

Abstracts

Rainer Hülse

Language is more than Argumentation

On the Reality-Constituting Role of Metaphors

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Constructivism attributes an important role to language. However, its understanding of language remains superficial due to its focus on content and argumentation. This article claims that we do not only construct reality by what we say, but also by how we say it, notably through the metaphors we are using. In order to come to a better understanding of reality we should thus analyse metaphors. The article prepares the theoretical and methodological ground for doing so. It argues that metaphors construct reality by projecting everyday life-worlds on abstract phenomena. To illustrate this transfer of realities empirically the article looks at the metaphors of the German discourse about EU-enlargement. The metaphors are shown to make the decision of enlargement a question of European identity.

Tanja A. Börzel/Tobias Hofmann/Carina Sprungk

Compliance with Law Beyond the Nation State

On the Logic of Implementing Market-Correcting Regulations

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Our article seeks to contribute to the growing literature on non-compliance with law beyond the nation state. We take issue with an argument advanced by Michael Zürn that »positive« (market-correcting) policies give rise to more compliance problems than »negative« (market-making) policies. Our statistical analysis of data on non-compliance with European Law shows that the positive or negative character of a policy has no significant influence on its level of compliance. Country-specific variables, such as state capacity, are causally more important. We conclude with a summary of our most important findings and some considerations on the relevance of other policy-specific factors that might explain non-compliance with law beyond the nation state.

Paul W. Thurner/Clemens Kroneberg/Michael Stoiber

Strategic Signalling during International Negotiations

A Quantitative Analysis Applied to the Intergovernmental Conference 1996
ZIB, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 287-320

International Relations studies have yielded little quantitative insights into the processes of complex international relations. In our study, we focus on selected aspects of sequences of multilateral negotiations: the signalling of negotiation preferences at the beginning and during the negotiations. On the basis of an opportunity-cost approach we derive hypotheses as to whether and to which precision, respectively, EU member states declare initial negotiation positions for the Intergovernmental Conference 1996. Secondly, we determine factors explaining the number of written proposals during the 16 months of negotiations. Discrete choice models (multinomial logistic regression and poisson regression, respectively) are applied for the statistical testing of our hypotheses. A main result is the corroboration of the »risky« hypothesis of a curvilinear relationship between the frequency of written interventions and the perceived international conflict configuration.

Reinhard Wolf

Taboo, Legalisation and Nuclear Non-Proliferation

An Innovative Hypothesis in Search of an Empirical Basis
ZIB, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 321-331

This contribution takes issue with Christopher Daase's claim that the indefinite extension of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) has led to a legitimacy crisis of the global nuclear order. Contrary to Daase's theses it is argued (1) that Weber's ideal type of charismatic rule can hardly be applied to interstate relations, (2) that the legalisation of the proliferation taboo had already occurred with the signing of the NPT in 1969, (3) that most of the crisis symptoms Daase mentions are neither without precedent nor are they clearly related to the NPT extension and (4) that not even the Indian tests in 1998 can be attributed to the alleged legitimacy crisis, for these explosions were ordered in part to pre-empt an expected strengthening of the proliferation taboo.

Matthias Dembinski/Harald Müller

Rational or Charismatic?

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime Before and After 1995

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A growing number of observers perceive a crisis of the non-proliferation regime. Similarly, Christopher Daase argues that the unlimited extension of the non-proliferation treaty in 1995 might have strengthened its legality, but only at the expense of its legitimacy. His assessment is based on approaches of classical sociology like the concept of the taboo, which allow him to interpret the unlimited extension as a (failed) attempt by the nuclear weapon states to rationalise their charismatic rule. This article confronts Daase's thesis with empirical findings. Relevant data do not support his assumption that the non-proliferation regime was legitimate and stable before 1995 and is becoming unstable after 1995. Furthermore, we show that empirical findings are more in line with well-established rationalist or social constructivist explanations of the regime.

Christopher Daase

Nonproliferation and the Study of International Legitimacy

A Response to my Critics

ZIB, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 351-364

Critics have argued that my recent analysis of the end of the nuclear taboo is theoretically innovative, but does not match empirical evidence. In response, I demonstrate that my critics' case is flawed, because they use invalid parameters to determine legitimacy, confuse causal and constitutive arguments, and jumble levels of analysis.

Christoph Weller

The World, the Discourse, and Global Governance

On the Construction of a Hegemonic Discourse – a Reply to Ulrich Brand
ZIB, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 365-382

In his article on global governance as a potentially hegemonic discourse, Ulrich Brand proposes and simultaneously criticises that this pattern of interpretation of international politics is gaining predominance within the scientific as well as the political discourse. In agreement with Brand, I believe that hegemonic discourses on issues of international politics can have considerable potential in influencing the legitimacy of foreign policy strategies. As such, the potential dominance of one pattern of interpretation in the discourse on international politics is a highly relevant issue. However, the critique of global governance approaches addressed by Brand could only convince by reflecting both the theoretical and methodological dimensions of an analysis of hegemonic discourse. As will be shown, Brand largely ignores these dimensions in his analysis. His analysis therefore results in a construction of one discourse among many alternatives instead of plausibly outlining the hegemonic discourse on international politics.

Siegfried Schieder

PolitikON

Assets and Drawbacks of New Media in Teaching International Relations
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This essay deals with the use of new media in teaching International Relations. It summarises the experiences gained within the German PolitikON project which has been in operation for two years now. Internet and multimedia do not only create an opportunity for global access to knowledge but also offer an additional possibility for the design of individual learning processes. This is achieved by promoting an active and self-directed manner of studying and by increasing the transparency of the available forms of education. However, new media should not be used on a »stand-alone« basis. Experiences in using online-material produced by the International Relations section of PolitikON in presence-requiring courses have shown that improved quality in teaching and more successful learning for students can only be achieved by the systematic and creative integration of online-components into normal courses.