

Abstracts

Niklas Schörnig

Casualty Aversion and Peace Dividend

Legitimizing the Active American Defence Industrial Policy of the 1990s

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During the 1990s, the American defense industry underwent a tremendous restructuring process. In contrast to common perception, this article argues that the American administration had a strong say in this process, increased its speed, and set its agenda and direction. In order to analyze the underlying motivation of Washington, this study uses a combination of a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of relevant Congress debates. It shows that the most important reasons were to have a defense industry that was capable of producing affordable high-tech weapons and of keeping the number of American casualties in future conflicts low. This finding highlights the importance of the aversion of casualties as a driving force of American military policy with regard to its military strategy but also with regard to the long-term planning of its defense industry.

Martin Beck

The Rentier State Approach and the Problem of Deviant Cases

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The article draws on the rentier state approach which is prominent in research on the socio-economic and socio-political development of the Middle East. So far, most research has concentrated itself on the positive cases and overlooked country studies that did not meet the expectations of the theory. The study tries to address this gap by investigating the presumably deviant cases inside and outside the Middle Eastern region. Special attention is given to the developments in the Muslim states Algeria, Iraq and Iran, the Latin American case of Venezuela and Botswana as a sub-saharan African state, as well as the non-Muslim cases Israel, South Korea, and Taiwan. The analysis demonstrates that the rentier state approach does not encounter particular problems to explain those cases, too. However, in order to be successful, the theory will have to be supplemented with additional intervening variables such as ideas, security threats and conditionality.

Christoph Schuck

Islam and the Legitimacy of Political Rule

Lessons for Democracy and Democratic Transition Learned from the Conceptual Heterogeneity of Indonesian Islam

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This article focuses on the relationship between Islam and democracy. The conceptual heterogeneity of Indonesian Islam can provide insights into this relationship: Indonesia, a predominantly Muslim country which has been making a transition toward democracy since 1998, indicates that there is no compelling evidence that Islam and democracy must be generally incompatible. At the same time, however, it is necessary to evaluate the perceptions and influence of anti-democratic and increasingly internationalized Islamistic groups that do exist in Indonesia, too. The study of the relationship between Islam and democracy in Indonesia and its transfer to the international level leads to the conclusion that it is not Islam, but Islamism that is incompatible with democracy. Moreover, the key to understanding Islamism does not lie in the willingness of Islamists to use physical force, but in their unique perception of the legitimacy of political rule.

Michèle Knodt

Governance in an Expanded Multi-level System

International Embeddedness of the EU

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The article analyses how the embedding of the EU into the international trading system, the WTO, leads to institutional changes within the EU. It demonstrates that embeddedness does not only effect the formal organisation of the decision-making process but also effects routines, guiding ideas and concepts of legitimate order. This dynamic is caused by (1) the pressure to adapt, (2) involvement in routines and decision-making rules mostly within international organisations, and (3) attractive concepts, instruments, and strategies which open up a window of opportunity for actors of the European multi-level system. These institutional changes cause a centralization trend in the EU field of trade policy.

Michael Zürn/Martin Binder/Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt/Katrin Radtke

The Involuntary Formation of Political Order

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This article develops a theoretical-conceptual perspective on the institutional dynamics which began with the creation of international institutions following the Second World War and which may lead to the establishment of a new, normatively signifi-

cant political order beyond the nation-state. Based upon a diagnosis of the successes and failures of post-World-War institutions, we develop two core hypotheses (including the relevant causal mechanisms) which ascribe central importance to the unintended effects of political intervention. Our first claim is that shifting governance and governing to international institutions results unintentionally in the gradual supra- and transnationalization of politics and policies. Our second claim is that, over time, increased intervention along with the growing significance of trans- and supranational institutions will result in societies becoming more politicized which, in turn, will lead to problems of legitimacy for forms of governance beyond nation-states.

Lothar Brock

World Order as an Unintended Consequence of World Ordering

A Reply to Zürn et al.

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The paper by Zürn et al. presents world order as an unintended consequence of world ordering. This is interesting, but also raises a number of issues. The paper subsumes (almost) everything that is happening today under the steering problematic. In this regard there is a danger of replacing »methodological nationalism« with »methodological institutionalism«. As to theory-building, the project neatly links up with the earlier denationalization approach but is rather selective in the way it relates to the present debate on conflict in world society and the constitutionalization of international law. Finally, one would expect the analysis of the dynamics of political steering to offer a clue as to where things are going and what to make of it. In contrast, the authors not only refrain from presenting preferences but also claim that it »remains to be seen« into which direction things will develop. This attempt to avoid the trap of ideology may lead right into it.

James W. Davis

Involuntary? Which Order and for Whom?

A Reply to Zürn et al.

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This essay critically examines the assertion of Zürn et al. that the post-war move to institutions unleashed an unintended dynamic that is leading to a politicization of the institutions of global governance, the denationalization of society, and a move away from inter-state towards trans- and supranational forms of cooperation. Although the basic empirical developments outlined by the authors are accepted, an analysis of the

underlying logic of their society-centric argument suggests the implications of these developments are not clear cut.

Antje Wiener

The Normative Dimension of International Politics: *Invisible* Consequences of Institutionbuilding?

A Reply to Zürn et al.

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Originally created by states, institutions are found to have a twofold effect by Zürn et al.: They are utilitarian, efficient and, in addition, they have a normative effect. This finding creates a puzzle for neo-regimetheoretic perspectives, i. e. regimes turn from intervening variables into actors with independent rationales and, hence, create unintended – normative – consequences. The comment situates the theoretical insights of the paper by Zürn et al. in the wider IR debate and asks, first, whether the »normative« in international politics must remain theoretically invisible, and, secondly, whether it must be conceptualised as a novelty in relation with processes of institution-building beyond the state. It is argued that the puzzle can be solved if – as reflexive regime theorists hold – analyses proceed from the premise of inter-subjectivity. Based on that, unintended consequences would be understood as *invisible* normative consequences.

Andreas Nölke

For a Political Theory of Political Order Beyond the Nation-State

A Reply to Zürn et al.

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Although Zürn et al. have chosen the politicization of international institutions as their *explanandum*, their explanation neglects a number of fundamentally political phenomena, such as the distribution of power in the international system, the development of global capitalism and the heterogeneity of political and economic rule inside and outside of the OECD world. Especially problematic is their neglect of the content and the substance of policies, as designed by international institutions. From my perspective, content and institutional form are closely inter-related. Neither the emergence of international institutions, nor protest against international institutions can be explained without taking into account the substance of policies and the interests affected by them. Correspondingly, there are narrow limits for the development of an abstract and ahistoric theory of unintended consequences of political intervention.