surprenant de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne du 18 décembre 2014**
**in Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 47-72

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Wolfgang Streeck**
**L'egemonia tedesca che la Germania non vuole**
**in Mulino (il)**, n.4 , 601-613

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mangiameli Stelio**
**L'esercizio dei poteri concorrenti nell'ordinamento dell'Unione europea e il suo impatto sui sistemi giuridici degli Stati membri**
**in Italian Papers on Federalism**, 3/2014

This paper aims to analyse concurrent powers of the European Union, that are not a recent acquisition and require a somewhat different examination with respect to the meaning of concurrent powers according to the federalist theory; and the reason for this lies in the structure and history of the European Institutions.
Only with the Treaty of Lisbon the distribution of powers takes on the constitutional characteristics of the federal type, albeit with major limitations.
In particular, the choice of envisaging a single modal discipline, as competence of the Union, for the economic, occupational and social policies of the Member States, even though other shortcomings may be found in the monetary and fiscal policy, helps understand that the governments of the Member States were not at all far-sighted in envisaging the powers that they should have envisaged for the European level, in order to face the economic and financial crisis that struck a profoundly unprepared Europe at the very time when the Lisbon Treaty was being adopted.

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**Zampini Florence**
**L'exemple italien: une responsabilité financière pour les régions, contrepartie de leurs compétences en matière européenne**
**in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 590, juillet-août , 416-424

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-45502.htm

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pietro Faraguna**
**L'identità nazionale nell'Unione europea come problema e come soluzione**
**in Mulino (il)**, n.5 , 866-875

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Giuseppe Marotta**
**L'uscita dall'euro: uno strumento adatto a quale obiettivo?**
**in Mulino (il)**, n.3 , 522-530

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Triulzi Umberto**
**La Crisi della Grecia è la Crisi dell'Europa?**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 15

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Antonin Céline, Sampognaro Raul, Timbeau Xavier, Villemot Sébastien**
**La Grèce sur la corde raide**
**in Revue de l'OFCE**, N° 138, 2015/2 , 223-263

In this article, we analyze the budgetary and banking situation of Greece, as well as the latest economic developments. We then describe the potential consequences if Greece were to leave the euro area. Finally, under the assumption that Greece will remain in the euro area, we present several possible macroeconomic scenarios in the long run (by 2050), focusing on public debt path. We conclude that the most reasonable scenario is the debt restructuring one, which durably dispels the specter of a Grexit. This scenario reduces the amount of internal devaluation required to stabilize the Greek external position. If the Eurogroup were to refuse a Greek debt restructuring, then a new assistance program should be implemented in a short time-span. This program should amount to approximately 95 billion euros, and it will prove efficient only if Greece is able and willing to run high primary budgetary surpluses in the coming decades.

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**Colombo Arturo**
**La Pan-Europa di Coudenhove-Kalergi**
**in Nuova Antologia**, fasc. 2274, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Sofía Boza y Ana Fernández-Ardavín**
**La Política Agrícola Común Europea en el contexto de los procesos de negociación en la OMC.**
**in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, n.181 , 51-68

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Marta Picchi**
**La delegittimazione dell'Unione Europea: ripensare il processo di integrazione attraverso la realizzazione di un modello sociale europeo**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

Questa riflessione muove dall'analisi dell'accresciuta insufficiente legittimazione democratica dell'entità sovranazionale, dell'indebolimento del Parlamento europeo e di quelli nazionali, dell'acuirsi delle diversità tra gli Stati membri che porta a distinguere all'interno dell'Europa del Mercato Unico un'Europa dell'Unione Economica e Monetaria (UEM) proiettata verso un'unione politica e della necessità di prestare una maggiore attenzione alla garanzia dei diritti fondamentali – in particolare quelli sociali – per individuare le prospettive delle ulteriori fasi di integrazione e valutare l'esigenza di realizzare un modello finalizzato a combattere efficacemente l'esclusione sociale promuovendo la giustizia, la coesione economica e sociale e la solidarietà.

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**Manzella Andrea**
**La democraticità del processo legislativo dell'Unione Europea**
**in Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico**, Quad. 2014 , 7-16

No abstract available

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**Cecchetti Marcello**
**La difficile coerenza tra obiettivi e strumenti nella riforma costituzionale della forma di stato regionale e un 'mito' da abbandonare**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 13

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**Dieter Grimm**
**La forza dell'UE sta in una accorta autolimitazione**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

SOMMARIO: 1. Introduzione. – 2. Il deficit di rappresentatività del Parlamento europeo. – 3. Cambiamenti sostanziali senza modifiche dei Trattati. – 4. La "costituzionalizzazione" dei Trattati. – 5. Lo scardinamento indiretto degli standard nazionali. – 6. L'autonomizzazione dei poteri esecutivo e giudiziario. – 7. Quanto sono forti i legàmi?

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**Bart Vanhercke, Jonathan Zeitlin**
**La governance economica nella strategia Europa 2020: una socializzazione del semestre europeo contro ogni previsione?**
**in Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno L, n. 212, gennaio-aprile , 19-43

No abstract available

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**Thom Francoise**
**La guerre cachée du Kremlin contre l'Europe**
**in Politique internationale**, N°147 - PRINTEMPS

En 1945-1946, au fur et à mesure que Staline révélait de plus en plus ouvertement son intention de soviétiser les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale occupés par l'Armée rouge, en violation des engagements de Yalta, les Occidentaux oscillaient entre deux interprétations du comportement soviétique. Pour les uns, le dictateur du Kremlin agissait de la sorte à cause du traumatisme qu'avait constitué l'attaque allemande qui, pensait-on, avait provoqué chez lui un profond sentiment d'insécurité. Afin de le ramener à de meilleures dispositions, il convenait de le rassurer, de donner des garanties de sécurité à l'URSS.

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**Heyer Eric, Timbeau Xavier**
**La reprise qui s'annonce Perspectives 2015-2016 pour la zone euro et le reste du monde**
**in Revue de l'OFCE**, N° 138, 2015/2 , 5-80

While up to now the euro zone had not been part of the global recovery, favourable factors (the fall in oil prices and depreciation of the euro) will unleash a more sustained process of growth. These developments are occurring at a time when the massive and synchronised fiscal austerity that had pushed the euro zone back into recession in 2011 is easing. The brakes on growth are gradually being lifted ; with the result that in 2015 and 2016 GDP should rise by 1.6% and 2%, respectively, which will reduce unemployment by half a point per year. However, with an unemployment rate of 10.5% at the end of 2016, the social situation will remain precarious and the threat of deflation is not going away.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Aravantinou Leonidi Giulia**
**La sfida di Atene all'Europa dell'austerità: il referendum del 5 luglio 2015**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII- Nr 14 -

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Benoist Alain de**
**La strategia del caos degli Usa e la mancanza di una politica estera europea**
**in Diorama**, numero 325, maggio-giugno 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Preud'homme Laura**
**Le principe de non-discrimination dans l'Union européenne: propos introductifs**
**in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 591, septembre , 483-484

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Domenico Moro**
**Le ”quattro unioni” e gli “accordi contrattuali per le riforme strutturali” dopo il Consiglio europeo del 19 e 20 dicembre 2013**
in **Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVI, Numero 1-2

Il documento presentato al Consiglio europeo del 5 dicembre 2012 (“Verso un’autentica unione economica e monetaria”) elenca le “quattro unioni” secondo un piano a tappe, condiviso da tutte le istituzioni europee. Si tratta dell’unione bancaria, fiscale, economica e, infine, politica, da realizzarsi in successione.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pisaneschi Andrea**
**Legittimo secondo la Corte di Giustizia il piano di allentamento monetario (OMT) della BCE. Una decisione importante anche in relazione alla crisi greca**
in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 13

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Guillard Christine**
**Les collectivités territoriales et les règles européennes de compensation des obligations de service public: les risques juridiques**
in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 590, juillet-août , 396-415

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-45502.htm

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Blumann Claude**
**Les collectivités territoriales face au droit de l'Union européenne: quelle responsabilité? - Rapport de synthèse**
in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 590, juillet-août , 425-432

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-45502.htm

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Delatte Anne-Laure**
**Les failles de la gouvernance européenne**
in **Esprit**, Août/septembre 2015 , 198-200

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Julian Jaursch**
**Let's Agree to Agree: Regional Interest Representation in the Negotiations for the 2007–13 and 2014–20 Structural Funds in Germany**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 189-208

The negotiating powers of regional authorities in the European Union (EU) have become more evident, especially with decentralization and regionalization happening across Europe. This empirical case study of regional interest representation offers a comparative analysis of the negotiations for the 2007–13 and 2014–20 EU Structural Funds. Based on qualitative interviews with German subnational officials, this paper explores how the German federal states (Länder) represented their interests at the federal and supranational level. It will be shown that the modes of interest representation changed which can largely be attributed to social learning. This article contributes to existing literature by illustrating the move towards co-operative interest representation with intra-state subnational mobilization.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Fouskas Vassilis K.**
**Letter from Athens**
**in Political Quarterly** , Volume 86, Issue 3, July–September 2015 , 353–358

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Lequesne Christian**
**L'Allemagne et la puissance en Europe**
**in Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande**, 47 (2015), 1 , 5-13

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Callaioli Archimede**
**L'Euro(pa) e la crisi**
**in Diorama**, numero 325, maggio-giugno 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Benoist Alain de, Arthuis Jean**
**L'Europa è entrata in una logica di sottomissione?**
**in Diorama**, numero 325, maggio-giugno 2015

No abstract available

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**L'Union douanière européenne : bilan et perspectives d'avenir**
**in Revue internationale de droit économique** , t. XXVIII, 2014/4

Créée à la fin des années 1960, l'Union douanière européenne (UDE) constitue la base de la construction européenne. Dotée d'un territoire douanier commun et d'un tarif douanier extérieur, interdisant les droits de douane et les taxes d'effet équivalent entre les États membres, l'évolution de l'UDE n'a jamais été un processus facile. Sur le plan réglementaire, c'est toujours le Code des douanes communautaire (1992) qui continue à s'appliquer ; le Code des douanes modernisé (2008) s'est vu abandonner ; le Code des douanes de l'Union (2013) sera effectivement applicable à partir de 2016 seulement. Afin d'améliorer le fonctionnement de l'UDE, plusieurs programmes ont été lancés, de Douane 2000 à Douane 2020. Mais, pour mieux préparer l'UDE aux défis de l'avenir, il est important de se diriger vers un seul et unique Code des douanes européen, d'harmoniser les sanctions douanières au niveau européen et de créer une administration des douanes européenne unique.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Lupo Nicola**
**L'iniziativa legislativa nella forma di governo del l'Unione europea ed il ruolo dei Parlamenti nazionali**
**in Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico**, Quad. 2014 , 17-52

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Paolo Ponzano**
**L'integrazione differenziata nell'ambito dell'Unione europea e la "costituzionalizzazione" dell'eurozona**
**in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVII, n. 1-2

L'integrazione differenziata (o integrazione flessibile, secondo un'altra definizione) nell'ambito dell'Unione europea costituisce una realtà giuridica e politica fin dagli inizi della costruzione europea, anche se la sua applicazione è

divenuta molto più importante a partire dai Trattati di Maastricht e di Amsterdam.
L'integrazione differenziata nell'ambito dell'Unione è oggi divenuta una necessità politica, volta a fornire una soluzione a due questioni differenti ma complementari che rischiavano di frenare l'approfondimento del processo di integrazione europea: da una parte l'esistenza di posizioni diverse tra gli Stati membri relativamente agli obiettivi dell'integrazione, dall'altra la prospettiva di un allargamento senza precedenti a dodici nuovi Stati che avrebbe reso ancora più complesso il processo decisionale in seno all'Unione (soprattutto nei numerosi casi nei quali i Trattati mantengono in vigore la regola dell'unanimità).

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Nigoul Claude**
**L'énergie dans les relations Europe-Russie Moteur de coopération ou arme de guerre**
**in Europe en formation (L')**, n° 374, 2014/4 , 94-115

The events taking place in Ukraine since the end of 2013 have enlightened the European energetic dependancy towards Russia, its main supplier. Until then, Europeans were coping with it through a dynamic management, aiming at stabilysing relations with their huge Eastern neighbour through an ambitious partnership agreement and a structured dialog as regards to energy. After some first alerts temporarily solved, the Ukrainian crisis, revealing the clash between the will of Moscow to regain its power status and that of Washington to oppose it, the question of energy relations between Europe, engaged more or less ardently behind the United States and Russia, arises with enhanced sharpness. What alternatives do we have in Europe to reduce dependence? Can it claim to self-sufficiency? Can it find credible alternative suppliers? How can Russia use energy as a commercial and political weapon and forego traditional clients? Could Russia consider turning to Asia? What would be the political price? These issues cannot find answers without adressing a large geopolitical vision, which requires a fair solution to the Ukrainian dispute, opening a controlled cooperation at the continental scale, from Brest to Vladivostok.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mény Yves**
**Managing the EU Crises: Another Way of Integration by Stealth?**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 1336-1353

ABSTRACT: Europe has been hit hard by the financial and economic crisis, and there is no fast solution in view. The problem facing the EU is a problem of governance both technically and politically. Most actors, with the possible exception of the ECB, are in disarray because they are caught between the necessity to act and the political reluctance to acknowledge fully the consequences of a multi-level governance system, notably democratic legitimacy and accountability. The discrepancy between political rhetoric and actual practices during the crisis appears as a new form of government by stealth. There is not yet an obvious way out of this morass. The first one seems the easiest as it would be nothing more than 'muddling through' as usual, whereas the second option, a two-speed Europe, though more politically attractive, is technically very difficult to implement institutionally. The third possible solution is paradoxically the one that surreptitiously persists at present: a 'federalism of executives' that is both unmanageable in the long run and unacceptable from a democratic point of view.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Chiara Steindler**
**Mapping out the institutional geography of external security in the EU**
**in European Security**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 402-419

The growth of European Union (EU) competences in the field of external security in the last decade has produced a substantial increase in the number of EU institutions and bureaucratic actors engaged in the planning and management of these policies. Moreover, the expansion of competences in such a sovereign sensitive area comes up against the persistent intergovernmental nature of the security sector. This has resulted, on the one hand, in a complex institutional architecture with heavy demands in terms of coordination, and on the other hand, in a stark differentiation and stratification of the legal regimes with a potential to impact on policy outcomes. This state of uncertainty is particularly relevant when looking at relations with countries bordering the Union, as the long-standing web of interactions there has developed a more complex institutional environment. While most of the scholarly literature focuses on single institutional sectors or policies (Common Security and Defence Policy, European Neighbourhood Policy, or the external side of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice), this study seeks to address the issue with a comprehensive analysis of the institutional framework that has emerged in the last decade, more notably, since the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. The article provides, first, an overview of the EU's institutional actors responsible for security policies in the regions bordering the EU, and second, an examination of the different mechanisms established to address the coordination issue. Finally, this study will argue that the traditional military dimension is but one, and certainly not the most developed, of the security instruments employed by the EU. At another level, it will be argued that the shift of focus from the military to other security tools has altered the institutional balance in the security sector, substantially adding to the relative influential weight of the Commission.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Valentine Gill, Piekut Aneta,Winiarska Aleksandra, Harris Catherine, Jacksonand Lucy**
**Mapping the meaning of 'difference' in Europe: A social topography of prejudice**
**in Ethnicities**, Vol. 15, n. 4 , 568-585

his paper draws on original empirical research to investigate popular understandings of prejudice in two national contexts: Poland and the United Kingdom. The paper demonstrates how common-sense meanings of prejudice are inflected by the specific histories and geographies of each place: framed in terms of 'distance' (Poland) and 'proximity' (United Kingdom), respectively. Yet, by treating these national contexts as nodes and linking them analytically the paper also exposes a connectedness in these definitions which brings into relief the common processes that produce prejudice. The paper then explores how inter-linkages between the United Kingdom and Poland within the wider context of the European Union are producing – and circulating through the emerging international currency of 'political correctness' – a common critique of equality legislation and a belief that popular concerns about the way national contexts are perceived to be changing as a consequence of super mobility and super diversity are being silenced. This raises a real risk that in the context of European austerity and associated levels of socioeconomic insecurity, negative attitudes and conservative values may begin to be represented as popular normative standards which transcend national contexts to justify harsher political responses towards minorities. As such, the paper concludes by making a

case for prejudice reduction strategies to receive much greater priority in both national and European contexts.

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**Williams Colin C., Horodnic Ioana**
**Marginalisation and participation in the informal economy in Central and Eastern European nations**
**in Post communist economies**, Volume 27, Issue 2, 2015 , pages 153-169

To evaluate the 'marginalisation thesis', which holds that marginalised populations are more likely to participate in the informal economy, this article reports a 2013 special Eurobarometer survey conducted in 11 Central and Eastern European countries. Using multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression analysis, the finding is that although some marginalised populations (i.e. the unemployed, those having difficulties paying their household bills, younger age groups) are significantly more likely to participate in the informal economy, others are not (e.g. those in poorer countries, living in rural areas, with less formal education). Yet others (e.g. women) are significantly less likely to participate in the informal economy. The outcome is a call for a more nuanced understanding of the marginalisation thesis as valid for some marginalised populations but not others. The article concludes by discussing the implications for theory and policy of this more variegated assessment of the marginalisation thesis.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Maier Michaela, Maier Jürgen, Baumert Anna  Jahn Nico, Krause Stefan, Adam Silke**
**Measuring citizens' implicit and explicit attitudes towards the European Union**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 3, September , 369-385

Studies assessing citizens' attitudes towards Europe have mostly used explicit concepts and measures. However, psychologists have shown that human behaviour is not only determined by explicit attitudes which can be assessed via self-report, but also by implicit attitudes which require indirect measurement. We combine a self-report questionnaire with an implicit Affective Misattribution Procedure for the first time in an online environment to estimate the reliability, validity and predictive power of this implicit measure for the explanation of European Union-skeptical behaviour. Based on a survey with a sample representative for Germany, we found evidence for good reliability and validity of the implicit measure. In addition, the implicit attitude had a significant incremental impact beyond explicit attitudes on citizens' proneness to engage in EU-skeptical information and voting behaviour.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Antonio-Martín Porras-Gómez**
**Metagovernance and Control of Multi-level Governance Frameworks: The Case of the EU Structural Funds Financial Execution**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 173-188

Using as an empirical base the 2006–08 reform of the European Union Structural Funds financial execution, this paper explores control mechanisms of multi-level governance frameworks. The empirical evidence provides a representative

case of initial metagovernance deficit and the subsequent, relatively successful, institutional response reinforcing metagovernance. The purpose is to clarify the conceptual dimensions of metagovernance, setting it in a categorical scheme that identifies forms of exercise of political power: government, governance and multi-level governance. Specifically, the paper argues for a conceptualization of metagovernance that highlights a sense of sovereignty by which governmental entities vested with legal legitimacy advance public interests.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Reungoat Emmanuelle**
**Mobilizing Europe in national competition: The case of the French Front National**
**in International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 296-310

ABSTRACT: This study of the uses of Europe by the leaders of the Front National shows how the opening of a new European political space can have indirect effects, supporting political parties at the domestic level and strengthening specific actors within political organizations. The theme of Europe, together with European elections and the European Parliament, are transformed by Front National leaders into material as well as symbolic resources which they mobilize in the national political space at both inter and intra-party level. These uses of Europe reinforce the capacities and resources of the party as well as its legitimacy and visibility. It helps Front National actors to widen their electoral support and allows party presidents to strengthen their position. The article reveals the specificity of the Front National relationship to the European arena and underlines the strong continuity of the practices developed by the new leadership. Finally the study provides a detailed account of the process of Front National Europeanization and advances understanding of the impact of European integration on domestic political competition.

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**Tober Silke**
**Monetary Financing in the Euro Area: A Free Lunch?**
**in Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2015 , 214-220

Two recent proposals for overcoming the euro area crisis make the case for monetary financing of the public sector. Watt proposes that the ECB finances public investment directly, while Pâris and Wyplosz contend that public debt may be effectively restructured by burying parts of it in the balance sheet of the Eurosystem. Both proposals place the ECB at the centre of matters generally considered to be fiscal in order to circumvent existing fiscal and political constraints. This paper argues that both proposals fudge the line between monetary and fiscal policy, thereby ignoring valid reasons for separating these two macroeconomic policy areas.

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**Manger-Nestler Cornelia, Böttner Robert**
**Ménage à trois? – Zur gewandelten Rolle der EZB im Spannungsfeld zwischen Geldpolitik, Finanzaufsicht und Fiskalpolitik**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 6, 2014

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**De Visser Maartje**
**National Constitutional Courts, the Court of Justice and the Protection of Fundamental Rights in a Post-Charter Landscape**
**in Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 37, number 2, may , 39-51

ABSTRACT: This article critically evaluates the possible impact of the Charter on the relationship between the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) and national constitutional courts. While it is premature to provide a definitive assessment of the kind of collaboration that these courts will develop, it is crucial to identify a number of features of the new landscape that will influence the direction in which the relationship between the CJEU and constitutional courts will evolve. This article discusses several reasons that may result in better or a higher number of judicial interactions, as well as factors that may create tension or cause problems in the relationship between the CJEU and national constitutional courts. As such, it offers a framework that may help us to understand future post-Charter judgments by these courts setting out how they conceive their engagement with their counterpart(s) on fundamental rights issues.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Högenauer Anna-Lena, Neuhold Christine**
**National Parliaments after Lisbon: Administrations on the Rise?**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 335-354

ABSTRACT: In the wake of the Lisbon Treaty, much of the academic debate on national parliaments in the EU has focused on the new powers of national parliaments and the potential for the politicisation and parliamentarisation of the EU. In the process, the role of administrators in the parliamentary control of EU affairs has been neglected. This article addresses that gap by comparing parliamentary administrations to a set of ideal types on the basis of in-depth interviews and a comparative survey of parliamentary staff. This leads to the observation that the roles of parliamentary administrators have been further expanded after Lisbon to a range of tasks that go beyond technical support and include elements of agenda-setting.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Auel Katrin, Höing Oliver**
**National Parliaments and the Eurozone Crisis: Taking Ownership in Difficult Times?**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 375-395

ABSTRACT: The eurozone crisis suggests a significant reinforcement of executive dominance in EU policy-making. Opaque emergency decisions taken at European summits as well as treaties established outside of the EU legal framework facilitate the side-lining of democratically elected chambers. This development entails the risk of a new wave of de-parliamentarisation in EU policy-making. An effective scrutiny of crisis management by national parliaments is,

however, indispensable for taking national ownership of the reforms in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). This paper investigates national parliaments' involvement in the development of instruments to combat the crisis. Based on a quantitative dataset of crisis-related parliamentary activities in 2010–2012, the article observes a very uneven engagement in the scrutiny of crisis management. Institutional prerogatives in EU affairs as well as macro-economic factors can partly explain the observed variation. Surprisingly, however, crisis-related parliamentary activity is not a reaction to Eurosceptic attitudes either in parliament or among the public.

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**Blauberger Michael**
**National Responses to European Court Jurisprudence**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 3 , 457-474

ABSTRACT: The power of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) to promote European integration through law has been broadly acknowledged, but the court's domestic impact has received less attention and remains contested. In particular, the ambiguity of many ECJ judgments is said to have two opposed effects: According to one logic, legal ambiguity enables national policy-makers to contain the impact of court rulings, i.e. to ignore potentially broader policy implications. According to another logic, ambiguous case law provides opportunities for interested litigants to pressure national policy-makers into (anticipatory) adjustments. Which of these two logics prevails, it is argued, depends on the distribution of legal uncertainty costs between supporters and challengers of the regulatory status quo. The argument is supported by two in-depth case studies on the domestic responses to series of ECJ rulings concerning the free movement of capital (golden shares) and services (posted workers).

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Dokos Thanos**
**Never mind 'Grexit' – Greece's worries include foreign affairs**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Greece's economic survival has for five years overshadowed its foreign policy issues. The public debate is still dominated by 'Grexit' and the economic crisis, but, on paper at least, Greek foreign policy appears much more ambitious.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Montani Guido**
**No to the EU's Phoney Budget (About the Monti Group)**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Giorgio C. S. Giraudi**
**Note critiche sul "teorema dell'impossibilità di un'UE pienamente democratica". Un breve commento al saggio di Dieter Grimm**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

Due tesi chiave di Grimm è quella relativa alla mancanza dei "presupposti sociali" della democrazia e dell'assenza di un radicamento sociale dei partiti europei che rende il PE non rappresentativo della comunità politica di riferimento. All'idea primordialista e "forte" del demos/ethnos si può quindi contrapporre quella di un demos/civico cioè una prospettiva politica entro la quale la condivisione di una cultura politica "sottile" basata sull'adesione ai valori costituzionali europei potrebbe essere sufficiente a generare spinte solidaristiche e la legittimazione delle decisioni comuni. L'unico modo di evitare il ritorno dei nazionalismi è quindi il rafforzamento della rappresentanza politica europea e la capacità rappresentativa del PE e delle altre istituzioni comunitarie.
In secondo luogo Grimm sostiene che i partiti europei non hanno un radicamento sociale e quindi interrompono il nesso tra delega e responsabilità.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Smith Julie**
**Now Cameron is between a rock and a hard place**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

British politicians will be spending a lot of time in airport lounges this summer and in the autumn as they embark on shuttle diplomacy. They will be involved in extensive bi-lateral discussions across Europe as they seek to alter the UK's relations with the rest of the EU.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Bonasia Mariangela, Canale Rosaria Rita**
**On the Objective of Sound Public Finance in Eurozone**
**in Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali**, fasc. 2

The aim of the paper is to estimate, through the dynamic panel data analysis, the effects of change in structural balance on debt and public balance in 11 Eurozone countries in the years 2000-2013, then divided into two time span: 2000-2008 and 2009-2013. The results show, for the whole sample considered, that – contrary to the accounting rules – the higher is the structural balance the higher is the debt especially after 2009. In regard to the effect on overall and primary public balance, the accounting relationship is confirmed for the whole period, while less than proportional for the two sub-samples. These empirical results suggest, therefore, that if a sound public finance has to be considered as an objective to be achieved per se, it should not be pursued in times of declining macroeconomic conditions.

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**Fève Patrick, Sahuc Jean-Guillaume**
**On the size of the government spending multiplier in the euro area**
**in Oxford Economic Papers**, Volume 67 Issue 3 July 2015 , 531-552

This article addresses the existence of a wide range of estimated government spending multipliers in a dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model of the euro area. Our estimation results and counter-factual exercises provide evidence that omitting the interactions of key ingredients at the estimation stage (such as Edgeworth complementarity/substitutability between private consumption and government expenditures, endogenous government spending policy, and general habits in consumption) paves the way for potentially large biases. We argue that uncertainty on the quantitative assessments of fiscal programmes could partly originate from these biases.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cross James P. Bølstad Jørgen**
**Openness and censorship in the European Union: An interrupted time series analysis**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 216-240

This study examines transparency and censorship in the Council of Ministers of the European Union from 1999 to 2009. We measure transparency by considering the timeliness of record release and the levels of censorship applied to records when (and if) they are released. We show that legislation introduced in 2001 (Regulation 1049) triggered a massive shift towards greater transparency, in line with its intention. However, we also show that the trend towards greater transparency has been interrupted by the enlargement rounds in 2004 and 2007. We attribute this fact to inexperience on the part of the new member states and the resulting need for censorship while these states adjusted to the negotiation styles in the Council.

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**Gratteri Andrea**
**Parlamento e Commissione: il difficile equilibrio fra rappresentanza e governabilità nell'Unione Europea**
**in Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXVIX, n. 2, secondo trimestre , 237-260

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Giammaria Milani**
**Parlamento europeo e leggi elettorali: quale ruolo per le Corti costituzionali?**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

Il saggio analizza il ruolo delle giurisprudenze costituzionali in materia elettorale. Le sentenze che riguardano i sistemi elettorali oggi in vigore per eleggere il Parlamento europeo sono infatti in grado di incidere sulle modalità di concepire il ruolo di tale organo, il suo modus operandi e soprattutto i rapporti che lo legano alle altre istituzioni europee.
Il "Tribunale costituzionale tedesco" ha dichiarato, nel 2014, l'incostituzionalità della soglia di sbarramento del 3% prevista per accedere alla ripartizione dei seggi spettanti alla Germania.
Con la loro decisione, i giudici tedeschi hanno confermato di fatto la recente giurisprudenza del Tribunale, che già nel 2011 si era espresso in senso contrario alla presenza della clausola di sbarramento, in quell'occasione del 5%. esso è l'unico organo di giustizia costituzionale ad essersi pronunciato sulla legge elettorale europea, ma presto potrebbe essere
affiancato dalla Corte costituzionale italiana, da poco adita per profili simili a quelli decisi dal Bundesverfassungsgericht.

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**Demesmay Claire, Kunz Barbara**
**Parés pour l'avenir? La soutenabilité du modèle allemand en question**
**in Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande**, 47 (2015), 1 , 15-24

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Martin Brusis**
**Paths and Constraints of Subnational Government Mobilization in East-Central Europe**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 301-319

The article studies the impact of enlargement on subnational governments in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. It compares the resources and political constellations of subnational governments and analyses how these variables interact with Europeanization to influence domestic intergovernmental relations, the management of structural funds and the European Union relations of subnational governments. The article argues that stronger regional governments (in Poland and the Czech Republic) have been able to resist attempts to centralize intergovernmental relations. Decentralizing reforms occurred where incumbent governing parties dominated subnational government (Poland). Under 'vertically divided' government (Czech Republic), subnational governments sought unmediated access to European Union institutions.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Benson David, Russel Duncan**
**Patterns of EU Energy Policy Outputs: Incrementalism or Punctuated Equilibrium?**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 1 , 185-205

ABSTRACT: Although macro-level analyses of EU policy outputs are common, few empirical studies have measured the

long-run evolution of the Union's energy policy sector. This article provides an overview of European energy legislation to show past sectoral developmental trends, current characteristics and potential future directions. During this period, EU energy policy has evolved sequentially to encompass multiple sectors, including coal, nuclear energy, oil and gas production, energy conservation, market harmonisation and climate change concerns. Moreover, by measuring the velocity of legislative output as an indicator of policy activity, the overall picture is one of gradual incremental growth centred broadly on several episodes of shallow, delayed action punctuated equilibrium that has resulted in an uneven mixture of national and supranational decision-making. Expansion is perhaps set to continue along a similar path as a common EU climate–energy policy emerges, although some constraints are evident.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Borrass L., Sotirov M., Winkel G.**

**Policy change and Europeanization: Implementing the European Union's Habitats Directive in Germany and the United Kingdom**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 5, September , 788-809

The Habitats Directive is the cornerstone of the European Union's nature conservation policy. Its cumbersome and contested implementation is analysed across multiple levels of governance in Germany and the United Kingdom, focusing on forest policy. In an analysis that aligns Börzel and Risse's approach to Europeanization with Hall's policy change model, policy documents and interviews with 49 policy stakeholders are analysed. It is shown that policy change through implementation develops slowly and to different degrees. Europeanization through the Habitats Directive is dependent on specific institutional departure points, progressing in distinct waves triggered by various facilitating factors. Aligning both theoretical frameworks supports a better understanding of specific temporal, strategic, and spatial patterns of policy change through implementation. However, these frameworks also have weaknesses: under specific circumstances paradigmatic policy change occurs even where only instrumental settings have changed.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Diop Mamadou, Diaw Adama**

**Politique budgétaire et stabilité macroéconomique en Union économique et monétaire Le cas de l'UEMOA**

in **Revue de l'OFCE**, N° 137, 2015/1 , 181-209

The case of UEMOA

The aim of this paper is to shed light on to reaction functions of economic activity in WAEMU (West African Economic and Monetary Union) countries following government spending shocks through a two gaps structural vector autoregressive model (SVAR). We show how fiscal policy shocks spread into economic activity of the States of the Union and we attempt to draw transmission mechanisms. In the context of the adoption of the Convergence, Stability, Growth and Solidarity Pact in 1999, our study provides a few recommendations for the improving macroeconomic stability in WAEMU, thus evaluating the capacity of public finances of the WAEMU members to accommodate cyclical shocks.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pasquino Gianfranco**
**Populismo, instituciones y Unión Europea**
in **Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, n. 47

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Jean-Paul Jacqué**
**Pride and/or prejudice? Les lectures possible de l'avis 2/13 de la Cour de justice**
in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 19-45

L'avis 2/13 de la Cour de justice de l'Union a constitué une surprise pour les observateurs. Contre l'avis des tous les États membres et de la Commission européenne, la Cour de justice a estimé que le projet d'accord relatif à l'adhésion de l'Union à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme était incompatible avec les traités. Cet avis peut s'expliquer de deux manières. On peut y voir la manifestation d'une méiance de la Cour à l'égard des juridictions nationales et des États membres auxquels l'adhésion aurait pu permettre d'échapper aux disciplines communautaires et notamment à l'obligation de renvoi préjudiciel en s'appuyant à cette in sur la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Mais il est possible également de voir dans l'accord l'expression de la vision constitutionnelle de la Cour fondée sur le respect de la répartition des compétences, le partage de valeurs communes, l'autonomie du droit de l'Union sous le contrôle exclusif de la Cour de justice. Quoi qu'il en soit s'il sera possible sur un plan technique de répondre à certaines des observations de la Cour, pour d'autres, comme le respect du principe de coniance mutuelle ou l'exclusion de la PESC, les solutions sont plus dificiles. Il est vraisemblable que la situation actuelle va se prolonger. Or, elle est bien moins favorable à l'Union que celle qui
aurait pu résulter d'une adhésion sur la base du projet d'accord qui était à l'examen devant la Cour.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Dimitrios Kagiaros**
**Protecting 'national security' whistleblowers in the Council of Europe: an evaluation of three approaches on how to balance national security with freedom of expression**
in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Vol. 19, issue 4 , 408-428

In its recent case law, the European Court of Human Rights has extended freedom of expression protection to whistleblowers, including those who work for the intelligence and security sector. Thus, contracting parties to the European Convention on Human Rights are required to balance any damage to national security caused by the disclosure, with the public interest in the information revealed, before handing down sanctions to the whistleblower for a breach of official secrecy. The article will identify, and critically evaluate, three possible approaches to balancing national security with the whistleblower's right to freedom of expression and the public interest in the disclosure of the information. These approaches are first, an absolute ban on external disclosures for intelligence officials; second, a broad exemption from criminal sanctions or other forms of retaliation when the interest in the information disclosed outweighs national security concerns; and finally, protection from reprisals provided only for specific disclosures or

categories of wrongdoing, which are exhaustively enumerated in the law. It will examine the compatibility of each approach with nascent Council of Europe whistleblower protection standards and conclude that the final approach, in spite of its deficiencies, can best guarantee the whistleblower's right to free speech while ensuring that security is protected.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Abraham L. Newman, Elliot Posner**
**Putting the EU in its place: policy strategies and the global regulatory context**
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 22, Issue 9

On the one hand, research has trumpeted the European Union's (EU's) influence over international regulation. On the other hand, a significant literature details the limits of EU efforts. How can we reconcile these conflicting findings? This contribution's answer turns on the global regulatory context, two dimensions of which (the distribution of regulatory capacity across the major economies and institutional density at the global level) are used to deduce scope conditions under which the EU can (or cannot) be expected to adopt different policy strategies. The study posits that variation along these dimensions is likely to result in four strategies: regulatory export; first-mover agenda-setting; mutual recognition; and coalition-building. The analytic exercise helps identify sources of and constraints on potential EU behavior as the polity engages in the politics of global regulation. The framework could in principle be extended to explain the strategies of other regulatory great powers; it unifies existing theoretical arguments, contributes to a growing literature in international relations, comparative politics, and European studies on the role of context in conditioning causal relationships, and offers a nuanced and tractable set of expectations about the EU as a global actor.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cherubini Francesco**
**Qualche riflessione in merito alle prospettive di adesione dell'Unione europea alla Convenzione europea dei diritti dell'uomo alla luce del parere 2/13 della Corte di giustizia**
in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno X, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 243-272

After a little more than one year from the request of the European Commission, the CJEU has given its Advisory Opinion on the accession agreement of the European Union to the ECHR. This article explores the content of Advisory Opinion 2/13: for each of the remarks of the CJEU, the content of the DRA is reported. In the light of this examination, the article offers two different keys of interpretation: one, critical, directed to the position which the CJEU expressed in its Advisory Opinion; the other, pro futuro, which essays to speculate on possible solutions for each of the objections made by the CJEU.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gern Klaus-Jürgen, Jannsen Nils, Kooths Stefan, Wolters Maik**
**Quantitative Easing in the Euro Area: Transmission Channels and Risks**
in **Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2015 , 206-212

The ECB's recently launched Expanded Asset Purchasing Programme is similar to the quantitative easing programmes undertaken by the US Federal Reserve, the Bank of England and the Bank of Japan. While theory suggests that quantitative easing can stimulate economic growth and spur inflation via several transmission channels, the empirical evidence is ambiguous and does not support strong stimulating effects, in particular for the current situation in the euro area. In addition, there are various risks and unintended consequences that may materialise in the medium or long run.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Blot Christophe, Creel Jérôme, Hubert Paul, Labondance Fabien**
**Que peut-on attendre de l'assouplissement quantitatif de la BCE?**
**in Revue de l'OFCE**, N° 138, 2015/2 , 265-290

On 22 January 2015, the ECB started to implement a programme of quantitative easing (QE) similar to those adopted by the US Federal Reserve and the Bank of England. After analysing the transmission channels of such measures, we draw on past experiences to assess the possible effects of the QE from the ECB. Empirical studies have shown that QE would improve the financial conditions. In the US, it has also been suggested that the QE caused a depreciation of the dollar. The transmission of QE from the ECB to this variable could be critical in the case of the euro zone. An analysis using VAR models suggests that the monetary policy measures taken by the ECB will have a significant impact on the euro but also on inflation and inflationary expectations.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mayer Franz C.**
**Rebels without a cause? Zur OMT-Vorlage des Bundesverfassungsgerichts**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 5, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Christensen Johan**
**Recruitment and Expertise in the European Commission**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 3 , 649-678

ABSTRACT: The article examines the changes in the European Commission's recruitment practices from its creation in the 1950s until today. Based on the insight that recruitment shapes the role of professional experts in public bureaucracies, the article traces the emphasis on specialist skills and qualifications in the Commission's recruitment competitions (the concours) over time. It finds that the selection of policy staff to the Commission has become more generalist since the 1960s, a surprising finding given that the organisation is often regarded as a 'technocracy' dominated by experts. The article attributes this development to the multinational character of the administration, as the need to integrate citizens from new member states has prompted the Commission to rely on one-size-fits-all recruitment tests. It also discusses whether the declining emphasis on specialist knowledge in staff selection can be seen as part of

a broader trend towards a more generalist Commission, where officials are required to change jobs frequently and where expert functions are outsourced to other bodies.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Spinelli Barbara**
**Referendums in Broken Societies**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

For a deep-rooted habit or an unconfessed regret, the European governments tend to turn a blind eye whenever their own citizens express discontent and ask the Union to change at its roots. It happened after the vote of May 25, 2014: the Juncker Commission is a non-reply to what the electorate demands. And it happened again after the Scottish independence referendum of 18 September 2014. The unionists narrowly won and immediately the government and the labour party considered the issue 'resolved for a generation': the divorce must not to take place, so, it will not take place. The autonomists got the promise of devolution, but Cameron's vow is full of pitfalls. First of all: if the English, who are the majority in the UK, cannot influence the regional assemblies, so, also these will have to stop checking the laws approved by English representatives.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Zschache Ulrike**
**Reflecting the Global? The Common Agricultural Policy and Its Perception in Public Media Discourse**
**in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 2 , 253-271

ABSTRACT: The paradigm shift in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is an instructive case to study the Europeanization of national media discourses. Yet, the symbolic influence of CAP reform cannot be sufficiently understood without considering its embeddedness in global policy frameworks. Hence, by means of content analysis, this paper aims to elucidate the impact of both global and EU farm-policy ideas on domestic debates. In particular, it seeks to reveal to what extent the multiple authorship behind the reform is reflected in discussion. Thus, the focus is on the institutional entrepreneurs with a say in the media, the ideas promoted and discursive interrelations.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Wilfried Swenden, Nicole Bolleyer**
**Regional Mobilization in the New Europe: Old Wine in a New Bottle?**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 383-399

This conclusion links the various contributions in light of the introductory framework. In line with our framework, scepticism towards the EU has increased since 2004 across most of the EU regions (old and new) and state-centric approaches (regional influence mediated through the central executives) have become the dominant strategy for regional mobilization. Unmediated access through direct regional representation in Brussels remains an important side-strategy though, especially for sub-state nations and regions with the highest level of regional authority, as

theoretically expected. Regional authority—more so than the difference between competitive versus cooperative multi-level designs—is an important predictor against centralization pressures resulting from European integration. Overall, changes in the 'New Europe' have intensified but not transformed the dominant patterns of regional mobilization, while system-level and regional variables mediate impacts of Europeanization.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Wilfried Swenden, Nicole Bolleyer**
**Regional Mobilization in the 'New Europe': A Research Agenda**
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 249-262

