

# Abstracts

*Thomas Gehring/Michael A. Kerler*

## **New Decision-Making Procedures in the World Bank**

How Institutional Structures Enhance Good Governance in International Organisations

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The article examines whether the World Bank procedures for loan allocation promote decisions that are problem-adequate with regard to the Bank's development objectives. For this purpose, it develops a normative concept of problem-adequate decisions. An institutional arrangement based upon the separation of decision-making functions and the existence of substantive decision criteria promises to induce even reluctant actors to take problem-adequate decisions, if it deprives them of their ability to calculate their parochial interests or to influence decisions by power-based bargaining. The World Bank procedures for loan allocation partly reflect this pattern. They include binding environmental and social standards, and compliance with these policies is subject to a specific investigation procedure. An analysis of five recent conflicts about the financing of two large infrastructure projects demonstrates that the procedure actually sorts out power-based interests where reliable decision criteria exist, while bargaining and voting power dominate in the non-regulated areas.

*Elvira Rosert/Sonja Schirmbeck*

## **The Erosion of International Norms**

Challenging the Prohibition of Torture and the Nuclear Taboo

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The article takes a critique of social-constructivist theories of international norms as a starting point, since these approaches exhibit two major blind spots: Firstly, they tend to loose sight of agency once a norm has reached the so-called »internalization stage« and secondly, they are characterized by an inherent belief in progress, i. e. the assumption of a positive cycle or of a self-sustaining process of norm development. As a consequence, the possibility of a replacement or weakening of an already internalized norm is not considered. By exploring two case studies – the discussion about the prohibition of torture and the nuclear taboo in the United States – we answer our research question: How is it possible that internalized norms are challenged by actors and weakened taboos erode? The analysis closes with discussing more broadly the reasons and mechanisms why and how internalized norms – though commonly considered as stable – become disputed and fragile.

*Diana Panke*

**Putting International Legalization to the Test**

Differential Paths Towards Compliance with EU Law

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The European Union is a highly legalized international institution. Nevertheless, non-compliance occurs, which impairs the effectiveness of law beyond the nation-state. The European Court of Justice's (ECJ) success of transforming non-compliance into compliance varies between and within states. Prominent compliance theories emphasize variance across states. Consequently, they cannot explain the significant intra-state variation. This article identifies rationalist and constructivist compliance mechanisms (judicial discourses, cost implications of judgments) and specifies hypotheses and scope conditions for their effectiveness. Qualitative case studies on social and environmental policy directives in Germany show that the success of both compliance mechanisms varies due to differences in the contextual pre-conditions. Policy rather than country specific variables are crucial for effective legalization beyond the nation-state.

*Peter Rudolf*

**Evaluating Foreign Policy**

Conceptual Reflections on a Neglected Field of Foreign Policy Analysis

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Foreign policy evaluation continues to receive but sporadic attention in the field of foreign policy analysis. Scholarly research is primarily guided by the question as to how foreign policy decisions and orientations can be explained. Little attention is given to the explicit systematic assessment of foreign policy strategies, using as yardstick either a normative set of criteria or the goals pursued by a specific foreign policy. Foreign policy evaluation is primarily interested in analyzing the results and the impact of foreign policies, not the process of policy formulation. Although the methodological problems of systematically evaluating foreign policies are numerous, foreign policy analysis could increase its practical relevance by giving more attention to evaluative studies aimed at identifying the intended and unintended consequences of foreign policy strategies and critically assessing the implicit, often dubious »theoretical« assumptions underlying every foreign policy.

*Oliver Hidalgo*

**Tocqueville, the Neocons, and the American Empire**

Does Democracy in America Call for a Violent Expansion of Liberal Society?

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According to a popular prejudice within the history of political ideas, Alexis de Tocqueville was the lawyer of the United States who predicted the decline of »old« Europe because of its decadence and effeminateness. Challenging this reading, the article sets out to show that Tocqueville belongs to those thinkers who would have opposed the global dominance of an American superpower. Particularly the neoconservative vision of a globalization of democracy through preventive strikes and unilateral regime change policies turns out to find no support in Tocquevillian arguments and testifies to Neocons' ordinary use and abuse of his works. Rather, Tocqueville's conception of foreign policy and international order provides a return to the classical model of a balance of power and stresses the importance of domestic political culture as a precondition for democratization.