

## Abstracts

*Thomas Bernauer/Thomas Sattler*

### **Are WTO Disputes over Environment, Health and Safety Regulation More Prone to Escalation than other WTO Disputes?**

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This article analyzes the claim that trade disputes over inter-jurisdictional differences in environment, health and safety (EHS) regulation are more prone to escalation than disputes over other issues. The argument holds that, relative to non-EHS disputes, gradual concessions among plaintiff and defendant as well as side-payments to domestic constituencies in the defendant country are more difficult. We test this hypothesis with data on 506 dyadic WTO trade disputes in 1995-2003 using selection models. The results show that, contrary to our hypothesis and widely shared assumptions in the qualitative literature, EHS disputes are less prone to escalation than other WTO disputes from the consultation to the panel/appellate body level. However, we also find that EHS disputes are more prone to escalation into compliance disputes once they have reached the panel/appellate body level. Based on new data, an improved methodology and an upgraded theoretical argument we thus demonstrate the need for a theoretical model that accounts for variation in the likelihood of escalation across the three levels.

*Helmut Breitmeier*

### **The Output-Oriented Legitimacy of International Regimes**

Empirical Findings from the Quantitative Study of International Environmental Regimes  
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The article focuses on the output-oriented legitimacy of global governance and develops specific performance expectations which are addressed to international institutions. The willingness to obey the politics of international regimes depends on whether these institutions can improve consensual knowledge, promote compliance with norms and rules, contribute to problem-solving, and produce an adequate distribution of costs and benefits. The contribution of regimes to the fulfillment of these requirements is measured with data from the international regimes database. This database includes data on 23 international environmental regimes. The international regimes database represents a tool which can be used for testing hypotheses about the creation and consequences of international regimes. The historical-comparative investigation of the effects which have occurred in the 23 issue areas and causal analysis of the impact of regime factors illustrate that international institutions can actually make an independent contribution to the effective management of complex issues in world politics.

*Philip Manow/Armin Schäfer/Hendrik Zorn*

**European Social Policy and Europe's Party Political »Center of Gravity«  
between 1957 and 2003**

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In international negotiations governments defend national interests. What impact does a government's ideological position have on its negotiation position? Are international agreements more likely if negotiations are conducted by governments of similar ideological orientation? In this paper we argue that the analysis of a government's ideological composition ought to receive more attention in International Relations. We look at the party-political »center of gravity« of the Council of the European Union and report the partisan composition of all EU-member states between 1957 and 2003. Furthermore, we examine how sympathetic left- and right-wing parties were towards integration and how homo- or heterogeneous the member states – and therefore the intergovernmental EU bodies – were during this time period. For this we use data from both expert surveys and the Comparative Manifesto Project. A detailed case study of the evolution of EU social policy since the Treaty of Rome complements and emphasizes our quantitative analysis.