This Special Issue re-assesses regional mobilization in the 'New Europe'. We anticipate that enlargement to Central Europe, the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the largest economic and financial crisis since the birth of the European Community have affected how regional governments respond to Europeanization along three different dimensions: (1) the position they take vis-à-vis the process of EU integration more generally, (2) the strategies they adopt in response to Europeanization pressures and (3) their internal structures and dynamics of the EU member states as multi-level states. The article introduces a framework and formulates hypotheses to examine why and how Europeanization pressures in the 'New Europe' affect regional mobilization along these three dimensions. In the final section, the article also introduces the various contributions to this Special Issue and relates them to the analytical framework.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kingah Stephen, Zwartjes Marieke**
**Regulating money laundering for terrorism financing: EU–US transnational policy networks and the financial action task force**
in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 341-353

hrough increased cooperation transatlantic policy networks have been able to sharpen the tools used to combat the laundering of funds used for illicit ends including terrorism finance. After the attacks on 11 September 2001, rules were adopted on both sides of the Atlantic to restrict the flow of funds for terrorist purposes. This article captures some of the recent trends in cooperation between the European Union (EU) and the USA in addressing the issue of money laundering for terrorism finance. It goes further to assess how the EU engages with the financial action task force whose mandate was modified after 11 September 2001 to also cater for money that is laundered to fund terrorist activities.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Foret François**
**Religion and Fundamental Rights in European Politics: Convergences and Divisions at the European Parliament**
in **Human Rights Review**, vol. 15, number 1 , 55-63

ABSTRACT: European legislators must increasingly deal with issues related to fundamental rights. Religion is a frequent

topic obliging them to do so. It is not directly part of the EU's competences but is a source of values underlying policy choices and a tricky political object. Relying on the findings of a survey about what Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) believe and what they do with these beliefs, the article analyzes potential tensions created by religion in the implementation of human rights by the EU. A first part shows how and to what extent European law meets religion, and how it leaves ample room for flexibility but also for divergent interpretations. A second part states that MEPs agree largely on the principle of separation between politics and religion, but may be divided when it comes to drawing boundaries between the two domains. The conclusion points out the limits of the rule of law to prevent conflicts and suggests that human rights may inspire support as well as cause resistance to Europeanization.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Davies Bill**

**Resistance to European Law and Constitutional Identity in Germany: Herbert Kraus and Solange in its Intellectual Context**

**in European law journal**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 434–459

This article recasts our understanding of the Federal Constitutional Court's Solange decision by tracing its lineage within the domestic context and as part of a new history of EU law. The external dynamic of the decision, a moment of judicial discourse between two of Europe's highest panels, has been the focus of many studies. Much rarer are attempts to embed the decision within its internal context: the struggle within the German legal academy to accept the primacy of EU law. Central to this contextualisation is the reinvigoration of the 'structural congruence' theory of Herbert Kraus, which long shaped the German reception of EU law. This article recounts Kraus' theory, tracing the struggle for the German legal consciousness between three positions: constitutionalists, traditionalists, and the congruence advocates. While Hallstein's constitutionalism is most closely associated with Germany's early Europhilia, even he admitted by 1975 that Kraus had won the day.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Cesar Colino, Ignacio Molina, Angustias Hombradoc**

**Responding to the New Europe and the Crisis: The Adaptation of Sub-national Governments' Strategies and its Effects on Inter-governmental Relations in Spain**

**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 281-299

This article analyses the evolution of the institutional setting that the Spanish multi-level system provides for regional European Union (EU) adaptation, and the effects that recent developments of the EU (the Eastern enlargement, the Treaty reform process and the Euro-zone crisis) have had on the more or less pro-European positions and adaptive strategies of Spanish regions and on inter-governmental arrangements. It thus describes the increasing institutionalization of regional participation and EU policy coordination, both at the domestic and supra-national level, and the evolution of regional strategies, looking at its effects both on the degree of vertical and horizontal coordination, and the actual relative power and discretion of both levels of government. It argues that regional strategies have increasingly become more defensive and less pro-European and that increasing participation in European matters seemed to have favoured multi-lateralism and increased coordination without having produced further centralization until the recent crisis and associated budget consolidation targets induced new coordination requirements and a

centralization of power towards the central government and EU authorities. This has, as a side-effect, reinforced some centrifugal tendencies of the system and therefore may affect the operation of IGR.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hickel Rudolf**
**Rettet Griechenland!**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2015 , 61-67

Es bedurfte einer regelrechten Nacht-und-Nebel-Aktion, bevor die Eurozone sich auf ein weiteres Kreditprogramm für Griechenland verständigen konnte. Doch die Einigung in letzter Minute bedeutet noch kein Ende des Dramas. Denn weitere Finanzmittel wird Athen nur im Austausch für eine noch härtere Dosis jener Austeritätspolitik erhalten, deren Scheitern seit langem offensichtlich ist. Daher dürfte das gebeutelte Land erneut nicht auf den Pfad zu einer sich selbst tragenden Wirtschaft finden. Die Grexit-Gefahr bleibt damit virulent. Sollte das jetzige Programm wie vorgesehen ausgeführt werden, wird Griechenland nach dessen Auslaufen 2018 umgehend ein viertes Paket benötigen – oder aus dem Euro ausscheiden müssen.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Thierry Chopin**
**Riformare l'Unione europea: con o senza revisione dei trattati?**
**in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVI, Numero 3

La crisi economica e finanziaria ha innescato un ampio dibattito sul futuro del processo di integrazione europea: gli Stati europei, e in particolare quelli dell'eurozona, hanno compreso infatti che l'unica via per riacquisire la propria sovranità nei confronti dei mercati, e dunque la capacità di prendere decisioni sul proprio futuro, consiste in un rafforzamento dell'Unione economica e monetaria. Questa consapevolezza ha portato alla creazione di meccanismi di solidarietà finanziaria e all'entrata in vigore del Meccanismo europeo di stabilità; inoltre, sono state adottate regole più stringenti in materia di bilancio e si sono rafforzati i meccanismi di governance economica (Six-Pack, Fiscal Compact, Two-Pack). Infine, il progetto di unione bancaria ha fatto passi in avanti, attraverso la creazione di un'autorità di vigilanza europea affidata alla Banca centrale europea (BCE) e il raggiungimento di un accordo in seno al Consiglio su un meccanismo di risoluzione bancaria realmente europeo.
Permangono, tuttavia, dei disaccordi tra gli Stati membri in materia di unione economica e di bilancio, in particolare sull'ingerenza europea nelle decisioni nazionali e sull'opportunità di una maggiore solidarietà fiscale (mutualizzazione di una parte del debito, contributi economici in cambio di riforme, bilancio dell'eurozona ecc.). Inoltre, la contestazione della legittimità delle decisioni europee esige avanzamenti sul terreno dell'unione politica, campo nel quale si procede molto lentamente.
Ora, per progredire sulla via del rafforzamento dell'integrazione europea, è inevitabile porsi il problema del quadro istituzionale e giuridico nell'ambito del quale tale rafforzamento può avvenire. In effetti, ognuna delle riforme ipotizzabili pone una questione di metodo, che si traduce nella necessità di scegliere tra l'introduzione di elementi di innovazione senza modificare i trattati istitutivi, oppure la modifica dei trattati istitutivi attraverso la procedura di revisione, o la conclusione di un trattato internazionale esterno alla cornice istituzionale dell'Unione.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pier Virgilio Dastoli**
**Rilanciare l'Europa**
**in Mulino (il)**, n.4 , 721-730

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Makarychev Andrey**
**Russia and/versus the EU: From Post-political Consensus to Political Contestations**
**in Europe en formation (L')**, n° 374, 2014/4 , 27-39

In this article I argue that the EU-Russia conflict over the Ukraine results from a political collision of EU's and Russia's foreign policy philosophies. With the end of the Cold War both Russia and the EU defined their foreign policies in similar terms, grounded mostly in the prevalence of managerial, administrative and legal—and thus post-political—aspects of governance over political and ideological issues. Yet paradoxically, the cumulative result of the two technocratic—and in many respects pragmatic—projects was the growing politicization of the entire spectrum of bilateral relations and the common neighborhood area.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Rittelmeyer Yann-Sven**
**Réformer la gouvernance de la zone euro: le dilemme allemand**
**in Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande**, 47 (2015), 1 , 25–35

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Michaël Tatham**
**Same Game but More Players? Sub-national Lobbying in an Enlarged Union**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 341-361

This contribution builds on the insights provided by the literature on sub-national mobilization in the European Union (EU) to assess whether the 2004–2007 rounds of enlargement have changed anything in this respect. Empirical analysis uses two types of data sources. The first is a survey of over a 100 regional offices in Brussels, and the second consists of 29 semi-structured interviews with Commission officials led in the aftermath of the 2004–2007 enlargements. These data are used to answer the following two research questions: (1) is there a 'new' versus 'old' cleavage at the territorial

level in Brussels? (2) Is there anything like an ‘enlargement effect’ on sub-national mobilization? Analysis reveals that, while there is fading evidence of a ‘new’ versus ‘old’ cleavage in Brussels, enlargement has nevertheless had an impact on sub-national mobilization at the EU level, reinforcing older but also newer trends.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Gerson Oliver**
**Schutz von Freiheit, Sicherheit und Recht? Frontex und die europäischen Außengrenzen**
**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 25, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/208011/frontex-und-die-europaeischen-aussengrenzen

Die Wahrung der inneren Sicherheit gehört zu den Kernaufgaben der europäischen Friedenspolitik. Gleichzeitig stellen der weitgehende Verzicht auf Grenzkontrollen, Schlagbäume und Zollschranken innerhalb der Europäischen Union sowie die Ausweitung der Grundfreiheiten das Sinnbild europäischer Einigungs- und Harmonisierungsbestrebungen dar. Während der Abbau von Hindernissen im Innern vor allem dem Binnenmarkt zu immer weiterer Effizienz verhilft, schirmt sich die Union nach außen hin umso vehementer ab. Der "Raum der Freiheit, der Sicherheit und des Rechts", dessen Verwirklichung in den europäischen Verträgen als zentrales Ziel verankert ist, soll zwar jede Unionsbürgerin und jeden Unionsbürger schützen, die oder der sich innerhalb des Rechtsraumes befindet – auf die Menschen unmittelbar vor den Außengrenzen erstreckt sich dieser Schutz allerdings nicht...

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Yousaf Humz**
**Scotland’s unambiguously pro-EU stance**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

In the wake of May’s UK general election, we in the Scottish government have made clear that after 40 years of membership we want Scotland to remain in the EU. We hope to play a fuller role in shaping its reform and developing its future

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Kingah Stephen, Schmidt Vivien, Yong Wang**
**Setting the scene: the European Union's engagement with transnational policy networks**
**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 231-244

This article serves as a tool to set the scene in this special issue on the manner in which the European Union (EU) engages transnational policy networks (TPNs). It paints a canvas of the main themes to be treated in articles that span a

variety of thematic areas. Six main lines of inquiry are developed to better feed into the various themes covered by the specific articles. The lines of inquiry used include modalities or ways in which the EU influences TPNs around the world, TPNs' influence of policy and decision-making within the EU, conditions under which engagement between the EU and TPNs can be considered successful, the identity and location of the TPNs, and the utility or otherwise of an EU strategy to weaken or strengthen engagement with TPNs.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Bunea Adriana**
**Sharing ties and preferences: Stakeholders' position alignments in the European Commission's open consultations**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 281-299

What explains interest groups' position alignments in the European Commission's open consultations? The article argues that formal membership ties facilitate organisational coordination and the creation of lobbying coalitions among interest groups, which in turn affects their position alignments. This argument is supported by empirical evidence from five environmental consultations. Sharing a formal membership tie within an over-arching organisational structure has a stronger effect on position alignment than the fact of representing the same type of interest or having the same organisational form. Coordinated, coalition-based lobbying accounts to a significant extent for stakeholders' position alignments in the EU open consultations. The 'social' embeddedness of lobbying has a direct effect on the advocacy strategies interest groups decide to employ during the early stages of EU policymaking.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Zhelyazkova Asya, Yordanova Nikoleta**
**Signalling 'compliance': The link between notified EU directive implementation and infringement cases**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 3, September , 408-442

Research on member states' compliance with European Union legislation often focuses on the timing of self-reported implementation measures. It is generally assumed that the earlier a member state adopts an implementation measure the more compliant it is. This is problematic because early measures may only partially address the goals of a European Union directive. We study whether and when reporting national legislation to signal directive implementation is associated with detected non-compliance by the European Commission. We find that unless facing strong reputational costs, member states often do report pre-existing measures of low fit to a given directive without making timely adjustments. Indicating compliance problems, this generally leads to the European Commission opening infringement cases.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Ferrera Maurizio**
**Social Europe and its Components in the Midst of the Crisis: A Conclusion**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 825-843

ABSTRACT: The article starts by identifying the main institutional components of the (elusive) concept of Social Europe: the 'National Social Spaces', i.e. the social protection systems of the member states; the 'EU Social Citizenship Space', i.e. the coordination regime that allows all EU nationals to access the social benefits of other member states when they exercise free movement; the 'Regional Social Spaces', i.e. sub-national and/or trans-regional social policies; and the 'EU Social Policy' proper. Based on such reconceptualisation, the article then revisits the main analytical insights and substantive findings of the volume's contributions, focusing in particular on dynamics of 'social re-bounding' during the crisis, on national implementation processes, on the relevance of 'fits' and 'misfits' for social policy compliance and on issues of democratic control. In the conclusion, some suggestions for future research and for the EU's social agenda are put forward.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Blanke Herm.-J., Pilz Stefan**
**Solidarische Finanzhilfen als Lackmustest föderaler Balance in der Europäischen Union**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 5, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Koen Lenaerts**
**Some Thoughts on the State of the EUropean Union as a Rights-Based Legal Order**
**in Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 1 , 5-24

This contribution supports the contention that neither national diversity nor European unity is absolute. The EU must be respectful of both, given that neither suffices to explain the European integration project as a whole. In this regard, it is argued that striking the right balance between European unity and national diversity has largely been achieved through the judicial protection of the individual rights contained in EU law.
Given that the EU has placed a high priority on respect for the rights of individuals, it is to be seen as a rights-based legal order. However, EU rights are freqently not absolute, but may be subject to limitations. Those limitations must be determined by means of a consensus reached either at the constitutional level or the legislative level, depending on the origin and nature of the rights concerned. This means, in essence, that, subject to the overarching constitutional rules that govern the EU legal order, it is ultimately for the EU political process to strike the right balance between European unity and national diversity. That is so because the principle of representative democracy is a touchstone of the EU's legal and political system.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Basu Kaushik, Stiglitz Joseph E.**
**Sovereign Debt and Joint Liability: An Economic Theory Model for Amending the Treaty of Lisbon**
**in Economic Journal**, Volume 125, Issue 586, August 2015 , pages F115–F130

As the euro area crisis drags on, it is evident that a part of the problem lies in the architecture of debt within the euro area. This study argues that at least part of the debt problem could be addressed through limited cooperative action entailing appropriately structured contracts generating cross-country liability for sovereign debt incurred by individual nations within the European Union. Such agreements are currently proscribed by the Treaty of Lisbon. We construct a game-theoretic model demonstrating that there exist self-fulfilling equilibria, which are Pareto superior to the existing outcome and which would come into existence if cross-country debt liabilities were permitted.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Polito Vito, Wickens Michael**
**Sovereign credit ratings in the European Union: A model-based fiscal analysis**
**in European Economic Review**, Volume 78, August 2015 , Pages 220-247

We present a model-based measure of sovereign credit ratings derived solely from the fiscal position of a country: a forecast of its future debt liabilities, and its potential to use fiscal policy to repay these. We use this measure to calculate credit ratings for 14 European countries over the period 1995–2012. This measure identifies a European sovereign debt crisis almost two years before the official ratings of the credit rating agencies.

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**916-947**
**Stability First, Development Second, Democracy Third: The European Union's Policy towards the Post-Conflict Western Balkans, 1991–2010**
**in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 67, n. 6 , Grimm Sonja, Mathis Okka Lou

This article assesses total EU financial flows towards the Western Balkans between 1991 and 2010. It shows that, in the short term, the majority of support has been allocated to humanitarian assistance and socio-economic development. Although the EU has declared its interest in democracy promotion, democracy assistance ranks only third on the list of its financial expenditures in the Western Balkans. Therefore, although EU financial aid is consistent with official EU programmes, it is inadequate in the post-conflict context of the EU candidate and potential candidate countries that require support for democratisation.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Palacio Ana**
**Still no good news for the “make-or-break” EU Juncker promised**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

From the challenge of Russia to the on-going tragedy unfolding in the Mediterranean to the persistent sense of economic drift, Europe finds itself at an inflection point. The disaffection of European citizens looms large, and institutions in Brussels are perceived as uninspiring and directionless.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Özlem Ülgen**
**Strengthening European Union Democratic Accountability Through National and Treaty-Based Pre-Legislative Controls**
**in German Law Journal**, Vol. 16, no. 4 , 741-780

This article considers whether greater accountability for EU supranational decision-making can be achieved through a combination of member states' legislative processes and EU treaty-based mechanisms. The EU is formed by member states' national consent through treaty ratification and a system of domestic pre-legislative controls on consent—parliamentary approval, public consultation and referendum—which operates to limit the nature and extent of EU law. Using the UK as an example to compare with other member states, the article contends that such domestic controls are prerequisites to national incorporation of EU law and strengthen democratic accountability. Consent alone, however, does not provide an adequate basis for accountability of supranational decisions; EU constitutional principles of citizenship, democracy, and political rights illustrate how the EU fulfills a role as protector of rights. The article further argues that the EU's protector role represents partial legitimacy and accountability for supranational decisions. Greater legitimacy and accountability derives from national parliaments' pre-legislative controls under EU law—scrutinizing legislation, monitoring subsidiarity, and exercising veto powers. The article concludes that if these controls are exercised properly, they represent powerful accountability mechanisms.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pilniok Arne**
**Struktur, Funktionen und Probleme der Expertengruppen der Europäischen Kommission: legitime Expertise oder unzulässige Einflussnahme?**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 1, 2014

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Starita Massimo**
**Sul potere della Commissione europea di ritirare una proposta legislativa e sui suoi riflessi sugli equilibri istituzionali nel diritto dell'Unione europea**
**in Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 17

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**Nitoiu Cristian**

**Supporting the EU's Approach to Climate Change: The Discourse of the Transnational Media Within the 'Brussels Bubble'**

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 5 , 535-552

The Union's global climate change policy has been widely seen as an expression of its normative power, where it is committed to act through multilateral frameworks in order to tackle the effects of changes in the climate and safeguard the future of people around the world. Internally, the EU's approach to climate change is complemented by high levels of support from citizens. This article explores another internal source of support for the EU's leadership in global climate change policy, namely the media. The focus here is on the transnational media's reporting and coverage of the Copenhagen summit, which is widely considered to be one of the key points in the development of global climate change policy. The article shows that within the 'Brussels bubble,' the transnational media supported through its reporting the EU's ambitious agenda in global climate change policy around the time of the Copenhagen summit.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Sjögren Eva**

**Sweden weighs the EU aspect of its changed political landscape**

in **Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Last October, a matter of weeks before the 20th anniversary of Sweden's EU membership in January 1995, a new minority government made of the Social Democrats and the Green Party committed to "an engaged and constructive" role in Europe. This pronouncement confirms the country's gradual shift towards discussing actual policy issues

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**Giuseppe Martinico**

**Taking complexity seriously. A rejoinder**

in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 39-43

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Grimm Dieter**

**The Democratic Costs of Constitutionalisation: The European Case**

in **European law journal**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 460–473

There is little doubt that the European Union suffers from a legitimacy deficit. However, the causes of this deficit and, as a consequence, the remedies are contested. This article wants to show that an important, but often overlooked, cause for the legitimacy deficit lies in the overconstitutionalization of the EU. The European Treaties have been

constitutionalized by the ECJ, but are full of provisions that would be ordinary law in states. Constitutionalization means de-politicization. What has been regulated on the constitutional level is no longer open for political decision-making. Thus, in the EU political decisions of high salience are not only withdrawn from the democratically legitimized institutions, but also immunized against political correction. Therefore, the consequences from the constitutionalization have to be drawn: The Treaties should be reduced to those norms that reflect the functions of a constitution, whereas all the other parts have to be downgraded to the level of secondary law.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Leconte Cécile**
**The EU Fundamental Rights Policy as a Source of Euroscepticism**
**in Human Rights Review**, vol. 15, number 1 , 83-96

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes how the development of the European Union (EU) fundamental rights policy feeds Euroscepticism—and notably political Euroscepticism—within segments of national political elites in EU Member States. More specifically, it argues that this relatively new policy also gives rise to a new form of political Euroscepticism, which has been defined as “value-based Euroscepticism,” e.g., the perception that the EU via its fundamental rights policy, unduly interferes in matters where value systems and core domestic preferences on ethical issues are at stake. This happens in a context where the EU is resented, by some segments of political elites, for allegedly empowering diverse groups (such as ethnic minorities, immigrants' associations, judges, and so on) at the expense of popular sovereignty. This resentment is exacerbated by the fact that national governments are increasingly submitted to the critical assessment of EU-level actors (e.g., the European Parliament or the European Commission) in terms of democratic credentials.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Argyro Kartsonaki & Stefan Wolff**
**The EU's Responses to Conflicts in its Wider Neighbourhood: Human or European Security?**
**in Global Society**, Volume 29, Issue 2, , 199-226

The conflicts in the EU's wider neighbourhood, within and between the “neighbours’ neighbours”, have been on the EU's foreign and security policy agenda for some time and offer a useful set of cases to examine rival claims in the existing literature about the extent to which the EU's foreign and security policy is driven by human or European security imperatives. In order to understand how and why the EU has responded to these conflicts, we initially present an overview of all conflicts among and between the neighbours’ neighbours, broken down first by sub-region and then by conflict type. We then discuss the EU's responses to these conflicts and offer a comparative analysis, with a view to describing and explaining existing variation in terms of the EU's responses and their impact. We find that the Union's response is most in line with a human security approach in relation to those conflicts where it perceives to have the greatest interests at stake.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Herranz-Surrallés Anna**

**The EU's Multilevel Parliamentary (Battle)Field: Inter-parliamentary Cooperation and Conflict in Foreign and Security Policy**

in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 5 , 957-975

ABSTRACT: The Treaty of Lisbon has been dubbed 'the Treaty of Parliaments', as it upgraded the position of both the European Parliament and of national parliaments within the institutional system of the EU. However, the implementation of the new Treaty also brought to the surface the uneasy relationship between the European and national parliamentary spheres in a number of domains. Drawing on the notion of 'parliamentary field', this article accounts for this growing divide by highlighting the competitive dynamics that may emerge from a mismatch between formal constitutional authority and the actual parliamentary capital that parliaments enjoy. The article examines this proposition within the domain of foreign and security policy, where the process of establishing a new inter-parliamentary mechanism for scrutinising policy has placed the European Parliament and the national parliaments visibly at odds.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Lucarelli Bill  **

**The Euro: A Chartalist Critique**

in **International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2015 , pages 18-31

The aim of this article is to develop a Chartalist critique of the prevailing economic theories that have informed the original design of the Eurosystem. In order to understand the structural dynamics of the current crisis, it is necessary to examine the longstanding internal contradictions that the system has inherited from its inception under the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and the neoliberal strategy, which has governed its evolution. In its bare essentials, the euro lacks the backing of a coherent sovereign power. More specifically, the article argues that this national/supranational dichotomy prevents a more unified response to the current debt crises engulfing the peripheral countries of the Eurozone.

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**Faudot Adrien  **

**The Euro: An International Invoicing Currency?**

in **International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2015 , pages 51-70

This article deals with the use of the euro in international trade, particularly as a unit of account. It seeks to analyze the evolution of the single currency in its essential facet of international currency, especially in the academic sphere, by examining the ideas and assumptions made by economists prior to the launch of the euro, right up to today's crisis. Although data regarding international trade invoicing are scarce, stylized facts reveal that the euro is a high and stable invoicing currency regionally, but not internationally. Indeed, the euro has failed to reach the status of vehicle currency: the euro is used only on specific markets where exporters are able to choose the currency of denomination. Moreover, since the euro was conceived in a neoclassical way, it is subject to institutional concerns, especially a lack of political support to foster a dynamics of internationalization.

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**Osnabrügge Moritz**
**The European Commission and the implementation of its legislative programme**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 541-261

This article analyses the circumstances under which the European Commission implements its legislative programme on time. Similar to many national governments the European Commission announces an annual Work Programme, where it identifies important legislation it plans to propose within 12 or 18 months. This study is based on an original dataset of 233 legislative proposals listed in the Work Programme in the period 2005–2012. I show that the Commission implements at least 94% of its legislative programme, where 76% of the proposed legislation is formally introduced within the deadline. The empirical analysis provides evidence that procedural and technical complexity decreases the probability of timely implementation. In addition, proposals listed in Work Programmes that allow for the introduction of some proposals within the extended deadline of 18 months are more likely to be introduced on time. The size of the gridlock interval, as defined in spatial models, does not have a statistically significant effect.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Leinen Jo**
**The European Electoral System. The Weak Link of Supranational Democracy**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

Even though a legal basis for a uniform European electoral law for the elections to the European Parliament has been in existence since the Treaties of Rome in 1957, European elections are still largely governed by national legislation. European citizens are asked to elect the European Parliament, but de facto they can only influence the distribution of seats within the contingent that was assigned to their Member State according to a political bargain in the European Council that broadly follows the principle of degressive proportionality. Despite the successful introduction of the “Spitzenkandidaten” for the office of Commission President by the political parties on the European level in 2014, political debates during the election campaign are stuck in the national context. Not the European parties are the main actors, but the national ones; not European topics and issues are discussed, but the contest between the governing parties and the opposition in the respective Member States is the centre of attention. No wonder that voters are reluctant to cast their vote for a European election that – at first sight – has nothing to do with Europe.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Montani Guido**
**The European Federal State: from Utopia to Supranational Democracy**
**in Politico (Il)**, n. 235, 2014 , 28-42

ABSTRACT: In questo articolo si utilizza la distinzione di Karl Mannheim tra ideologia e utopia per illustrare il ruolo conservatore dei governi nazionali europei nei confronti del progetto federalista. Nella fase dell´integrazione europea precedente la fine della guerra fredda, i governi europei hanno potuto rinviare sine die la proposta ´utopica´ di uno stato federale europeo. La crisi finanziaria e del debito sovrano hanno mostrato che oggi l´UE è mal governata o non

governata del tutto, tanto che l´ UEM ha rischiato un drammatico collasso. Con le elezioni europee del 2014 si intravvede un primo cambiamento: il Parlamento europeo ha conquistato il potere di decidere il Presidente della Commissione europea e di orientare le politiche dell´Unione. Pertanto, nella misura in cui si manifesterà un crescente rapporto di fiducia tra cittadini, Parlamento e Commissione, si potranno anche superare le divisioni nazionali e rilanciare, grazie a un rinnovato consenso popolare, il processo di unificazione federale dell´Europa.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Katrin Huber**
**The European Parliament as an actor in EU border policies: its role, relations with other EU institutions, and impact**
**in European Security**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 420-437

This contribution focuses on the European Parliament (EP) as an actor in European Union (EU) border policies. It situates the Parliament in the dynamics of the Schengen project and discusses the distinct role it plays therein, as well as its impact thereon. The article argues that the EP managed to establish itself, years before the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, as a credible actor in border policies able to bring the citizens' perspective into EU border policies. With its keen interest in the Schengen area as an area in which citizens can move freely without being subject to border controls, and with its focus on fundamental rights, it played, and continues to do so, a role in ensuring that "Schengen works". The article presents its powers and the interplay with the other EU institutions, mainly on the basis of a number of key examples.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Leal-Arcasa Rafael, Ríosb Juan Alemany, Grasso Costantino**
**The European Union and its energy security challenges: engagement through and with networks**
**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 273-293

Energy security remains a vital issue for the European Union (EU), even more so in the wake of the events that unfolded in early 2014 in Ukraine. The EU's already fragile position in the international energy arena in terms of security of supply appears to be more uncertain than ever after its umpteenth fallout with its historic energy supplier, Russia. This situation is untenable and calls for swift and decisive action to adequately tackle the issue once and for all. The article looks at the creation of a single EU energy market through the integration of energy networks in the EU. This article then examines various ways to diversify its energy supply, whether through increasing the import of liquefied natural gas or through its relations with the Eurasian Union. It then explores the International Energy Charter as an example of the EU's engagement with transnational policy networks. It concludes that from energy transit, to technology transfer, to investment protection, energy and trade present interplays across various fields. Improvements can be made to the EU trading system to ensure greater energy security and more efficient energy markets.

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**Fabbrini Sergio**

**The European Union and the Puzzle of Parliamentary Government**
in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 5 , 571-586

The parliamentary election of Jean-Claude Juncker as the Commission president re-launched the debate on the parliamentary transformation of the EU. The article critically discusses the argument that EU can or should become a parliamentary federation. Based on the analytical distinction between federation by aggregation and by disaggregation, and assuming the EU as a species of the former type, the article shows the difficulty of adopting a parliamentary government at the horizontal level because of the demographic asymmetry and cultural differentiation between the EU Member States. The constraints on adopting a parliamentary government are reflected in the Lisbon Treaty. But, also with a change of the Treaty, parliamentary government in the EU would be obstructed by inter-institutional and structural dilemmas.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Rollet Vincent, Amaya Ana B.**
**The European Union and transnational health policy networks: a case study of interaction with the Global Fund**
in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 258-272

This article examines the nature of the engagement between the European Union and the Global Fund created to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The authors reveal that in relations between the EU and the Fund, influence is reciprocal although asymmetrical with the EU commanding more leverage. They also contend that the EU considers its engagement with the Global Fund as successful to the extent that the success of this interaction is contingent on the Global Fund's capacity for implementation. They conclude that the relationship between the EU and the Fund will continue for the foreseeable future.

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**MacDonnell Paul**
**The European Union's Proposed Equality and Data Protection Rules: An Existential Problem for Insurers?**
in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 35, Issue 2, June 2015 , pages 225–239

Insurance companies use personal data to price personal insurance risks. Innovative data-collection and processing strategies, including big data, offer the potential for better analysis of traditional risks and for markets in new types of insurance. This paper examines the potential for EU data protection and anti-discrimination legislation – both existing and proposed – to threaten not only this potential but also the traditional personal insurance business. It offers a strategy based upon codes of practice and technological innovation that would allow insurers to protect their business and to innovate while meeting the concerns of legislators about discrimination and data protection.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Rashchupkina Yuliya**
**The European Union's role in networks on removal of fossil fuel subsidies and disclosure of climate change**

**information**
in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 354-366

This article deals with newly emerging international collaborative initiatives around two issues connected to climate change: removal of fossil fuel subsidies and improving climate information disclosure practices in the business sector. While networked initiatives on the gradual removal of fossil fuel subsidies and a multi-actor network on disclosure of climate change information do not explicitly mobilize collective actions around climate change, they supplement and reinforce a wide array of other transnational initiatives and partnerships around climate change mitigation efforts. Analysed networks equip transnational policy processes around the climate change issue, initially formed by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's (UNFCCC) member states, with new policy tools to mitigate human-induced climate change and hugely expand the membership of policy-making at the international level. Newly emerging transnational networks in the area of fossil fuel subsidies removal and improving climate change information disclosure practices in the corporate world also strive for harmonization of policy methods and instruments across international boundaries. The experience of the European Union (EU) in promoting climate change actions among its member states and in sustaining collaboration with private actors can serve as an exemplary and learning tool for transnational policy networks across continents. And the size of the EU's market together with its governance structure provides it with a common legitimate voice at the international arena for climate change decision-making.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mistri Maurizio, Orcalli Gabriele**
**The European Union’s immigration policy: a stalled form of the strategy of conflict?**
in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 12, Issue 2, June 2015 , 239-256

More than 10 years after the Amsterdam Treaty, which transferred competences on immigration and asylum matters to common jurisdiction, the EU Commission is asking for a “genuine” European immigration policy. In our view, such a genuine policy must consider the common control of immigration flows, unequivocally rejected by both the Amsterdam and Lisbon Treaty for reasons that are rooted in the political terrain and—in terms of the economic logic—in the difficulty of finding a common immigration model. We consider that the focal point is constituted by whether or not to create side-payments, without which States have no choice but to adopt a national immigration policy. Side-payments, at this stage in the history of the European Union, would be very difficult to determine in the context of immigration policy. The fact that immigration policy is assigned to national governments, rendering compensatory payments impossible, is rooted in the complexity of this politically sensitive issue as well as in the practical difficulty of calculating the positive and negative externalities referred to above.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Anastasia Karatzia**
**The European citizens' initiative in practice: legal admissibility concerns**
in **European Law Review**, Vol. 40, issue 4 , 509-530

The European Citizens’ Initiative ( ECI), introduced as an instrument for citizens’ democratic participation in the EU, will soon have been in existence for three years. Apart from an express reference in the TFEU, which defines it as a

proposal for a legal act aiming to implement the Treaties, the ECI has a detailed legal framework. This includes a legal admissibility test under Regulation 211/2011 which sets out the criteria that an ECI must fulfil in order to start collecting signatures. The focus of this contribution is on the application of art.4(2)(b) of Regulation 211/2011 , an aspect of the legal admissibility test that has generated controversy in its practical application. According to art.4(2)(b) , a proposed ECI will not be registered if it "manifestly falls outside the framework of the Commission's powers to submit a proposal for a legal act of the Union for the purpose of implementing the Treaties". This contribution analyses the Commission's interpretation and application of that particular aspect of the legal admissibility test. It discusses the legal confines imposed on the ECI as a result of the application of art.4(2)(b) and thus the extent to which EU citizens can use an ECI as a way to propose legislation at EU level. To this effect, it also examines the currently pending ECI cases and the opportunity they present to the CJEU to alleviate certain concerns regarding the ECI legal admissibility test. This contribution aims to provide a coherent legal analysis of art.4(2)(b) of Regulation 211/2011 , a feature of the ECI which, although technical at first glance, should be of interest to anyone concerned with the ECI's functioning as a participatory democracy instrument.

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**Lavoie Marc  **

**The Eurozone Crisis: A Balance-of-Payments Problem or a Crisis Due to a Flawed Monetary Design? A Reply to Sergio Cesaratto**

**in International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2015 , pages 157-160

Both Sergio Cesaratto and I see several flaws in the setup of the common currency Eurozone, and we both understand, in a similar way, the functioning of a monetary economy. The only point of disagreement it seems to me is that Cesaratto insists that the Eurozone crisis is a balance-of-payments problem, tied to current account deficits and capital outflows. But whereas the continuous loss of foreign reserves must eventually lead to some painful adjustment, Eurozone countries can never run out of TARGET2 balances, which can take unlimited negative values, so that the evolution of the balance of payments cannot be the source of the crisis. My view, and Roberto Frenkel's, is that investors perceived, in contrast to other central banks, that the European Central Bank by convention and by design would decline to act as the purchaser of last resort until it became too late, which explains the speculative attacks against the securities issued by the governments of the Eurozone periphery.

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**Lavoie Marc  **

**The Eurozone: Similarities to and Differences from Keynes's Plan**

**in International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2015 , pages 3-17

The Eurozone is often considered to be the brainchild of Robert Mundell, who has often bragged about his paternity. In reality, the Eurozone setup, most specifically the TARGET2 settlement system, has several characteristics that look like the plan for an international currency union that Keynes proposed in the early 1940s. The main objective of this article is to show the similitudes and differences between the Eurozone currency union and Keynes's plan. The article also discusses some of the confusions that have arisen from the analysis of the TARGET2 system and the decision of the German constitutional court. Furthermore, it deals with the question of whether or not the European financial crisis of the

GIIPS countries (Greece, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain) was akin to a balance-of-payments crisis, as has been argued by some authors and denied by others.

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**Genoese Fabio, Egenhofer Christian, Hogan Michael, Redl Christian**
**The Future of the European Power Market   **
**in Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2015 , Pages 176-197   

The European power market is undergoing significant changes. The EU has set an ambitious goal of reducing its greenhouse gas emissions by 40 per cent by 2030. This will require significant investment in renewable energy sources such as wind and photovoltaics as well as measured policies to deal with the fluctuating capacity offered by these renewables. The integration of national power systems into a single European system would provide huge benefits in smoothing such fluctuations, enabling the EU power market to further increase its reliance on renewables. Current power generators and government regulators will inevitably face challenges adapting to the new market environment, but experience from other countries and regions could provide useful guidance.

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**DAVID ART**
**The German Rescue of the Eurozone: How Germany Is Getting the Europe It Always Wanted**
**in Political Science Quarterly**, VOLUME 130 - NUMBER 2 , 181-212

DAVID ART examines Germany’s role in managing the Eurozone crisis. He ﬁnds that Chancellor Angela Merkel has used the crisis to reassert long-standing German preferences on ﬁscal and monetary policy. He argues that the German rescue of the Eurozone has thus come on German terms and constitutes a major institutional redesign of the European Union.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Robbins Peter**
**The Greek Debt Crisis: The Need for “Heroic” Economic Policy Reforms in the European Economic and Monetary Union**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 22, issue 1 , 175-199

ABSTRACT: Greece is in the midst of a devastating economic and financial crisis that the European Union has been trying ardently to resolve since the default of Lehman Brothers in 2008. A significant number of other European Union (EU) Member States are also in crisis due to various state-level economic and monetary causes. Meanwhile, the European Union has consistently used the existing treaty articles and legislation within its competence to impose traditional and homogenized austerity measures on highly indebted Member States, most notably Greece. In sum, the European Union has zealously advocated for fiscal conservatism driven by the German “über-fear” of inflation, which the European Union firmly believes is not only an indicator of economic instability, but also an ineffective debt reduction

policy. The discord sown by such a policy at the EU level is evident even without detailed economic analysis: inflation, wages, unemployment, debt, and other economic indicators are affected, and often controlled, by a wide variety of factors, both global and domestic. This Note will deal chiefly with the economic and monetary causes of the crisis in Greece, and it will briefly discuss the crisis in Spain. While an understanding that each crisis is different would induce a reasonable expectation that each of those countries—as well as any other Member State in need of assistance—would have been prescribed a tailored solution to the extent that is practicable, this Note will explain that this has not been the case.

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**Mosconi Antonio**
**The Greek Debt and a New Deal for Europe**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
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**Zaiotti Ruben**
**The Hybrid Continent: Tensions and Resilience in Europe's Neoterritorial Model**
**in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 1 , 82-99

ABSTRACT: Despite its elusiveness and undefined boundaries, policy-makers and pundits have strived to pin down what ‘Europe’ as a territorial project actually represents and where it might (and should) be going. Two of the most intriguing arguments refer to Europe as either a ‘super-state in the making’ or a ‘neo-medieval empire.’ These models are typically presented as either mutually exclusive or in tension with one another. In this paper, I argue that the European territorial project's current trajectory is actually characterized by a mix of the two models. Such hybrid form of governance can be defined as ‘neoterritorial’ since it is based on the modern principle according to which freedom can only flourish in a clearly demarcated political space. Yet, this enclosed political space does not necessarily require the modern nation state's entire legal and institutional paraphernalia, but can instead be based on a ‘pooling’ of sovereignty and a flexible institutional framework and be spread out over a larger and more heterogeneous area than the traditional nation state. This hybrid model is epitomized by the Schengen regime, the institutional arrangement governing the management of Europe's borders. Despite its ongoing internal tensions and the challenges it has faced over the years, this model has become—and it is likely to remain in the foreseeable future—an established presence in Europe's political landscape.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hodson Dermot**
**The IMF as a de facto institution of the EU: A multiple supervisor approach**
**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 570-598

This paper seeks to understand and explain the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) evolving relationship with the European Union (EU) before and after the global financial crisis of 2007–2008. Prior to this crisis, the two sides operated on parallel tracks with little scope for mutual adjustment even during the economic turmoil of the 1970s. After the global financial crisis, the IMF emerged as a de facto institution of the EU thanks to European leaders' delegation of supervisory powers to both the Fund and the European Commission. The reasons for, and consequences of, this dual delegation are explored here by means of a multiple supervisor variation on the classic principal-agent-supervisor approach.

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**Mark Dawson**
**The Legal and Political Accountability Structure of 'Post-Crisis' EU Economic Governance**
**in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue 5

How should decision-making under EU economic governance be understood following the euro-crisis? This article argues, contra existing depictions, that the post-crisis EU has increasingly adopted methods of decision-making in the economic field which marry the decision-making structure of inter-governmentalism with the supervisory and implementation framework of the Community Method. While this 'post-crisis' method has arisen for clear reasons – to achieve economic convergence between eurozone states in an environment where previous models of decision-making were unsuitable or unwanted – it also carries important normative implications. Post-crisis governance departs from the mechanisms of legal and political accountability present in previous forms of EU decision-making without substituting new models of accountability in their place. Providing appropriate channels of political and legal control in the EU's 'new' economic governance should be seen as a crucial task for the coming decade.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Paweł Karolewski Ireneusz, Mehlhausen Thomas, Sus Monika**
**The Polish EU Council Presidency in 2011: Master or Servant?**
**in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 667-684

The point of departure of this article is limited systematic research on the rotating EU Council Presidency after the Lisbon Treaty. In order to assess rotating presidencies the paper proposes a three-tier approach which includes a functional, a behavioural and a contingency dimension. These dimensions are supplemented by the institutional changes of the Lisbon Treaty referring to the rotating presidencies. Next, the paper applies this evaluation framework to the Polish Presidency that took place in the second half of 2011. Finally, it draws conclusions from the Polish case for both the leadership capacity of the rotating Council Presidency in the post-Lisbon European Union and the performance of Poland's EU Council Presidency.

