

## Abstracts

*Sophie Eisentraut*

**Autocracies, Democracies, and the Legitimacy of International Organizations**  
A Comparative Content Analysis of States' Legitimacy Requirements of the United Nations General Assembly  
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 3-33

This article addresses a central gap within empirical legitimacy research, which results from the systematic negligence of non-democratic regimes and their evaluations of international institutions. In particular, it seeks to clarify divergent theoretical assumptions on the influence of the regime type on patterns of (de-)legitimation of global governance. Do states externalize legitimacy standards in line with their own domestic practices of legitimation? Or is their international legitimacy discourse part of a process of global convergence? This article uses qualitative content analysis to compare the legitimacy standards democratic, autocratic and hybrid regimes refer to in their assessments of the United Nations General Assembly. The empirical results reveal a surprisingly high consistency among the three regime types' legitimacy judgments. The study thereby provides empirical evidence against the transfer thesis and in support of the assumption of a global convergence in the patterns of legitimation of global governance.

**Keywords:** legitimacy, legitimation, regime type, convergence, united nations general assembly.

*Konstanze Jüngling*

**The Great Power of Words?**

On the Effects of Verbal Human Rights Criticism on Russia in the Case of the Grozny Ultimatum  
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 35-63

Great powers like Russia are generally considered to be relatively resistant against any outside attempt to interfere with their internal human rights situation. Against prevailing insights into the success conditions of international human rights pressures, it hence appears sufficiently counterintuitive that Russia – during the peak of the Second Chechen War – refrained from carrying out a human rights violating ultimatum directly after an international wave of criticism. In this article, I seek to explain this retreat and, in doing so, argue that Russia was vulnerable to international criticism in this case. Drawing upon assumptions of the English School of thought, I argue that even powerful states cannot completely ignore international

criticism. This is because they need the recognition of the international society in order to realize their international leadership claims in a cost-efficient manner. I will identify two explanatory factors for the Russian retreat from the ultimatum: the fierceness of the criticism as well as the strategic relevance of the criticizing actors.

**Keywords:** great power, english school, human rights, verbal criticism, russian federation.

*Philipp Brugger/Andreas Hasenclever/Lukas Kasten*

**Why Trust is Worthwhile**

Ontology and Potential of a Neglected Concept in International Relations

ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 65-104

This article offers an overview of interstate trust as a theoretical and empirical concept in IR. We first contrast information-based trust with a different understanding which focuses on trust as the suspension of uncertainty. We emphasize the ontological surplus of the suspension-based type of trust, since only this conceptualization allows us to understand trust as a discrete phenomenon distinguishable from control. In our survey of the existing literature on trust in IR we then show that information-based trust does not add anything new to theory development and empirical analysis in IR, while suspension-based trust does. However, suspension-based trust is conceptually underdeveloped and has not been the subject of much empirical research. This is why in the final section we discuss an agency-based model to address how states can trust, and offer some ideas for a possible operationalization that facilitates empirical analysis.

**Keywords:** interstate trust, belief formation, cooperation, suspension, ignorance.

*Stephan Engelkamp/Katharina Glaab/Judith Renner*

**One Step Forward, Two Steps Back**

A Reply to Nicole Deitelhoff and Lisbeth Zimmermann

ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 105-118

In their response to our article »In der Sprechstunde«, Nicole Deitelhoff and Lisbeth Zimmerman issue three major points of critique towards our proposal of a critical approach to norm research: They criticize, firstly, our discussion of constructivist norm research, secondly, our use of the concepts of local and Western and, thirdly, the overall critical potential of our proposed approach. We take our response to our critics, firstly, as an opportunity to clarify some of the arguments made in our article. Secondly, we confront the points of criticism outlined above and show that Deitelhoff's and Zimmerman's critique can only be maintained if one accepts their particular reading of our article. Moreover, it gets tangled up in three major

contradictions and is built upon a problematic understanding of the relation between empirical facticity and normative evaluation.

**Keywords:** critical norm research, constructivism, post-colonialism, critical theory, post-structuralism.

*Maximilian Terhalle*

**A Critical Assessment of the »Politicization of International Institutions« Thesis**

ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 119-139

The so-called »Politicization of International Institutions« thesis has been established as a powerful research trend in the last few years. Its key focus has been on the different shapes and causes of civil society's questioning of decisions made by international institutions. The most recent research that has been conducted on »politicization« builds upon these earlier strands. In particular, it has extended the number of actors, furthering »politicization«, to rising powers and has argued for the emergence of a distinctly new world order. However, these propositions are, from a conceptual point of view, questionable in two ways. Firstly, the revised term of »politicization« is both incoherent and underspecified. Put briefly, the assumed complementarity of the main actors' understandings of sovereignty cannot be taken for granted. Moreover, excluding a(n undeniable) power component from the relationship between the distinct groups of actors is not viable. Secondly, approaching global order simply via international institutions reveals an unbearable degree of decontextualizing the overall problem of order. What this overlooks is the fact that international institutions are, originally, built on material power. Neither does the thesis take into account those mechanisms that operate before the actual emergence of »resistance«. In turn, taking on these points would have made it much clearer against whom the notion of »resistance« is actually directed and whether leaving the US out of the picture is at all justified. Based on these criticisms, the article introduces an alternative version to the authors' underspecified concept of global order, which focuses on the dynamics underlying the central process of negotiating global legitimacy.

**Keywords:** politics of legitimacy, great powers, political bargain, politicization, global order.

*Mathias Albert/Michael Ziern*

**On Double Identities**

A Plea for Publishing in German as Well

ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 141-154

This contribution starts with the diagnosis of a successful internationalization of German IR and a resulting concentration on publishing in English. It argues that this generally laudable development also has unwanted side-effects for the German-speaking IR community and that for reasons of both individual as well as collective rationality there might be reasons for not concentrating solely on the English-speaking market. It thus makes an appeal to *also* publish in German and if possible *also* publish with a view of the interests of a more general public.

**Keywords:** german ir, publication strategies, internationalization, professionalization, theory and practice.