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**Dandashly Assem**

**The Political Impediments to Euro Adoption in Poland**
in **Problems of Post-communism**, vol. 62, n. 5 , 287-298

Poland's road to the euro proved bumpy and its early status as a euro pacesetter developed into one of euro laggard. So why, prior to the sovereign debt crisis, did Poland remain among the group of Central and East European countries that had not yet adopted the euro? What are the political barriers for euro adoption in Poland? This paper argues that domestic factors such as the existence of veto points, public opinion, central bank institutional features, and the role of political elites are key to answering the research questions. With the euro crises, the domestic problems were accompanied by declining public support for euro adoption along with an unfavorable external environment that is pushing euro adoption further away.

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**Maggetti Martino**
**The Politics of Network Governance in Europe: The Case of Energy Regulation**
in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 3 , 497-514

ABSTRACT: Networks are considered increasingly important for policy-making. The literature on new modes of governance in Europe suggests that their horizontal coordination capacity and flexible and informal structures are particularly suitable for governing the multilevel architecture of the European polity. However, empirical evidence about the effects of networks on policy-making and public policies is still quite limited. This article uses the case of the European network of energy regulators to explore the determinants of the position of network members and, in turn, the domestic adoption of soft rules developed within this network. The empirical analysis, based on multivariate statistics and semi-directive interviews, supports the expectation that institutional complementarities increase actors' centrality in networks, while arguments based on organisational resources and age are disproved. Furthermore, results show that the overall level of adoption is considerable and that centrality might have a small positive effect on domestic adoption.

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**Malerba Giuseppina , Spreafico Marta**
**The Rich and the Poor in the European Union and the Great Recession: Some Empirical Evidence**
in **Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali**, fasc. 2

This paper proposes a theoretical framework of the factors that affect the gap between the rich and the poor in the European Union. It uses a twelve-year panel data set from 2002 to 2012 of 27 countries to determine the short-term effects of the macroeconomic performance, the level of household income inequality, and the social protection expenditure on the extremes of the income distribution, controlling for several structural factors of income disparity. The impact of these variables on the shares of income separately accruing to the bottom, median and top household income is estimated. It is found that the three core determinants have a different impact before the Great Recession of 2008 and during the crisis years, and a different public commitment towards reducing disparities depending on the type of welfare regime.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Cuestas Juan Carlos, Gil-Alana Luis A., Regis Paulo José**
**The Sustainability of European External Debt: What have We Learned?**
**in Review of International Economics**, Volume 23, Issue 3, August 2015 , pages 445–468

In this paper we aim to analyze the level of sustainability of external debt and, more importantly, how it has changed for a number of European economies. Given the severity of the crisis since 2008, we argue that the path of external debt burdens may have changed since the start of the crisis, given the concerns about debt accumulation in most countries. We analyze the reaction of present debt accumulation to past debt stock, incorporating the possibility of endogenously determined structural breaks in this reaction function. We find that structural breaks happen in most cases after 2008, highlighting the importance of the policy measures taken by most governments.

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**Paet Urmas**
**The Ukraine crisis is a threat to Europe's security architecture**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

There is now a long list of conflicts and security threats that affect Europe directly or indirectly. As well as Ukraine, the list includes Syria, Iraq, Libya, Egypt, the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Mali, Yemen, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Elsas Erika van, Brug Wouter van der**
**The changing relationship between left–right ideology and euroscepticism, 1973–2010**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 194-215

How is euroscepticism related to left–right ideology in Western European public opinion? We argue that inconsistent findings on this relationship result from the changing nature of European integration over time. Initially, EU market integration mainly sparked left-wing opposition; after Maastricht the intensification of political integration additionally produced nationalist euroscepticism among the political right. Hence, we hypothesize that the relationship between citizens' left–right ideology and euroscepticism evolved from linear to U-shaped. We test this hypothesis by means of multilevel logistic regression on 74 waves of the Eurobarometer (1973–2010) in 12 EU member states. The results demonstrate an increase of right-wing euroscepticism across countries, whereas the developments on the left are mixed. In the concluding section, we discuss the theoretical and political implications of these findings.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pablo José Castilo Ortiz**

**The contested 'Constitution' of the EU and the quest for ever-democratic constitutionalism**
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, Vol. 10, issue 1 , 19-30

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Dragomir Elena**
**The creation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as seen from the Romanian archives**
in **Historical Research**, Volume 88, Issue 240 , pp. 355-379

This article presents documents from the archive of the central committee of the Romanian Communist party, recording the January 1949 Moscow conference that established the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.). It argues that the creation of the C.M.E.A. began as a Romanian initiative and presents the process by which the document constituting the C.M.E.A. was elaborated in early 1949. There is generally very little information on the creation of the C.M.E.A., so while it was not possible to use evidence from the Moscow archives, these findings, corroborated by studies involving sources from other communist archives, will help to create a better understanding of this event.

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**Daul Joseph**
**The future of political parties**
in **European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 1-2

Traditionally, political parties have had a large and fixed membership that they could count on for support. Not only has membership seen as permanent, but it was also passed down from one generation to the next. This relationship was an essential part of political life in our democracies. However, globalisation and technology, amongst other factors, have forever altered this reality. These phenomena have opened up a new world where citizens can engage in politics outside of the framework of political parties.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Pennisi Giuseppe**
**The impervious road to the Single Resolution Mechanism (Srm) of the European Banking Union (Ebu)**
in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 82, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 229

The article examines the European Single Resolution Mechanism (Srm), one of the three legs of the European Banking Union (Ebu). The other two are the Single Supervisory - or Surveillance - System (Sss) and the Single Deposit Guarantee Scheme (Sdgs). The Sss appears well underway. It includes: a) surveillance of major financial institutions to be carried out directly by the European Central Bank (Ecb), and, b) agreed criteria and methods to be followed in surveillance of the other banks by the national supervisory authorities of individual member States. Sdgs is meant to be

a safeguard to savers and depositors but negotiations on this item have been postponed, most likely sine die. The Srm is the most innovative and original element of the Ebu. It entered in force at the beginning of 2015, but it is yet to be experimented. Prospects are not bright because its design is extremely elaborate. Its decision making involves over a hundred different individuals in about a dozen of institutions, whilst in banking resolution speed is the essential feature to be successful. Within a multinational context, such as the European Union, all the relevant decisions must be taken within the span of a weekend when the markets are closed. Most likely, the Srm will need to be revised and simplified. The way to its utilization appears to be all uphill.

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**Winkel Georg, Blondet Marieke, Borrass Lars, Frei Theresa Freia, , Maria Geitzenauerd, , Axel Gruppee, , Alistair Jumpf, , Jessica de Koningg Jessica, Sotirov Metodi, Weiss Gerhard, Winter Susanne, Turnhout Esther**

**The implementation of Natura 2000 in forests: A trans- and interdisciplinary assessment of challenges and choices**

**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 52, October , 23-32

Natura 2000 is the core of the EU's biodiversity conservation policy. 50% of the overall protected area under Natura 2000 is forest. Yet, comparatively little is known about the implementation of the policy in forests. Building on a rich set of social and natural science data, and an inter- and transdisciplinary discussion process involving scientists from different disciplines as well as EU, national and local stakeholders, this paper identifies five important challenges related to the implementation of Natura 2000 in forests: (1) the balancing of biodiversity conservation and timber production, (2) the integration of conservation (science) and local stakeholders' demands, (3) climate change, (4) lacking and less effective funding, and (5) conflicts related to other sectoral policies. Subsequently, five possible pathways to tackle these challenges are proposed: (1) a learning approach through better communication and transparency, (2) a pathway emphasizing the role of conservation science in developing management strategies and responding to climate change, (3) an approach of better integrating Europe's citizens in the design and implementation of the policy, (4) an approach highlighting the necessity of an effective funding strategy, and (5) the vision to work towards an integrated European land use and conservation policy. In conclusion, we emphasize, on one hand, the distinct character of the five pathways but, on the other hand, underline that probably all of them need to be followed in order to make the implementation of Natura 2000 in Europe's forests a success story.

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**Gambarotto Francesca, Solari Stefano**

**The peripheralization of Southern European capitalism within the EMU**

**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2015 , pages 788-812

The paper discusses the problem of the Southern European (SE) capitalism and its difficult path into the EMU (European Monetary Union), looking at the remote causes of the crisis that hit these economies. For this reason, we consider European countries as a set of asymmetrically integrated variety of capitalism. The institutional configuration chosen by Europe to aggregate the many varieties of capitalism not only reduced the political autonomy of the single states, but effectively hindered the specific coordination mechanism of Southern European (SE) capitalism which was importantly based on state intervention as a structural element and on inflationary policies. Despite the deep

market-oriented reforms this change caused both structural and macroeconomic unbalances. The aim of the paper is to integrate some principles of the variety of capitalism and the dynamics of institutional change with some insights inspired by the work of Arrighi to supply a synthetic and 'alternative' perspective on the difficult role that Southern countries are experiencing in Europe.

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**Howarth David, Quaglia Lucia**

**The political economy of the euro area's sovereign debt crisis: introduction to the special issue of the Review of International Political Economy**

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 457-484

This special issue has two main aims: to examine the contribution of political economy analyses of the sovereign debt crisis and to relate these findings to longstanding debates in the sub-disciplines of comparative political economy, international political economy and European economic governance. This introduction begins by reviewing the comparative political economy literature on national financial systems in order to account for the playing out of the crisis. It then examines the international political economy literature on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and financial (sovereign debt) markets that played such a key role in the unfolding of the sovereign debt crisis. Finally, it outlines longstanding academic debates on the main 'asymmetries'; in European economic governance, and provides a critical overview of the three main policy and institutional reforms adopted by European Union governments in response to the crisis.

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**Tal Dingott Alkopher**

**The political psychology of integration strategies: the case of the European Commission's interculturalism**

in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 18, Issue 4 , 428-454

This article uses the concept of security as an analytical tool to map and explain socio-psychological reactions of political communities, as expressed through identity-management and cultural integration strategies, to immigration-related identity crises. To this end, I build a typology of three psychologically driven identity-management frameworks: securitising collective identity (through assimilation or exclusion); desecuritising collective identity (through multiculturalism); and managing the securitisation of collective identity (through interculturalism). On an empirical level, this article focuses mainly on the European Commission's (EC) central texts and the Commissioners' self-expressions from 1999 to 2013 that relate to the questions of immigration to Europe and the integration of third-country nationals, and it uses the third framework to explore the EC's socio-political psychological reactions to recent immigration-related identity crises.

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**Vaona Andrea**

**The price-price Phillips curve in small open economies and monetary unions: theory and empirics**

in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 12, Issue 2, June 2015 , 281-307

This paper extends the efficiency wages/partially adaptive expectations Phillips curve, otherwise known as the price-price Phillips curve, from a closed economy context to an open economy one with both commodity trade and capital mobility. We also consider the case of a monetary union (a country) with two member states (regions). The theoretical results are a priori ambiguous. However, in the first place, on resorting to plausible numerical simulations, economic openness increases the reactiveness of inflation to the unemployment rate. In regard to a monetary union, the national unemployment multiplier in the aggregate Phillips curve decreases with the weight of the member state in aggregate employment and increases with that in output. Secondly, we show in two empirical applications that our calibration can provide informative priors for models to be estimated thanks to the Kalman filter.

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**Grimm Robert**

**The rise of the German Eurosceptic party Alternative für Deutschland, between ordoliberal critique and popular anxiety**

in **International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 264-278

ABSTRACT: Germany came relatively unscathed through the economic turbulence of recent years. For some observers, Germany is the biggest beneficiary of the Eurozone and the winner of the crisis. This begs the question of why, at the height of Germany's post-war European influence, have an increasing number of Germans withdrawn their support from the European project? The Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany, AfD) is Germany's first Eurosceptic party to attract substantial electoral support in local, national and European elections. The article firstly presents a brief summary of the AfD's European politics. It then traces the party's ideological roots back to ordoliberal critiques of the Maastricht Treaty and argues that there was a deep scepticism towards European integration among Germany's conservative elites well before the introduction of the Euro. The sudden surge in German Euroscepticism has to be understood within the context of broader cultural changes and a lack of political choice. An unprecedented moral panic about European bailouts and the European Central Bank's monetary policy created a sense of emergency that paved the way for the AfD's success.

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**Rooduijn Matthijs**

**The rise of the populist radical right in Western Europe**

in **European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 3-11

Populist radical right (PRR) parties are on the rise in Western Europe. Where do the electoral successes of these parties come from? First, it has been shown that the opening of borders has fuelled the divide between the 'losers' and 'winners' of globalisation. The 'losers' are individuals who feel threatened by international competition. They vote for PRR parties because they agree with their nativist, populist and Eurosceptic positions. Second, various social and political developments have facilitated the success of these parties. Some examples of these developments are increased electoral volatility, the ideological convergence of the mainstream parties, and increasing immigration and unemployment. Third, PRR parties themselves are, to a large extent, responsible for their own successes. Without their

increasingly moderated messages and profiles, their often appealing external and internal leaders, and their well-institutionalised party organisations, their (long-term) successes would not have been possible. Most probably, the PRR party family will remain with us for a while.

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**Michailidou Asimina**
**The role of the public in shaping EU contestation: Euroscepticism and online news media**
in **International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 324-336

ABSTRACT: The participation of the public in framing and debating the news has added a new layer in the making of European Union contestation and the European public sphere, traditionally driven by journalists and political elites. Drawing on news coverage of the ongoing Eurocrisis (2010–2013) and the 2009 European Parliament elections, this article examines the structure and content of European Union contestation in mainstream online news media over time and across several European Union member states. The cross-national patterns that emerge from this analysis strongly suggest that, despite the differences between the observed online news spheres, the European Union is rather uniformly contested: national politics firmly remain the key defining ‘frame’; Eurosceptic claims are very much focused on the present rather than the future; and contributors often appeal to the public’s emotions rather than reason. Furthermore, the Eurocrisis appears to have consolidated European Union contestation on the more substantial issues of power, solidarity and accountability.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Brack Nathalie**
**The roles of Eurosceptic Members of the European Parliament and their implications for the EU**
in **International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 337-350

ABSTRACT: The 2014 European elections demonstrated the scale and success of the EU’s opponents. Radical and populist parties topped the polls in some countries while others gained parliamentary representation for the first time. At the same time, Euroscepticism has entered the mainstream, with an increase of anti-EU rhetoric among government parties and the European Conservative and Reformist group becoming the third largest party in the European Parliament. In this context, this article aims at analysing the strategies developed by Eurosceptics from the left, the right and the mainstream once elected to parliament but also at providing food for thought regarding the implications of an (increased) presence of Eurosceptic MEPs. It provides a typology of four roles played by Eurosceptics, showing the diversity of their strategies. It then argues that the presence of these dissenting voices might be an asset for the EU’s legitimacy.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Biscop Sven**
**The state of defence in Europe: dependence, deterrence and deployment**
in **Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 169-182

As the challenges in Europe's neighbourhood are multiplying, so its American ally's commitment is declining. Europe therefore has to decide which responsibilities it wants to assume as a security provider outside its borders, and translate that into capability targets that allow for it to act autonomously when necessary. The EU is best placed to express that ambition, through the European Council, and to detail its capability implications for expeditionary operations, which NATO can then integrate in overall capability targets for Europeans, including their collective defence obligations. The European Defence Agency is best placed to be the “architect” of cooperation to develop and acquire these priority capabilities together. Bringing these capabilities up to standard through manoeuvres is best done through the NATO command structure, of which Europe will avail itself in most scenarios demanding large scale, high intensity military intervention. Coordination, cooperation and eventually integration: those are the keys to building an affordable and coherent set of European forces.
Full text available online.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Thiele Alexander**
**The ‘German Way’ of Curbing Public Debt The Constitutional Debt Brake and the Fiscal Compact – Why Germany has to Work on its Language Skills**
**in European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 11 - Issue 01 , 30-54

Public debt: relevance for funding of modern states – Keynesian revolution – Consequences of the financial crisis in Germany – Introduction of the debt brake and Fiscal Compact – The constitutional debt brake: structure and exceptions of the balanced budget rule, four deficiencies of the debt brake – The Fiscal Compact: historical background and structure of the balanced budget rule – Sufficient implementation of the balanced budget rule in Germany? – Constitutionality of the Fiscal Compact? – Austerity as the wrong answer for solving the current economic problems

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Potočnik Janez**
**The ‘circular economy’ is coming round again – bigger and better**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

As an EU Commissioner for a decade, who am I to say what is good for business? I have never started or managed one, but have been frequently approached by business lobbies.

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**Giuseppe Guarino**

**The 'truth' about Europe and the Euro**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS: Preface. 1 – The Euro, a new currency unborn. 2 – The stability and growth pact. 3 – Widespread anemia, what causes?. 4 – Who did it? How?. 5 – The effects. 6 – The effects: the suppression of democracy. 7 – The earth and the human footprint peculiarities of
humankind and of nature. 8 – What to do? Responsibilities. 9 – A clean sweep a new generation in politics. 10 – From Scylla to Charybdis. 11 – The Future.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Keukeleire Stephan**
**Three steps for Mogherini to refurbish EU foreign policy**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

The EU's foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini and the other European leaders are now preparing the revision of a raft of policies, ranging from the 12-year old European Security Strategy and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) to trade policy and strategic partnerships with other regional and global powers.

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**Auel Katrin, Rozenberg Olivier, Tacea Angela**
**To Scrutinise or Not to Scrutinise? Explaining Variation in EU-Related Activities in National Parliaments**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 282-304

ABSTRACT: There is an on-going debate in the literature as to whether national parliaments can and do play an active role in EU policy-making. The main reason for persistent disagreement is the lack of comparative empirical data on parliamentary behaviour in EU affairs. The article aims to contribute to this debate by presenting the first comparative quantitative data on European affairs activities of national parliaments and by explaining the empirical variation. The development of a unique dataset including all 27 national parliaments allows a series of explanatory variables to be tested for the level of parliamentary activity at both the committee and the plenary levels. The analysis shows that institutional strength in EU affairs plays an important role. Overall, however, EU activities can be better explained with a mix of institutional capacities and motivational incentives. The specific combinations vary for different types of activities.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Bølstad Jørgen, Elhardt Christoph**
**To bail out or not to bail out? Crisis politics, credibility, and default risk in the Eurozone**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 3, September , 325-346

We examine the impact of signals regarding the Eurozone's bail-out commitment on government bond spreads in the Eurozone's periphery, analysing the effect of positive, negative and mixed statements and decisions by the EU, the ECB and Germany. We construct a dataset of relevant events, and estimate their effects using distributed lag models, providing a number of robustness checks. Our main argument is that investors react to statements from credible actors, but largely ignore statements from less-credible actors, awaiting actual decisions. Accordingly, positive statements from the ECB have clear effects, while those from Germany and the EU do not. Furthermore, ECB decisions appear to be anticipated and thus have no short-term effects, while we find clear effects of positive decisions by Germany and the EU.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Öhlund Erika, Zurek Karolina, Hammer Monica**

**Towards Sustainable Agriculture? The EU framework and local adaptation in Sweden and Poland**

**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 4, Special Issue: Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics, July-August , 270-287

Agricultural systems can be seen as nested social–ecological systems. European Union (EU) Member States vary considerably in terms of their agricultural, socio-economic and environmental circumstances. Yet, as participants in the common agricultural market, they are subject to a uniform Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). An important question is whether there is enough room for flexibility to sustain diverse agricultural systems and facilitate national targeting of sustainability-promoting measures. This article analyses the institutional arrangements concerning cross-scale interactions and interdependencies at national and regional (EU) levels, focusing on how Poland and Sweden implement CAP funds in relation to sustainable agriculture, in particular the agri-environmental schemes, for the period 2007–2013. What room is there in practice for accommodating national differences and sustainability priorities offered by the EU agricultural policy, and how are the existing opportunities used by the two countries? It is shown that agri-environmental funds are too small to prevent transition towards large-scale farming in new Member States and CAP does not effectively promote transformation towards sustainable practices in the EU.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Giuliano Amato, Elisabeth Guigou, Vaira Vike-Freiberga, and JHH Weiler**

**Towards a "New Schuman Declaration"**

**in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 13, no. 2 , 339-342

Even at a time of crisis, one can neither forget nor overstate the fundamental contribution of the European construct to the destiny of our continent over the last six decades. In several respects the successes of Europe may have exceeded the boldest expectations of its visionary founders.
What seemed at the time no more than a dream—making war among the Member States of the Union "unthinkable"—became an unquestionable reality.
And though not perfect, Europe was transformed so that citizens as well as goods, services and capital could move freely in a vast common marketplace—which for decades was an engine of prosperity in an area committed to social justice, solidarity and ecological responsibility.
The appeal of Europe was not merely economic. The underlying values of human rights, the rule of law and democracy

provided an inspiration and catalyst for the democratic transformation of many of the Member States which joined an enlarging Union. At its best the Union represented the promise of a better future for all.
The circumstance of Europe has changed.
We are witnessing today a pervasive sense of insecurity among European citizens. There is the obvious and immediate sense of economic insecurity, both private and collective. This is coupled with a concomitant concern of the ability of our societies to retain their commitment to an order which guarantees not only individual prosperity but a life of dignity and social justice for all. Something as fundamental as energy supply, the ability to keep our homes warm and our factories humming, has become a source of anxiety. A changing geopolitics, with different kinds of armed conflicts raging on the borders of, and in close vicinity to, Europe has made the issue of external defense and internal security a matter of real concern to many.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Moraga Jesús Fernández-Huertas, Rapoport Hillel**
**Tradable Refugee-admission Quotas and EU Asylum Policy**
**in CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 61 Issue 3-4 September-December 2015 , 638-672

The current European Union (EU) asylum policy is widely seen as ineffective and unfair. We propose an EU-wide market for tradable quotas on both refugees and asylum seekers coupled with a matching mechanism linking countries' and migrants' preferences. We show that the proposed system can go a long way towards addressing the shortcomings of the current system. We illustrate this claim using the recent problems regarding relocation faced by the European Relocation from Malta program.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Dragutinović-Mitrović Radmila, Bjelić Predrag**
**Trade regimes and bilateral trade in the EU enlargement process: Focus on the Western Balkans**
**in Acta Oeconomica**, Volume 65, Issue 2 , 249–270

This paper aims at investigating the role of different trade regimes in determining the bilateral trade of Western Balkan countries and the enlarged European Union between 2001—2010. Special focus is laid on the intra-regional trade of Western Balkan countries and complementarities of this sub-regional trade integration and the EU accession process. Using panel data, we estimated the gravity model of bilateral exports from Western Balkan and Central Eastern European countries to the core EU members in the 2001–2010 period. The results confirm the importance of EU membership for the development of acceding countries' trade and shed light on asymmetrical trade regimes as important factors of boosting the bilateral trade flows. Additionally, CEFTA 2006 has a significant contribution to intra-regional Western Balkans trade.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Vössing Konstantin**
**Transforming public opinion about European integration: Elite influence and its limits**

**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 157-175

This article shows that political elites can use political explanations to transform public opinion about European integration. It also finds that concentric group affiliation based on self-categorization as a member of the nation and Europe impedes elite influence, while individuals with exclusive affiliations are more easily persuaded to change their opinions on European integration. I conduct a laboratory experiment to test my theoretical expectations. By investigating elite influence and its interaction with identity, the article addresses conflicting perspectives on the transformation of public opinion in prior research: one approach proposes that integration attitudes are anchored in individual dispositions and thus relatively stable, while another argument emphasizes the capacity of elites to induce attitude change. A comparison with utilitarian considerations and political sophistication shows that no other disposition imposes more robust limits on elite influence than a concentric group affiliation, and none triggers greater susceptibility to persuasion than an exclusive identity.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Williams Christopher, Spoon Jae-Jae**
**Transforming public opinion about European integration: Elite influence and its limits**
**in European Union Politics** , vol. 16, n. 2, June , 176-193

Do parties respond to voters' preferences on European integration in elections to the European Parliament? In this article, we argue that political parties do respond to voters' Euroskeptic attitudes, but that party type conditions responsiveness. In particular, we posit that larger parties are more responsive and that governing parties are less responsive to aggregate Euroskepticism. To test our theoretical expectations, we use data from the Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study from 1989 to 2009 for 252 parties across 26 European Union Member States. Our findings have important implications for understanding democratic representation in the European Union and the second-order nature of elections to the European Parliament.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Bocse Alexandra-Maria**
**Transnational policy networks and the European Union's energy policy**
**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 294-307

The goal of this article is to critically examine the engagement between the European Union (EU) and a transnational policy network (TPN) that deals with an issue that has grown in importance in the architecture of the EU's energy policy: fracking. The author argues that successful engagement between the EU and networks on shale gas was facilitated by the fact that the TPN or the members of the TPN were in possession of technical and scientific information that is highly needed by institutions in Brussels. Also, the article reveals that the fact that EU energy insecurity has been high on the EU agenda increased EU's interest in actors that could provide vital insights into potential panaceas and palliatives to energy insecurity.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Mezzetti Petra, Ceschi Sebastiano**

**Transnational policy networks in the migration field: a challenge for the European Union**

in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 323-340

The migration policy field is a multilayered and fragmented area still lacking a strong global and European regime. Nonetheless, different initiatives and fora have been promoted in the last decade to increase the international dialogue on migration, with the active participation of non-state actors, and particularly civil society organisations (CSOs). The article reviews selected initiatives undertaken at the UN and European level, whereby institutional representatives engage with CSOs in furthering migration policies. These initiatives and platforms may constitute transnational policy networks (TPNs). It explores signals towards the consolidation of more structured and 'hard' forms of participatory policy-making on migration issues, as well as obstacles present in this engagement dynamic. The key question addressed in this study is whether and how European institutions have engaged with the TPNs in the field of migration. The article also explores how some of the TPNs influence institutional policy-making at the EU level.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Vasev Nikolay, Vrangbæk Karsten**

**Transposition and National-Level Resources: Introducing the Cross-Border Healthcare Directive in Eastern Europe**

in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 4 , 693-710

ABSTRACT: The Cross-Border Patients' Rights Directive represents an attempt to resolve the unclear situation that had developed due to 'negative integration' within the field of healthcare. While the adoption of the directive ends the EU-level decision process, it represents the start of the implementation process, where national institutional structures and interests play a key role. This article investigates the role of resources as a key factor shaping transposition within the member states, with a focus on Poland and Bulgaria. The article shows that a multidimensional perspective of resources is important for understanding transposition of EU directives in member states. While previous research has tended to consider resources at the aggregate, national level, the present study shows that specific concerns about the 'adjustment costs' at the sector system level are of key importance.

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**Passet Olivier**

**Tsipras, un renouveau politique?**

in **Esprit**, Août/septembre 2015 , 194-198

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Francesco Nardi**

**Una rassegna sulle principali misure adottate dall'Unione per superare la crisi finanziaria**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

Con l'adozione della moneta unica, l'Unione ha scelto, oltre a dare un valore comune al progetto europeo, anche di fotografare la situazione, politica, finanziaria e sociale dei singoli paesi che ne entravano a far parte e di legarli a tale valore.
La situazione economica dei singoli paesi, seppure accomunata e protetta dall'Euro, mostrava differenze strutturali in ragione: delle diverse specializzazioni produttive, degli indici economici, ed in particolare dell'indebitamento pubblico; induceva i mercati finanziari, quali naturali regolatori del sistema; bensì, prima, a finanziare i paesi economicamente più deboli – ma con una forte percezione di inflazione – per poi stringere i cordoni della borsa.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Tobias Schumacher**
**Uncertainty at the EU's borders: narratives of EU external relations in the revised European Neighbourhood Policy towards the southern borderlands**
**in European Security**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 381-401

This article analyses the role of narratives in European Union (EU) external relations in the revised European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and systematically explores how they operate in practice in the context of the EU's border management practices vis-à-vis the "southern borderlands", in particular with respect to their inclusionary and exclusionary potential. Key EU documents and statements by EU agents, released throughout the first three years of Arab uprisings and pertaining to the revised ENP, will be subjected to a thorough examination which highlights four observations: first, in spite of the fact that the revised ENP is rooted in several narratives, some nevertheless dominate over others; second, the simultaneous presence of and recourse to different narratives contribute to an increase, rather than a decrease, of uncertainty in the EU's southern borderlands; third, despite a multitude of narratives which serve to legitimize EU action in the framework of the revised ENP, the latter perpetuates the logics of its predecessor by generating benefits mainly for the EU itself; fourth, that the first three years of the revised ENP have in practice demonstrated that an imbalance exists between on the one hand the original acceptance of the narratives by EU stakeholders and on the other hand their willingness to abide by them and fill them with life.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Louis Jean Victor**
**Une Commission politique**
**in Cahiers de Droit Européen**, n. 3 , 485-499

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**Edouard Dubout**
**Une question de confiance: nature juridique de l'Union européenne et adhésion à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme**
in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 73-112

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Dimitrakopoulos Michail**
**Une tragédie gréco-européenne**
in **Esprit**, Août/septembre 2015 , 200-204

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Scherz Antoinette, Welge Rebecca**
**Union Citizenship Revisited: Multilateral Democracy as Normative Standard for European Citizenship**
in **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, vol. 41, n. 8 , 1254-1275

Union Citizenship as currently implemented in the European Union introduces a distinct concept of citizenship that necessitates an adequate normative approach. The objective of this paper is to assess EU Citizenship against the theoretical background of multilateral democracy. This approach is specifically suited for this task, as it does not rely on a nation-state paradigm or the presumption of a further transformation into a federation or union. We propose three criteria by which to assess multilevel citizenship: equal individual rights, equal sovereignty of peoples and the balancing of individuals' and peoples' interests. We argue that the current practice of Union Citizenship does not fully meet the proposed standards, regarding equal rights within and equal access to, the political system. Based on our assessment, we propose reform options of access to national and supranational citizenship and argue for supranational participation rights and equal transnational rights to gradually re-establish full membership for individuals.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Frantescu Doru Petrisor**
**Values topple nationality in the European Parliament**
in **European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 101-110

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hall Peter A.**
**Varieties of Capitalism and the Euro Crisis**
in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 6 , 1223-1243

ABSTRACT: This article examines the role played by varieties of capitalism in the euro crisis, considering the origins of the crisis, its progression, and the response to it. Deficiencies in the institutional arrangements governing the single currency are linked to economic doctrines of the 1990s. The roots of the crisis are linked to institutional asymmetries between political economies. Northern European economies equipped to operate export-led growth models suitable for success within a monetary union are joined to southern economies whose demand-led growth models were difficult to operate successfully without the capacity to devalue. The response to a tripartite crisis of confidence, debt, and growth is explained in terms of the interaction of institutions, interests, and ideas, and its importance for the future of European integration is explored.

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**Saint-Ouen François**
**Vers la nécessité de repenser la «Grande Europe»**
in **Europe en formation (L')**, n° 374, 2014/4 , 8-26

Relations between the EU and Russia, in the context of a changing globalized world giving more importance to the BRICS and reorienting economic flows to Asia, lead to a new reflection on the idea, forgotten today, of a “Wider Europe”. This idea is discussed not only in terms of global challenges, but also according to historical, cultural, institutional, economic, security and societal settings. The article shows the persistence, in some minds and in some institutions such as NATO, of a logic of confrontation. Such a situation is becoming more and more damaging today, both for the EU and Russia, but also for the EU Eastern partnership countries and even for the EU candidate countries. This is why it is suggested, on the contrary, that economic relations should be developed between the EU and the Eurasian Union, and a political and security dialogue completely redesigned, relying much more on the OSCE, with the aim of Europe gaining more autonomy from the United States and NATO.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Jean-Victor Louis**
**Vers une réforme de l'Union?**
in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 9-18

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Verney Susannah**
**Waking the ‘sleeping giant’ or expressing domestic dissent? Mainstreaming Euroscepticism in crisis-stricken**

**Greece**
in **International Political Science Review** , vol. 36, n. 3, june , 279-295

ABSTRACT: The surge in support for Eurosceptic parties in the 2014 Euroelections is investigated through a case study of Greece, a country which suffered a dramatic dealignment of its party system after the onset of the Eurozone crisis. The extent to which crisis-era developments represent a rupture is assessed by setting the recent rise of party Euroscepticism in its historical context. Eurobarometer data is used to investigate the relationship between party and popular Euroscepticism and an alternative domestically-driven explanation of causality. The conclusion is that the crisis era has been a game-changer in attitudes towards European integration. The rising vote for Eurosceptic parties is not simply a side-effect of domestic protest. Instead the EU has become a significant electoral target.

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**Streeck Wolfgang**
**Warum der Euro Europa spaltet statt es zu einigen**
in **Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft** , Volume 43 (2015), Issue 3, 2015 , 365-387

Abstract

The euro is more than a means of payment, it is a „monetary regime“ (Weber). As an institution it has asymmetrical distributional effects: it favors the northern European varieties of capitalism while disadvantaging the southern European ones. In coming years the euro zone’s domestic politics will revolve around three themes: the interpretation of the treaties in a „northern“ or „southern“ direction; the adaptation of national political economies to the currency union’s evolving institutional regime; and the interregional and international compensation payments coming due in the currency union as a political system, where the central issue will be terms of exchange between money and control. The foreseeable endemic crisis of the European Monetary Union points to the general - perhaps altogether unsolvable - problem of creating a sustainable monetary regime for the global capitalism, or post-capitalism, of the twenty-first century.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Hoppe Alexander, Müller Gómez Johannes**
**Wege aus der Legitimitätskrise: Chancen eines europäischen Föderalismus**
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28-30, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/209070/chancen-eines-europaeischen-foederalismus

Das politische System der EU befindet sich seit einigen Jahren in einer schwerwiegenden Krise. Beginnend mit der Banken- und Staatsschuldenkrise haben sich anfänglich vor allem ökonomische Schwierigkeiten zu einer Krise des

politischen Systems entwickelt, für die nach Lösungen gesucht wird. Vor diesem Hintergrund scheint eine grundlegende Debatte über die Neuordnung des politischen Systems der EU dringend geboten. Mit Blick auf die zunehmende EU-Skepsis in der Bevölkerung entziehen sich politische Entscheidungsträgerinnen und Entscheidungsträger allerdings oft dieser Diskussion. Die Angst vor einem europäischen Superstaat hat sich mittlerweile zu einem Schreckgespenst entwickelt, dessen sich euroskeptische Parteien in Wahlkampfzeiten gern bedienen. Gleichzeitig mehren sich aber auch Stimmen für eine Föderalisierung der Union. Die Schaffung eines europäischen Bundesstaates mit dem Europäischen Parlament als zentrale Institution würde die demokratische Legitimität sowie die Handlungsfähigkeit der EU steigern, so das Argument...

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Göler Daniel**
**Wenn normative Macht zur geostrategischen Herausforderung wird**
in **Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 62, Heft 3, 2015 , 289-305

Abstract

Based on approaches of civilian and normative power the article elaborates on a particular problem exposed by the current Ukrainian crises that has largely been neglected in the literature: A foreign policy aiming at the establishment of values, norms and rules might lead to changes in the international system, which could be perceived by other actors as a geostrategic threat. And, in turn, this perception might lead them to actions inspired by strategies of traditional power politics. In other words: Europe’s success as a normative power may turn into a geostrategic challenge. Considering this challenge is not just of relevance for academic debates, but also for the further development of EU’s foreign and security policy.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mabbett Deborah, Schelkle Waltraud**
**What difference does Euro membership make to stabilization? The political economy of international monetary systems revisited**
in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 508-534

For many political economists, the loss of monetary sovereignty is the major reason why the Southern periphery fared so badly in the Euro area crisis. Monetary sovereignty here means the ability of the central bank to devalue the exchange rate or to buy government debt by printing the domestic currency. We explore this diagnosis by comparing three countries – Hungary, Latvia and Greece – that received considerable amounts of external assistance under different monetary regimes. The evidence does not suggest that monetary sovereignty helped Hungary and Latvia to stabilize their economies. Rather, cooperation and external assistance made foreign banks share in the costs of stabilization. By contrast, the provision of liquidity by the European Central Bank inadvertently facilitated the reduction of foreign banks’ exposure to Greece which left the Greek sovereign even more exposed. By viewing the Euro area as a monetary system rather than an incomplete state, we see that what is needed for Euro area stabilization is cooperation over banking union, rather than a fully-fledged federal budget.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Samuel Dahan, Olivier Fuchs and Marie-Laure Layus**
**Whatever It Takes? Regarding the OMT Ruling of the German Federal Constitutional Court**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 137-151

On 14 January 2014, the Bundesverfassungsgericht (German Contitutional Court in Karlsruhe hereafter Karlsruhe) ruled on the European Central Bank's (ECB) Outright Monetary Transaction (OMT) programme. This ruling has prompted fierce debate among lawyers and economists for a number of reasons. First of all, the OMT programme concerned the very short-term survival of the euro. Secondly, in an unprecedented move, the Court took a position on the current incompleteness and asymmetry of the Economic and Monetary Union as well as on its future course. Indeed, the German Court has made a referral to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) for a preliminary ruling on two matters: (i) had the ECB exceeded its mandate by infringing upon the competences of Member States in the field of economic policy, and (ii) had it violated the prohibition against sovereign debt monetization stipulated in Article 123 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union? While the content of the referral is critical, the decision to make a referral is in itself significant insofar as the Court has always refused to use this procedure even though such an abstention has been widely seen as a violation of European law. A third reason that the decision came under scrutiny is because the Constitutional Court added an unconventional twist to its preliminary ruling mechanism, ensuring it had the last word and reserving the option of not following the Court of Justice's ruling. In other words, the German decision implied that although the Bundesverfassungsgericht was extending its hand to the CJEU, it was doing so with a closed fist.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Mazzucato Mariana, Cimoli Mario, Dosi Giovanni, Stiglitz Joseph E.**
**Which Industrial Policy Does Europe Need?**
**in Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2015 , Pages 120-155

One lesson of the Great Recession has been that countries with higher shares of industry in their GDP seemed to be less affected by the crisis. Consequently, the call for an industrial renaissance has become stronger. Industrial policy has now become a top priority in countries where it was not explicitly considered in the past. A strong EU-wide industrial policy is expected to foster growth and job creation. However, cultivating industrial development is a complex challenge. This Forum addresses the steps that need to be taken to create a new European industrial policy. What are the structural challenges that need to be addressed? What are the instruments of the EU's industrial policy? And should the EU be engaged in picking winners, or is the market better at making such judgements?

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Strelkov Alexander**
**Who Controls National EU Scrutiny? Parliamentary Party Groups, Committees and Administrations**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 2 , 355-374

ABSTRACT: The article addresses the question of how parliamentary actors, namely parliamentary party groups, parliamentary administrators and committees, interact with each other in the new post-Lisbon institutional environment. On the basis of assessing scrutiny of EU proposals in the spheres of pensions and labour migration in the parliaments of Sweden, the Czech Republic and Romania, the article comes to the conclusion that despite existing opportunities for parliamentary administrators and committees to obtain greater leverage, parliamentary party groups continue to play a crucial role in defining the outcomes of the scrutiny process. Parliamentary party groups tend to focus on the division of competences between the EU and member states even when they have electoral incentives to address the content of EU proposals.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Finke Daniel**
**Why do European political groups call the roll?**
in **Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 5, September , 750-762

Research on legislative behaviour in the European Parliament is heavily reliant on recorded votes. Previous theoretical work has uncovered competing selection mechanisms that might cause a vote to be recorded. It has been argued that European Political Groups call the roll because the voting mode affects MEPs' voting decisions. However, the underlying causal mechanism, as well as the size and direction of this effect, remains a matter of dispute. Drawing on a unique dataset, the article puts these arguments to an empirical test, the results suggesting that European Political Groups are more likely to call the roll if they stand to benefit from an overall lower level of voting cohesion. Moreover, I find that roll-call votes are frequently motivated by position-taking rather than by policy-seeking motives. These findings have significant, but ambivalent, implications for the analysis of recorded votes in the European Parliament.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Elvert Jürgen**
**Wie viel Gemeinsame Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik verträgt die Europäische Union? Ein Zwischenruf aus historischer Sicht**
in **Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande**, 47 (2015), 1 , 97–108

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Stark David, Bruszt László**
**Wir, das europäische Volk**
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2015 , 33-34

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/september/wir-das-europaeische-volk

Viele Europäer, die den Einigungsprozess des Kontinents gern wiederbeleben möchten, beschäftigen sich jüngst wieder mit der Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten. Viele allerdings lehnen das US-Vorbild mit der Begründung ab, die heutigen Probleme würden zu wenig Ähnlichkeiten zu jenen der damaligen Zeit aufweisen. Andere, die anerkennen, dass die föderalistischen Prinzipien für die Probleme eines gemeinsamen europäischen Marktes durchaus Lösungen bieten, beklagen sich, dass es das „europäische Volk“, das diese neue politische Struktur bilden könnte, nicht gibt...

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**paul rünz**
**beyond teaching: measuring the effect of eu simulations on european identity and support of the eu**
**in European Political Science** , Volume 14, Issue 3 , 266–278

Model European Union (MEU) is a simulation of European politics that aims to familiarise young Europeans with the decision-making process of the European Union (EU). Participants simulate the cooperation between the Commission, the European Parliament (EP) and the Council of the EU in the ordinary legislative procedure. About 190 people annually participate at MEU Strasbourg, which takes place on the premises of the EP. This article uses quasi-experimental panel data from surveys with participants of MEU 2012 to test the impact of the simulation conference. While most empirical research on the effects of political simulations addresses the educational effectiveness of classroom simulations, this article tries to answer a research question with a new focus on political attitudes: Do EU simulations influence European identity and political support of the EU?

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**Laura Frosina**
**ntegrazione e secessione. La complessa evoluzione dei rapporti tra Unione Europea, Spagna e Catalogna**
**in Nomos**, 2/2015

Nel quadrimestre in cui la Spagna ha evidenziato una netta ripresa dell’economia e ha celebrato i suoi trenta anni di integrazione nell’Unione europea, la minaccia della “desconexion” della Catalogna, declinazione catalana della secessione, è divenuta sempre più reale.
Il 14 luglio il Consiglio della Unione europea ha approvato la versione definitiva delle raccomandazioni specifiche elaborate dalla Commissione europea sul Programma nazionale delle riforme per il 2015 e il Programma di stabilità 2015 e sulla base delle raccomandazioni ricevute nel semestre europeo, il Consiglio dei Ministri spagnolo ha approvato, il 31 luglio, il progetto di legge sul bilancio generale
dello Stato per il 2016 i cui obiettivi sono crescita e incremento dell’occupazione.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*
**simon raiser, annegret schneider and björn warkalla**
**simulating europe: choosing the right learning objectives for simulation games**
**in European Political Science** , Volume 14, Issue 3 , 228–240

The authors reflect on the potential of simulation games for teaching the European Union. They argue that when developing or using simulations it is imperative to decide, first of all, on the learning objective(s). The authors distinguish games geared primarily towards conveying knowledge from those aimed at training soft skills. The former can focus on teaching the processes and dynamics of European politics (politics), on teaching factual knowledge about a given policy field (policy) or on teaching the Union's institutional aspects (polity). The second category concerns objectives such as training teamwork, communication and negotiation skills, as well as empathy, the ability to deal with complexity and making decisions under stress. The relevance of these objectives for teaching and training students is assessed on the basis of case studies describing different simulation game concepts. Although the authors acknowledge that simulation games enjoy an increasing popularity within academic teaching, they maintain that their use in European Studies is largely restricted to classical concepts and argue for a more extensive use of more experimental simulation games.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Martins Bruno Oliveira**

**'A Sense of Urgency': The EU, EU Member States and the Recognition of the Palestinian State**

**in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Special Issue: 'Arab Spring and Peripheries' , 281-287

In the aftermath of the July–August 2014 war in Gaza, the Swedish government officially recognized the state of Palestine. This decision triggered a cascade of resolutions adopted in national parliaments of European Union member states and, eventually, led to the adoption of a European Parliament resolution supporting in principle the recognition of Palestinian statehood. Understood collectively, these efforts constitute a multifaceted European attempt to break with the status quo of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. This Profile critically analyses these developments and sets the context in which they unfolded, arguing that they are indicative of a complex yet growing European impatience with Israel's policies towards the conflict and with the stalemate of the peace process.
Full text available online.

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*Subsection 6.The European unification process*

**Girón Alicia, Solorza Marcia  **

**"Déjà vu" History: The European Crisis and Lessons from Latin America through the Glass of Financialization and Austerity Measures**

**in International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2015 , pages 32-50

The scope of the current European crisis calls for a rereading of mainstream economic theory. Europe is experiencing a "déjà vu" history through which Latin America has already lived. The recurrent crises from the 1970s up to the Lehman Brothers bankruptcy are manifestations of the financialization process and relate to its different facets. The objective of this article is to analyze financialization in the current economic and financial crisis in Europe as well as its role in the Latin American debt crisis. A heterodox perspective is necessary to understand this long process of economic deterioration and discern the global fragility of the current financial system. An explanation of the structural crisis in the Eurozone implies an understanding of the financial and monetary agreements laid out in the Maastricht Treaty and the position of the Central Bank with regard to financial markets. Today, financial investors have been especially attuned to interest rate risks and profitability in the international financial system, in the same way that transnational banks owned Latin American sovereign debt years before.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Tsakiris Theodoros**
**Τhe energy parameters of the Russian–Ukrainian–EU impasse: dependencies, sanctions and the rise of 'Turkish Stream'**
**in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 15, n. 2, Special Issue: Global and regional repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis , 203-219

The overwhelming dependency of Ukraine on Russian energy and the lack of any short-to-medium term diversification of European Union (EU) oil and gas supplies away from Moscow dictate a cooperative approach vis-à-vis Russia in dealing with the Ukrainian crisis. The EU is unable to impose any more severe sanctions on Russia's energy industry without provoking a major negative impact on its own troubled economy. The continuation of the current confrontational friction in EU–Russian energy relations will most likely consolidate Russia's decision to seek the elimination of its gas transit dependence on Ukraine after 2020. Such a target will be very difficult to attain by the end of this decade, even if Russia will be able to partly replace the now abandoned South Stream project with Turkish Stream.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Hilpert Hanns Günther**
**Asia-Pacific free trade talks nearing the finish line**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 2, June , 223-231

Asia is not only the world's most dynamic region in terms of trade, it is also an important pacesetter in trade policy. The USA is currently negotiating with 11 partner countries over a Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP); the members of the ASEAN+6 group are in talks over a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), while Japan, China and Korea are conducting trilateral trade negotiations (China-Japan-Korea Free Trade Agreement (CJK FTA)). The multilateral structures emerging from all these initiatives could, in the long term, be combined into a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP). What are the motives behind these agreements? What are their chances of being implemented? When it comes to the trade and geopolitical power struggle that encompasses these talks, does the USA or China have the upper hand? And what role remains for Europe's trade policy?

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Darvesh Gopal and Dalbir Alhawat**
**Australia–India Strategic Relations: From Estrangement to Engagement**
**in India Quarterly**, Volume 71, no. 3 , 206-220

India and Australia held a set of largely divergent strategic perspectives during the Cold War period, which prevented any significant strategic relationship from developing at that time. Since the end of the Cold War, however, strategic relations between the two countries, although still volatile, have steadily improved. This article argues that as the Indo-Pacific region is increasingly seen as an arena of strategic importance in both New Delhi and Canberra, there is

increased scope for a further convergence of Indo-Australian strategic relations based on a series of shared core security concerns. However, in the context of a rising China and re-assertive US in the region, there is a danger that bilateral relations between each of the two countries and the US may serve to prevent a strengthening of independent Indo-Australian relations. First, the post-World War II security policies of both India and Australia are outlined, as are the places occupied by each country in the strategic perspectives of the other. Then, the post-Cold War convergence of security perspectives of both nations is examined in the context of the emerging importance of the Indo-Pacific region in terms of both non-state security challenges and traditional balance-of-power concerns. Finally, the pressures exacted on potential Indo-Australian strategic relations by a rising China and re-assertive US are considered. It is argued that although convergence has begun, India and Australia still have a long way to go before they can initiate a robust and independent bilateral security partnership.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Maltby Tomas**

**Between Amity, Enmity and Europeanisation: EU Energy Security Policy and the Example of Bulgaria's Russian Energy Dependence**

**in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 67, n. 5 , 809-830

Considering the development of the Bulgarian energy security strategy this article analyses how the country has adapted to EU membership and to energy security challenges, such as disruptions to Russian gas supplies in 2006 and 2009 and rising gas prices. Utilising a conceptual lens which synthesises Regional Security Complex Theory and Europeanisation, the article offers an explanation of energy policy changes. It concludes that conceptions of Russia as an energy security guarantor have changed since Bulgaria's EU accession and that Bulgarian energy policy has undergone a qualified reorientation away from a positive dependence on Russian energy sources, towards a convergence with EU priorities of diversification and a single energy market.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Headley James**

**Challenging the EU’s claim to moral authority: Russian talk of ‘double standards’**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue “‘Rising’ Asia and ‘Normative Power Europe’: New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values” , 297-307

Normative Power Europe is not just an academic concept: it is part of the self-understanding of many EU policymakers. They believe that the EU is setting standards of state behaviour in Europe and globally. The EU is regarded as an elaborator and epitomizer of European and ‘civilised’ values, as a model for other regions and states and as inherently an ethical actor. Russian policymakers reject these notions and, in doing so, increasingly accuse the EU of ‘double standards’, arguing that EU external action is inconsistent and does not always match its rhetoric; that the rhetoric therefore masks the pursuit of interests in its foreign policy; that the EU is like any other state (or state-like entity) and has no special claim to act ethically or to be a moral authority; and that internally, the EU does not live up to the values it seeks to impose on others. This article gives examples of Russian talk of EU double standards, analyses the motivations and assesses the likely impact. It argues that for such criticism to have any impact on EU policy, the critic must be seen as a moral equal, which the EU’s sense of moral superiority over Russia rules out.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Morten Broberg**
**EU development cooperation post-Lisbon: main constitutional challenges**
**in European Law Review**, Vol. 40, issue 4 , 349-370

The changes brought about by the 2009-Lisbon Treaty both directly and indirectly affected the EU's development co-operation policy. The Treaty's explication and reorganisation of the Union's external relations objectives and principles and the streamlining of the development co-operation policy objective (i.e. the identification of poverty reduction/eradication as a primary objective) are likely to have a lasting constitutional impact on policy-making and legal methodology in this policy area. Moreover, post-Lisbon, the Union's development co-operation policy is faced with three constitutional challenges: (1) organisation of the financial aid aspect of the Union's development co-operation policy remains crucial; (2) finding the right constitutional balance for development co-operation policy vis-à-vis other policies constitutes an area of potential conflict; (3) the relationship between the 28 Member States' development co-operation policies and that of the Union presumably forms the most significant constitutional challenge.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**-Garcia Maria, Masselot Annick**
**EU-Asia Free Trade Agreements as tools for social norm/legislation transfer**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 241-252

Article 21 of the Treaty of Lisbon mandates the European Union (EU) to foster its values (democracy, the rule of law, social rights, gender equality, etc.) in its external relations. The core concern of the EU's multi-faceted relations with Asia is economic relations with rising markets. EU relations with the region have focused on the facilitation of trade and investment through the negotiation of free trade agreements (FTAs) with a number of Asian partners. EU FTAs are accompanied by a Political Cooperation Agreement (PCA), which links core EU values to trade through the 'standard clause', whereby under certain circumstances, human rights' abuses can trigger a suspension of trade preferences. Using a qualitative case study methodology, and drawing on policy documents and interviews, this paper addresses the question of whether, and how, the EU can balance its internal legal obligations with its economic interests and its partners' demands. The article provides a legal background of the EU's obligations in terms of international value promotion. It then reviews EU trade policy strategies and reveals an absence of a concerted approach to the inclusion of values. The article investigates the sources of resistance to EU attempts at linking its trade policy with broader values including social rights with Asian partners. The analysis reveals that Asian resistance is centred on the legalistic approach of the EU rather than the values and suggests that a more effective norm export might be achieved through other means. The article concludes that the EU's failure to push forward social issues in FTAs ultimately casts serious doubts about the EU's international 'actorness' in the area of social rights.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Kumm Mattias**

**Ein Weltreich des Kapitals? Die Institutionalisierung ungerechtfertigter Investorenprivilegien in TTIP und CETA**

**in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft** , Volume 43 (2015), Issue 3, 2015 , 464-475

Abstract

In the relationship between capital exporting developed countries and capital importing developing countries, investor state dispute settlement mechanisms had a specific, even if sometimes ambivalent, role to play as part of bilateral investment treaties. In the relationship between the European Union and the US or Canada - and in the relationships between liberal constitutional democracies more generally - such arbitration tribunals are not only unnecessary, they tend to illegitimately privilege investors and raise constitutional concerns.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Engstrom Par**

**El Sistema Interamericano de Derechos Humanos y las relaciones Estados Unidos-América Latina**

**in Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LV - NÚMERO 2

The Inter-American Human Rights System has been an integral part of the regional institutional landscape of the Americas since the mid-20th century. A progressive development of regional human rights jurisprudence is reflected in the way the system has struggled since Cold War, and with the return to democratic rule in the region. Democratic rule as such is not a guarantee for the respect of human rights. The Inter-American Human Rights System, therefore, has gradually evolved into a transnationalized regime as the system has opened up space for transnational political activity.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Henok Birhanu Asmelash**

**Energy Subsidies and WTO Dispute Settlement: Why Only Renewable Energy Subsidies Are Challenged**

**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 2 , 261-285

Over the past few years, renewable energy subsidies have become one of the main sources of trade disputes at the WTO. A total of six cases have been initiated against renewable energy subsidy programmes since the first of such disputes was brought by Japan against Canada’s Feed-in Tariff (FIT) Program in 2010. Yet not even a single case has so far been initiated against the much larger and environmentally harmful fossil fuel subsidies. The main objective of this article is to examine what makes renewable energy subsidies vulnerable to WTO dispute, as compared to fossil fuel subsidies.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Degro Mrek**

**Engaging the Roma community in the political party process in Slovakia**

**in European View** , vol. 14, n. 1, June, special issue "The Future of Political Participation" , 31-38

Establishing cooperation between the Slovak majority and the Roma minority within the political parties in Slovakia is a demanding and complicated process. Many political parties ignore this ethnic minority in their programmes or pay very little attention to it. This article aims to provide information about the development of the political ambitions of the Roma minority in Slovakia in the period leading up to 1989, the first steps taken by the post-revolution government for the advancement of the Roma nation and an analysis of the current involvement of the Roma minority in the decision-making processes.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Khader Bichara**

**Europe and the Maghreb 1957-2015**

**in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 82, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 189-216

The Maghreb is EU's nearest abroad. No wonder if the EEC (later the EU) endeavoured to integrate the Maghreb countries in all its Mediterranean policies, starting with the Global Mediterranean Policy (1972), then the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (1995), the European Neighbourhood Policy (2004) and finally the Union for the Mediterranean (2008). But in spite of the plethora of policies, the balance sheet remains modest, to say the least. The EU should probably overhaul and revamp its policies with new vision, method and instruments.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Murray Philomena**

**Europe and the World: The Problem of the Fourth Wall in EU-ASEAN Norms Promotion**

**in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 2 , 238-252

ABSTRACT: The EU regards itself as an important actor on the world stage. Yet an actor does not really see the audience clearly, as the theatre is normally dark. This renders it difficult to gauge the reaction of the recipients of the script or narrative. The term ‘the fourth wall’ conceptualizes the idea of audience. This audience, as recipients of the EU's script, have not been examined as rigorously as is required, to date. This article examines how the EU seeks to have an international impact in its promotion of regionalism to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. It argues that there is a need to better understand the fourth wall in the EU's self-projection and that the EU may well be obliged to ‘break the fourth wall’ in the international arena.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Firth Alison**

**European norms in transit: trade mark norms, TTIP uncertainties and the relevance of TPP**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue “‘Rising’ Asia and ‘Normative Power Europe’: New Perspectives

in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 323-330

Previous research has demonstrated that EU trade mark norms found their way into New Zealand law through the World Trade Organisation agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (WTO TRIPS). This paper will give a brief résumé of that research and outline the current enquiry—whether these and related norms are likely to be re-transmitted, in identical or modified form. This could occur via the draft intellectual property chapter of the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement. While this was under discussion, the EU and USA were negotiating a Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) agreement. Although geographical indications (GIs, protected under trade mark law in the USA) have been a hot topic in TTIP negotiations, there is scant information on any possible chapter on GIs, trade marks and other forms of intellectual property in TTIP. However, US Trade Representative and TTIP negotiator Michael Froman has spoken admiringly of the intellectual property provisions in the draft TPP. If an intellectual property chapter were introduced into TTIP, it seems likely that TPP text would be adopted or adapted, bringing norms full circle back to the EU. In considering this possibility, it is suggested that the biological analogy of viral transfer of genetic code may be even more apt than that of transplants to illuminate the process of re-transmission of adopted or adapted legal norms through the medium of international treaties.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Ming Du**
**Explaining China's Tripartite Strategy Toward the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 2 , 407-432

The emergence of mega-regional trade agreements like the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) threatens to fragment global trade governance in fundamental ways. An important question, yet so far under-explored, is how the rising powers currently being excluded from the mega-regionals, such as China, view this new development in global economic governance. This article intends to fill this gap in the literature from a Chinese perspective. Specifically, this article addresses the following questions: why has China changed its initial suspicious attitude to a more neutral stance toward the TPP recently? What are the short-term and long-term effects of the TPP on China's economic growth and geopolitical influence? How will China deal with a myriad of challenges posed by the TPP going forward, be it in or outside the TPP? After the analysis of a range of relevant political, economic, and legal factors, I submit that the Chinese government has adopted what I call a 'tripartite strategy' toward the TPP. What remains to be seen is whether this tripartite strategy provides the best roadmap for China's further integration into the global economy.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Rudolf Adlung**
**Export Policies and the General Agreement on Trade in Services**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 487-510

Compared to its counterpart in merchandise trade, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of 1947, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) contains a variety of conceptual innovations. In addition to cross-border supplies, the Agreement covers three additional types of transactions, i.e. supplies in a foreign country to

consumers that have moved abroad as well as supplies provided by foreign-owned firms and foreign service professionals in a host market. At the same time, the GATS accommodates a range of measures, including the use of quantitative restrictions and discriminatory taxes and subsidies, which is clearly constrained under the GATT. Most notably in the current context, the Agreement offers particularly broad scope for various types of export-related interventions, regardless of ensuing market distortions. The social and economic relevance of such measures, not only in sectors such as education or health, but also in producer-oriented services, including transport, telecommunications or finance, is immediately evident. This article seeks to provide an overview and assessment in the light of relevant GATS provisions and WTO dispute rulings.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Langan Mark, Price Sophia**

**Extraversion and the West African EPA Development Programme: realising the development dimension of ACP–EU trade?**

**in Journal of Modern African Studies** , Volume 53 - Issue 3 - September , pp. 263-287

West African elites have successfully argued for an Economic Partnership Agreement Development Programme (EPADP) as part of free trade negotiations with the European Commission. ECOWAS officials state that the EPADP is necessary to realise the ‘development dimension’ of trade. In particular, they have (re)articulated Europe's own narratives relating to Aid for Trade and private sector development – insisting that the European Commission delivers on its promises. Accordingly, European negotiators have conceded the principle of the EPADP, stating that around €6·5 billion will be delivered. This article, however, examines the likely (in)capacity of the EPADP to meaningfully marry trade and development in the context of premature liberalisation under Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). Crucially, it argues that West African extraversion in terms of EPADP resources may entrench predatory elites while locking-in ECOWAS states into inequitable trade structures that re-embed poverty in the region.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Langan Mark, Price Sophia**

**Extraversion and the West African EPA Development Programme: realising the development dimension of ACP–EU trade?**

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Hopkins W. John**
**Falling on stony ground: ASEAN's acceptance of EU constitutional norms**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 275-283

-This article examines the extent to which ASEAN has adopted the constitutional norms of the European Union. Although much time has been spent examining ASEAN's moves towards a more institutional, and thus a more "European" approach, to regionalism, such similarities are superficial. In reality, ASEAN remains a very different form of regional entity to its European cousin. It is the submission of this paper that such an approach is inevitable as the legal nature of the European Union's constitutional structures demands both a supra-national legal framework and national judiciaries willing and able to accept its jurisdiction. The weak incorporation of the Rule of Law in the majority of ASEAN states means that Europe's constitutional norms are likely to fall on stony ground for the foreseeable future.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Hoekman, Bernard**
**Fostering Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation and Gradual Multilateralization**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 609-624

The ongoing negotiations on a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the EU and the USA revolve to a significant extent around an effort to reduce the trade cost-raising effect of differences in regulation. The extent to which a TTIP will generate economic benefits will be determined in large part by the extent to which it will reduce such costs. This will also be a major factor determining the impacts of a TTIP on third countries. This article reflects on some of the challenges confronting regulatory cooperation, proposes several mechanisms to support greater cooperation on regulatory matters, and discusses how TTIP-based regulatory initiatives might be multilateralized over time.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Haukkala Hiski**
**From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU–Russia Relations**
**in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 1 , 25-40

ABSTRACT: The article looks at the European Union's (EU) attempts at ordering the Pan-European space and how Russia has sought to position itself in the EU-centric unipolar order and how that has affected the development of EU–Russia relations during the post-Cold War era. The analysis will move in four successive steps: (i) the development of the EU's attempts at hegemonic, post-sovereign ordering is reconstructed; (ii) the development of EU–Russia relations in light of these processes is analysed; (iii) then, the crisis in Ukraine as a certain culmination point is

discussed; (iv) the article ends with conclusions concerning the development of EU–Russia relations in light of the problematic as well as an assessment of the significance of this particular facet in the wider processes of ordering discussed in the Special Issue together with a prognosis concerning the future.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Rostam J. Neuwirth**
**Global Market Integration and the Creative Economy: The Paradox of Industry Convergence and Regulatory Divergence**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 21-50

From a macroeconomic perspective, the historical evolution of trade and commerce has been closely entangled in a two-way or paradoxical relationship with the evolution of laws, in which one is inextricably linked to the other and both mutually influence each other. At the microeconomic level, the same can be said about the relationship between businesses or industries and their underlying technologies. Recent changes, and notably, the accelerated pace at which we recognize change, has led to a widespread trend of ‘convergence’. Convergence has been recognized in different contexts, namely, in languages, technologies and industries, as well as in regulatory matters. The objective of this article is thus to first trace and describe this convergence from a linguistic, technological, and industrial perspective. Subsequently, in order to ponder the future regulatory challenges in the regulation of global trade under the aegis of the World Trade Organization (WTO), it will focus on the question of whether technological and industrial convergence should be met by a similar trend towards regulatory convergence through regulatory harmonization. Put differently, it will critically evaluate the present situation of regulatory divergence in the form of regulatory diversity and regulatory competition with a view to contributing to the debate about improving global trade regulation in the 21st century.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Corinna Mullin & Ian Patel**
**Governing Revolt: EU–North African Relations after the ‘Arab Spring’ Uprisings**
in **Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding**, Volume 9, Issue 2 , 162-189

This article focuses on under-discussed external dimensions of the 2010–11 North African uprisings. In particular, it considers European Union liberal governance—in the form of economic ‘aid’, and ‘technical’ and transitional ‘assistance’—as both a form of intervention and a juridical-institutional force that has informed post-uprising states' development. This article also considers ways in which the EU's role in a broader security regime, consolidated in the post-9/11 period, overlaps with and reinforces the liberal-governance imperatives of ‘stability’ and ‘development’. It concludes by briefly assessing forms of resistance to liberal governance that have emerged in Egypt and Tunisia.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Lavina Lee and Graeme Gill**
**India, Central Asia and the Eurasian Union - A New Ballgame?**
in **India Quarterly**, Volume 71, no. 2 , 110-125

India has had long-standing interests in the Central Asian region. Vladimir Putin's proposal for a Eurasian Union and the recent announcement of the creation of a Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) raises some important questions for this. What impact will the EEU have on Indian ambitions? We argue that all three Indian initiatives to 'connect' to Central Asia—the International North South Corridor, the IPI, and TAPI—now either have Russian support or involvement and do not pose a threat to Russia's interest in maintaining its status as 'first among equals' in Central Asia. Further, if the proposed EEU gains traction it will enhance Russian influence over the states of Central Asia, which could in turn enhance Indian interests by facilitating greater access to trade and energy resources, blunting future Chinese expansion and providing a barrier to any expansion of Pakistani influence in the region.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Chaban Natalia, Masselot Annick, Vadura Katharine**

**Introduction. Asia-Europe dialogue on norms: revisiting the role of norm-receivers in the conceptualisation of the 'normative power Europe'**

in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 233-239

This special issue sets out to explore the responses of norm-receivers to EU export of norms and values. The main focus of this special issue is on the Asian recipients of EU norms. The leading theoretical explanations—used by all contributors to this Issue—are from the revisited analytical framework of 'Normative Power Europe' (NPE). NPE is a popular conceptual paradigm that has informed debate about the EU since the early 2000s. Introduced in the seminal work by Ian Manners (2002), it remains a useful and intellectually attractive model to understand the EU and its actions both internally and externally. Its appeal lies in its emphasis on ideas; its open, eclectic and critical nature; and its focus on explanations of power beyond state-centred models.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Alan Hervé**

**L'Union européenne comme acteur émergent du droit des investissements étrangers: pour le meilleur ou pour le pire?**

in **Les Cahiers de droit europeen**, Vol. 51, no. 1 , 179-234

La présente étude constitue une analyse critique d'accords de libre échange récemment négociés par l'Union européenne et deux de ses partenaires commerciaux, le Canada et Singapour, pour ce qui concerne les dispositions de ces accords qui se rapportent à la question des investissements.
L'introduction de la question de l'investissement dans les accords commerciaux de l'Union n'est certes pas nouvelle. Mais ces règles des accords UE/Canada et UE/Singapour constituent l'expression conventionnelle de la nouvelle compétence transférée à l'Union européenne depuis l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne en matière d'investissement, qui prévoit le rattachement des « investissements directs étrangers » au champ d'application de la politique commerciale commune, politique qui relève de la compétence exclusive de l'Union. Le contenu de ces textes traduit la volonté du négociateur européen de poser son empreinte dans une matière qui relevait jusqu'à présent de la chasse gardée de ses États membres et dont il s'était trouvé marginalisé. Ces accords UE/Canada et UE/Singapour consacrent les droits des investisseurs étrangers ou d'origine étrangère, tant d'un point de vue matériel que procédural,

avec la possibilité pour un investisseur lésé par une mesure de l'Union ou de ses États membres de porter plainte, auprès d'une juridiction arbitrale, à l'encontre de ces acteurs publics. C'est donc un élément très singulier, et très controversé, du droit international économique contemporain qui pénètre le droit de l'Union européenne. Il n'est cependant pas certain que les dispositifs ici envisagés soient compatibles avec son droit primaire.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Vernole Stefano**
**La Cina e la Banca dei BRICS**
**in Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici** , XXXVIII (2-2015), "La muraglia che non crolla"

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Vassalli, Agudelo Taborda, Guarnizio Useche**
**La cooperazione tra Unione Europea e America Latina 2007-2013**
**in Politico (Il)**, n. 236, 2014 , 148-167

ABSTRACT: This article presents an analysis of the cooperation strategy of the European Union with Latin America for the period 2007-2013. The importance of this study lies in the fact that the period in question coincides with two opposite phenomena that defy cooperation between the two regions: on the one hand, the financial crises (strongly affecting industrialized economies); on the other hand the so-called rise of the South. Furthermore, during this period major reforms to the European External Action Service were introduced, in an attempt to consolidate a real Common Foreign and Security Policy. At the global level, this period corresponds to the final key stage for the achievement of the Milllenium Development Goals (MDGs, 2015). The study, conducted mainly from a the Latin-American perspective, is based on the documents produced by several Latin-American institutions and organizations, e.g. the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), the Latin American Association of Development Organizations (ALOP), and the Latin-American School of Cooperation and Development (ELACID) of the University San Buenaventura of Cartagena and the Universidad del Norte in Barranquilla (Colombia), in partnership with the University of Pavia (Italy). The EU perspective is captured mainly through the analysis of European Commission documents and OECD data.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Amalia Stuhldreher**
**La migración: cambio de ciclo en las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y América Latina y El Caribe.**
**in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, n.181 , 95-114

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**La recherche : fer-de-lance d'une coopération euro-méditerranéenne renouvelée**
in **Confluences Méditerranée**, n. 93 , 155-168

Les auteurs mettent en évidence dans cet article les acquis de la coopération euro-méditerranéenne dans le domaine de la recherche. Orientée sur le long-terme et la meilleure connaissance réciproque, les auteurs sont convaincus que la recherche est un instrument clé indispensable à la pérennité des relations euro-méditerranéennes malgré les soubresauts politiques, économiques, sociaux et sécuritaires qui secouent la Méditerranée. La recherche permet non seulement d'améliorer la qualité scientifique mais aussi de stimuler au quotidien les interactions entre intellectuels, universitaires, entreprises et associations. Elle donne aussi l'occasion aux acteurs en jeu de se confronter aux mécanismes de gestion, d'administration et de financement modernes ainsi que de faciliter le dialogue interculturel par l'utilisation d'un langage commun. Au-delà, la recherche peut être considérée comme un pilier de la « diplomatie scientifique ».

Plan de l'article

Partenariat EuroMed : le potentiel de la recherche face à un bilan mitigé
La coopération EuroMed en matière de recherche : le cadre juridique et institutionnel
La coopération de recherche EuroMed : le 7e programme cadre
La recherche : pilier de la diplomatie scientifique de l'UE et la Méditerranée ?
Horizon 2020 : l'avenir des relations Euro-méditerranéennes en matière de recherche
Vers une coopération euro-méditerranéenne approfondie
Pour synthétiser en cinq points

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Shen Wenwen**
**Looking through rose-tinted glasses? The value and deficiency of using NPE as an analytical tool in the case of China**
in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 309-322

This paper revisits some methodological issues regarding the application of 'normative power Europe' (NPE) as an analytical tool. It looks at the descriptive, interpretive and prescriptive aspects of NPE and identifies ontological and epistemological problems, further normative theorising and the empirical (ir)relevance within the case of China. Central to this paper is the emphasis on how to critically apply the NPE approach to a cross-cultural context in which universalist versus relativist paradigm, interpretivist versus positivist approaches and different ethical judgments can be combined and bridged. This paper argues that NPE helps us understand the EU's identity creation which can be translated in matching policy terms, either by design or default. Despite its descriptive credibility, the explanatory power of NPE has

been limited not just by differences concerning fundamental values, but the need to engage China on normative issues through cooperation and dialogue, a form of normative action itself. The prescriptive value of NPE, nevertheless, should be promoted in both academic and policy debates by strengthening the clarity and consistency of how the EU conveys this self-perception to the others. Finally, the paper concludes that applying the NPE approach empirical research requires theory refinement and operationalisation of the concept uniquely tailored to the chosen empirical cases. As far as China is concerned, detailed case-by-case analyses within a longitudinal time frame—which allows sufficient space for investigators to develop depth in inter-paradigm and inter-disciplinary research—would be useful in highlighting the strength of the NPE approach.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Kacarska Simonida**

**Losing the Rights along the Way: The EU–Western Balkans Visa Liberalisation**

**in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 16, n. 3, Special Issue: The Governance of Citizenship Practices in the Post-Yugoslav States: The Impact of Europeanisation , 363-378

This paper examines the conditionality in relation to fundamental rights during and after the visa liberalisation dialogues that took place between the European Commission and national governments of the Western Balkans countries in 2009 and 2010. Conceptually, this paper uses the visa liberalisation to study the interactions between the conditionality mechanism and securitisation paradigm in the context of the European Union (EU) justice, freedom and security area. Analysing both the formal benchmarking process and data from stakeholders' interviews, this paper demonstrates the securitisation and side-lining of fundamental rights during and in the aftermath of the visa negotiations. As a result, this paper informs of unwanted effects of conditionality and questions the role of the EU in promoting fundamental rights.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Felbermayr, Gabriel;  Heid, Benedikt; Larch, Mario; Yalcin, Erdal**

**Macroeconomic potentials of transatlantic free trade: a high resolution perspective for Europe and the world**

**in Economic Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 83 , 491-537

Critics of the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) dismiss its potential welfare gains as small compared with its risks. We contribute to this debate by investigating the driving forces behind the magnitudes of the estimated welfare gains using the structurally estimated general equilibrium trade model by Egger and Larch (2011) for 173 countries. In our baseline scenario, the TTIP amounts to a reduction of ad valorem trade costs across the Atlantic between 16 and 26 percentage points. We find that the TTIP could yield substantial gains for the EU (3.9%), the United States (4.9%), and the world (+1.6%). While welfare gains are heterogeneous within the EU, the TTIP does not systematically favour richer or more central member states. The majority of third countries would be negatively affected (0.9% on average). We identify as key drivers for the magnitudes of the welfare effects different assumptions about trade cost specifications, about the assumed trade cost reducing potential of the TTIP, about different levels of aggregation, and about the regulatory spill-overs of the TTIP on third countries. Our insights on the drivers for the welfare effects help to understand differences across current evaluations of the TTIP.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Katsaris Angelos**
**Managing Climate Change in the Mediterranean: The Union for the Mediterranean and the Challenges of Fragmentation**
**in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Special Issue: 'Arab Spring and Peripheries' , 288-294

This Profile analyses the challenges of interregional coordination for the Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean regarding climate change mitigation and adaptation. Mediterranean climate governance is structured around complex governance arrangements, where multiple actors attempt to integrate the issue of climate change. Two key projects offer several opportunities for integrated climate governance in the Mediterranean: the Mediterranean Solar Plan and the Depollution for the Mediterranean. However, the lack of financial commitments for long-term infrastructure investments and bilateral differentiation under the EU's Neighbourhood Policy undermine region-wide cooperation. As a result, fragmentation challenges the Secretariat's efforts to govern each climate sector.
Full text available online.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Alessandro Politi**
**NATO ed America Latina: quale co-operative security?**
**in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, n.3 , 79-87

No abstract available

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Egger, Peter; Francois, Joseph; Manchin, Miriam; Nelson, Douglas**
**Non-tariff barriers, integration and the transatlantic economy**
**in Economic Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 83 , 539-584

We examine the potential impact of TTIP through trade-cost reductions, applying a mix of econometric and computational methods to develop estimates of the benefits (and costs) for the EU, United States, and third countries. Econometric results point to an approximate 80% growth in bilateral trade with an ambitious trade agreement. However, at the same time, computable general equilibrium (CGE) estimates highlight distributional impacts across countries and factors not evident from econometrics alone. Translated through our CGE framework, while bilateral trade increases roughly 80%, there is a fall of about 2.5% in trade with the rest of the world in our central case. The estimated gains in annual consumption range between 1% and 2.25% for the United States and EU, respectively. A purely discriminatory agreement would harm most countries outside the agreement, while the direction of third-country effects hinges critically on whether NTB reductions end up being discriminatory or not. Within the United States and EU, while labour gains across skill categories, the impact on farmers is mixed.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Gordon Neve, Pardo Sharon**

**Normative Power Europe meets the Israeli-Palestinian conflict**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 265-264

The article examines the European Union's (EU) normative position regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to advance three interrelated claims. First, that EU member states subscribe to a unified normative position because the normative sphere is cut off from the economic sphere. Second, that this separation facilitates the uniformity of the normative position but hinders the possibility of asserting some form of conditionality which might encourage the diffusion of Ian Manners' five core norms. Finally, that normative power Europe is a practice of discursive representation deployed not so much to exert influence on the Other, but rather to help consolidate the European Union as a united actor.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Orbie Jan, Khorana Sangeeta**

**Normative versus market power Europe? The EU-India trade agreement**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 253-264

The normative power Europe concept has greatly enriched the academic debate on what the EU is (should be), what it does (should do) and what impact it has (should have). However, various theoretical, methodological and empirical issues remain insufficiently addressed. This article will address two issues that have mostly been neglected: the perspective of the norm takers (in line with this special issue) and the market norms of the EU. The first section elaborates on these two issues, relying on recent advances in the literature and specifically the contributions by Damro (J Eur Publ Pol 19(5):682–699, 2012) and Rosamond (Brit J Polit Int Relat 16(1):133–148, 2013). Against this background, the second section examines the controversial EU trade negotiations with India. Specifically, this empirical part section focuses on how market liberal norms (government procurement) and cosmopolitan norms (human rights) are being promoted and received. We conclude that in the eyes of the EU, trade agreements could be a means to mitigate partners' opposition and an eventual stepping stone for successful off-take of international social standards and multilateral procurement liberalization regulations by its partner countries. But, partner countries might not necessarily espouse the EU's interest-led motivation and lend support to the EU's desire to effuse multilateral norms through trading agreements. The case study on EU-India trade talks illustrates this, highlighting the divergence between the EU and Indian perspectives and demonstrates India's lack of enthusiasm to adopt the EU's preferred model for liberalization.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Leslie John**

**Regionalism by diffusion and design: Australasian policymakers, Europe and Asian-Pacific economic integration**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 2, June , 193-210

Observers of Asian-Pacific regional integration often neglect three decades of 'deepening' coordination between the

Australian and New Zealand economies. In doing so, they overlook one path by which ideas about economic integration have travelled from Europe to the Asia Pacific. This article demonstrates how Australasian policymakers reacted to and learned from European experience in constructing Closer Economic Relations (CER) and the trans-Tasman single economic market. It also explains how they adapted these ideas to local circumstances and, in doing so, constructed an 'outward-looking' alternative to European precedent. Australasian policymakers have subsequently propagated their experience as a distinct 'model' of regional economic integration in Southeast Asia, the Asia Pacific and beyond. Observing the movement of ideas about economic integration from Europe to the Asia Pacific by diffusion and design presents a novel perspective on the inter-relationship of integration projects across regions and how observers might compare processes of 'deep' economic integration.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Bros Aurélie**
**Relation gazière russo-ukraino-européenne: Un dialogue à réinventer**
**in Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest**, vol. 46, n. 2 , 53-82

C'est dans un contexte de rapport de force grandissant et de méfiance exacerbée suite à la crise ukrainienne débutée en 2014 que le secteur gazier s'est retrouvé au cœur des tensions politiques opposant l'Union européenne et la Fédération de Russie. Ces tensions trouvent leurs origines dans des problèmes aussi bien structurels qu'endémiques qui précèdent largement la crise gazière de 2014. Le transit du gaz russe et la hausse des prix du gaz en Ukraine – deux sujets difficilement séparables, l'application de la nouvelle législation européenne, le système de différenciation des prix du gaz naturel opéré par Gazprom et le paiement de la dette gazière ukrainienne à la Russie sont autant de problèmes qui suscitent des débats houleux, voire enflammés. Cette étude met en lumière les principales questions qui opposent Russes, Européens et Ukrainiens et qui s'articulent autour des grandes thématiques précédemment évoquées. L'intérêt est de présenter et comparer les différentes visions en tenant compte des aspects politiques, économiques, géographiques et historiques afin de mieux saisir les différends ayant parasité le dialogue gazier.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Gromyko Alexey**
**Russia–EU relations at a crossroads: preventing a new Cold War in a polycentric world**
**in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 15, n. 2, Special Issue: Global and regional repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis , 141-149

In the past year, the Ukrainian crisis has generated an international discussion about a 'new Cold War'. This article looks into the likelihood of such a scenario and makes suggestions of how it may be precluded. The course of events depends on whether the current model of globalization can be reversed. This would mean not only a change in the current structure of the global economy, but its dismantling. However, it is obvious that for most European and other states, the risks associated with such a policy outweigh potential geopolitical and economic benefits. The international order is in a state of flux. High risks are unacceptable when governments or nations pursue their interests in a stable environment. But when the balance of power shifts substantially, as it has now, the perception of risk threshold also begins to change. European history has shown that large-scale transformations in international relations in most cases triggered tension and violence, caused by rising demands of ascending powers and by resistance of those who were challenged. In the

twenty-first century, the polycentric structure of the world provides an opportunity to achieve a new lasting global settlement, and to put an end to the current period of increasing tension.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Maria O'Neill**
**Security cooperation, counterterrorism, and EU–North Africa cross-border security relations, a legal perspective**
in **European Security**, Volume 24, Issue 3 , 438-453

The EU is clearly in the process of developing an external dimension to the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). This paper focuses on ex. Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters (PJCCM) provisions. These developments pose specific legal basis issues for the EU, given its complex EU–member state legal relationship, and the inter-institutional balance, all reflected in the treaty framework post-Lisbon. New Court of Justice rulings are now emerging which will assist in this issue. Equally the approach to be taken in developing these relationships will be crucial. This paper proposes the adoption of an Onuf style constructivism in order to best capture the reality of the process that is developing, and has developed for the ex. PJCCM measures internally. This then needs to be allied with a constitutionalism model to ensure a balanced development of all three aspects of the AFSJ.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Alexandrova-Arbatova Nadia**
**Security relations in the Black Sea region: Russia and the West after the Ukrainian crisis**
in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 15, n. 2, Special Issue: Global and regional repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis , 129-139

The Ukrainian conflict – as all post-Soviet conflicts – has three interrelated dimensions – global, regional and local – with deep implications for international security including the Black Sea region. The strategic interdependence between Russiaand West during the last decade became not only anaemic but antagonistic. The regional implications of that can be compared to the boomerang effect: problems at the strategic level affect the regional level and return to the originators. Generally speaking, Commonwealth of Independent States conflicts can be viewed as the product of the Soviet legacy and the patchy collapse of the USSR as well as the ill-conceived policies and mistakes of the involved parties, Russia and external actors – USA, NATO and EU.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Daniljuk Malte**
**TTIP: Freifahrt für Fracking**
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 17-20

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/august/ttip-freifahrt-fuer-fracking

Eine Ankündigung aus Peking weckte jüngst die Hoffnung, die UN-Klimakonferenz in Paris im kommenden Dezember könnte doch noch zum Erfolg führen. Überraschend gab China Ende Juni seine ambitionierten Ziele für die Tagung bekannt: Demnach wird die heimische Industrie ihren CO2-Ausstoß bis 2030 um bis zu 65 Prozent senken; gleichzeitig plant Peking, in den kommenden Jahrzehnten massiv in alternative Energieformen zu investieren. Die westlichen Industriestaaten – allen voran die Bundesrepublik und die USA – begrüßten die Ankündigung. Bereits auf dem G7-Gipfel in Elmau im Juni hatten Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel und US-Präsident Barack Obama gefordert, die Weltwirtschaft müsse dekarbonisiert werden...

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Hayes Eric**
**TTIP: transatlantic free trade at last?**
**in Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 113-120

In a radical departure from the transatlantic trade policy practised for several decades, the EU and the USA launched, in 2013, formal negotiations for a comprehensive bilateral Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Drawing on the author's previous professional experience in this area, the article examines two central questions in relation to this initiative. First, what has prompted EU and US political leaders, who have in the past generally prioritized the multilateral route for transatlantic trade and investment liberalization, to opt now for a wide-ranging bilateral transatlantic free trade agreement, an option that has been rejected several times since the early 1990s? Second, what are the chances for a successful outcome this time round, given that the difficulties inherent in the negotiation of a transatlantic FTA have not fundamentally changed in the interim, and given the widespread public opposition that the proposed agreement has aroused? The conclusion reached is that, as for previous abortive proposals for a transatlantic free trade agreement, the motivation is essentially geo-strategic; but that the trade policy challenges inherent in negotiating such an agreement remain as great as ever.
Full text available online.

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**Rein Conrad**
**The EU and peacekeeping in Africa: the case of AMISOM**
**in Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 193-204

This article engages with the main focus of cooperation between the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU), that of peacekeeping. It will also analyse EU support for the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) as one specific case study. Peacekeeping in Africa is a major topic because Africa is the most conflict-prone region in the world. In the last 20 years, the United Nations (UN), the Regional Economic Communities, the EU, ad hoc coalitions and individual states have launched a large number of peacekeeping operations in Africa. Despite some successes, there have also been significant failures and challenges. Hence, there is an ongoing debate about peacekeeping in Africa and the involvement of the EU in supporting such operations. While it is true to argue that there is a direct relationship between the EU and the AU in the form of the Joint Africa–EU Strategy (Roadmap 2014–2017), a lot of the issues addressed in this Strategy,

including the focus on peace and security, are related to the UN's agenda. Thus, it is inadequate to speak solely of an EU–AU relationship. The UN is without doubt an inseparable part of this partnership and it is therefore more appropriate to speak of the AU–EU–UN nexus.
Full text available online.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Vadura Katharine**
**The EU as 'norm entrepreneur' in the Asian region: exploring the digital diplomacy aspect of the human rights toolbox**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 349-360

The European Union (EU) is an entity in re-evolution in relation to the development of its human rights strategy. This paper will examine the EU's human rights advocacy in external relations in the context of normative power Europe (NPE), particularly in relation to the notion of the EU becoming a 'norm entrepreneur' with its revised human rights 'toolbox'. The promotion and protection of human rights is cited as being at the core of European values, together with democracy and the rule of law, having both an internal and external focus in rights promotion and protection. This paper endeavours to present an analysis of the EU as norm entrepreneur in the context of human rights advocate. In so doing, it will examine the question of EU visibility in terms of human rights promotion. In its external action, the EU has a number of 'tools' in its human rights toolbox. By applying a rights inclusion analysis to the tool of digital diplomacy in an Asian context, the question of EU as norm entrepreneur is seen to be driven by strategic interests and partnerships. This paper argues that the EU is an 'inadvertent' norm entrepreneur through its programmatic pursuit of being an entrepreneur for social good in its external action rather than norm diffusion as experienced in a European context.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Džankić Jelena, Kacarska Simonida, Pantić Nataša, Shaw Jo**
**The Governance of Citizenship Practices in the Post-Yugoslav States: The Impact of Europeanisation**
**in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 16, n. 3, Special Issue: The Governance of Citizenship Practices in the Post-Yugoslav States: The Impact of Europeanisation , 337-346

This Introduction explains the origins of the project of exploring citizenship and citizenship-related issues in the framework of Europeanisation in the new states in South East Europe. It defines the terminology used in the contributions and explains the conceptual underpinnings of the project and the structure of the edited collection. Finally, these introductory remarks also give an overview of the contributions to the special issue of Perspectives on European Politics and Societies entitled, 'The governance of citizenship practices in the post-Yugoslav states: The impact of Europeanisation.'

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Johansson-Nogués Elisabeth**

**The New EU–Arab League Dialogue: The Contours of a Cooperation**
in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Special Issue: 'Arab Spring and Peripheries' , 295-302

Relations between the European Union and the League of Arab States have seen a new impetus in recent years. A new meeting structure was adopted in 2012 and a new work programme that encompasses the fields of energy, culture, empowerment of women, legal affairs, human rights, humanitarian assistance, crisis management and electoral processes has been launched. In 2014 the parties agreed to pursue deepened institutional contacts and cooperation through an EU–LAS Strategic Dialogue to discuss regional conflicts and terrorism. This Profile will outline the main traits of the new EU–Arab League dialogue. We note that the EU–LAS dialogue allows the EU to overcome some of the shortcomings of other frameworks of EU–Arab cooperation, although others still remain.
Full text available online.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Alberto Alemanno**
**The Regulatory Cooperation Chapter of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Institutional Structures and Democratic Consequences**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 625-640

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) has the potential to remake political and legal relationships between the European Union (EU) and the USA and pave the way to a new form of global economic governance based on international regulatory cooperation. In particular, TTIP presents an historic opportunity for the EU and the USA to remove regulatory divergence—today's most prominent obstacle to trade exchanges—thereby increasing economic growth for the citizens of both polities. Yet, the EU and the USA have been attempting to reduce trade barriers since the 1970s. Despite decades of cooperation, EU and US policymakers too often fail to mutually understand each other's positions, giving rise to regulatory differences. As an international agreement predicted to contain a Horizontal Chapter—an innovative approach to international trade treaty-making containing a framework for future bilateral regulatory cooperation—TTIP has the potential to transform this impasse, if approached correctly. The envisaged chapter would provide a 'gateway' for handling sectoral regulatory issues between the EU and the USA, including by addressing both legislation and non-legislative acts, regardless of the level at which they are adopted and by whom. Yet with great promises come challenges too.

This article focusses on the structure, scope, discipline, institutional design, enforcement, and implementation of the envisaged horizontal chapter, often defined Regulatory Cooperation Chapter. In so doing, it addresses some of the concerns currently raised by civil society, in particular the fear of a 'race to the bottom' that may stem from the operation of this chapter and provides some recommendations.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Krimphove Dieter, Barth Sven**
**The TTIP agreement and its economic-institutional impact on EU-member States**
in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 82, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 217-228

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership agreement (TTIP) is currently discussed to have numerous effects on the economic conditions in Europe. Even if the TTIP agreement has not passed its status as a draft, the majority of European experts emphasises the negative effects, especially on the abatement of European law and consumer protection standards. It is true that the recent stage of development leaves the door open for further negotiation, different terms and continuous need for additional regulations. These negative effects - at the present TTIP's developing state - can neither be proved nor unerringly predicted. Nevertheless, the method of the "New Institutional Economics" reveals economically harmful situations of the actual terms, because it leads to a rise in transaction costs. These transaction costs can be harmful for the economic welfare, because the costs increase the prices of the exchange of goods and services. To a certain extent they can even cause supply crisis and a false allocation of goods, and thereby a waste of goods. Furthermore, the expenditures bind financial capacities of enterprises and prevent investments in research and development. All in all TTIP, at the current stage, has the potential to have a similar negative effect as the discrimination of national parties. This already predicts conflicts in the relations of national EU member States and the EU. Even if the EU law in general precedes the national law and its conditions, the member States will - in the light of the principle of subsidiarity - maintain their own stricter law. Therefore, national stricter law will be applicable for solely national conflicts, while the more liberal European law will grant more rights and claims for intra-European conflicts as in case of the transboundary commerce. In the context of the TTIP signing parties, EU and US, the stricter EU regulations will keep up only in European relations for Europeans while the US bargaining, commerce, and law conditions rule over the complete bargaining relation between Europe and the US. This will discriminate EU member States as well as the EU competition and bargaining opportunities. This article pursues to identify the existing risk to generate unjustified welfare-damaging transaction cost especially by discriminating the stricter EU bargaining conditions.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Džankić Jelena**

**The Unbearable Lightness of Europeanisation: Extradition Policies and the Erosion of Sovereignty in the Post-Yugoslav States**

**in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 16, n. 3, Special Issue: The Governance of Citizenship Practices in the Post-Yugoslav States: The Impact of Europeanisation , 347-362

This research analyses the effect of Europeanisation on sovereignty in the post-Yugoslav states by examining the evolution of the different states' policies related to extradition of their own nationals. Extradition is an important aspect of these countries' political transformation, because the rule of law and regional co-operation are enshrined in the set of conditions these countries have to meet to enter the European Union. The research thus looks at how the different post-Yugoslav states approach the extradition of their own nationals, and whether they have altered them in view of the requirements of the accession process. By doing so, this paper looks at the dynamics between the duty of the state to protect its citizens and the transformative power of Europeanisation in the Western Balkans.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Stumbaum May-Britt U.**

**The diffusion of norms in security-related fields: views from China, India and the EU**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 331-347

This article aims to show that the European Union has normative power. Normative power is understood here as the capacity to promote norms by diffusion, based on persuasion, communication and interaction at large. The EU aims to influence the international order and to promote effective multilateralism. However, the further away from Europe the EU operates, the less it is able to use its traditional means of conditionality or its neighbourhood policy tools. Instead, the EU has to rely on diffusion mechanisms. This holds particularly true in the policy field of security where the EU has only limited capabilities for force projections and—given the specific nature of the defence market—only a limited role for the incentive of 'market access' and hence conditionality. Drawing on research on norm diffusion and taking into account the filter factors such as history, exposure and political systems that are at play in diffusion processes as well as the particular mechanisms at work, the European Union and its Member States seem to possess some normative power when meeting specific and growing demands for templates, know-how, procedures and processes to address today's security challenges and operating on a global level with the new global stakeholders such as China and India.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Önsoy Murat, Udum Şebnem**
**The role of Turkey in western Balkan energy security**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 2, June , 172-192

The western Balkans as a region is at the crossroads of the east-west energy transportation routes, and it is confronted with the simultaneous tasks of transforming its economic outlook and its energy infrastructure: a process that creates unique opportunities as well as challenges. By confronting these challenges and making the best use of its opportunities through sound decision-making, the region could significantly improve energy security. The transformation of the dynamics of energy security in the western Balkans is an opportunity not only for the region but also for the countries like Turkey, which is rapidly becoming an important player in the east-west energy supply corridor. While much of the literature focused on energy security and the region has explored its relations with Russia and the EU, this article expands and enhances knowledge of this topical subject by exploring the highly important position Turkey occupies in the region's energy security dynamics. For reasons both specific to Turkey and to its particular sets of interconnected relationships with the EU and Russia, the article demonstrates that Turkey is uniquely situated to contribute to energy security in the western Balkans. The major aim of this study is thus to provide a clear understanding of Turkey's energy policy in the western Balkans in light of its own relations with the two key players of EU and Russia, as well as its particular domestic-level characteristics. The fundamental argument is that Ankara, with its proactive diplomacy and advanced bilateral partnerships with Russia and the EU, is particularly positioned to contribute—and has the capacity to continue to contribute—to the future of energy security in the western Balkans.

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*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Ivanov Igor**
**The tough lessons of the EU-Russia crisis**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Relations between Russia and the European Union are in deep crisis – perhaps the most serious crisis since the end of the Cold War. As the Russian Federation's former foreign minister, I particularly regret this bleak state of affairs as along with my European counterparts I myself invested much time and effort in building a new relation.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Chaban Natalia, Holland Martin**
**Theorizing and framing 'Normative Power Europe': Asian journalists' comparative perspectives**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 3, September , Special Issue "'Rising' Asia and 'Normative Power Europe': New Perspectives in the Dialogue on Norms and Values" , 285-296

This analysis tackles a previously understudied topic—the ebb and flow of ideas towards the European Union (EU) as a 'Normative Power' found in an external society. It asks three questions. How can particular visions about a foreign policy actor—the EU in our case—be activated and disseminated in societies beyond the Union's borders? Who are the key local actors who facilitate the spreading of these ideas? And how might the personal views towards the EU and its 'Normative Power (NPE)' identity of these key actors influence the activation of 'NPE' ideas in a given society? In answering these questions, this analysis brings together two theoretical models previously not linked—the NPE analytical approach (Manners, J Common Mark Stud 40(2):235–258, 2002) and the 'cascading activation' framing theory (Entman, Polit Commun 20(4):415–432, 2003, 2004). Empirically, this paper employs data from 74 face-to-face semi-structured interviews on the perceptions of the EU as a normative power. Interviews were held among the leading newsmakers from influential national media—news writers (journalists, columnists, reporters) and media gatekeepers (editors, news directors, publishers and news producers) from seven Asian countries.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Ibitz Armin**
**Towards a global scheme for carbon emissions reduction in aviation: China's role in blocking the extension of the European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 2, June , 113-130

In 2008, the European Union (EU) decided to include aviation in its Emissions Trading System (ETS) in order to realize emissions reductions in the aviation sector. However, the unilateral measure has triggered strong opposition from various actors, and now, the EU finds itself in the middle of a substantial power struggle about the creation of a global scheme for international aviation emissions reduction. China plays an important role as it has not only banned its airlines from complying with the EU ETS, but also implemented economic retaliatory measures, such as freezing orders of new European Airbus aircraft. Consequently, Beijing could successfully form coalitions with other countries to dilute international negotiations at the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) assembly in 2013. The study reveals the hardships that the establishment of a global carbon emissions reduction scheme for aviation faces. It discusses the leading role of the EU on the issue, and provides a general assessment of possible responses to the aviation directive. It then analyzes China's position on the inclusion of aviation under a global carbon reduction scheme. Finally, the study provides a prospect on how to overcome the diplomatic struggle in order to achieve concrete carbon emission reductions in aviation. As the study concludes, the EU and the rest of the world would be better off by refraining from unilateral mitigation measures and emphasizing more involvement, engagement, and capacity building in negotiating a possible carbon reduction scheme at the international level.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Petersmann, Ernst-Ulrich**
**Transformative Transatlantic Free Trade Agreements without Rights and Remedies of Citizens?**
**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 579-607

Evaluations of the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) among Canada and the European Union (EU) and of the ongoing EU–US negotiations on a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) depend on their legal, economic, and political methodologies for multilevel governance of public goods (PGs) like a transatlantic market. In contrast to the American and European post-war leadership for democratic governance of PGs (as recalled in Section I), the CETA fails to adequately protect democratic governance, rights of citizens, and judicial remedies in transatlantic market regulation (Section II). TTIP negotiators likewise prioritize economic and utilitarian group interests in order to limit opposition to a successful completion of TTIP; this risks undermining 'republican governance' and rights of citizens as limitations on the longstanding governance failures in the Transatlantic Partnership since the 1990s (Section III). Rather than complying with the EU Treaty requirements to base external free trade agreements (FTAs) on the 'constitutional values' that successfully govern market regulation and competition throughout Europe, trade negotiators abuse their 'executive monopoly' over transatlantic negotiations so as to limit their own legal, democratic, and judicial accountability vis-à-vis citizens. Civil society and parliaments should resist such 'disconnected Westphalian governance' and insist that international treaties with 'legislative functions' for protecting transnational PGs must be governed democratically and protect transnational rights and remedies of citizens so as to enable the 'democratic principals' to hold governance agents and their limited 'constituted powers' more accountable for the ubiquity of 'market failures' and 'governance failures' that continue to distort transatlantic relations, rule of law, and consumer welfare.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Okano-Heijmans Maaike**
**Untapped potential: time to rethink European engagement with the Asian Development Bank**
**in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 2, June , 211-221

This policy brief assesses the operations of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and provides an analysis of the Bank's relevance for its European member countries today and tomorrow. One important reason for Europe's 17 member countries to engage with the ADB lies in the Bank's contributions to a prosperous, stable and more integrated Asia-Pacific. The ADB positively contributes to European countries' economic diplomacy and offers valuable opportunities to reinforce ties with players that are quickly strengthening their role and influence in global politics and economics. Furthermore, the Bank's non-Western diplomatic style provides lessons on how to operate successfully in tomorrow's world, wherein Europe will be less influential. European countries would do well to strengthen their engagement with the ADB and assist the Bank in maintaining legitimacy and relevance towards the future.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Walter Andersen and Shrey Verma**
**Washington's India Pivot - Is it Compatible with Modi's Asian Ambitions?**
**in India Quarterly**, Volume 71, no. 2 , 95-109

The ascendance of Narendra Modi to the post of India's Prime Minister comes at a time when Asian geopolitics is in a state of flux. The rise of an assertive China and the resurgence of Japan under Shinzo Abe uniquely positions India as a stable, democratic force that the U.S. and Japan could partner with in order to maintain influence in the Asia-Pacific. India's rise as a major power promises to transform the Asian security architecture from a purely Asia-Pacific security system to a broader "Indo-Pacific" framework, which includes India. However, settling the sub-continental fronts with Pakistan and Afghanistan will be critical for New Delhi to direct its resources to other regional fronts with China and beyond the Straits of Malacca. It is in this context that both Washington and New Delhi can coordinate their efforts to achieve a common security objective in the subcontinent and support India's economic rise that complements U.S.' pivot to Asia. An enhanced economic and security relationship with Washington can bolster India's engagement with Asia and provide New Delhi an opportunity to be a part of a multilateral hedging system that strengthens its bilateral position vis-à-vis China and its South Asian neighbours. Yet, even as India strives closer to the U.S. and Japan, it will refrain from forging an overt security alliance under a U.S.-led architecture and continue to engage in a hedging policy to maintain maximum freedom of diplomatic maneuver.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Armand de Mestral**
**When Does the Exception Become the Rule? Conserving Regulatory Space under CETA**
in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 641-654

The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) is certainly the most complex free trade agreement (FTA) ever negotiated by Canada and arguably the most far-reaching ever negotiated by the European Union (EU). Like North American Free Trade Agreement 1994 before it, CETA may well become a model for future mega-regional FTAs. This article explores the seeming paradox that CETA innovates both by its extensive scope and by its very extensive use of exceptions provisions. These exceptions both general and specific are examined. It is argued that these exceptions are needed because, while both parties seek much closer regulatory cooperation, they are also under pressure for legal and political reasons to be seen to preserve regulatory space.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Elms Deborah**
**Why Asia's TTIP fears are groundless**
in **Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Asia has paid very little attention to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations between the United States and Europe now underway for more than two years. If TTIP were to live up to its supporters' grandest dreams, Asia's detachment would be a serious mistake.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**Brimmer Esther**

**Why rising Asia risks souring U.S.-EU relations**
**in Europe´s World**, n. 30, Summer

Asia's rise is going to need careful management by the U.S. and the EU, The U.S. and EU must manage their reactions to the rise of Asia because this transition for it has the potential to deepen existing strains in the transatlantic relationship.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***
*Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation*
**ANNA AYUSO Y SUSANNE GRATIUS**
**¿Qué quiere América Latina de Europa?**
**in Politica Exterior**, n.166

Cada cumbre UE-América Latina y el Caribe concluye con llamamientos a la renovación y con la sensación de que nada ha ido más allá del discurso. ¿Cuáles son las ventajas comparativas de la relación birregional? ¿Es hora de buscar avances específicos con cada país?

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 1.Federalism*
**Louise Tillin**
**Explaining Territorial Change in Federal Democracies: A Comparative Historical Institutionalist Approach**
**in Political Studies**, Volume 63, Issue 3 , 626–641

This article builds a framework drawn from historical institutionalism to analyse changes to the territorial composition of federal systems arising from the creation or admission of new sub-units. Despite the sustained interest among political scientists in the effects of federal design on ethnic conflict, economic development and prospects for democratic stability, there has been little sustained attempt to explain when and why territorial maps change over time. A historical institutionalist framework draws attention to the ways in which constellations of internal borders are underpinned by – and reproduce – patterns of power. The framework explains territorial change by studying the multiple layers that structure political life in federal settings and which through their interactions produce change. The article proceeds to explain territorial change in two countries with contrasting federal origins: India and the United States. In so doing, it questions the tendency within comparative politics to treat both countries as places of exception.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 1.Federalism*
**Bhattacharyya, Harihar**
**Indian Federalism and Democracy: The Growing Salience of Diversity-claims Over Equality-claims in Comparative and Indian Perspective**
**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 211-227

This article introduces a conceptual distinction between diversity-claims and equality-claims in order to reflect critically

on the relation between federalism and democracy in India, which is not adequately problematized and somewhat neglected. Federalism and democracy suggest two different problematics, but in India democracy has often played second fiddle to the claims of diversity. As a result, India's success as a federation has not been paralleled by its record as a democracy in terms of its equality functions. Since the article engages with the issue of accommodation of diversity in the wake of federation-building, and the relation between federalism and democracy, critical references are made to the relevant theoretical literature in order to point out federalism's new problematic and its pitfalls. With the Indian case as a major illustration, it is shown here that the institutional arrangements and governing practices have overwhelmingly been given priority to meet the claims of diversity to the relative neglect of equality-claims.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Ge Zhaoguang**

**Absorbing the “Four Borderlands” into “China”: Chinese Academic Discussions of “China” in the First Half of the Twentieth Century**

**in Chinese Studies in History**, Volume 48, Issue 3, May , 331-365

As a historical study, this article attempts to objectively describe the state of modern China, its territories, and its peoples, and the process by which they came into being, focusing on how Chinese academic circles participated in reconstructing the historical narrative on “China” and the “Chinese people” in the 1920s and 1930s. It narrates a historical process: how mainstream Chinese academic circles participated in the movement to reconstruct “China” and the “Chinese people” after the fall of the Qing Dynasty, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, under the impetus of the historical, political, and social context of modern China. To a certain extent, their efforts to absorb the “four borderlands” into “China” may have hastened the rise of modern China, with its unique territories and peoples.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Manuel Dorion-Soulié**

**Affirmation identitaire du Canada. Politique étrangère et nationalisme, de Jean-François Caron, Outremont (Québec), Athéna, 2014, 130 p.**

**in Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique**, Volume 34, numéro 2

Dans Affirmation identitaire du Canada, Jean-François Caron espère corriger l’idée supposément erronée selon laquelle « la politique étrangère et de défense du Canada n’est plus pensée autour des prémisses de l’internationalisme pearsonien et qu’elle est devenue inextricablement liée à celle de son voisin du Sud » (p. 125). Plus précisément, c’est le passage de missions de maintien de la paix, identifiées aux Casques bleus, à des missions plus coercitives, qui ferait croire à une « vassalisation » (p. 58) de la politique étrangère canadienne (PEC). La politique étrangère (PE) étant un lieu privilégié d’affirmation de l’identité nationale, un alignement sur la PE américaine soulèverait une question capitale : « Le Canada, en tant que communauté imaginée distincte des États-Unis, est-il menacé ? » (p. 17) Il n’en est rien, de l’avis de Caron, et la crainte de « l’américanisation » découle en fait de deux erreurs de compréhension : la première, qu’il rapproche de la pensée de George Grant, consiste en une vision faussée de l’identité canadienne ; la seconde consiste en une incompréhension de l’évolution des missions de maintien de la paix depuis la fin de la guerre froide.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Smith Anthony D.**
**Biblical beliefs in the shaping of modern nations**
**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 3, July 2015 , 403–422

Abstract

The ideology and culture of modern nations and nationalism have been profoundly influenced by two traditions that reach back into the ancient world, the biblical and the classical. Here, the focus is on the particular contribution of the Hebrew Bible to the political ideals of modern nationhood. Modern Western nations, unlike non-Western and ancient nations, are distinguished by their quest for territorial integrity and sovereignty, citizenship, legal standardisation, cultural homogeneity and secular education, while modern nationalism is a pro-active, ideological movement that seeks to 'build' autonomous, unified, distinctive and 'authentic' nations out of ethnic populations deemed by some members to constitute actual or potential 'nations'. While modern European nations emerged out of the matrix of Christianity, as Adrian Hastings argued, it was the political model and ideals of community found in the Hebrew Bible, which Christianity adopted (while rejecting the Jews) and which the New Testament lacked, that so often provided the dynamic of modern nationalism and the values of modern Western nations. Chief among these were the Pentateuchal and prophetic narratives of Exodus, Covenant, Community of Law (Torah), the holiness of a 'chosen people', the messianic role of sacred kingship and the dream of fulfilment in the Promised Land. These ideals did not fully come into their own until the Reformation. In this period, state elites expressed growing national sentiments and biblical texts were being rendered into the vernacular, while a more rigorous biblical form of 'covenantal nationalism' emerged in early modern Netherlands, Scotland and England, taking the narrative of the deliverance of the Israelites as its starting point. In the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the novel cults of 'Nature', 'Authenticity' and 'Human Perfectibility' secured an opening for neo-classical political ideas in the formation of nations. But it was the biblical ideals of liberation, Covenant, election and promised land that provided the basic model of the modern nation and nationalism in Europe, from the French Revolution, and German and East European nationalisms to the Hebraic Protestant nationalism of Victorian Britain. To a large extent, the modern age owes to the Jewish Bible its fundamental vision of a world divided into distinctive and sovereign territorial nations.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Enric Ucelay-Da Cal**
**Catalan Nationalism, 1886-2012: An Historical Overview**
**in Pôle Sud**, 2014/1 (n° 40)

From 1886 to 2012, the dominant trends of Catalan nationalism have been (1) a common consensus of nationalist eclecticism, usually termed "Catalanism"; (2) the primacy of electoral politics during this time period; and (3) the fact that electoral parties, using the ambiguity of "Catalanism", had to operate side by side with non-ambiguous nationalists, explicit in their objective of subversion to a Spanish State, and willing to use force, at least in theory. Although the paramilitaries never had the social weight to act in electoral terms, their capacity to pressure through ideology was significant. Since 2012, however, the open expression of pro-independence sympathies ostensibly became a majority sentiment in Catalan society, creating an upset, and a new trend towards mass street politics, oriented or managed by loose "assembly"-type platforms.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Alessandro Catelani**
**Crisi dell'Unione Europea e necessarie riforme**
**in Nomos**, 2/2014

L'Unione europea soffre di mancanza di democrazia, perché ogni limitazione della sovranità degli Stati si identifica con il disconoscimento della volontà dei popoli che ne fanno parte. I popoli che compongono gli Stati membri dovrebbero manifestare la propria volontà a prescindere da imposizioni esterne, che ne pregiudichino questo diritto inviolabile. Occorrerebbe quindi introdurre un assetto istituzionale idoneo a garantire il rispetto della volontà popolare, per assicurare una collaborazione veramente stabile e proficua fra le Nazioni.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Hutchinson John, Wickham Chris, Stråth Bo, Gat Azar**
**Debate on Azar Gat's Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism**
**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 3, July 2015 , 383–402

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Mishra Pankaj**
**Der neue Cybernationalismus. China und Indien auf der Suche nach einer »alternativen Moderne«**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2015 , 69-78

Indien und China, die beiden Milliarden-Menschen-Mächte, wurden Ende der 1940er Jahre zu souveränen Staaten. Gleichzeitig verschrieben sie sich der Vision einer sozialistischen Modernisierung und behielten einander dabei stets neugierig und wachsam im Auge. In den letzten Jahren haben sich die beiden Staaten zunehmend auf eine triumphale Geschichtsdarstellung eingelassen – wonach die westlich-kapitalistische Moderne außerwestlichen Völkern den richtigen Weg zu Fortschritt und Entwicklung gewiesen habe. Doch für viele Inder und Chinesen war ihre nationale Erfahrung und Identität vor allem vom Kampf für die Befreiung von der militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Beherrschung durch den Westen geprägt.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Wellings Ben**
**English nationalism and Euroscepticism: A response**
**in British Politics**, Volume 10, Issue 3 (September 2015) , 373-377

Although agreeing that the sources of contemporary English identities are to be found before and beyond the constitutional changes of the late 1990s, Kenny argues that my focus on Euroscepticism risks underplaying the role of devolution in generating the politicised Englishness of recent years. For Kenny, grievances associated with English nationhood were generated by the structural economic and social changes associated with globalisation and disenchantment with the political system, rather than a single driver like Euroscepticism.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Zellman Ariel**
**Framing consensus. Evaluating the narrative specificity of territorial indivisibility**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 492-507

International territorial conflicts are frequently characterized by political recourse to narratives of nationalist entitlement, stifling conflict resolution by raising domestic audience costs and discursively limiting bargaining flexibility. Conflict incentivizes elite employment of such claims precisely because security threats and fear of violence heighten popular resonance of adversarial collective identity frames. This article argues, however, that consensus mobilization behind nationalist territorial claims is highly dependent upon the particular narratives elites select to justify them. Employing controlled individual-level experiments administered to diverse populations in Israel, it demonstrates how exposure to competing narratives of homeland, security, economic prosperity, and settlement impacts support for control of East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank. Although indivisible claims to ‘United Jerusalem’, the Golan, and West Bank settlement blocs and strategic highlands are generally considered popular consensus issues in Israel, only particular narratives trigger consensus mobilization behind each. Some narratives even encourage conciliatory policy attitudes against such appeals. As a democracy embroiled in multiple enduring territorial disputes, analysis of the Israeli case contributes to understanding of the limits and political consequences of elite rhetoric. Demonstrating the affinity between narrative frames and popular policy preferences, this article also lends insight into the intersubjective beliefs that drive mass support for nationalist territorial claims.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Tir Jaroslav, Singh Shane P**
**Get off my lawn. Territorial civil wars and subsequent social intolerance in the public**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 478-491

It is argued that threat related to territorial civil wars generates negative interpersonal attitudes that are both more intense and more broadly oriented than previously thought. That is, civil wars fought over issues of autonomy or secession foment social intolerance, a broad orientation that extends well beyond members of former enemy groups to an aversion to interpersonal differences in general. The expectation that the issue the civil war is fought over is consequential is tested with data from the World Values Survey and the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset. The empirical domain consists of over 130,000 individuals across 123 surveys in 69 countries over the 1989–2008 period. Results from multilevel models indicate a positive and statistically significant relationship between domestic territorial conflicts and subsequent social intolerance. Substantively, territorial civil wars have a far greater impact on individuals’ attitudes than do ‘standard’ correlates of social intolerance that are well established in the literature. Further, non-territorial civil war is unrelated to attitudes of social intolerance. Empirical results are robust to several model

specifications and are not a mere artifact of the potential reverse relationship, whereby intolerant societies are (erroneously) presumed to be at a higher risk of civil wars in the first place. The findings have implications for the understanding of civil war resolution, civil war reoccurrence, and the contextual correlates of interpersonal intolerance.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Koev Dan**
**Interactive party effects on electoral performance. How ethnic minority parties aid the populist right in Central and Eastern Europe**
**in Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 4, July , 649-659

While the rise of right-wing populism in West European politics has received considerable attention in academic circles, the equivalent phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) remains understudied. I address this gap by examining the factors contributing to right-wing populist party success in CEE. I argue that the success of such parties is best explained by the presence of salient ethnic minority parties. I propose that successful ethnic minority parties heighten the salience of ethno-nationalist divisions within a state, creating electoral demand for parties of the populist right. Political elites capitalize on the fear generated by the presence of strong minority parties and channel it into electoral support for the populist right. Performing statistical analysis on an original dataset of 108 CEE elections, I find evidence that the electoral performance of right-wing populist parties is influenced by the performance of ethnic minority parties and their participation in government.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Rivero Angel**
**La actualidad de Nacionalismo de Elie Kedourie**
**in Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, n. 46

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Pierre-Éric Fageol**
**L'île de La Réunion pendant la Grande Guerre : patriotisme colonial, identification à la Nation et stigmatisation des ennemis**
**in Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains**, n° 255, 2014/3

Qu'il soit compris comme l'expression d'un consentement ou d'une contrainte, le patriotisme de guerre conditionne l'expression du sentiment d'appartenance nationale à La Réunion. Cette thématique renvoie à l'idée que La Réunion se doit de participer aux destinées de la Nation. Désormais la mère Patrie n'est plus seulement une idée mais bien au contraire un territoire à défendre sur lequel les regards se focalisent. La participation à l'effort de guerre s'est inscrite dans une volonté de communion nationale, d'union sacrée entre la métropole et son Empire.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Shcherbak Andrey**
**Nationalism in the USSR: a historical and comparative perspective**
**in Nationalities Papers**, Volume 43, Issue 6, 2015 , 866-885

Abstract
The late 1980s and early 1990s were characterized by the sudden rise of nationalist movements in almost all Soviet ethnic regions. It is argued that the rise of political nationalism since the late 1980s can be explained by the development of cultural nationalism in the previous decades, as an unintended outcome of Communist nationalities policy. All ethnic regions are examined throughout the entire history of the USSR (49 regions, 1917–1991), using the structural equation modeling (SEM) approach. This paper aims to make at least three contributions to the field. First, it is a methodological contribution for studying nationalism: a “quantification of history” approach. Having constructed variables from historical data, I use conventional statistical methods such as SEM. Second, this paper contributes to the theoretical debate about the role of cultural autonomy in multiethnic states. Finally, the paper statistically proves that the break between early Soviet and Stalinist nationalities policy explains the entire Soviet nationalities policy.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Gifford Chris**
**Nationalism, populism and Anglo-British Euroscepticism**
**in British Politics**, Volume 10, Issue 3 (September 2015) , 362-366

Academic work on Euroscepticism has undergone a paradigm shift in recent years, from an important but relatively narrow focus on comparative party politics and public opinion, to a broad field of study addressing complex political, societal and cultural processes integral, rather than aberrant, to Europeanisation. While English Nationalism and Euroscepticism represents a significant contribution to the contemporary debates on Englishness, it also takes the study of Euroscepticism into new territory.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Karell Daniel**
**North Africa's Spain: peripheral national identities and the nation-state as neo-empire**
**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 3, July 2015 , 423–444

Abstract

When ethno-cultural heterogeneity exists and thrives within a nation-state, social tension and ethno-nationalist sentiments are not considered surprising. Yet in many nation-states, various native-born communities have diverse and potentially contradictory national identities without the desire for self-determination. In this paper, I explore the circumstances in which ethno-culturally distinct, peripheral communities may develop variants of the dominant national

identity – ensuring that they remain excluded from the national narrative – yet remain part of the nation-state. To do so, I conduct a comparative analysis of the native-born Muslim communities in Spain's two North African exclaves. I find that most Muslims are Spanish citizens yet understandings of 'Spanish-ness' appear to vary between the exclaves. I use these findings to propose further steps for refining current conceptualisations of the nation-state, in an effort to better understand cases in which variations in the dominant national identity exist, but without ethno-nationalist sentiments.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Huarcaya Sergio Miguel**
**Performativity, Performance, and Indigenous Activism in Ecuador and the Andes**
in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 57, Issue 3, July , 806-837

To explain causality between ethnic consciousness and indigenous political activism in the Andes, scholars have proposed two perspectives. Some argue that ethnic consciousness was pre-existing; others claim that it was the product of political organizational processes. In this study, I demonstrate that the ethnic consciousness of Ecuadorian indigenous Andeans has been a dialogical work-in-progress that has hinged significantly on the emergence of self-conscious cultural performance. I analyze the trajectory from submission to assertiveness of Ecuadorian indigenous Andeans and compare it with the Peruvian and Bolivian cases, focusing on the ways in which performance and performativity have constructed indigeneity as a social reality. Performance implies a bounded act done by a subject who consciously performs, whereas performativity refers to the construction of the subject by the reiteration of norms. The research investigates three interrelated fields that are crucial in the constitution of indigeneity: the performativity of racial and ethnic hierarchies, the performance of indigenous culture during protest, and the performance of indigenous festivities. Considering that social hierarchies are iteratively constructed and that cultural performance is part and parcel of the political redress of cultural difference, I argue that through cultural performance Ecuadorian and Bolivian indigenous Andeans have been able to undermine the ways in which performativity has constituted them as subaltern subjects. This transformation has not happened in the Peru, where indigenous Andeans still feel that indigeneity is a stigmatized condition.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Laruni Elisabeth**
**Regional and ethnic identities: the Acholi of Northern Uganda, 1950–1968**
in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 2 , 212-230

Ethnic conflict in post-independence Uganda was a consequence of the confrontation between strong, ethnically divided local institutions and the post-colonial push for political centralisation, under the guise of nation building. To strengthen one, the other had to be weakened. Self-governance meant that the stakes for political power sharpened at national and local levels, ensuring that ethnic antipathies became more pronounced. Politicians who had succeeded within local politics were elevated to represent their various ethnic groups at the centre. However, these politicised ethnic demarcations were not, and should not, be considered a product of the Ugandan post-colonial state. Rather, they were a continuation of colonial political structures that had emphasised locality, ethnicities and the 'tribe'. These were the same power structures that were embedded within Ugandan politics at the eve of independence. Uganda remains regionally divided between the 'North' and the 'South'. Bantu-speaking ethnic groups in the southern, central, eastern and western

areas of Uganda dominate the ‘South’. These include the Baganda, Basoga, Banyoro, Bagisu, Batoro and the Banyankole. The ‘North’, which is home to the Nilotic and Central Sudanic-speaking groups, encompasses the Acholi, Lango, Madi, Alur, Iteso and the Karamojong peoples. Historically, the political and ethnic divisions between the peoples of Northern and Southern Uganda have contributed to the country's contentious post-colonial history. Economic underdevelopment played a large part in fostering political tensions between the two regions, and served as useful tool for Acholi power brokers to negotiate for political and economic capital with the state, by utilising the politics of regional differentiation through the ‘Northern identity’. This article assesses how Acholi politicians utilised and then challenged the Northern identity from 1950 to 1968. It argues that in the face of political marginalisation from the late 1960s, Acholi ethnonationalism, rather than regional affiliations, became the most prominent identity used to challenge state authoritarianism.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Taylor Jeremy E.**
**Republican Personality Cults in Wartime China: Contradistinction and Collaboration**
**in Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 57, Issue 3, July , 665-693

This paper explores the development of the Wang Jingwei personality cult during the Japanese occupation of China (1937–1945). It examines how the collaborationist Chinese state led by Wang sought to distinguish its figurehead from the person he had replaced, Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek. Drawing on visual, archival, and published sources, it traces the development of the Wang cult from the early years of the war, and argues that the unusual context in which the cult evolved ultimately undermined its coherence. The case of Wang Jingwei illustrates how the Chinese case more broadly can enhance our understandings of personality cults that develop under occupation. To this end, I compare the Wang regime with various European “collaborationist” governments that sought to promote their leaders in similar ways.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Cebotari Victor**
**The Determinants of National Pride of Ethnic and Immigrant Minorities in Europe**
**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2015 , 269-288

Abstract

This article focuses on the determinants of national pride in relation to ethnic diversity. Using pooled cross-sectional data from the World/European Values Survey (N = 43,909), a multilevel analysis method is applied to examine the impact of discrimination, poverty, and self-perceived social status on the feelings of national pride of individuals who belong to ethnic and immigrant minorities in Europe. Results show that, while national pride is generally low among minorities, it peaks when individuals who are members of ethnic and immigrant minorities are poor and when they themselves adopt discriminatory attitudes. These findings imply that the context of discrimination and poverty, when combined with the status of the ethnic and immigrant group in the country, serve as important mediating factors for the way minorities choose to identify with the nation.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 2.Nationalism*
**Fozdar Farida, Low Mitchell**
**'They have to abide by our laws … and stuff': ethnonationalism masquerading as civic nationalism**
**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 3, July 2015 , 524–543

Abstract

The long established distinction between civic nationalism and ethnonationalism is useful heuristically to understand different dimensions of nationalism and perhaps track a movement from ethnic forms to civic allegiances, though some have challenged its empirical veracity and others question the normative implications of such a distinction. This paper demonstrates the ways in which the two are elided in everyday discourses about migrants in Australia. We argue suspicion of cultural difference, identified more than three decades ago as the new racism, has given way to talk of the need for migrants to 'follow the law'. This serves rhetorically to reinforce the notion that migrants, often implied to overlap with the category 'Muslims', are insisting on breaking the law and/or changing it and are therefore culturally incompatible with a modern liberal democracy. We argue that since ethnic nationalism, like racism, is out of favour normatively, ethnic nationalist arguments are now superficially concealed beneath the acceptable language of civic nationalism. The manner in which this occurs is mapped discursively using data from a corpus of twenty seven focus groups conducted around Australia.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Rubin Gil**
**From Federalism to Binationalism: Hannah Arendt's Shifting Zionism**
**in Contemporary European History** , vol. 24, n. 3, August , 393 - 414

The German-Jewish intellectual Hannah Arendt (1906–1975) had famously opposed the establishment of a Jewish nation state in Palestine. During the Second World War, however, Arendt also spoke out repeatedly against the establishment of a binational Arab-Jewish state. Rejecting both alternatives, Arendt advocated for the inclusion of Palestine in a multi-ethnic federation that would not consist only of Jews and Arabs. Only in 1948, in an effort to forestall partition, did Arendt revise her earlier critique and endorse a binational solution for Palestine. This article offers a new reading of the evolution of Arendt's thought on Zionism and argues that her support for federalism must be understood as part of a broader wartime debate over federalism as a solution to a variety of post-war nationality problems in Europe, the Middle East and the British Empire. By highlighting the link between debates on wartime federalism and the future of Palestine, this article also underscores the importance of examining the legacy of federalism in twentieth century Europe for a more complete understanding of the history of Zionism.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Colombo Arturo**
**Gaetano salvemini fra meridionalismo e federalismo**
**in Politico (Il)**, n. 235, 2014 , 123-136

ABSTRACT: In his essay about “Gaetano Salvemini between “meridionalism” (a policy which favours southern Italian regions) and federalism”, the Author takes first of all into consideration the Southern Issue, a topic Salvemini (1873-1957) faced since the last years of the XIX century, believing that solving Southern Italy backwardness and underdevelopment problems does not just imply a “very broad and radical devolution”, capable of depriving the Central Government of “instruction, financial management, police and army” in order to grant all of these competences to regions and municipalities“Southern Italy – Salvemini says – needs to get rid of all of the shames that oppress itself”: hence the need of implementing federalism (not just separatism). Forced to leave Italy when Mussolini and fascism paved the way to dictatorship, Salvemini recovered in the USA, yet continuing to condemn “the national sovereignty holy idol”. When, at the end of the war, he comes back to Italy (that he appoints – as he writes in the weekly magazine “Il Mondo” – “a muddled Italy”), he advocates the urgency of giving birth to a democratic system that, even through gradualism, not only will have to assure the local autonomies, but will have to be able to make effective that real federalism system which, by now and since many years, distinguishes two democratic political systems, such as Switzerland and USA.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Sutherland Peter**
**In Memory of John Pinder**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

John was held in considerable esteem by all of us who believe in the nobility of the European cause. Indeed he was an expression of that nobility in his personal qualities, particularly in his constancy and humility and even more fundamentally in his essential goodness. He was of course far more than a profound thinker, academic and writer. He was above all a political activist. He sought to apply his abilities to influencing events and not merely commentating on them. He reflected an indefatigable commitment and an activism to advance a political ideal. He did so not as a conventional politician but rather as one who stimulated, provoked and taught in pursuit of a cause that was often far from popular in his own country. It is to that activism, cloaked as it was in a genuine modesty, that I wish to turn.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Elkann John**
**In Memory of Tommaso Padoa Schioppa**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Atienza Becerril, Belèn**
**Konrad Adenauer: sobre la idea de Europa y el nacionalismo**
**in Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, n. 46

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Francesco Violi**
**La riflessione federalista in Friedrich von Hayek**
**in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVII, n. 1-2

Friedrich Von Hayek viene usato soprattutto quando si tratta di rafforzare la critica, o meglio il rifiuto, dell'idea di Europa federale. Generalmente questo rifiuto si accompagna all'accusa rivolta alla pubblica amministrazione europea di essere burocratica e pletorica, ma spesso finisce per dipingere scenari dispotici, in cui un governo tirannico di stampo sovietico mette a repentaglio la libertà, la democrazia e i diritti civili dei cittadini europei. Nel condurre questa speculazione intellettuale, questi pensatori equiparano questi principi alla difesa della sovranità nazionale, coerentemente con l'idea che questi principi siano difendibili esclusivamente a livello nazionale e coerentemente con un'interpretazione malintesa del principio hayekiano di "individualismo metodologico" nelle relazioni internazionali, che, essenzialmente, nell'interpretazione che ne viene fatta, diventa "nazionalismo metodologico". Questo errore interpretativo deriva dall'idea di non considerare gli individui come soggetti di diritto internazionale e, conseguentemente, dal fatto di non porli al centro della riflessione.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**S Adam Seagrave**
**Madison's Tightrope: The Federal Union and the Madisonian Foundations of Legitimate Government**
**in Polity**, Volume 47, Issue 2 , 249–272

The states' rights–nationalist debate is America's oldest constitutional debate. It is also the most puzzling, since it continues to stagger through the scholarly and political landscape even after numerous and powerful assailants—including the Civil War, the 14th Amendment, the New Deal, and the Civil Rights Era—would have seemed to have sealed its doom. Even James Madison, the father of the Constitution and perhaps the most widely respected political thinker among the founding generation, seemed puzzled about the nature of the American federal union for much of his career. This article argues that late in life, Madison elaborated a theory of "layered social compacts" that provides a compelling account of the nature of the American federal union. His account makes a significant contribution to social compact theory and also provides a potentially helpful guide for navigating today's states' rights–nationalist debates.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**John Pinder**
**Mario Albertini e la storia del pensiero federalista**
**in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVII, n. 1-2

Il saggio analizza il modo in cui il pensiero di Albertini ha sviluppato due tradizioni federaliste: quella ispirata alle fonti

inglesi che ha dato una risposta alla domanda “perché creare la Federazione europea?”, e quella ispirata alle fonti americane che ha dato una risposta alla domanda “come crearla?” In generale si può dire che egli è stato il massimo esponente del pensiero hamiltoniano della seconda metà del Novecento, oltre che il creatore della scuola federalista italiana. Egli è stato non solo un esponente, ma anche un innovatore, spesso illuminando il pensiero di altre scuole, in altri casi differenziandosi con contributi originali.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*
**Mehemet Cevat Yildirim**
**The “Spinelli Project” and its Legacy**
**in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LVI, Single Issue

On 14th February 1984, the European Parliament (EP) approved the draft Treaty establishing the European Union (EUT), widely known as the “Spinelli Project”. The originality of the EUT lies in both the process of its creation and its far-reaching content. Despite the fact that the EUT was never ratified, subsequent EU Treaties have introduced the institutional reforms it envisaged. The success of the EUT is strictly due to the genuine political deliberation that gave rise to it.
The EUT story provides the first example of a treaty-making process evolving outside the diplomatic framework. Indeed, the initiative was launched and pursued entirely by MEPs. The originator of the EUT, Altiero Spinelli, had been one of the authors of the Ventotene Manifesto (1941) and was well known as a leading euro-federalist; moreover, he had been elected to the EP from the lists of the Italian Communist Party (PCI). Nevertheless, while preparing the EUT, instead of restricting it to federalist or leftist perspectives, Spinelli chose to adopt an approach that would embrace a vast spectrum of political views. This choice was a conscious one because the Treaty, to be adopted, had to be approved in plenary session by the EP. The participatory and deliberative nature of the debate on the EUT made it a genuine constitution-making process. From this perspective, the work of the first directly-elected EP can be seen as a remarkable victory of constitutionalism over intergovernmentalism.
The work of this legislature was fruitful in terms of the new ideas about the political system and functioning of the EU that it produced. While some of these ideas were ahead of their time, others could be implemented immediately. In the first years following the EP’s approval of the EUT, the national governments saw no need to establish a “European Union”. Subsequently, however, the changes proposed in the EUT were progressively introduced. Now, looking back over the decades, we can clearly identify the influence of the EUT in successive Treaties and EU treaty proposals.
This essay is divided into two parts. The first focuses on the creation of the EUT, a process that saw the emergence of rival and opposing initiatives. The second looks at the content of the EUT and at how it subsequently influenced successive Treaties and reform proposals.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Baldi Brunetta**
**Federalismo e secessionismi**
**in Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 963 -984

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Franke Mark F.N.**
**A Critique of the Universalisability of Critical Human Rights Theory: The Displacement of Immanuel Kant**
**in Human Rights Review**, vol. 14, number 4 , 367-385

ABSTRACT: While the critically oriented writings of Immanuel Kant remain the key theoretical grounds from which universalists challenge reduction of international rights law and protection to the practical particularities of sovereign states, Kant's theory can be read as also a crucial argument for a human rights regime ordered around sovereign states and citizens. Consequently, universalists may be tempted to push Kant's thinking to greater critical examination of 'the human' and its properties. However, such a move to more theoretical rigour in critique only solidifies the subversive statism of Kant's apparent universalism, as long as it remains embedded in his prior theory of critical philosophy that privileges a singular form of reason. Universalist theories of human rights can break with this contradiction only insofar as they also displace the right to philosophy from the subject and site of 'civil' man to a politics of theory where no such subject or site is guaranteed.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Jedd Theresa, Bixler R. Patrick**
**Accountability in Networked Governance: Learning from a case of landscape-scale forest conservation**
**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 3, May-June , 172-187

Despite incredible strides in transboundary collaborative conservation, many challenges remain. A networked governance approach recognizes a diverse pool of participants, linkages across multiple levels of organization and the diffusion of authority horizontally across spatial scales. Much is understood about the basic form and function of networked governance, namely the ways in which it overcomes weaknesses of traditional hierarchical structures, but less is known about the democratic quality of newer forms of governance. There are implications for traditional forms of accountability for the practice of network governance. They are not lost but their dimensions are changed, hinging less on punishment and more on reward. To examine this dynamic, we use a mixed-methods approach and grounded theory to explore the social relationships that make up a conservation network in the United States and Canada. Interview analysis from the Roundtable on the Crown of the Continent suggests that accountability comes through authentic engagement, is based on a 'logic of appropriateness' rooted in normative persuasion and still draws from traditional hierarchy. Social network analysis shows positions of brokerage and bridging help to maintain network connections between actors. Leveraging these characteristics of the network and the relationships formed through the process of landscape forest governance, we suggest there may be an overall net gain in accountability.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Davig Troy, Redmond Michael**
**Accounting for Changes in the U.S. Budget Deficit**
**in Economic Review**, Forth Quarter 2014

After rising substantially during the Great Recession, the U.S. federal budget has declined the past few years. The authors introduce a framework to gauge how three factors have contributed to this decline.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Hun Joon Kim, Sharman J.c.**
**Accounts and Accountability: Corruption, Human Rights, and Individual Accountability Norms**
**in International Organization**, vol. 68, issue 2, may , 417-448

ABSTRACT: Two parallel norms mandate an international duty to hold state leaders individually accountable for serious corruption and human rights crimes. The development of these new norms is poorly explained by realist and neoliberal perspectives, but there are also weaknesses in recent constructivist explanations of norm diffusion that emphasize agency at the expense of structure. Such approaches have difficulty explaining the source of and similarities between new norms, and treat norm entrepreneurs as prior to and separate from their environment. In contrast, drawing on sociological institutionalism, we present a more structural explanation of individual accountability norms. The norms derive from an overarching modernist world culture privileging individual rights and responsibilities, as well as rational-legal authority. This culture is more generative of norm entrepreneurs than generated by them. The specific norms are instantiated through a process of “theorization” within permissive post–Cold War conditions, and diffused via mimicry, professionalization, and coercive isomorphism.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Saravanan V.S.**
**Agents of institutional change: The contribution of new institutionalism in understanding water governance in India**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 53, Part B, Crafting or designing? Science and politics for purposeful institutional change in Social-Ecological Systems, November , 225-235

To steer the socio-political process of water management towards a desired institutional change, scholars have adopted distinctive approaches focusing either on deliberate ‘designing’ of institutions or by emphasizing on the ability of agents to craft institutions. Applying ecological institutionalism as an overarching framework, the paper takes a complementary perspective of designing and crafting by heuristically examining the agents and their negotiation of power as linked with the institutions through an ethnographic method of long-time observation. By focusing on agents in their everyday practice of water management, the paper identifies five different types of agents – goal-oriented agents, agents maintaining positions, opportunistic, reactive, and supportive agents. These agents integrate institutions through historic specificity and rationality to enter the decision-making arena, and use their logic of action to display their power to bring about institutional change. They play a crucial role that underpins effective trajectories of policy development and implementation. Applying new institutionalism offers insights into three significant areas of water management – significant role of institutions, ability of agents to integrate multilayered institutions, and diverse forms of power displayed in the arenas. These three elements help us to better comprehend the complementary between designing and crafting of institutions to facilitate desired change.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Menestrey Schwieger Diego A.**
**An Ethnographic Analysis of the Role of Power in Institutional Arrangements: Borehole cost recovery within a pastoral community in North-Western Namibia**
**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 4, Special Issue: Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics, July-August , 258-269

The role of power in the development of institutions governing the use of common-pool resources has been given little emphasis in the leading theories in this field. A case study from north-western Namibia illustrates how power and bargaining strategies shape institutional arrangements concerning the cost recovery of a communal water point. The example shows how policy reforms based on Ostrom's design principles clash with local dynamics of power asymmetries and social interdependencies. This article indicates that Ostrom's framework does not consider the possibility that resource appropriators might develop and implement institutions that disadvantage the less powerful members of a community. To explain how such ‘unfair’ institutions evolve and endure, Knight's bargaining theory of institutions is offered as a supplementary model. After discussion, the article concludes with an outlook prompting a reassessment of the concepts of ‘institutional failure’ in which only environmental factors are implicated, while social ones are ignored.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Wilson Helen F.**
**An urban laboratory for the multicultural nation?**
**in Ethnicities**, Vol. 15, n. 4 , 586-604

t a time when urban space is considered central to understanding how multicultural societies cohere, this paper examines how the urban and the nation are related. To do so, the paper focuses upon Birmingham, UK, which has been presented as a testing ground for national responses to difference and as a model for other European cities. Drawing on narratives of city boosterism, urban policy, local and national news articles, academic writing and resident accounts, the paper deals with three inter-related concerns. First, with discussions on how the city responds and adapts to national framings of diversity and its socio-political conditions of possibility, second, with claims that the city might be understood as epitomising the state of the nation and third, with questions concerning how Birmingham might actively work to shape, challenge or re-write understandings of the nation. Drawing on recent work urban experimentation, the paper asks what Birmingham's position as a laboratory for new social imaginaries and ways of belonging might mean, both for the city and its residents, and for national policy on cultural diversity.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Joshi Madhav, Quinn Jason Michael, Regan Patrick M**
**Annualized implementation data on comprehensive intrastate peace accords, 1989–2012**
**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 551-562

This article introduces the Peace Accords Matrix Implementation Dataset (PAM_ID). We present time-series data on the

implementation of 51 provisions in 34 comprehensive peace agreements negotiated in civil wars since 1989. We follow the implementation process for up to ten years following the signing of each agreement. The data provide new insights into the types of provisions that are more or less likely to be implemented, how implementation processes unfold over time, how implementation processes relate to one another, and how implementation affects various post-accord outcomes. We outline our coding methodology and case selection, and examine descriptive statistics. We illustrate one potential use of the data by combining eight different provisions into a composite indicator of security sector reform (SSR). A survival analysis finds that implementing security sector reforms contributes to long-term conflict reduction not only between the parties to the accord but also between the government and other non-signatory groups in the same conflict.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Huber Daniela, Kamel Lorenzo**
**Arab Spring: The Role of the Peripheries**
**in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Special Issue: 'Arab Spring and Peripheries' , 127-141

The emerging literature on the so-called ‘Arab Spring’ has largely focused on the evolution of the uprisings in cities and power centres. In order to reach a more diversified and in-depth understanding of the ‘Arab Spring’, this article examines how peripheries have reacted and contributed to the historical dynamics at work in the Middle East and North Africa. It rejects the idea that the ‘Arab Spring’ is a unitary process and shows that it consists of diverse ‘springs’ which differed in terms of opportunity structure, the strategies of a variety of actors and the outcomes. Looking at geographical, religious, gender and ethnic peripheries, it shows that the seeds for changing the face of politics and polities are within the peripheries themselves.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Pettersson Therése, Wallensteen Peter**
**Armed conflicts, 1946–2014**
**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 536-550

In 2014, the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) recorded 40 armed conflicts with a minimum of 25 battle-related deaths, up by six from 2013. This is the highest number of conflicts reported since 1999, and 11 of these conflicts were defined as wars, that is, conflicts generating 1,000 or more battle-related deaths in one calendar year. Further, an escalation of several conflicts, coupled with the extreme violence in Syria, resulted in the highest number of battle-related deaths in the post-1989 period. Yet, compared to the large-scale interstate wars of the 20th century, the number of fatalities caused by armed conflicts in 2014 was relatively low. Additionally, seven conflicts identified in 2013 were no longer active in 2014. However, four new conflicts erupted in 2014, all of them in Ukraine, and three previously registered conflicts were restarted by new actors. Furthermore, six conflicts reoccurred with previously registered actors. A positive development, however, is the increase to ten of the number of peace agreements concluded and signed in 2014, which represents a further four compared with 2013. And although this increase is part of a positive trend since 2011, it is worth noting that several peace processes remained fragile by the end of the year.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Schneider Flurina, Bonriposi Mariano, Graefe Olivier, Herweg Karl, Homewood Christine, Huss Matthias, Kauzlaric Martina, Liniger Hanspeter, Rey Emmanuel, Reynard Emmanuel, Rist Stephan, Schädler Bruno, Weingartner Rolf**
**Assessing the sustainability of water governance systems: the sustainability wheel**
**in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 58, Issue 9 , 1577-1600

We present and test a conceptual and methodological approach for interdisciplinary sustainability assessments of water governance systems based on what we call the sustainability wheel. The approach combines transparent identification of sustainability principles, their regional contextualization through sub-principles (indicators), and the scoring of these indicators through deliberative dialogue within an interdisciplinary team of researchers, taking into account their various qualitative and quantitative research results. The approach was applied to a sustainability assessment of a complex water governance system in the Swiss Alps. We conclude that the applied approach is advantageous for structuring complex and heterogeneous knowledge, gaining a holistic and comprehensive perspective on water sustainability, and communicating this perspective to stakeholders.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Ersel Aydinli**
**Assessing violent nonstate actorness in global politics: a framework for analysis**
**in Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 28, Issue 3 , 424-444

This article begins with the assumption that the most important shift that is taking place in contemporary global politics is the shift in polity power from the predominance of the state to the rising importance of nonstate actors. It goes on to argue that disciplinary understandings of this shift and, in particular, the nature of the actors driving it, remain dispersed. This article aims, therefore, to provide a framework for evaluating the global political potential—or actorness—of one type of nonstate actor, the violent nonstate actor, positing it as that most overtly challenging states' authority, and therefore with the potential to play a uniquely stimulating role in the shifting of power. Based on three principles of autonomy, representation and influence, the framework provides broad criteria for understanding violent nonstate actors, as well as a means for evaluating violent nonstate actorness and for exploring its potential in global politics.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Sauter Sabine**
**Australia's Dust Bowl: Transnational Influences in Soil Conservation and the Spread of Ecological Thought**
**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 352-365

During the period 1930–46, drought and wind erosion turned parts of the US and Australia into dust bowls. While the US events are well studied, historical research on similar processes in Australia is less abundant. The first part of the paper

focusses on the transnational transfer of soil conservation policy and science from the US to Australia, claiming it stimulated the diffusion of an ecological conservationist's conscience within the wider Australian society. The dust storm years were therefore a key period for the evolution of ecological thought and environmental ethics in Australia. Taking the example of four key figures of Australia's conservation movement of the 1960s and later, the second part of the paper shows intellectual continuities between these precursors and the later conservation movement.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Han Heejin**
**Authoritarian environmentalism under democracy: Korea's river restoration project**
**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 5, September , 810-829

The impacts that governments and institutions have on environmental policy-making constitute a core concern in environmental politics. Authoritarian environmentalism (AE) presents a model of top-down, non-participatory environmental policy-making. The model, however, remains underspecified with its premises untested and its application confined to non-democratic countries. This study addresses these gaps through a case study of South Korea's Four Major Rivers Restoration Project. The study illustrates how various path-dependent legacies from the era of the authoritarian developmental state shaped the policy context in which policymakers in democratic Korea adopted AE as its approach to environmental governance. More broadly, this case demonstrates how the relationship between a type of regime and its mode of policy-making and policy outcomes is tenuous, suggesting that environmental politics should move beyond the examination of formal institutional features to incorporate various state development trajectories to unravel the nature of their environmental politics and policy-making.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Lacorne Denis**
**Aux origines du multiculturalisme américain Le pluralisme ou la Kultur Klux Klan ?  Denis Lacorne**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Westler Brendon**
**Between Tradition and Revolution: The Curious Case of Francisco Martínez Marina, the Cádiz Constitution, and Spanish Liberalism**
**in Journal of the History of Ideas**, Volume 76, Number 3, July , 393-416

Histories of liberalism have neglected the existence of a distinctive Spanish liberalism. Influenced in part by British and French thinkers, Spanish liberals also sought to reconnect Spanish political thought with the tradition of the Scholastics. The resulting liberalism combined the two traditions, incorporating both individualist and communitarian features. This article exhibits this unique liberalism through an examination of Francisco Martínez Marina and the 1812 Constitution

which he influenced. A proper understanding of this work is important both for developing a more comprehensive understanding of liberalism's history and for its subsequent influence in Spain and Spanish America.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Kmak Magdalena**
**Between citizen and bogus asylum seeker: management of migration in the EU through the technology of morality**
in **Social Identities**, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2015 , 395-409

Abstract

The article examines the rationality behind the simultaneous enhancement and restriction of mobility of various categories of migrants in the European Union. Through Foucauldian understanding of economic man as a dominant subjectivity in neoliberal risk society, the article shows how the European migration law produces two types of economic men: EU citizens and bogus asylum seekers. Whereas migration of EU citizens is considered not only rational but also moral behaviour, migration of those perceived as bogus asylum seekers is condemned as immoral and irrational. This differing approach towards EU citizens on the one hand, and asylum seekers on the other, constitutes a mode of governing migration in the EU referred in this article as technology of morality.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Riber Toby J, Owsiak Andrew P**
**Border settlement, commitment problems, and the causes of contiguous rivalry**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 508-521

Many studies have examined the formation of interstate rivalries, but few provide a theoretical mechanism capable of explaining why some neighboring states experience protracted conflict while others do not. To address this question, we theoretically link bargaining theories of conflict with issue-based explanations of conflict to offer a novel application of the commitment problem mechanism. We argue that when neighboring states disagree over border territory endowed with a potential source of power (i.e. strategic or economic value), it is difficult for either side to commit credibly in the future to comply with agreements made today. Consequently, neighboring states may be reluctant to make concessions that could enhance their adversary's future bargaining power. This reluctance, in turn, increases the likelihood of bargaining failure, thereby also increasing the likelihood that the dispute festers and the relationship evolves into a rivalry. Using recently reported data on border settlement and three measures of rivalry, we find systematic evidence for our theoretical expectations. Unsettled borders increase the likelihood of rivalry onset. This relationship, however, seems driven by border territory containing strategic and economic endowments – the exact type of territory that theoretically drives commitment problems. We therefore conclude that not all territory matters for the onset of contiguous rivalries.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Tosam Mbih Jerome, Mbih Richard Achia**

**Climate change, health, and sustainable development in Africa**
in **Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 17, Issue 4, August , 787-800

This paper critically examines the effects of climate change on the African continent and suggests ways in which the negative effects of climate change can be effectively combatted to ensure sustainable development. Although responsible for a small share of global climate change, Africa is the most vulnerable region of the world to climate change, which destroys the people's source of food, medication, shelter, and income, leading to poor nutrition and exposure to infectious diseases, more hospitalizations, less working hours, and heavy financial losses. Apart from global environmental deterioration, Africa is one of the regions of the world experiencing the severest droughts and water scarcity. The impact of all this on Africa's already fragile socio-economic and political structures is grave. Climate change threatens the political stability of the continent. In this paper we argue that the effects of climate change on the continent have been amplified by human choices and political ineptitude of the ruling elites in Africa. We maintain that good governance, the promotion of African traditional values that encourage the protection of the environment, paying attention to rural development and the emancipation of women economically and politically, and investing in alternative and renewable energy are the necessary pre-conditions for effectively mitigating the effects of climate change and ensuring sustainable development in Africa.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Edge Sara, Eyles John**
**Contested Governmentalities: NGO enrollment and influence over chemical risk governance rationales and practices**
in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 3, May-June , 188-200

The assessment and management of chemical risks is a contested domain of governance. Governments are increasingly investing in multi-stakeholder processes to address thousands of substances that are in widespread use globally, despite never having been assessed for toxicity and exposure risks to human health and the environment. Using a governmentality approach, we examine whether the increased engagement of NGOs is changing how chemical governance is being conducted in Canada. To do this, we focus on a combination of expert subjectivities, knowledge inputs and prevailing risk assessment and management practices and rationales. The advocacy of alternative conduct and approaches by NGOs (e.g. stronger regulations, reductions in production, shifted burden of proof, new knowledge practices, greater transparency of technical details etc.) is situated within relations of power between neo-liberal states, industry and science. Various 'enrollment' tactics shape the influence of NGOs, which explains in part why particular practices gain ascendency over alternatives (e.g. restrictive timelines, contracts with limited funds, information access, questioning of scientific credibility etc.). The influence of NGOs is complex, as they engage within imposed rules for conduct and governance, simultaneously challenging and reinforcing dominant practices and norms. Risk governmentalities and rationales therefore shape not only the conduct of citizens, but also that of governance stakeholders themselves.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Franke William**
**Cosmopolitan conviviality and negative theology: Europe's vocation to universalism**

in **Journal of European Studies** , vol. 44, n. 1, march , 30-49

ABSTRACT: Recent revolutions in literary and cultural theory have come full circle – or perhaps spiralled back around – to a quest for universal values and perspectives and beliefs. After several decades of accentuated splintering into national, regional, sexual, racial, and religious particularisms, the cry has gone up for attempting to recover some sense of a common bond of universal democratic enfranchisement. Of course, the notion of the universal 'returns' metamorphosed. It is no longer the universality of a closed system or of a delimited concept, but rather an open universal that is in question. The crucial breakthrough in the rethinking of universality can best be understood as construing it not as conceptual but rather as what defies conceptualization. This is a non-predicative universality and must be thought of as that which resists or exceeds the closure of identity. It opens a radically alternative vision to that of the Enlightenment philosophies that have typically paraded under the banner of universality, although it also undermines the traditional opposition between rational enlightenment and religious or mystical obscurantism. The universal in this new sense opens up a mysterious region of incommensurability as, paradoxically, our only common measure.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Trigilia, Carlo**
**Cultura, istituzioni e sviluppo. La lezione di Max Weber e il neo-istituzionalismo**
in **Stato e mercato**, numero 2 , 263-280

In the last years the economic literature has shown a growing interest in the role of culture and institutions. These dimensions are considered as key factors to explain the development of market economies and their variable performances, not only by sociologists but also by economists. However, in the contemporary neo-institutionalism some scholars emphasize the importance of culture, while others point to institutions. The lesson of Max Weber in his study of modern capitalism is still important today because the German sociologist shows that the development of market economy requires a substantial integration of culture and institutions in the theoretical framework. This perspective may help to work out more effective analyses of economic development, as well as more effective - even though more difficult - policies.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Veneruso Danilo**
**Dall'assolutismo regio alla rivoluzione assoluta quale guerra assoluta nel pensiero di Carl Clausewitz**
in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 82, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 165-188

At the wane of warlike Bonapartism in 1814-1815, European intellectuals claim for the peaceful humanitarian Christian religion. On the contrary, Prussian general Carl Clausewitz demands the warlike politics religion. Then Hegel, who supports the peaceful Christian religion, contradicts himself. Consequently he transforms the peaceful "ideal and eternal" religion into the "victory" of warlike politics.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**McConville Chris**

**Dams, Freeways and Aerospace: How Australian Environmentalists responded to Transnationalism and World Heritage, 1964–1984**

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 381-396

Australian environmentalists have confidently staked a claim to leading roles in both activism at a global scale and in bringing transnational ideas to bear, successfully, on local environmental issues. Amongst these successes, World Heritage listing for south-west Tasmania stands out. But failures to comprehend Australia's metropolitan character and slowness in accepting Aboriginal rights to land meant that environmentalists have not made much use of this global recognition. In that light, the heroic self-image of environmental movements, 1964–84, deserves reconsideration. The activities considered here were all, in one way or another, reactions to a rapid industrial modernising of post-war Australia. Iconic events, the formation of the Australian Conservation Foundation, the struggle over south-west Tasmania and Green Bans in Sydney and Melbourne remained local in objectives and ideas. In contrast the anti-Concorde campaign was integrated into a transnational protest movement. Yet it is overlooked in adulatory histories of Australian environmentalism. In reacting to a modernising Australia, environmentalists took up some transnational ideas and responded positively to mediators in their transmission. In the long run, however, a limited acceptance of transnational expertise, especially as regards cultural heritage and urbanism, calls into question the self-ascribed vanguard role of Australian environmental movements.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Inglehart Ronald F, Puranen Bi, Welzel Christian**

**Declining willingness to fight for one’s country: The individual-level basis of the long peace**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 418-434

The Democratic Peace thesis suggests that the absence of war between major powers since 1945 is caused by the spread of democracy. The Capitalist Peace thesis emphasizes trade and the rise of knowledge economies as the forces driving peace. Complementing these interpretations, we present empirical evidence of a cultural change that is making peace more desirable to the publics of most societies around the world. Analyzing public opinion data covering 90% of the world’s population over three decades, we demonstrate that improving existential conditions elevate the life opportunities of growing population segments and lead them to become increasingly tolerant of diversity and place growing emphasis on self-realization. In recognition of life’s rising opportunities, people’s valuation of life changes profoundly: readiness to sacrifice one’s life gives way to an increasing insistence on living it, and living it the way one chooses. Hence, pro-choice values rise at the same time as willingness to sacrifice lives in war dwindles. Historical learning based on the specific experiences of given societies has also changed their publics’ willingness to fight in wars. This transformation of worldviews places interstate peace on an increasingly solid mass basis

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Di Cosmo Valeria, Hyland Marie**

**Decomposing patterns of emission intensity in the EU and China: how much does trade matter?**

in **Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 58, Issue 12, Special section: Exploring the contribution of

landscape management to the rural economy , 2176-2192

We use data from the World Input-Output Database to examine channels through which CO2 emissions are embodied within, and imported into, the European production in 2005 and in 2009. We use an input–output price model to simulate the effect that a rise in the price of emissions trading system (ETS) allowances would have on the final price of goods. We find a reduction in emission intensity, which was greatest in those sectors regulated under ETS. Finally we examine the trade between China and the EU to study possible increases in carbon leakage. Results show that emissions embodied in imported intermediate goods have increased in all sectors.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Bausch Andrew W**
**Democracy, war effort, and the systemic democratic peace**
**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 435-447

This article uses an agent-based model and Selectorate Theory to explore the micro-foundations of the systemic democratic peace. Leaders engage in an international bargaining game that can escalate to conflict. Upon resolving the dispute, leaders distribute winnings to domestic constituencies and stand for reselection. The model's assumptions about selectorate size in a democracy versus an autocracy make democratic leaders more accountable than autocrats and endogenously generates the dyadic democratic peace. The model shows no evidence of an autocratic peace, as mixed dyads are less likely to go to war than autocratic dyads. I further show that democratic leaders invest more resources in wars than predicted by the Nash equilibrium and also more than autocrats. This overinvestment by democratic leaders results in democracies winning more wars than autocrats. This model thus reinforces previous findings that democratic leaders respond to domestic reselection incentives by using more resources in conflict to gain a war-fighting advantage and help ensure victory. Finally, consistent with empirical results, I show that increasing the percentage of democracies in the system does not have a linear effect on the amount of conflict in the system. Below a certain threshold, increasing democracy has no effect on conflict, while after this threshold conflict decreases.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Schadendorf Sarah**
**Die UN-Menschenrechtsverträge im Grundrechtsgefüge der Europäischen Union**
**in Europarecht**, Heft 1, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Petit Olivier, Özkaynak Begüm, Ring Irene**
**Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics – Introduction to the Special Issue**
**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 4, Special Issue: Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics, July-August , 227-229

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Belasen Ariel R., Hafer Rik W., Ategaonkar Shrikant P.**
**Economic Freedom and State Bond Ratings**
**in Contemporary Economic Policy**, Volume 33, Issue 4, October 2015 , 668–677

Are state bond ratings, ceteris paribus, related to economic freedom? We test for the relationship between economic freedom and an aggregate index comprised of ratings by Standard & Poor, Moody's, and Fitch. We also test for a relationship between economic freedom and the ratings by these three agencies individually. With a sample covering all 50 states for the period 1995–2008, the evidence strongly indicates that state bond ratings are positively and significantly related to overall economic freedom as well as three sub-categories of economic freedom. Our results show that the quantitative impact of economic freedom on bond ratings is comparable to the effect of state real income and the unemployment rate.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Peksen Dursun**
**Economic coercion and currency crises in target countries**
**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 448-462

Despite significant research on the efficacy and inadvertent humanitarian and political effects of economic sanctions, surprisingly little is known about the possible economic and financial consequences of sanctions for target economies. Synthesizing insights from the currency crisis literature with sanctions scholarship, we argue that economic sanctions are likely to trigger currency collapses, a major form of financial crisis that impedes economic growth and prosperity. We assert that economic coercion instigates currency crises by weakening the economy and creating political risks conducive to speculative attacks by currency traders. To substantiate the theoretical claims, we use time-series cross-national data for the 1970–2005 period. The results from the data analysis lend support for the hypothesis that sanctions undermine the financial stability of target countries. The findings also indicate that the adverse effect of economic coercion on the financial stability of target economies is likely to be conditioned by the severity of the coercion and the type of actors involved in the implementation of sanctions. The findings of this article add to the sanctions literature demonstrating how economic coercion could be detrimental to the target economy beyond the immediate effect on trade and investment. It also complements and adds to the literature on political economy of currency crises that has so far overlooked the significant role that economic coercion plays in financial crises.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Nuevo Pablo**
**El marco constitutional para el debate territorial y el ejercicio del derecho a decidir en Espana. Una aproximacion jurisprudencial**
**in Studi Parlamentari e di Politica Costituzionale**, 177-178 , 21-32

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Felli Romain**
**Environment, not planning: the neoliberal depoliticisation of environmental policy by means of emissions trading**
**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 5, September , 641-660

The turn to market-based instruments, such as emissions trading, in environmental policy has received considerable attention. Contributing to a critical assessment of these instruments by investigating the political theory of emissions trading, one of their central mechanisms, namely their depoliticising effect, is highlighted by discussing the early contributions of neoliberal thinkers and proponents of market-based instruments (Hayek, Coase, Dales) in environmental governance. These thinkers responded to the growing politicisation of environmental limits to economic growth by devising a mechanism by which the implementation of these limits could be depoliticised. This ensured that the fundamental questions of ‘what is produced, by whom, and for whom’ (Hayek) are not raised politically. Emissions-trading mechanisms are neoliberal, not in the sense that they commodify or privatise nature, but because they entrench the power of investors.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Boström Magnus, Rabe Linn, Rodela Romina**
**Environmental non-governmental organizations and transnational collaboration: The Baltic Sea and Adriatic-Ionian Sea regions**
**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 5, September , 762-787

Previous studies of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGO) have primarily taken place within a nation-state perspective without considering multiple levels of politics and governance. Because environmental problems are usually cross-border phenomena, environmental movements must develop transnational features to play constructive roles in politics and governance. This study contributes to the theorizing and study of transnationalization of ENGOs by illuminating the different regional conditions for this process. The conditions for ENGOs to develop transnational collaboration are explored by comparing ENGOs from six countries in two macro-regions: Sweden, Germany, and Poland in the Baltic Sea region, and Italy, Slovenia, and Croatia in the Adriatic-Ionian Sea region. Grounded in the literatures on social movement theory and ENGO transnationalization, the study identifies how different national, macro-regional, and European institutional structures shape the conditions under which ENGOs develop cross-border collaborations, and demonstrate the importance of long-term and dynamic interplay between processes that occur at the domestic and transnational levels.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Rootes Christopher**
**Exemplars and Influences: Transnational Flows in the Environmental Movement**

**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 414-431

Transnational flows of ideas are examined through consideration of Green parties, Friends of the Earth, and Earth First!, which represent, respectively, the highly institutionalised, the semi-institutionalised and the resolutely non-institutionalised dimensions of environmental activism. The focus is upon English-speaking countries: US, UK and Australia. Particular attention is paid to Australian cases, both as transmitters and recipients of examples. The influence of Australian examples on Europeans has been overstated in the case of Green parties, was negligible in the case of Friends of the Earth, but surprisingly considerable in the case of Earth First!. Non-violent direct action in Australian rainforests influenced Earth First! in both the US and UK. In each case, the flow of influence was mediated by individuals, and outcomes were shaped by the contexts of the recipients.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Nakao Keisuke**

**Expansion of rebellion. From periphery to heartland**

**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 5, September , 591-606

Why do some rebellions expand gradually as rebel groups challenge in sequence, whereas other rebellions explode instantaneously as rebel groups challenge in unison? To address this question, we develop a dynamic and spatial model of rebellion that illustrates patterns of war fought between a hegemon (government) and its challengers (rebel groups). Our model incorporates three features into the standard coordination game: (a) potential rebel groups (players) are uncertain about the government's strength; (b) battle outcomes are unpredictable; (c) these groups can be heterogeneous in terms of resolve and strength. In contrast to what existing theories commonly presume, our theory suggests that the sequence and timing of challenges are determined endogenously, depending on rebel groups' resolve and strength. Through equilibrium analyses, we demonstrate that while simultaneous challenges are likely when rebel groups are relatively homogeneous, sequential challenges may emerge when one group is outstanding in terms of resolve and strength. Once this group rebels, other groups are inclined to 'bandwagon' as battles evolve, because the government is gradually revealed to be weak and because accumulated challenges shift the balance of power away from the government. Our theory also addresses why rebellious movements often spread across the periphery and can eventually reach the heartland as if a siege tightens. With an eye to historical incidents, we delineate four patterns of rebellion: (i) snowballing rebellion, which gradually escalates as more challengers are drawn in (Napoleonic Wars); (ii) catalytic rebellion, in which an instigator provokes a galvanizing event to inspire others to challenge the government (Boshin War); (iii) partially coordinated rebellion, which is initiated by a subset of ex post rebel groups (American Civil War, Yugoslav Wars); (iv) fully coordinated rebellion, in which all the rebel groups challenge collectively (American Revolution, Glorious Revolution).

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gârleanu Nicolae, Stavros Panageas, Jianfeng Yu**

**Financial Entanglement: A Theory of Incomplete Integration, Leverage, Crashes, and Contagion**

**in American Economic Review**, Vol. 105 No. 7 July 2015 , 1979-2010

We propose a unified model of limited market integration, asset-price determination, leveraging, and contagion. Investors and firms are located on a circle, and access to markets involves participation costs that increase with distance. Due to a complementarity between participation and leverage decisions, the equilibrium may exhibit diverse leverage and participation choices across investors, although investors are ex ante identical. Small changes in market-access costs can cause a change in the type of equilibrium, leading to discontinuous price changes, deleveraging, and portfolio-flow reversals. Moreover, the market is subject to contagion—an adverse shock to investors in some locations affects prices everywhere.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Haklaia Oded**
**From Independent Statehood to Minority Rights: The Evolution of National Self-determination as an International Order Principle in the Post-State Formation Era**
in **Ethnopolitics**, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 461-469

The principle of self-determination has evolved considerably over the past century. Whereas in the twentieth century, it provided the premise for independent statehood, in the twenty-first century, the focus has shifted to minority rights within existing states. This article traces and explains the reasons for this evolution.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Howard Tanya**
**From international principles to local practices: a socio-legal framing of public participation research**
in **Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 17, Issue 4, August , 747-763

Natural resource management (NRM) is a complex public policy field, which challenges conventional governance structures. Increasing the role of community in the protection, restoration and management of natural resources is a stated priority of ecologically sustainable development (ESD) principles. Despite a proliferation of legal requirements for public participation and non-legal guidelines that promote community access to environmental decision-making at both the international and national scale, implementation is often unsatisfactory and difficult to evaluate. There is a need to develop methodologies that can improve the design, implementation and evaluation of community engagement. Australia is a member of the United Nations and has participated in the development of international principles for public participation, most notably agreeing to the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. The terminology of ESD appears in much environmental legislation developed at the national and intra-national level. This paper examines the role of international legal and non-legal frameworks in driving national reform. This paper suggests that existing international frameworks can connect social norms of public participation with legal norms of procedural justice to provide a pathway for improving governance in this complex area. The need to develop robust socio-legal methodologies that can assess implementation of ESD principles provides the impetus for this paper. A possible methodology is outlined, and early empirical results described.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Martin Esther**

**From the Declaration of sovereignty and the Catalan people's right to decide to the partecipatory process of November, 9. A normative analysis**

in **Studi Parlamentari e di Politica Costituzionale**, 177-178 , 33-52

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lifschitz Avi**

**Genesis for Historians: Thomas Abbt on Biblical and Conjectural Accounts of Human Nature**

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 605-618

Natural sociability and the basic features of human nature stood at the centre of Thomas Abbt's confrontation with conjectural history, the popular eighteenth-century mode of reconstructing the evolution of human culture. Abbt (1738–1766) criticised conjectural histories due to their arbitrary character, and opted for a synthetic approach consisting of both sacred and secular history. He suggested that the anthropology of Genesis should be accepted as the starting point for a conjectural history, since it left ample room for further questions and speculations. Yet his own perspective on human nature and its evolution remained naturalistic, as attested by his divergent interpretations of the confusion of tongues at Babel. Attempting to shed new light on the lesser-known elements of Abbt's work, the essay links his views on the Bible and conjectural history to his debate with Moses Mendelssohn over the constitution and destination of man. In this debate, both Mendelssohn and Abbt dealt with the contemporary controversy over the natural or artificial character of sociability, self-interest, and fellow-feeling.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Westle Bettina**

**German Views of the Political System**

in **German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 317-353

The article analyses Germans' views of democracy in a longitudinal perspective, especially since unification. It is shown that most Germans in both parts of the country strongly support the idea of democracy although many are at the same time dissatisfied with its practice. This dissatisfaction rests on different motives, ranging from high normative democratic ideals over differences between the normative concept of democracy and the implemented one, including misconceptions of what democracy should or can be to anti-democratic attitudes. At present, Germany faces all these motives of dissatisfaction with democracy, yet in different strata and parts of the society. On the one hand, support for democracy suffers somewhat from declining interest in politics in general, which makes citizens unrealistic about political possibilities and their limits. On the other hand, feelings of economic deprivation, especially in the eastern part, still motivate sceptical views on the western kind of democracy and even in smaller parts of the public an alienation from the democratic credo. Growing inequalities throughout the whole of Germany, especially growing poverty in the lowest social strata, will cause additional systems stress, if it is not moderated by the social welfare system. Thus, the country needs more education in democratic politics for the citizens and more responsive politics on the side of the politicians including more open political structures for citizens' demands and participation

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Palea Roberto**
**Global Warming: with a View to the 2015 UN World Conference in Paris**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

A worrying record was set in 2013. According to the UN World Meteorological Organization, in 2013 the levels of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere reached a very high peak. These are only the latest data, which add to the critical scenario described by the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), the UN body on global warming consisting of approximately 2,000 scientists from 160 countries around the world. In its increasingly alarmed periodic reports, the IPCC continues to warn us that global warming, resulting from mankind's higher and higher consumption of fossil fuels and increasing CO2 and other greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere, is likely to exceed the "threshold of irreversibility" within ten year, (which is marked by the increase in global average temperature by 2°C this century) if strong and rapid action is not taken at the global level, and it will put on risk the very survival of the human species. ...

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Khadigala Gilbert M.**
**Global and Regional Mechanisms for Governing the Resource Curse in Africa**
**in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies** , vol. 41, n. 1 , 23-43

ABSTRACT: International norms around natural resource governance have proliferated in the face of civil wars and feeble state institutions in Africa. These norms have been captured in institutions such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS), and the African Mining Vision (AMV). But have these institutions reversed the purported resource curse? This article seeks answers to this key question by challenging the assumptions around the prevailing international regimes of restraint which have privileged transparency and accountability at the expense of participation. Through an analysis of the experiences of these institutions, I suggest that there should be more focus on alternative regimes of responsibility in which natural resource-rich countries combine the process of building institutions of participation with those of transparency and accountability.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Burawoy Michael**
**Global und lokal: Warum betreiben wir öffentliche Soziologie?**
**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2015 , 91-102

Kritische, intervenierende Soziologie tut not! Vor 50 Jahren wurde dies zum Common Sense der Soziologie als aufstrebender Leitwissenschaft (vgl. dazu den Beitrag von Wolfgang Streeck, Von der Gesellschaftssteuerung zur sozialen Kontrolle. Rückblick auf ein halbes Jahrhundert Soziologie in Theorie und Praxis, in »Blätter«, 1/2015, Seite

63-80). In Frankreich erreichte diese Tradition ihren Höhepunkt mit Pierre Bourdieu (siehe ders., Der Triumph des Neoliberalismus.) Eine Utopie grenzenloser Ausbeutung wird Realität, in: »Blätter«, 8/2015, S.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**DiGiuseppe Matthew**
**Guns, butter, and debt. Sovereign creditworthiness and military expenditure**
**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 5, September , 680-693

I argue that favorable access to sovereign credit provides governments with greater autonomy to invest in security by allowing political incumbents to relax fixed-budget constraints. Borrowing permits leaders to delay and minimize the macroeconomic and redistributive costs associated with domestic sources of finance. Consequently, leaders of creditworthy states face fewer political costs when increasing military expenditure in response to growing demand or maintaining military expenditure when government revenues fall. A cross-sectional time-series analysis supports two observable implications of the argument. First, creditworthiness is positively associated with military spending with an effect on par with regime type. Second, creditworthiness conditions the effect of external threats on military expenditure, suggesting that poor credit terms constrain the provision of security.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Saito Hiro**
**Historians as rooted cosmopolitans: their potentials and limitations**
**in Global Networks**, vol. 15, issue 2, april , 161-179

ABSTRACT: In the 1990s, the so-called ‘history problem’ began to escalate in East Asia as the result of mutually reinforcing nationalist commemorations in Japan, South Korea and China. In response, historians from the three countries organized joint historical research and textbook projects. In this article, I examine the extent to which these joint projects succeeded in promoting the cosmopolitan logic of historiography that challenged nationalist commemorations. Specifically, I compare governmental and non-governmental projects and illustrate structural and dispositional mechanisms that facilitated the cosmopolitan logic of historiography. However, at the same time, I show that the joint projects have had only a limited impact on official and public commemorations because of the absence of any formal institutional links between historians' activities, governments and the public. Thus, while historians have the potential to act as rooted cosmopolitans and to mobilize transnational epistemic networks in East Asia, they have been unable effectively to counteract nationalist commemorations.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Booth Walling Carrie**
**Human Rights Norms, State Sovereignty, and Humanitarian Intervention**
**in Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 37, number 2, may , 383-413

ABSTRACT: Though increasingly legitimate, humanitarian intervention by the United Nations Security Council is

selective and rare. This article illustrates how the increasing legitimacy of human rights norms is changing the meaning of state sovereignty and the purpose of military force at the United Nations. By examining Security Council discourse during debates about Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Darfur, and Libya, the article delineates the conditions under which discourse creates new opportunities for the Security Council to authorize, engage in, and support humanitarian intervention.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Antonsich Marco, Matejskova Tatiana**
**Immigration societies and the question of 'the national'**
in **Ethnicities**, Vol. 15, n. 4 , 495-508

The aim of the present article is to offer a reasoned argument for putting the 'national' back into migration studies. Scholars engaging with ethno-cultural and religious diversity have often tended to move beyond the nation-state, often treated as a site of oppression and discrimination. Urban, transnational or cosmopolitan registers have instead been put forward, often celebrated for their more progressive attitudes towards diversity. In this article, we review these claims and we also attend to the rich scholarship which, from a political philosophical perspective, has instead argued for the continuing relevance of a national 'we' in civic, liberal and multicultural terms. We discuss the missing points in both these strands of literature, making the case for the study of the 'national' as both a spatial register and a discursive resource beyond a mono-culturally tinted and essentializing idea of nation. We then conclude with a research agenda which can illuminate the ways through which the 'national' remains central in the shaping of contemporary diverse societies.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Cesarano Filippo**
**Indian Currency and Finance: John Maynard Keynes's Prismatic View of the International Monetary System**
in **History of Political Economy**, Volume 47, Number 2, June 2015 , 241-269

John Maynard Keynes put forward a number of proposals to reshape the international monetary system. Although variegated, they do have one characteristic in common—the rejection of freely flexible exchange rates—which, in a sense, is like a prism refracting the different shades of his many reform plans. This is somewhat puzzling insofar as it clashes with Keynes's call for activist monetary policy. Indian Currency and Finance sheds light on the origins and arguments underlying this peculiar feature and is accordingly most significant in the development of Keynes's work on the international monetary system.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Pula Besnik**
**Institutionalizing a Weak State: Law and Jurisdictional Conflict between Bureaucratic and Communal Institutions in the Albanian Highlands**
in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 57, Issue 3, July , 637-664

Why do some states fail to establish the capacity of legal regulation among significant sections of their population, and instead allow alternative norms of social order to take the place of those promoted by the state? Existing models of state building in the sociological literature treat the building of modern bureaucratic authority as a political process in which weak state authority results from a state's inability to defeat rival bases of power. On the other hand, neo-institutionalist theory highlights the significant effects that institutional environments have on organization building, but its elaborations of state building have mainly emphasized processes of the diffusion of world society models as central to the making of the modern nation-state. Both models fail to explain how limitations in new states' capacities to govern populations emerge in cases when states fulfill conditions specified by each model. I use the case of state building in the Albanian highlands to show that jurisdictional struggles and resistance that emerge out of distinct cultures of legality are key to understanding why organizationally capable states may fail to establish durable mechanisms of governance among marginal social groups

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Hughes Llewelyn, Urpelainen Johannes**
**Interests, institutions, and climate policy: Explaining the choice of policy instruments for the energy sector**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 52-63

What explains variation in the energy-related climate policies that nations implement? In this paper we present a theory of energy-related climate policy in democratic countries, emphasizing the distributional effects of policies on important energy-related industries, public sentiment, and the institutional capacity of governments, in determining energy-related climate policies implemented cross-nationally. As to the form of the policy, we expect the government to favor regulatory instruments over fiscal policies (taxes, subsidies) when it has enough institutional capacity in the relevant public agencies. For empirical evidence, we analyze national climate policies in four industrialized democracies: Australia, Germany, Japan, and the United States.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Diamantoudi Effrosyni, Sartzetakis Eftichios S.**
**International environmental agreements: coordinated action under foresight**
**in Economic Theory**, Volume 59, Issue 3, August 2015 , 527-546

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Piirimäe Eva, Schmidt Alexander**
**Introduction: Between Morality and Anthropology—Sociability in Enlightenment Thought**
**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 571-588

This introductory article sketches out the evolution of the concept of sociability in moral and political debates from Grotius to the German Romantics, so as to elucidate the range and scope of the contributions to this special issue. The

article argues that the concept of sociability serves as a bridge between moral theory, domestic politics and international relations, just as it also connects the jurisprudential mode of enquiry to subsequent Enlightenment enquiries into political economy, aesthetics, individual and collective moral psychology, forms of government and philosophical history. Particular attention is paid to sociability's relationship to moral scepticism, and to its position between morality and anthropology. The article highlights the central role of Rousseau in radically reformulating the debate and in sparking new controversies up to the nineteenth century.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Rohrschneider Robert**
**Is There a Regional Cleavage in Germany's Party System? Unequal Representation and Ideological Congruence in Germany 1980–2013**
**in German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 354-376

Despite a growing convergence in the attitudes and behaviours of voters in the unified Germany, research shows that eastern and western German voters continue to differ over general ideological issues. How well does the party system in the unified Germany represent this ideological diversity? To answer this question, this paper analyses the extent to which (1) parties-in-electorates, (2) parties-in-parliament and (3) parties-in-government agree ideologically with voters from both regions between 1980 and 2013. Hypothetically, a lop-sided representation pattern, where the ideological location of parties converges primarily with those of western voters, suggests that existing ideological differences become institutionalised. Contrary to this scenario, we find that the German party system effectively articulates the ideological preferences of western and eastern voters. The same applies to parliaments and governments where the election outcome rather than any institutional bias affects the distance of parties to voters in the East and the West.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Steurer Reinhard, Clar Christoph**
**Is decentralisation always good for climate change mitigation? How federalism has complicated the greening of building policies in Austria**
**in Policy Sciences**, vol. 48, issue 1, march , 85-107

ABSTRACT: This paper addresses two related puzzles. The first puzzle is that parts of the environmental federalism literature suggest that federal states are ill-equipped to solve nation-wide or global environmental problems such as climate change, but climate policy scholars usually emphasise the opposite. The second puzzle is that Austria (a federal EU Member State) is regularly praised as an environmental policy leader but has missed its Kyoto target by about 19 %. The paper addresses both puzzles by analysing to what degree federalism is responsible for Austria’s poor mitigation performance. Since the nine Austrian provinces are mainly responsible for regulating the building sector that accounts for about 25 % of total energy consumption and 13 % of the greenhouse gas emissions, the analysis focuses on the integration of climate change mitigation in building policies. The empirical core of the paper analyses all major EU, federal and provincial policies that aimed to green the building sector since the signing of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. After showing that these policy outputs cannot explain considerable sectoral emission reductions, we conclude that Austrian federalism did not facilitate but hinder climate change mitigation because it added a vertical dimension to an already complex horizontal integration challenge. However, since federalism can by far not explain Austria’s failure to

reach its Kyoto target domestically, we also conclude that it is only one of many independent variables that shape climate change mitigation. Finally, we argue that Austria is neither an environmental policy leader nor a laggard, but an opportunist.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Gillian Gregory* & Ismael Vaccaro**
**Islands of Governmentality: Rainforest Conservation, Indigenous Rights, and the Territorial Reconfiguration of Guyanese Sovereignty**
**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 3, Issue 3 , 344-363

Contemporary scholarship increasingly emphasizes that modern state sovereignty does not depend on the control of a strictly bounded and uniformly governed territory. Rather, authority now stems from a variety of different actors, within and external to states, who enact shared forms of power over different areas of national territory for different objectives. In Guyana, contemporary expressions of neoliberal governmentality, environmental conservation and the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, have recently emerged as alternative forms of territorial authority in the country's interior rainforest—an area that has historically posed challenges to steady state control. We outline the history and configuration of these territorial 'islands', demonstrating the ways in which their diverse sources of authority articulate and overlap with—and often contradict—each other, thereby emphasizing that these processes are intrinsic to the very constitution, expansion, and legitimacy of modern state power. This paper contributes to understandings of the territorial reconfiguration of sovereignty in English-speaking South America.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Dieckhoff Alain**
**Israël : une société multiculturelle sans multiculturalisme**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Schiff Berman Paul**
**Jurisgenerative Constitutionalism: Procedural Principles for Managing Global Legal Pluralism**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 20, issue 2 , 665-695

ABSTRACT: Global Legal Pluralism recognizes the inevitability (and sometimes even the desirability) of multiple legal and quasi-legal systems purporting to regulate the same act or actor. However, the resulting pluralism—just as inevitably—creates conflicts among norms that are potentially intractable. Thus, legal systems must address how best to respond to the realities of pluralism. This inquiry has constitutional dimensions because it goes to the constitutive character of communities and their relationships with other communities, be they international, transnational, national, subnational, or epistemic.

One response to pluralism is jurispathic: “kill off” all competing laws by declaring that one set of norms—and only one—shall win. This is a constitutional declaration founded solely on power or messianism, and I argue that it is both unsatisfying as a normative matter and doomed to failure as a descriptive one.

Instead, this article offers principles that would undergird a more jurisgenerative constitutionalism, one that seeks to manage, without eliminating, the plural voices clamoring to be heard. These principles can be used to design procedural mechanisms, institutions, and discursive practices that better respond to the reality of a world of multiple competing voices. In addition, such principles may bring more such voices into the constitutional discourse, thereby creating at least the possibility that enemies can be turned into adversaries, resulting in more fruitful (and peaceful) constitutional interactions.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Ebert Theodor**
**La difesa civile come mezzo della politica di difesa**
**in Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 27, Theodor Ebert - Il potere dal basso con l'azione nonviolenta , 55-62

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Castellà Andreu Josep Maria**
**La secessione catalana tra politica  e diritto**
**in Studi Parlamentari e di Politica Costituzionale**, 177-178 , 7-20

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Bock-Côté Mathieu**
**Le multiculturalisme comme religion politique**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Sheng Hua-Xia, Ricci Paolo F., Fang Qinhua**
**Legally binding precautionary and prevention principles: Aspects of epistemic uncertain causation**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 185-198

Legally binding precautionary principles direct societal actions through regulatory laws to prevent future catastrophic or irreversible consequences that can result from human and natural hazards. Those principles connect uncertain cause and effect to public actions and hence must be transparent, scientifically sound and, on the average, demonstrably add to societal wellbeing. Focusing on legally binding forms of precaution and prevention concerning public choices, seen as prospects, we articulate how uncertainty affects causal analyses that must satisfy their legal requirements. The common measure of uncertainty is probability, explicitly used (and framed in various guises) by the three legal systems we study: the People's Republic of China, the European Union, and the United States. Probabilities can represent different forms of uncertainty, their technical differences, but use the same calculus. They occur at the intersection of legal and scientific causation and allow abstracting, from a prospective reality via models and simulations, future catastrophic or irreversible consequences. Probabilistic causal models—e.g., frailty models, power laws, self-organizing criticalities, and scale-free regularities – link environmental and other regulatory choices to reduce exposures likely to cause adverse responses. Thus, this type of causation is the scientific basis of the EU's Precautionary Principle, its Directives and Regulations; US federal regulatory and case law, and Chinese laws regarding the prevention of hazards. We use examples that clarify and guide public policy analysts to better formalize prospective public choices to avoid ambiguities or possibly incorrect results. We find that the scientific basis necessary to the analysis of precautionary and preventive choices is invariant to the jurisdictions that use it. We conclude that precautionary choices characterized by complex causation can be qualitatively assessed through adapting nine classic epidemiological criteria.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Frijhoff Willem**
**Les Pays-Bas entre le « drame multiculturel » et l'identité multicolore**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Wiener Antje, Liste Philip**
**Lost Without Translation?: Cross-Referencing and a New Global Community of Courts**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 21, issue 1 , 263-296

ABSTRACT: Anne-Marie Slaughter has described the "new world order" as characterized by some "conceptual shifts," including an increasing cooperation of domestic courts across nation-state boundaries. The cross-jurisdictional referencing of legal norms and decisions, as Slaughter holds, would lead into a "global community of courts." This article takes issue with that observation. We argue that for such a community to emerge, cross-referencing would need to be followed by an effective transmission of meaning from one (legal) context to another. Following recent insights in the field of International Relations norm research, however, we can expect such meanings to be contested—in particular, when different cultural repertoires operate on either side of the interactive processes. Therefore, a need for translation ensues (i.e., a translation of constitutional norms or concepts from one legal order into another). The conditions of a "global community of courts" are thus not easily met. In this respect, the aim of the article is to put Slaughter's thesis to an empirical test. To extrapolate the "normative structures of meaning-in-use" the article builds on the analysis of semi-structured interviews with legal practitioners who were involved in the jurisprudence on anti-terrorism measures in

two countries, Canada and Germany. During this empirical work, we found a “global community of courts” not yet emerged. Although the concept of community does matter as an explanatory reference for research on legal cross-referencing across national borders, our research suggests that practice of cross-referencing is still more “culturally” fragmented than unified, and normative references are more regionally diverse than globally shared. Moreover, the normative context within which referencing takes place remains strong, so that the meaning of “foreign” concepts is often constructed by means of contestation rather than transferred from one contest into another.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Barnes Clare, van Laerhoven Frank**
**Making it last? Analysing the role of NGO interventions in the development of institutions for durable collective action in Indian community forestry**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 53, Part B, Crafting or designing? Science and politics for purposeful institutional change in Social-Ecological Systems, November , 192-205

Commons scholarship seems preoccupied with self-governance. It focuses on showing that common pool resource (CPR) appropriators do not always need outsider-assistance in order to stay clear of the tragedy of the commons. However, at the same time we observe the presence of a large number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that consider community organisation – i.e. the organisation of collective action in community institutions – their core business. In this research we firstly develop and apply a framework to analyse the activities of 20 NGOs in India and compare these to indicators for collective action in a community-led CPR governance context, derived from the commons literature. Secondly, we assess variation in NGOs’ approaches to institutional change, by developing and applying a typology that distinguishes between (i) perspectives that see institutional change as predominantly determined by structure (institutional design) or agency (institutional crafting), respectively, and between (ii) perspectives that perceive institutions as either subjective or objective to the institutional change agent, respectively. Our results show that NGOs do not get involved in activities aimed at influencing functioning collective action such as crafting or designing rules. They do involve themselves in activities aimed at strengthening durable collective action such as forest management trainings. Furthermore, all NGOs show a predominantly subjective approach to institutional change. Their long-term focus puts the communities themselves firmly in the institutional change agent position. The results along the design–crafting dimension show more diversity and dynamicity. Eight NGOs in our sample take a strong institutional crafting approach to their work, whereas only three focus predominantly on institutional design and nine show elements of both crafting and designing. The majority of the NGOs highlighted how their approach can change depending on the stage in the intervention. Our results highlight the dynamic and diverse institutional settings the NGOs operate in which both moderates their approach to institutional change and determines their choice of specific activities.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Salvati, Michele**
**Max Weber: capitalismo, liberalismo, democrazia**
**in Stato e mercato**, numero 2 , 229-262

The article tries to answer an apparently simple question: why such a giant - Max Weber - in the fields of studies relating to capitalism and democracy is rarely mentioned in the recent literature on the conflict between capitalism and

democracy, a literature on which his fellow giants - Marx and Polany - are towering? In order to answer such a question, a short historical review of the two post WW2 phases of capitalist development is provided: in the first one, the so-called Golden Age, such a contradiction was not prominent, whereas it came back in force in the second, neoliberal phase, in which we still live. Those who are trying to explain this change are very often referring to the analyses of Marx or Polanyi: why not to Weber, to my view the greatest student, among the classics, of both capitalism and democracy? This question is tackled in the second part of the paper, through an analysis of the theories of our three «giants», the upshot of which is that there are good reasons why Weber is rarely mentioned. Reasons having both to do with Weber's political outlook - his concern with power politics - and with the role of the welfare of the majority of citizens in making a mass democracy viable.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Schlipphak Bernd**
**Measuring attitudes toward regional organizations outside Europe**
**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 10, n. 3, september , 351-375

ABSTRACT: What shapes public attitudes toward regional organizations (ROs)? Although a number of articles have focused on the causes, design, and effectiveness of ROs in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, research so far has neglected to study the factors influencing public opinion regarding these bodies. This exploratory article argues that public attitudes toward organizations in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America are shaped by citizens' fundamental economic and ideational perceptions and by their trust in domestic actors. These hypotheses are tested by employing data from the Afrobarometer and Latinobarometro surveys. The findings lend more credibility to the assumption that citizens outside Europe use heuristics instead of utilitarian cost-benefit analyses when asked for their attitudes toward regional integration and its organizations.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Spinelli Barbara**
**Migration: Why Do We Need the UN**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

Seven hundred people died in the Mediterranean in the night between Saturday, April 18 and Sunday, April 19, 60 miles off the Libyan coast. It is the worst massacre at sea since World War II. Listing the numbers from the last few weeks and the constantly growing percentages is, at this point, useless: there is always a point where numbers blind long term vision, highlights and, at the same time, erase people. Lists and calculations are useless, now, unless we urge a response from those politically responsible for this drama: the European Commission, the States of the Union, the UN High Commission.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Amit Vered, Barber Gardiner Pauline**
**Mobility and cosmopolitanism: complicating the interaction between aspiration and practice**

**in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 22, Issue 5, 2015 , 543-550

Within the interdisciplinary literature on cosmopolitanism, one particularly important distinction stands out as a recurring motif. Specifically, scholars have been concerned to distinguish between cosmopolitanism as a set of mundane practices and/or competences on the one hand and cosmopolitanism as a cultivated form of consciousness or moral aspiration on the other. For anthropologists, this distinction between aspiration and practice is often rendered ambiguous across the diverse expressions of cosmopolitanism that they encounter 'on the ground'. This special issue therefore brings together five contributions from anthropologists who are reporting on encounters and aspirations that reveal different forms of spatial mobility, scales of commitment or risk, and are often transient, ambivalent and precarious. These are circumstances in which cosmopolitanism emerges as uneven and partial rather than as a comprehensive or unequivocal transformation of practice and outlook.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Popa Florin**
**Motivations to Contribute to Public Goods: Beyond rational choice economics**
**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 4, Special Issue: Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics, July-August , 230-242

The dominant understanding of how motivations to contribute to public goods are generated and sustained is largely shaped by the combined action of rational choice theory and neoclassical economics. This understanding relies on three key assumptions: individualism, instrumentalism and market equilibration. This paper questions the theoretical consistency and empirical relevance of these assumptions and of their associated policy model. I argue that a significant revision of this motivational theory is needed, one that takes into account intrinsic incentives, trust and strong reciprocity, as well as the effect of social and institutional context, monetization and market interactions on the propensity to contribute to public goods. The paper concludes by outlining the implications of this theoretical reconsideration for the organization of scientific research and for more effective policy-making to sustain public goods provision.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Rocher François**
**Multi- et interculturalisme. Les cas canadien et québécois**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Eichengreen Barry, Mehl Arnaud, Chitu Livia, Richardson Gary**
**Mutual Assistance between Federal Reserve Banks: 1913–1960 as Prolegomena to the TARGET2 Debate**
**in Journal of Economic History (The)**, Volume 75 - Issue 03 - settembre 2015 , 621-659

This article reconstructs the history of mutual assistance among Federal Reserve Banks. We present data on accommodation operations through which Reserve Banks mutualized gold reserves in emergency situations between 1913 and 1960. Reserve sharing was important in response to liquidity crises and bank runs. Such cooperation was essential for the cohesion of the U.S. monetary union. But fortunes could change, with emergency recipients of gold becoming providers. Because imbalances did not endlessly grow, instead narrowing when region-specific shocks subsided, mutual assistance created only limited tensions. These findings speak to the current debate over TARGET2 balances in Europe.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Høigilt Jacob**

**Nonviolent mobilization between a rock and a hard place. Popular resistance and double repression in the West Bank**

**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 5, September , 636-648

Recent research on contentious politics in the Middle East emphasizes the importance of repression and its effect on social movements, often manifested in demobilization and so-called ‘nonmovements’. This case study of West Bank Palestinian activism seeks to go beyond such outcomes. The current, youthful nonviolent Palestinian grassroots activism in the West Bank is persistent, despite repeated violent repression. Focusing on the interplay between context, practices, and networks, this article shows how an increasingly vocal and visible popular resistance movement has asserted itself despite facing double repression – from the occupying Israeli state and the Palestinian National Authority. In a highly repressive context characterized by widespread demobilization, especially among young people, the impetus for mobilization is not perceived opportunity, but rather existential threats. The analysis focuses on how long-term repression from the external occupier and the internal elite contributes to forming specific kinds of contentious practices and networks among young Palestinian grassroots activists. By deploying new and creative contentious tactics they partly succeed in challenging the Israeli occupation without risking sanctions from the internal Palestinian elite. They are also able to criticize this elite implicitly, bringing popular pressure to bear on it. However, while the strategic use of nonviolence has provided these activist environments with a degree of resilience in the face of repression, they are unable to mobilize on a wide scale as long as the Palestinian political elite does not support them.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lee Terence, McGahan Kevin**

**Norm subsidiarity and institutional cooperation: explaining the straits of Malacca anti-piracy regime**

**in Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 28, Issue 4, 2015 , 529-552

Given competing interests among the three littoral states of Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, what explains the nature and timing of their cooperative arrangement in combating maritime piracy in the Straits of Malacca in the post-2004 period? This observation is especially puzzling because the material and strategic interests of these actors generally did not change during the time period that witnessed increased cooperation. We argue that key developments of the anti-piracy regime in the Straits of Malacca cannot be fully explained by rationalist approaches, which traditionally stresses material and national interests of states. By critically engaging constructivist approaches, this paper posits that

Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia engaged in a process of norm subsidiarity. Through norm subsidiarity, relatively weak states get together to develop their own rules to prevent their exclusion or marginalization from institutions of global governance by more powerful actors. The littoral states engaged norm subsidiarity to resist extra-regional attempts to manage piracy in the Straits of Malacca. These extra-regional security proposals triggered a powerful regional cognitive prior, providing the impetus for an indigenous response, leading consequently to a collective cooperative effort to deal with the threat of piracy.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Jones Calvin**
**On Capital, Space and the World System: A Response to Ron Martin**
**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 3, Issue 3 , 273-293

In his opening plenary address at the 2014 Regional Studies Winter Conference, Professor Ron Martin observed that there is a distinct growing apart of Northern and Southern UK cities and regions in terms of output, productivity and growth. Further, that regional science has been unable to fully explain this divergence through the development of holistic theories of sub-national economic development that are more nuanced and realistic than highly abstract New Economic Geography and Urban Economic approaches. This paper responds to Professor Martin's challenge in outlining an approach to sub-national development that re-thinks the relationship between capital and space from the ground up, and develops further his intuition that political factors are an important but underplayed element in uneven spatial development. The world systems approach, which seeks to explain under-development by describing hegemonic structures across international and multi-ethnic space, is revisited and revised in an attempt to shed light on uneven regional development in the UK and elsewhere.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Ruiz-Mallén Isabel, Corbera Esteve, Calvo-Boyero Diana, Reyes-García Victoria**
**Participatory scenarios to explore local adaptation to global change in biosphere reserves: Experiences from Bolivia and Mexico**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 54, December , 398-408

In an era of anthropogenic stress on ecological systems at multiple scales, involving rural people in planning for adaptation to social-ecological changes is crucial to strengthen local efforts in dealing with uncertainty. In protected areas, this enquiry is even more relevant since conservation regulations can impinge negatively on people's ability to adapt. In this paper, we use participatory scenarios to explore the desired adaptation options of four rural communities located in two biosphere reserves in Bolivia and Mexico. We collaboratively design four plausible scenarios in each country that encompass distinct climatic, policy, and socio-economic horizons up to 2030. In Bolivia, the scenarios consider colonisation and infrastructure development as key drivers of social-ecological change, whereas in Mexico drivers include rainfall variability and conservation regulations. We discuss these scenarios at community level and highlight that winners and losers of such scenarios are significantly determined by people's ability to access land and natural resources. Communities' preferred policies and strategies for their future adaptation remain limited, thus revealing a context of restricted opportunities in both biosphere reserves. We conclude with policy recommendations to

support local livelihoods in the studied protected areas and beyond.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Lang Corey, Pearson-Merkowitz Shanna**
**Partisan sorting in the United States, 1972–2012: New evidence from a dynamic analysis**
in **Political Geography**, Volume 48, September , 119-129

Whether Americans have “sorted” into politically like-minded counties and to what extent is hotly debated by academic and journalists. This paper examines whether or not geographic sorting has occurred and why it has occurred using a novel, dynamic analysis. Our findings indicate that geographic sorting is on the rise, but that it is a very recent phenomenon. In the 1970s and 1980s, counties tended to become more competitive, but by 1996 a pattern of partisan sorting had emerged and continued through the present. Results suggest this pattern is driven by Southern re-alignment and voting behavior in partisan stronghold counties. Lastly, we find evidence that migration can drive partisan sorting, but only accounts for a small portion of the change.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Moser Ladina, Sager Fritz**
**Pfadabhängigkeit in der Mehrebenensteuerung: Das Beispiel Palliative Care**
in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 21, Issue 3, September 2015 , 437–459

Abstract

Wir argumentieren, dass das Pfadabhängigkeitskonzept des historischen Institutionalismus ein geeigneter Ansatz zur Integration des Top-down- und des Bottom-up-Ansatzes der Mehrebenenvollzugsforschung darstellt. Unser Testfall ist die Umsetzung der Nationalen Strategie Palliative Care in den Kantonen. Mittels deskriptiver quantitativer Nachzeichnung und dreier Fallstudien wird die Pfadabhängigkeitshypothese untersucht, dass sich die Palliativversorgung in den Kantonen entlang von Pfaden entwickelt, die durch spezialisierte stationäre Einrichtungen vorgegeben werden, und dass es dem Bund kaum gelingt, diese anhand der Nationalen Strategie Palliative Care zu durchbrechen. Die Empirie bestätigt die Annahme des historischen Institutionalismus, dass positive Rückkopplungen zu Pfadabhängigkeiten führen und dadurch eine Anpassung der Institutionen an die sich wandelnde Umwelt erschwert wird, wobei sich in den Fallstudien unterschiedliche Formen positiver Rückkoppelung mit unterschiedlichen Wirkmechanismen äussern. Spezialisierte stationäre Einrichtungen können als jene Institutionen gewertet werden, die die Entwicklungspfade der Palliative Care und somit das Versorgungsarrangement in den Kantonen prägen. In Bezug auf den Einfluss des Bundes hingegen lässt sich kein allgemeingültiges Fazit ziehen. Vielmehr zeigen die Fallstudien die unterschiedliche Bedeutung kantonaler Pfade, die durch die drei Formen positiver Rückkoppelung theoretisiert werden können.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Piirimäe Eva**

**Philosophy, Sociability and Modern Patriotism: Young Herder between Rousseau and Abbt**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 640-661

In his early years Herder is known to have been a follower of Rousseau (via Kant). This article argues that there was indeed a substantial overlap between Herder's and Rousseau's ideas in Herder's early writings, particularly in terms of their joint critique of abstract philosophy and their understanding of the sentimental foundations of morality, as well as their commitment to the ideals of human moral independence and political freedom. Yet Herder's admiration for Rousseau's moral philosophy did not lead him to adopt Rousseau's critique of sociability even in this early period, and there was in fact a deep divergence between their political views. Herder attempted to combine a Rousseauian cultural critique, 'human' moral philosophy and philosophy of education with ideas inspired by Thomas Abbt's theory of monarchical patriotism. In contrast to Rousseau, and following Abbt, Herder posited the existence of natural patriotic feelings and underlined their importance in guaranteeing good government and political freedom. Thus, Herder could have a relatively optimistic view of the role of 'human philosophy' in regenerating patriotism in a modern setting. Herder embraced Abbt's emphasis on the positive aspects of modern monarchies and 'modern liberty' when compared to ancient republics, highlighting the compatibility of Christianity, international commerce and religious tolerance, and the general possibility of developing one's natural inclinations in modern monarchies.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Campbell Ross**

**Political Culture and the Legacy of Socialism in Unified Germany**

**in German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 271-291

Almost a quarter of a century after German unification, studies continue to uncover pervasive attachments to socialism in the former East. While these attachments have been a recurrent feature in analyses of political culture, surprisingly little is known about their sources. This article systematically explores the socio-political foundations of socialist values, by subjecting two theoretical perspectives to empirical testing. Political socialisation perspectives attribute these values to generationally based political identities that were forged in the pre-1989 era. Political economy perspectives, by contrast, stress how they have been reinforced by negative post-1989 evaluations of politics and materialism. Logistic regression analyses of ALLBUS data from 1991 to 2010 test nine hypotheses at the individual level, with the results confirming the following. First, there is evidence of an age-based structure to the foundations of socialist values: younger easterners are less likely to value socialism, but the evidence of this has emerged only recently. Second, equally important drivers of these values are support for parties on the left of the political spectrum and ideological self-placement. Third, economic factors have been selective and inconsistent predictors of socialist values. Overall, the research underscores the stability of socialist values in the German context, but argues that these values remain compatible with a political culture that is supportive of the democratic framework of unified Germany.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Reglitz Merten**

**Political Legitimacy Without a (Claim-) Right to Rule**

**in Res Publica**, Volume 21, Issue 3, August , 291-307

In the contemporary philosophical literature, political legitimacy is often identified with a right to rule. However, this term is problematic. First, if we accept an interest theory of rights, it often remains unclear whose interests justify a right to rule (the 'grounds of authority' question): either the interest of the holders of this right to rule or the interests of those subject to the authority. And second, if we analyse the right to rule in terms of Wesley Hohfeld's characterization of rights, we find disagreement among philosophers about what constitutes the conceptual core of political authority: a power-right or a claim-right to rule (the 'nature of authority question'). In this paper I show that both of these are problematic for a number of reasons. First, if we think that it is only the interests of the holders of a right to rule that justify the possession of authority, the conceptual core of authority must consist in a claim-right. However, this understanding of authority biases our thinking about legitimacy in favor of democratic exercises of power. Second, if we hold such a decisively democratic view of legitimacy, we confront an impasse with respect to addressing global collective action problems. Although it is clear that political authority is necessary or useful for solving these issues, it is doubtful that we can establish global institutions that are democratically authorized anytime soon. The paper suggests an alternative 'Power-Right to Command View' of political legitimacy that avoids the democratic bias and allows for thinking about solutions to global problems via global service authorities.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Joshi Devin K, Maloy J S, Peterson Timothy M**

**Popular vs. elite democratic structures and international peace**

**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 463-477

Structural theories of international peace among democratic regimes have relied on two distinct explanatory logics: democratic institutions may cause a state's foreign policy to tend toward peace by exposing policymaking elites to pressure from ordinary citizens (the popular logic) or to pressure from other governmental agencies (the elite logic). These logics are often conflated in scholarly studies of war and peace, but we attempt to isolate the popular logic for empirical testing by developing a novel measure of institutionalized popular influence, the Institutional Democracy Index (IDI). Whereas previous usage of the Polity index to operationalize democratic structures has succeeded in testing the elite logic more than the popular logic, we use the IDI to analyze long-established democracies' involvement in international conflict between 1961 and 2001. What we find are significant differences within the family of democratic regimes that point to a monadic structural explanation of peace: more popular democracies are less warlike with respect to all other regimes, not just other democracies. By capturing variance among democratic regimes in their structures of inclusion (especially formal rules pertaining to voter access, electoral formulae, and cameral structures), the IDI enables us to observe crucial differences between the conflict propensities of more popular and more elite types of democracy.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Deo Sahil, Franz Christian, Gandrud Christopher, Hallerberg Mark**

**Preventing German Bank Failures: Federalism and decisions to save troubled banks**

**in Politische Vierteljahresschrift**, Heft 2, 2015

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Reese Gerhard, Jacob Lisa**
**Principles of environmental justice and pro-environmental action: A two-step process model of moral anger and responsibility to act**
**in Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 51, August , 88-94

Beliefs about environmental justice are an important aspect in the willingness to continuously commit to pro-environmental behaviors and actions both on individual and societal levels. Since environmental policy is subject to decisions across various state institutions, the current article focuses on three principles of environmental justice beliefs, and tests their independent contributions toward pro-environmental behavior. In a representative sample of German citizens, we tested the effects of intergenerational justice, ecological justice and global justice beliefs on pro-environmental intentions. In addition, we focused on two potential processes that might explain the relation between justice beliefs and pro-environmental behavior, namely, moral anger and perceived responsibility. In line with expectations, stronger environmental justice beliefs predicted pro-environmental intentions. Path analyses further revealed that sense of responsibility and moral anger mediated the effects, with the former being a stronger predictor of pro-environmental intentions than the latter. These findings are discussed in light of current societal debate and policy recommendations are exemplified.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Saglio-Yatzimirsky Marie-Carolin**
**Quelle culture pour les sociétés multiculturelles ? L'Inde et le Brésil : esquisse d'une comparaison**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Schnapper Dominique**
**Quelle politique multiculturelle ?**
**in Debat (Le)**, n° 186

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Martin Ron**
**Rebalancing the Spatial Economy: The Challenge for Regional Theory**
**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 3, Issue 3 , 235-272

In response to the crisis of 2008 and deep recession that followed, the UK government assigned key importance to the

need to ‘spatially rebalance’ the economy, to reduce its dependence on London and the South East by ‘powering up’ northern cities. This paper argues that the UK's problem of spatial economic imbalance is in fact a long-standing one, the very persistence of which raises key issues for our theories of regional development and policy. It argues that neither the new spatial economics, with its obsession with agglomeration, nor regional studies, with its plethora of concepts and paradigms but lack of integration and synthesis, offers a particularly convincing basis for devising policies capable of redressing the spatial imbalance in the UK's economic landscape.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Scala Dante J., Johnson Kenneth M., Rogers Luke T.**
**Red rural, blue rural? Presidential voting patterns in a changing rural America**
**in Political Geography**, Volume 48, September , 108-118

This paper examines individual and aggregate data to document the growing political diversity in rural America. This political diversity is evident in the various economies within rural America. The new rural economy is reflected in recreational counties, where natural and built amenities combined with the provision of services to residents and visitors are the basis for the local economy. Residents of recreational counties tend to be more liberal than their rural peers on a variety of political issues, and supported Barack Obama at significantly higher levels in 2008 and 2012. In contrast, in regions dominated by the old rural economy of farming, political views are more conservative and there is far less support for Democrats in general and President Obama in particular. An analysis of survey data combined with multivariate spatial regression analysis demonstrates that these differences between the old and new rural economy persist even when a variety of demographic, economic, social and geographic variables are controlled.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Rose Richard**
**Responsible Party Government in a World of Interdependence**
**in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 2 , 253-269

ABSTRACT: This article opens up the closed model of the responsibility of a national government to its national electorate by adding constraints on its capacity to enact effective economic, national security and political policies. These constraints come from policy interdependence. The European Union exerts a denationalising influence through the Council, a multinational effect through the European Parliament, and the eurozone is designed as a transnational technocracy. Intergovernmental institutions spanning continents add further constraints. The result is a growing gap between the efforts of a national government to deliver outputs that match the preferences of voters and a reduction in the capacity of national electorates to hold accountable institutions outside their country that have a major impact on national outcomes. The conclusion considers three prospective possibilities: a growing frustration with a policy-irrelevant rotation of parties in office; institutional reform at the supranational level; and a learning process in which a recognition of the constraints of interdependence leads to a change in expectations.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Tranter Bruce, Booth Kate**

**Scepticism in a changing climate: A cross-national study**

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 33, July , 154-164

Despite the findings of climate scientists, the proportions of climate sceptics appear to be increasing in many countries. We model social and political background, value orientations and the influence of CO2 emissions per capita and vulnerability to climate change upon climate scepticism, drawing upon data from the International Social Survey Programme. Substantial differences in the levels of climate scepticism are apparent between nations. Yet cross national data show that climate sceptics are not merely the mirror image of environmentalists. Typical predictors of environmental issue concern, such as education level, postmaterial value orientations and age are poor predictors of climate scepticism. Affiliation with conservative political parties, gender, being unconcerned about 'the environment' or having little trust in government are consistent predictors of scepticism. Climate change scepticism is also correlated positively with CO2 emissions and vulnerability to climate change. While high levels of scepticism have been documented among citizens of the United States, scepticism is as high or higher in countries such as Australia, Norway and New Zealand.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Murdie Amanda**

**Scrambling for contact: The determinants of inter-NGO cooperation in non-Western countries**

in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 9, n. 3, september , 309-331

ABSTRACT: When do non-governmental organizations (NGOs) cooperate with each other? Even with much touting of the positive effects of inter-NGO cooperation on humanitarian outcomes, the extant literature offers us few insights into the determinants of this cooperation, especially in a cross-national framework. Drawing on both the current NGO literature and the larger cross-disciplinary literature on inter-organizational cooperation, I argue that both trust and opportunity are needed for inter-NGO cooperation. Trust in other organizations is highly dependent on governance structures within the state. Similarly, in the uncertain situation of humanitarian disasters and development work in non-Western states, security concerns and a lack of a coordinating leadership body can limit the opportunities of NGOs to collaborate. The presence of humanitarian state interveners can act to mitigate these concerns and provide NGOs with more opportunities to collaborate. Using a novel measure of NGO to NGO cooperation in non-Western countries, empirical results of this project largely support the hypotheses derived from this trust and opportunity framework.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Guibernau Montserrat**

**Self-determination in the Twenty-First Century**

in **Ethnopolitics**, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 540-546

Self-determination is a political–legal question; it denotes the legal right of people to decide their own destiny in the international order. Self-determination is a core principle of international law arising from customary international law, but also recognized as a general principle of law and enshrined in a number of international treaties; it is protected in the

United Nations Charter and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as a right of ‘all peoples’. Contemporary notions of self-determination usually distinguish between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ self-determination, suggesting that ‘self-determination’ exists on a spectrum. Internal self-determination may refer to various political and social rights; by contrast, external self-determination refers to full legal independence/secession for the given ‘people’ from the larger politico-legal state.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Wilén Nina, Ambrosetti David, Birantamije Gérard**
**Sending peacekeepers abroad, sharing power at home: Burundi in Somalia**
**in Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 2 , 307-325

This article attempts to answer how Burundi has become one of the main troop-contributing countries to international peacekeeping missions. To do this, it examines how the post-conflict political settlement between Burundian parties and external partners has impacted on the decision to deploy Burundian troops in multilateral peace operations in Africa. The authors claim that Burundi's decision to deploy troops, which took place in the midst of an overarching security sector reform, had a temporary stabilizing effect on the internal political balance due to several factors, including professionalization, prestige, and financial opportunities. From an international perspective, Burundi's role in peacekeeping has helped to reverse the image of Burundi as a post-conflict country in need of assistance to that of a peacebuilding state, offering assistance to others who are worse off. These factors taken together have also enhanced the possibilities for the Burundian Government to continue its trend of demanding independence from international oversight mechanisms and political missions, while maintaining good relations with donors, despite reports of increasing authoritarianism and limited political space. The article draws on significant fieldwork, including over 50 interviews with key actors in the field and complements the scarce literature on African troop-contributing states.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Straubhaar Thomas**
**Should Central Banks Manage the Exchange Rate?   **
**in Intereconomics**, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2015 , Pages 161-164

Should central banks intervene in currency markets? In theory, within a flexible system, central banks should leave the process of determining appropriate exchange rates to the currency markets. In practice, however, central banks have frequently intervened to “manage” the exchange rates according to their goals and priorities. This article discusses whether central banks can effectively intervene in currency markets and describes some lessons other countries could learn from the Swiss experience.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Chatterjee Soma**
**Skills to build the nation: The ideology of ‘Canadian experience’ and nationalism in global knowledge regime**

**in Ethnicities**, Vol. 15, n. 4 , 544-567

Skilled immigrant professionals are being aggressively recruited by once-exclusionary Western nation-states as crucial for their long-term national prosperity. Recent scholarship reads this as a rupturing of national identity and national membership due to the instrumental concerns of a global knowledge regime. In contrast, this paper argues that the welcome extended to skilled immigrants is provisional on their potential to secure nation-states' interests in knowledge economies. Drawing on recent Canadian skilled labour policies, this paper shows how Canadian/Western experience is ideologically constructed as essential for immigrant professionals to succeed in the Canadian labour market. I argue that such a move enables the simultaneous functions of a 'proactive state', procuring necessary immigrant labour and a 'defensive state', shoring up the traditional, historically and culturally formed imagination of the nation. These contradictory functions of the state are anchored on a racialized discourse of skill, in which immigrants are typically cast as lacking, redeemable only through Canadian/Western education/training. I read this as a conditional welcome. Reinstating the contested figure of the Canadian as the desirable worker subject is how the nation form reasserts itself when identity-based nationalism is ideologically untenable and practically unsustainable. I thus contest the argument that national identity and national membership are decoupled in the context of the global race for skills, and instead welcome a dialogue between scholarships on skilled immigration and nationalism to facilitate better understanding of the enactment of nationalist ideologies in the site of the high skilled labour market.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Blom Hans W.**

**Sociability and Hugo Grotius**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 589-604

Grotius has a rudimentary theory of sociability. Only with hindsight has a remark about appetitus societatis been promoted to the starting point of a theory that flourished in the writings of later natural jurists. In this article, I address the issue of the appearance in Grotius's natural law of sociability [as the 1715/38 English translation of John Morrice renders appetitus societatis, following Barbeyrac's sociabilité]. Writing in the just war tradition, Grotius is first of all interested in finding out the conditions for peace, and although injustice is a condition of war, it is not per se true that injustice is a perversion of society. Apparently, not all societies are perfect and the violence of war and the legal actions of peace are both instruments for achieving a greater modicum of justice in this world. Yet appetitus et custodia societatis is called the foundation of justice. Grotius achieved this context for sociability in phases, through a series of writings from c. 1600 until De iure belli ac pacis of 1625, and its revision of 1631. In this development the notion of fides plays an intriguing role, through which we can obtain a better understanding of the meaning of appetitus societatis in the later work. The present article is a sequel to a previous publication, on fides in De iure praedae (Ms. 1604/5). Analysing the genesis of appetitus societatis in De iure belli ac pacis, I argue that Grotius was changing his strategy over the years, without however arriving at a definitive solution to the question of what commits men to the pursuit of justice.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sonenscher Michael**

**Sociability, Perfectibility and the Intellectual Legacy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 683-698

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the concept of sociability was used mainly to refer to the putative range of primary human qualities or capabilities that preceded—or existed independently of—the formation of political societies. This article is an examination of the impact of Rousseau's thought on this then standard usage. Its initial focus is on Rousseau's concept of perfectibility and its bearing on the thought of Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, and Friedrich Schlegel. Its broader aim is to show how their respective responses to Rousseau were part of a more deep-seated transformation of the concept of sociability itself.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Bulutgil H Zeynep**
**Social cleavages, wartime experience, and ethnic cleansing in Europe**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 5, September , 577-590

What explains ethnic cleansing? Recent research has used systematic evidence to explore the causes of civilian victimization and mass killings. Yet, comparable studies that focus on ethnic cleansing are still rare. This article conceptualizes ethnic cleansing as a group-level phenomenon that is distinct from civilian victimization or mass killings and studies its causes by using systematic evidence from Europe 1900–2000. The article makes two theoretical moves. First, it highlights the salience of non-ethnic cleavages such as social class as a background condition that has the ability to hinder ethnic cleansing. Second, it distinguishes between two causal mechanisms, one that considers wars as ‘strategic environments’ and the other as ‘transformative experiences’, that relate to the proximate causes of ethnic cleansing. Using original data from 20th-century Europe, the empirical analysis offers two main findings. First, it shows that salient social cleavages, measured through levels of land inequality, political competition, and support for left-wing parties, substantially decrease the risk of ethnic cleansing. Second, the analysis suggests that the arguments that underscore psychological mechanisms related to wartime experiences provide a better explanation for ethnic cleansing than the arguments that emphasize the role of strategic wartime aims. This finding is further supported by a brief discussion of key cases in which both causal mechanisms predict ethnic cleansing. The results highlight the importance of treating ethnic cleansing as a conceptually separate phenomenon and offer implications for the debate on democracy and mass ethnic violence.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Johannes Plagemann & Sandra Destradi**
**Soft Sovereignty, Rising Powers, and Subnational Foreign Policy-Making: The Case of India**
in **Globalizations** , Volume 12, Issue 5, , 728-743

The rise of ‘new powers’ in international politics has been frequently associated with a re-emergence of traditional notions of sovereignty as a backlash against the weakening of nation-state sovereignty related to globalization. We argue that the coexistence of these trends has led to new forms of ‘soft sovereignty’. Soft sovereignty means that rising powers both gain and lose authority: From above, their freedom from interference within the international state system is strengthened due to their new status and influence. At the same time, rising powers’ governments are losing authority due to the rise of a multiplicity of sub and transnational actors from below. We apply the concept of soft sovereignty to the analysis of foreign policy-making in India as a least-likely case of a weakening of sovereignty from within a sovereignty-oriented rising power. The analysis of India's relations with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka reveals the huge

impact that subnational governments have had on India's policies towards its South Asian neighbours over the past years. The dynamics observed in the case of India reflect many of the traits of current globalization processes, from regionalization to identity politics to the multiplication of actors in the conduct of foreign politics.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Collard Fabrice, Habib Michel, Rochet Jean-Charles**
**Sovereign Debt sustainability in Advanced Economies**
in **Journal of the History of Economic Thought**, Volume 26, Number 2 / June , pages 381–420

We develop a measure of maximum sustainable government debt for advanced economies. How much investors are willing to lend to a country's government depends on the country's expected primary surplus, the level and volatility of its rate of growth, and how much debt the government expects to be able to raise in the future for the purpose of servicing the debt it seeks to raise today. We provide a simple formula that computes a country's maximum sustainable debt (MSD) as a function of four easy-to-estimate parameters. We further compute a country's theoretical probability of default (PD) as a function of its debt-to-GDP ratio. We finally calibrate our measures for 23 OECD countries and test the relation between sovereign yield spreads and our theoretical PD at prevailing debt levels. We find it to be strongly statistically significant.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Mosher James S**
**Speed of retaliation and international cooperation**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 4, July , 522-535

Many international interactions are structured like a prisoner’s dilemma because there are incentives to cooperate but also incentives to defect. In an infinitely repeated prisoner dilemma interaction, valuing the future highly enough by discounting the future less can ensure cooperation. Another factor that affects international cooperation in an infinitely repeated prisoner’s dilemma interaction is how quickly actors can respond to defection with retaliation, in other words, the speed of retaliation. Speeding up retaliation to ensure cooperation is an attractive strategy because it is flexible. It can be adapted to the particular characteristics of a dyad of cooperation and can vary with different actors and even different forms of cooperation between the same two actors. An analysis of an infinitely repeated prisoner’s dilemma interaction shows that if speeding up retaliation is costless, payoffs are constant in time, and the temptation payoff is reduced in proportion to the speed-up of retaliation, then no matter how unfavorable the starting discount factor and unfavorable the payoffs, speeding up retaliation can make cooperation sustainable. This, in combination with its inherent flexibility, makes speeding up retaliation a potentially powerful tool to make cooperation sustainable. Because speeding up retaliation likely has some implementation costs and because prisoner dilemma payoffs may not be constant/even in time, there are limits on when speeding up retaliation is effective. However, the analysis shows that if implementation costs are not too high, payoffs are not too uneven, or, if uneven in a particularly unfavorable way, punishment, when inflicted, is sufficiently punishing, then speeding up retaliation can still be effective in ensuring sustained cooperation.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Miller Benjamin**

**Stateness, National Self-determination and War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century**

in **Ethnopolitics**, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 531-539

How could the variations in the level of peace, order, institutionalization and cooperation in the various regions in the twenty-first century be explained? The author argues that the combined effect of two factors—state capacity and national congruence—is the most important, although an additional factor can mitigate or aggravate their effects—great power intervention. The two key factors are state capacity—the effectiveness of the functioning of state institutions; and national congruence—the extent of congruence between geo-political boundaries and national aspirations and identities in the region (including notably issues of national self-determination). Regions in which the states are strong and nationally coherent will tend to produce warm peace (Europe and South America). Regions in which at least some of the states are failed states—both weak and incongruent—will generate hot civil wars and trans-border violence (Africa, South Asia and the Middle East); while regions with strong states but incongruent will tend to produce a revisionist model and cold wars among strong states (East Asia and the post-Soviet). Finally, the instability prevalent in regions populated by failed states can sometimes be mitigated by the intervention of a benign hegemon and produce cold peace (the Balkans in the 1990s), but in highly fragmented regions such interventions might face a lot of problems and have some de-stabilizing effects, producing domestic and regional violence (South Asia and the Middle East).

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Goyal Ashima**

**Sustaining Indian Growth: Interests Versus Institutions**

in **India Review**, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 330-351

Inclusive institutions make correct policy choices required for steady catch-up growth more likely. India started out with highly inclusive political institutions since it adopted democracy with universal suffrage at independence. But extractive economic institutions, inherited from the British, were made more so by economic controls. In addition, a heterogeneous electorate allowed politicians to cultivate vote-banks and populist schemes instead of delivering better public services and governance. India’s opening out was adequately nuanced and flexible but was sometimes used as a substitute for harder domestic reforms. It, however, added to the growing constituencies that benefit from growth, and are pushing for more inclusive productivity enabling economic institutions. Broader interest groups create better institutions and incentives. Examples from general governance, the regulation of industry, and agricultural marketing show the process, although messy and prolonged, is in the right direction.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sandilands Roger J.**

**The 1949 World Bank Mission to Colombia and the Competing Visions of Lauchlin Currie (1902-93) and Albert Hirschman (1915-2012)**

in **History of Economic Thought and Policy**, 2015, volume 4, Issue 1

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Verba Sidney**
**The 50th Anniversary of The Civic Culture**
**in German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 234-248

This article traces the origins of the concept of political culture within the study of comparative politics. After revisiting the circumstances under which it developed, the article highlights some of the key factors that set it apart from other studies in its era – its theoretical exploration of stable democracy, its systematically comparative focus and its use of sample surveys of public opinion. The article shows how these factors were refined and improved in subsequent work on political equality. Overall, it concludes that the basic formulation of The Civic Culture – of congruence between mass attitudes and the type of political system – will be retained and will continue to make a mark upon the future trajectory of comparative research on public opinion.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Conradt David P.**
**The Civic Culture and Unified Germany: An Overview**
**in German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 249-270

In this article we attempt to examine what has happened to the Civic Culture paradigm in the past 50 years with particular focus on Germany. We first discuss the impact of the research and its core findings for the Federal Republic. Second, we focus on the issue of ‘inner unity’. Third, we present data on the development of unified Germany's political culture since the 1990 unification. We examine the influence over time of the major explanatory variables that have been central to post-unification culture research: socialisation or the effect of the socialist past, the contrasting economic experiences of both regions during the early decades of their democratic existence and the role of identity politics in shaping each region's view of each other. Finally, this article contends that in spite of the cultural differences there is a consensus on the institutions, processes and values of political democracy in the unified Republic.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Campbell Ross, Conradt David P.**
**The Civic Culture at 50: Change, Continuity and Challenges in the Federal Republic of Germany**
**in German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 217-233

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Abulof Uriel**

**The Confused Compass: From Self-determination to State-determination**

**in Ethnopolitics**, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 488-497

Self-determination, a prime justificatory principle of the international society, has become a confused, and confusing, compass. At the heart of this confusion, I argue, lies the tacit submersion of self-determination in state-determination. In principle, self-determination entails the 'moral double helix' of duality (personal right to align with a people, and the people's right to determine their politics) and mutuality (the right is as much the other's as the self's). In practice, state actors have labored to tame self-determination: to control and contain this perilous principle by yielding the will of 'the people' to the interests of powerful states, which have repeatedly impaired its moral DNA.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Christopher Alcantara, Gary N. Wilson**

**The Dynamics of Intra-jurisdictional Relations in the Inuit Regions of the Canadian Arctic: An Institutionalist Perspective**

**in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 43-61

One of the most exciting developments in Canadian federalism has been the emergence of Aboriginal self-governing regions. This paper constructs a theoretical framework for exploring the evolution of intra-jurisdictional relations in the self-governing Inuit regions of the Canadian Arctic. Intra-jurisdictional relations in these regions are characterized by a unique set of relationships between elected governments and organizations that represent the beneficiaries of land-claims agreements. Using the literature on historical institutionalism, we argue that the nature of Inuit intra-jurisdictional relations following the establishment of self-government can be explained by the institutional choices made prior to the signing of land-claims agreements and/or self-government agreements. To illustrate the potential of our framework for analysing Inuit intra-jurisdictional relations, we briefly examine the experiences of Nunavut, an Inuit-dominated region and the newest territory in the Canadian federation.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jörn Dosch, Jatswan S. Sidhu**

**The European Union's Myanmar Policy: Focused or Directionless?**

**in Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs**, Vol 34, No 2 (2015)

What is the European Union (EU) trying to achieve in Myanmar? Is the EU speaking with one voice and acting collectively (and does it really matter)? Were the sanctions lifted too early? These are some of the key questions surrounding the current role of the EU in relation to Myanmar. A close analysis of the EU's Myanmar policy demonstrates that, while clearly driven by normative convictions, the EU's approach and posture vis-à-vis Myanmar since 1988 has been more reactive than carefully planned and strategised. Whereas in the period from 1988 until early 2011 the EU's Myanmar policy frequently fluctuated between a "carrot" and a "stick" approach, depending on the circumstances, since 2011 the emphasis has been on carrots, which signifies an important shift in the application of normative power. The EU has generously provided large amounts of aid intended mainly to assist Myanmar in its transition. This approach does not seem to factor in the possibility of backward steps and is based on a scenario of

ongoing, linear political and economic reforms. This optimism is shared by both the European Commission and most EU member states. However, the similar perceptions and compatible normative foundations on which their policies are based have so far not translated into well-coordinated and coherent strategies and development cooperation programmes.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Penman Leigh T.I.**
**The Hidden History of the Cosmopolitan Concept. Heavenly Citizenship and the Aporia of World Community**
**in Journal of the Philosophy of History**, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2015 , 284–305

Despite the ubiquity of contemporary debate in learned and popular cultures concerning the place of the cosmopolitan and cosmopolitanism, the historical background to this peculiarly Western vision of world unity remains understudied and virtually unknown. This is particularly the case, rather surprisingly, for the early modern period, when the term “cosmopolite” reappeared in European vocabularies for the first time since antiquity. It is during this period, however, that the most significant, enduring and problematic features of the cosmopolitan concept are articulated, particularly in those conceptions of world community which drew on Pauline notions of heavenly citizenship. Employing a modified Begriffsgeschichtliche approach, this article utilizes several case studies of cosmopolitan thought from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – including Erasmus, Guillaume Postel, Johann Valentin Andreae and others – in order to critique the history of the concept of the cosmopolitan. This essay argues, on the basis of this evidence, that there is an aporia which is constitutive of cosmopolitan concept, and which impacts on all attempts to understand, analyse and apply the category from antiquity to the present. Namely, although the cosmopolitan ideal is a peculiarly Western mythology which has always possessed a patina of benevolent inclusivity, it is contingent on establishing boundaries and establishing exclusivity.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Anna O Law**
**The Historical Amnesia of Contemporary Immigration Federalism Debates**
**in Polity**, Volume 47, Issue 3 , 302–319

This article explores competing interpretations of American federalism and immigration authority during the 18th century. I argue that the 1787 Constitution did not clearly place the authority to manage migration with the national government. In fact, the Constitution did not discuss entry and exit policy, including the power of deportation. The debates over the Alien and Sedition Acts illustrate the diversity of opinions about the proper balance of authority between the national and subnational governments with regard to migration policy. Debates over the potential expansion of national power were particularly heated in the antebellum period because migration policy and slave policy were inextricably linked. In the end, whatever guidance the Constitution provided on migration policy was tainted by the document’s endorsement of slavery.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Macdonald, Kate**

**The Meaning and Purposes of Transnational Accountability**

**in Australian Journal of Public Administration**, Volume 73, Number 4 , 426-436

It is now commonplace for the language of accountability to be invoked in debates about transnational power and governance. Yet there is little agreement on whether 'accountability' takes an analogous form between national and transnational governance domains, and thus whether transnational extension of the concept overstretches the term – blurring or distorting our analysis of meanings and purposes of accountability. This paper suggests that although the same core meaning of accountability is equally relevant at transnational as at national scale, there are some notable differences in how questions about accountability 'for what', 'to whom' and 'through what means' are answered in a transnational governance setting. Nonetheless, analysing transnational accountability can enhance our understanding of important but often overlooked purposes of accountability – focusing our attention on accountability not only as a means of legitimizing and stabilizing public governance processes, but also as a vehicle for political contestation and institutional change.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Nicholls Walter J.**

**The Politics of Regional Development**

**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 3, Issue 3 , 227-234

No abstract available

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Fabry Mikulas**

**The Right to Self-determination as a Claim to Independence in International Practice**

**in Ethnopolitics**, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 498-504

This paper examines responses of states and intergovernmental organizations to the claims of independent statehood grounded in the right to self-determination. Virtually all assertions of independence invoke this right and it is highly probable that this long-standing global trend will continue. At the same time, only a relatively limited number of them are supported externally, either in the form of widespread public endorsement or outright recognition of a new state. This paper argues that there has been a clear prevailing international practice for more than five decades. On the one hand, international society has accepted self-determination claims to independence put forward by colonies and by non-colonial entities that obtained assent of their parent states. On the other hand, it has opposed claims set forth by non-colonial entities against the will of their parent states unilaterally. However, countries have been unable to maintain complete consistency and, in recent years, great powers found themselves at profound odds over a number of cases. These differences have led, and have a future potential to lead, to various forms of international conflict.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hagström Linus**

**The Sino-Japanese battle for soft power: pitfalls and promises**

**in Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 129-137

Beijing and Tokyo are currently involved in a zero-sum battle for soft power. Both governments are actively trying to shape how third party actors understand contested matters in their bilateral relationship. The dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands is the most obvious flashpoint in this ongoing struggle for hearts and minds. A soft power battle might seem like an innocent endeavour, but by entrenching enmity and legitimizing armed conflict, it might actually translate into one where hard power takes centre stage. Indeed, that the dissemination and entrenchment of affective identity narrative make violence seem normal, natural, realistic or perhaps even inevitable is the greatest danger associated with the ongoing Sino-Japanese dispute. However, if both parties were to agree to let the International Court of Justice settle their discord, the islands dispute could provide them with a chance to boost their respective soft power and lay the groundwork for a more peaceful order in East Asia. The article thus argues that the Sino-Japanese soft power battle contains both well-known pitfalls and a less well-known promise.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Rossi Stefano**

**The TTIP: a New Generation Treaty**

**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) is an international agreement which is being negotiated between the EU and the US: if concluded and ratified, TTIP will have a great impact on the economic, social and legal fabric of the parties. It is about establishing a free trade area representing half of the global GDP and a third of the world market. The negotiation of the Treaty is carried out by the EU: according to the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, it has exclusive competence in the field of foreign investment. However, TTIP's entry into force is subject to the ratification by all member states: for such reason, it is expected that TTIP would come into force progressively, chapter by chapter, in order to prevent that the block of one country on a single matter may affect the entry into force of the whole set of rules.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Iozzo Alfonso**

**The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Model for Europe?**

**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 2, July 2015

The Great Depression of the 1930s heavily struck the lives of Americans. The situation was particularly critical in the Tennessee Valley: 30% of the population was suffering of malaria, per capita income had decreased to $639 only. As agricultural lands had been intensely exploited, they became infertile and peasants' conditions were becoming extremely precarious, with an average annual income of 100 dollars. ...

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Zelko Frank**

**The Umweltmulti Arrives: Greenpeace and Grass Roots Environmentalism in West Germany**

**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 3, Special Issue: Transcontinental and Transnational Links in Social Movements and Environmental Policies in the Twentieth Century, September , 397-413

From the mid-1970s, Greenpeace began to expand its influence beyond its original base in North America. As it did so, it encountered an array of environmentalist and social movement cultures in the various countries in which it sought to set up branches. This article focusses on the establishment of the West German branch in the early 1980s. It analyses the friction Greenpeace — by then an increasingly professional organisation with a hierarchical structure — caused when it entered a West German environmentalist culture that was committed to grass roots democracy and consensus politics.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Wieters Heike**

**The World's Hungry. American NGOs and New Private-Public Partnerships after WWII**

**in Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900** , n. 3, luglio-settembre , 355-372

Food aid for hungry people is not a modern phenomenon. The transport of supplemental food to areas affected by temporary or chronic food scarcity has been a part of state-level diplomacy since antiquity. The second half of the Twentieth century has seen the rise of a new and broader food aid regime, however: Marked by growing Cold War tensions, global economic disparities, and the rise of development thinking, food aid (often from unsellable food surplus) emerged as a new international transfer regime between the US and the «developing nations». The actual programs were often carried out by private players. As early as during WWI private voluntary agencies started to cooperate with the US government in humanitarian food distribution programs to hungry people abroad. This article takes a closer look at these programs tracing their development from the war and inter-war period to the aid endeavor during WWII and into the Fifties and Sixties when food aid schemes were significantly professionalized. It is argued here that the relationship between the US government, recipients and private voluntary agencies entered into a new phase after the end of WWI as public private partnerships in food aid distribution turned from a temporary tool for ad-hoc relief and surplus reduction into more permanent and highly subsidized institutions within the official framework of US foreign and agricultural policy

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Rozema Jaap G.**

**The influence of institutional design on local environmental interest representation in the national polity**

**in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 58, Issue 9 , 1731-1748

This article investigates structural and informal institutional design variables to account for civil society actors' views on the political representation of local environmental interests in the national polity. It does so by linking literature on institutional design and place-based environmental advocacy to a case of large scale infrastructure development in the national interest. The case study concerns the proposal for a national high speed rail network ("HS2") in the United Kingdom, which is heavily opposed locally based on its expected adverse impacts. Through fieldwork research on protest against HS2 in an area of high landscape value, it has been found that local actors perceived specific institutions

to structurally under-represent interests associated with environmental conservation, compounded further by an informal style of doing politics. The paper recommends that the environmental management and planning literature turns to institutional explanations to make insightful the dynamics of defending the local interest in the national sphere.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Shaker Richard Ross**
**The well-being of nations: an empirical assessment of sustainable urbanization for Europe**
**in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology**, Volume 22, Issue 5 , 375-387

The current integrity of the planet is being stressed beyond its biological capacity, and understanding urban landscapes is more important now than ever. A major landmark in human–planetary evolution was reached recently with a majority of people now living in cities, and rural-to-urban migration is predicted to continue into the next century. Landscape change associated with exponential population growth poses major challenges to coupled human and natural systems. Although some progress has been made, to date there exist no 'ideal' instrument for achieving sustainability on neither regional nor local scales. Because there is limited applied evidence investigating landscape form (e.g. configuration) and population dynamics (e.g. population density) with measures of sustainability, this research area requires further investigation. Using Human Wellbeing Index (HWI) and Ecosystem Wellbeing Index (EWI) from Robert Prescott-Allen's The Wellbeing of Nations: A Country-by-Country Index of Quality of Life and the Environment, a macroscale empirical study was created to further understand sustainable urban development across 33 European countries. Exploratory spatial data analysis was utilized to illustrate Wellbeing clusters across the study area, and spatially enabled regression methods were employed to create regional sustainable urbanization models for explaining Wellbeing indices. With population density, two urban class configuration metrics (e.g. COHESION, PD) were found significant at explaining both HWI and EWI. Between 2000 and 2006, changes in urban morphology and population density were also assessed for 31 of the aforementioned 33 European countries. Findings suggest that conventional urbanization processes will continue to disconnect socioeconomic welfare from life-supporting ecosystem services.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Uberoi Varun**
**The 'Parekh Report' – National identities without nations and nationalism**
**in Ethnicities**, Vol. 15, n. 4 , 509-526

'Multiculturalists' often advocate national identities. Yet few study the ways in which 'multiculturalists' do so and in this article I will help to fill this gap. I will show that the Commission for Multi-Ethnic Britain's report reflects a previously unnoticed way of thinking about the nature and worth of national identities that the Commission's chair, and prominent political theorist, Bhikhu Parekh, had been developing since the 1970s. This way of thinking will be shown to avoid the questionable ways in which conservative and liberal nationalists discuss the nature and worth of national identities while offering an alternative way to do so. I will thus show that a report that was once criticised for the way it discussed national identities reflects how 'multiculturalists' think about national identities in a distinct and valuable way that has gone unrecognised.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Arian Mahzouni**
**The 'Policy Mix' for Sustainable Urban Transition: The city district of Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm**
**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 4, Special Issue: Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics, July-August , 288-302

This paper analyses the policy mix for urban transition by drawing on insights from studies in institutions and path dependence. It sheds new light on the role of institutions and actors in creating a policy mix for sustainable city districts, which has not been systematically addressed in the current debate on policy mix. The interaction and trade-offs between policy instruments for energy efficiency in buildings in the city district of Hammarby Sjöstad are analysed historically. The key findings are that long periods of increasing returns in existing technological systems and the institutions that have supported them have created different types of 'lock-ins' (behavioural, policy and industry). A systemic approach to developing a framework for policy mix analysis is necessary to address the relationship between various 'lock-ins'.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Levi Lucio**
**Their Goal Was to Knock France Down. Instead Europe Stood Up**
**in Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVIII, Number 1, March 2015

The great popular demonstration which took place in Paris on 11 January, has manifested a strong will to react to the terrorist attacks which produced 17 casualties (the targets were journalists, Jews and policemen) and three dead terrorists. The goal of terrorism is to generate a climate of fear. As Montesquieu put it, fear is the feeling on which despotism is based. Unity of the French people, but also unity of the European people – shown by the presence in Paris of most of the European leaders and by the demonstrations of solidarity held in the main cities of the whole continent – have shown the will of the European citizens to defend freedom and reject violence and hatred.
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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Dedinger Béatrice**
**Trade statistics of the Zollverein, 1834-1871**
**in Revue de l'OFCE**, N° 140, 2015/4 , 67-85

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the fact that the lack of useable German trade statistics for the period preceding the German political unification is not a fatality. The documents published during the Zollverein period by the Central Bureau of the Zollverein, the Statistische Uebersichten über Waaren-Verkehr und Zoll-Ertrag im Deutschen Zoll-Vereine für das Jahr..., do not provide prices nor trade flows in value nor any indication of countries of ultimate origin and destination. To overcome these imperfections, a great number of estimates of Zollverein trade statistics have been published since 1842 but they are questionable as well. Nevertheless, the good quality of Statistische Übersichten's quantity data should make possible the reconstruction of consistent series of German trade, total, by product and in value, over the period 1834-1871.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Kjaer Poul F.**
**Transnational Normative Orders: The Constitutionalism of Intra- and Trans-Normative Law**
**in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 20, issue 2 , 777-803

ABSTRACT: No weakening, but rather an expansion, of statehood can be observed in the contemporary world. This does not, on the other hand, imply that extensive forms of constitutional ordering do not exist outside the realm of states. Instead, the evolution of world society has been characterized by a protracted dual movement where the expansion and densification of statehood and autonomous forms of transnational ordering gradually emerged in a mutually constitutive fashion. One implication of this is that neither the concept of the state nor the concept of nonstate transnational entities is adequately capable of delineating the object of constitutional analysis. Instead, the concept of normative orders has been introduced as an overarching category capable of identifying the contexts within which constitutional ordering emerges.

Subsequently, a distinction between the internal and external dimensions of the law of normative orders has been introduced, specifying them as respectively oriented towards establishing internal condensation of a given normative order and external compatibility between different normative orders. With this background, a framework for the analysis of constitutional frameworks of normative orders developed. The central element is a distinction among three dimensions: First, a constitution implies a coupling between a constitutional object, in the form of a hierarchical organization of a given normative order capable of reproducing an autonomous source of authority, and a concordant legal framework. Second, constitutionalization implies a coupling between an internal reconstruction of an external constitutional subject within the constitutional object, and the register of legal rights, establishing a framework for exchanges between the constitutional object and the wider world as represented by the constitutional subject. Third, constitutionalism denotes the institutionalization of a double function, in the form of a principle-based and legally fortified striving toward universal inclusion, providing a sense of direction in time through an articulated form of constitutional consciousness.

The insights developed are briefly illustrated by the case of the global Fairtrade Certification System.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Gurel Perin**
**Turkey and the United States after World War I: National Memory, Local Categories, and Provincializing the Transnational**
**in American Quarterly**, vol. 67, n. 2, June , 353-376

This essay focuses on the tumultuous period between 1918 and 1923, from the end of World War I to the declaration of the Turkish republic, when the United States became seriously engaged with the fate of the Near East because of calls for a US mandate over Ottoman Turkey. At its center is the history and historiography of a short-lived Turkish Wilsonian Principles League (WPL), founded by the feminist intellectual Halide Edib, which called for the United States to assume a mandate over Turkey. The way that the WPL is overremembered in modern Turkey and forgotten in the United States

shows how ideas about gender and sexuality continue to infuse national memory in both countries. Examining Woodrow Wilson's reluctance to think of Turks as wards and the vilification of Edib by the first Turkish republican regime, the essay complicates the causal links we might be tempted to draw between racism and empire and asks us to consider the complex role that the local deployments of westernization play in the absence of actual US intervention.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Carattini Stefano, Baranzini Andrea, Roca Jordi**
**Unconventional Determinants of Greenhouse Gas Emissions: The role of trust**
**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 25, Issue 4, Special Issue: Ecological Economics and Institutional Dynamics, July-August , 243-257

Social norms have been included in the theory of collective action to overcome difficulties in explaining why commons may perform better when self-regulated. The role of trust has been identified in several contexts of local social dilemmas, but only recently has been extended to global commons, based on large descriptive evidence collected by Elinor Ostrom. However, no quantitative evidence was available until now. Using a dataset of 29 European countries over the period 1990–2007, we provide empirical evidence in favour of the role of trust in global dilemmas. We find a non-negligible impact of trust on greenhouse gas emissions, which can support Ostrom's intuition on the social roots of pro-environmental behaviour.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Schmidt Alexander**
**Unsociable Sociability and the Crisis of Natural Law: Michael Hissmann (1752–1784) on the State of Nature**
**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 619-639

This article studies the impact of the debate about human sociability on the crisis of natural law in the later eighteenth century examining the Untersuchungen über den Stand der Natur of 1780 by the Göttingen scholar Michael Hissmann. It makes the case that this crisis ensued from Rousseau's Discours sur l'inégalité and a revival of neo-Epicurean trends in moral philosophy more generally. The sociability debate revolved around the question to what extent society was natural or artificial to man. This had important implications for the problem of whether distinctions between right and wrong or just and unjust were natural and inborn, or had developed at a much later stage of mankind's history, reflecting merely the respective needs and utility of different societies and cultures. Hissmann's essay summarises this European debate concisely. His point of departure is Rousseauian premises, yet his political conclusions turn Rousseau upside down. Here, Hissmann's essay opens up several questions regarding the allegedly radical political character of one-substance theories in philosophy.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**McDaniel Iain**
**Unsocial Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment: Ferguson and Kames on War, Sociability and the Foundations of Patriotism**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 5, Special Issue: Sociability in Enlightenment Thought , 662-682

This article reconstructs a significant historical alternative to the theories of ‘cosmopolitan’ or ‘liberal’ patriotism often associated with the Scottish Enlightenment. Instead of focusing on the work of Andrew Fletcher, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume or Adam Smith, this study concentrates on the theories of sociability, patriotism and international rivalry elaborated by Adam Ferguson (1723–1816) and Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782). Centrally, the article reconstructs both thinkers' shared perspective on what I have called ‘unsociable’ or ‘agonistic’ patriotism, an eighteenth-century idiom which saw international rivalship, antagonism, and even war as crucial in generating political cohesion and sustaining moral virtue. Placing their thinking in the context of wider eighteenth-century debates about sociability and state formation, the article's broader purpose is to highlight the centrality of controversies about human sociability to eighteenth-century debates about the nature of international relations.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Jeffrey Alex, Jakala Michaelina**
**Using courts to build states: The competing spaces of citizenship in transitional justice programmes**
**in Political Geography**, Volume 47, July , 43-52

This paper examines how establishing a new legal institution shapes understandings and practices of citizenship. It does so through a study of the creation of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (CBiH) between 2002 and 2014 and, in particular, its emerging jurisdiction over war crimes trials since 2006. International sponsors of this institution herald the establishment of the Court as an important step toward achieving justice for the crimes committed during the 1992–1995 conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). But alongside its legal function, intervening agencies have emphasised an allied objective to use the Court to consolidate state structures and foster a civic sense of Bosnian citizenship. Using qualitative data, this paper argues that the creation of the CBiH illuminates a series of divergent understandings of citizenship. In particular, while the court seeks to convey a concept of liberal democratic citizenship, this is only achieved through the enrolment of civil society actors operating across BiH territory. Rather than heralding a series of ‘grassroots’ alternatives to official scripts, these social agents see the value of a universal understanding of justice structured around equality and rights, but often failed to see this expressed in the activities of the Court. The paper concludes by reflecting on the relationship between law and citizenship, where the imagined sense of universal jurisdiction is undermined by social concerns relating to the barriers that prevent access to justice.
Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Ozkan Mehmet, Orakci Serhat**
**Viewpoint: Turkey as a “political” actor in Africa – an assessment of Turkish involvement in Somalia**
**in Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 2 , 343-352

The crisis of food security in Somalia in 2011 prompted an increase in Turkish involvement in Eastern African politics. Initially started as a humanitarian response, Ankara's policy has evolved into a fully fledged Somalia policy with political and social dimensions. This article discusses the role and influence of Turkey in efforts bringing stability to Somalia. It is argued that Turkey's Somalia policy, as far as it has succeeded in short term, has not only located Turkey as a “political”

actor in Africa but also expanded Turkey's Africa policy into a more complex and multifaceted one. As such, Turkey's experience in Somalia will have significant implications for its broader African agenda.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Mitchener Kris James, Weidenmier Marc D.**
**Was the Classical Gold Standard Credible on the Periphery? Evidence from Currency Risk**
**in Journal of Economic History (The)**, Volume 75 - Issue 02 - giugno 2015 , 479-511

We use a standard metric from international finance, the currency risk premium, to assess the credibility of fixed exchange rates during the classical gold standard era. Theory suggests that a completely credible and permanent commitment to join the gold standard would have zero currency risk or no expectation of devaluation. We find that, even five years after a typical emerging-market country joined the gold standard, the currency risk premium averaged at least 220 basis points. Fixed-effects, panel-regression estimates that control for a variety of borrower-specific factors also show large and positive currency risk premia. In contrast to core gold standard countries, such as France and Germany, the persistence of large premia, long after gold standard adoption, suggest that financial markets did not view the pegs in emerging markets as credible and expected that they devaluation.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Roller Edeltraud**
**Welfare State and Political Culture in Unified Germany**
**in German Politics**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Civic Culture at 50 , 292-316

This paper addresses the assertion that preferences for a comprehensive welfare state hamper and delay the emergence of a liberal-democratic culture in East Germany. Two questions are explored: first, has the impact of welfare-state values on support of the German democratic regime declined in East Germany since re-unification and adapted to the lower levels observed in West Germany? Second, are attitudes towards different welfare-state programmes equally important for citizens' approval of the German democratic regime? Empirical analyses on the basis of representative public opinion surveys conducted between 1991 and 2012 confirm that the effect of welfare-state values in East Germany has converged to the smaller effect size observed in West Germany. Furthermore, attitudes to welfare-state programmes aimed at reducing income inequalities turn out to be a significant determinant of regime support in both parts of Germany. It is the higher demand for inequality-reducing governmental activities which still restrains the approval of the liberal-democratic regime among citizens in East Germany.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Hoffman Philip T.**
**What Do States Do? Politics and Economic History**
**in Journal of Economic History (The)**, Volume 75 - Issue 02 - giugno 2015 , 303-331

Although politics has a huge effect on economic outcomes, we still know too little about what public goods states furnish

or what determines the laws, regulations, and policies that states adopt. Worse yet, we do not really understand how states arise in the first place and how they gain the ability to tax. There are numerous unanswered questions here that economic historians can profitably work on, and their research will be particularly valuable if they model the politics, gather data on taxation and spending by local and central governments, and pay serious attention to the historical details and to political behavior that may not involve optimization.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Bellamy Alex J**
**When states go bad. The termination of state perpetrated mass killing**
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 5, September , 565-576

To date, little attention has been paid to the question of how episodes of mass killing are terminated. This has allowed several misconceptions, such as the notion that external armed intervention is a principal form of ending, to arise and profit. This study presents preliminary findings from a survey of cases of state perpetrated mass killing since 1945. It examines the forms of ending, finding that around half end only when the perpetrators themselves decide to end the killing, usually because they have accomplished their goals. It also explores the relationships between modes of termination and lethality and the resilience of different types of ending and offers insights into the implications for policy of some of these findings. It argues that foreign armed intervention is extremely rare and does not deserve, therefore, to be the common ‘go to’ option of advocates and analysts. Instead, presuming that armed intervention is off the table, it is more important to think in terms of what can be done to shape the perpetrators’ incentive structures or encourage internal dissent within the perpetrating elite. Finally, it shows that there is no easy overlap between what is morally palatable and what saves lives. Arming rebels may be morally pleasing, but may lead to protracted civil wars with atrocities – the worst of all outcomes. Likewise, negotiating to secure the state perpetrators’ core interests may feel immoral but might stop the killing and save lives.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***
*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*
**Ide Tobias**
**Why do conflicts over scarce renewable resources turn violent? A qualitative comparative analysis**
in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 33, July , 61-70

This study addresses the question why intergroup conflicts over scarce, renewable resources in peripheral areas of the global South escalate into violence. In order to do so, twenty cases of such conflicts, seven of which turned violent, are analyzed. The method of fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis is used in order to bridge the gap between quantitative and qualitative accounts in the field and to detect patterns of conjunctural causation. In theoretical terms, structural conditions (negative othering and high power differences between the conflict parties) and triggering conditions (external resource appropriation and recent political change) of a violent escalation of renewable resource conflicts are distinguished. The empirical results as well as various robustness checks and comparisons with individual cases suggest that the simultaneous presence of negative othering, low power differences and recent political change is a sufficient condition for the violent escalation of conflicts over scarce renewable resources. I conclude that research on socio-environmental conflicts should pay more attention to conjunctural causation, local power differences and qualitatively different forms of conflict and political change.

Full text available online.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous*

**Grant Daragh**

**"Civilizing" the Colonial Subject: The Co-Evolution of State and Slavery in South Carolina, 1670–1739**

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South Carolina was a staggeringly weak polity from its founding in 1670 until the 1730s. Nevertheless, in that time, and while facing significant opposition from powerful indigenous neighbors, the colony constructed a robust plantation system that boasted the highest slave-to-freeman ratio in mainland North America. Taking this fact as a point of departure, I examine the early management of unfree labor in South Carolina as an exemplary moment of settler-colonial state formation. Departing from the treatment of state formation as a process of centralizing "legitimate violence," I investigate how the colonial state, and in particular the Commons House of Assembly, asserted an exclusive claim to authority by monopolizing the question of legitimacy itself. In managing unfree laborers, the colonial state extended its authority over supposedly private relations between master and slave and increasingly recast slavery in racial terms. This recasting of racial slavery rested, I argue, on a distinction, pervasive throughout English North America, which divided the world into spheres of savagery and civility. Beneath the racial reordering of colonial life, the institution of slavery was rooted in the same ideological distinction by which the colonial state's claims to authority were justified, with the putative "savagery" of the slave or of the Indian being counterpoised to the supposed civility of English settlers. This article contributes to the literatures on Atlantic slavery and American colonial history, and invites comparison with accounts of state formation and settler colonialism beyond Anglo-America.