

Abstracts

Reinhard Wolf

Respect

A Neglected Factor in International Relations

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This article argues that states and other international actors do not only strive for security, power, and wealth, but also for the social affirmation of their value and importance – i.e. for the respect of their peers. Just like individuals, they partly do so because enjoying social respect enhances opportunities for pursuing material interests. However, actors also do so because they see an intrinsic value in getting other actors' respect. This is most evident in symbolic struggles where expected material benefits hardly compensate for material costs. The article starts by defining respect in comparison to related concepts before proceeding with a discussion of analytical problems which research on respect must overcome. Following this, some hypotheses on states' propensity for respect seeking are offered and then illustrated with empirical examples of respect seeking behaviour. Should future plausibility probes confirm the influence of the respect motive, further studies on respect might open up new perspectives for IR research.

Thorsten Bonacker/Sina Schüssler

Consequences of Debording

NGOs and the Sources of Political Power in World Society. The Example of International Sanctions

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This article is linked to the debate on the appearance of a transnational political order recently continued by Zürn et al. (2007). In contrast to governance oriented literature we argue from a more sociological point of view. We describe the changes within international relations as a debording of the world of states. In this context it is our aim to strengthen a research focus on the consequences arising out of such processes of debording. Our key argument is, that debording can be understood as a differentiation of autonomous sources of political power with a transitive and an intransitive dimension. This differentiation leads to new capabilities of influence for NGOs, but it also involves new dilemmas for political action and new conflicts of different political rationalities. Our thesis is illustrated by the role of NGOs in the process of demanding and implementing international sanctions.

Marianne Beisheim/Achim Brunnengräber
Parliaments, Globalization and Global Governance
Results and Desiderata
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Literature on both, Parliamentarism and International Relations, discusses the changing role of parliamentary institutions in global governance. National Parliaments are deemed under pressure: the double impact of globalization and internationalization impedes their traditional role of democratic legitimization, political steering, communication and representation. At the same time, it is maintained that so far regional parliaments and inter-parliamentary organizations can hardly make up for the legitimacy deficit in global politics. This article reviews the relevant literature and suggests questions for future research. Studies should investigate in particular the design of parliamentary institutions and their corresponding effects on the legitimacy of decision making in a system of multi-level governance.

Michael Zürn/Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt/Martin Binder
The Involuntary Formation of Political Order
A Reply to our Critics
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This article is in response to the critique of our earlier paper on the involuntary formation of political order. In that paper we argued that shifting governance and competencies to international institutions results unintentionally in the gradual supra- and transnationalization of politics and policies; our second claim was that the increased scope and authority of trans- and supranational institutions will result in their politicization. We now attempt to meet the objections raised by our critics. We try to show that the developments we describe neither unfold uniformly, nor do we neglect the role of actors and their strategic interests. Moreover, we attempt to show that our hypotheses are not restricted to the realm of economy. Finally, to specify some of our arguments, we focus particularly on the motives of politicization and our notion of a normatively exacting order beyond the nation state.

Hanns W. Maull
Scientific Evaluation of Foreign Policy: An Oxymoron?
A Reply to Peter Rudolf
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The possibilities of »scientific evaluation of foreign policy« are constrained by two fundamental difficulties much more seriously than Peter Rudolf allows for: first, the »chaotic« or »turbulent« (in the mathematical sense) nature of international relations, and second, the intrinsic (ontological and epistemological) limits of social science predictions. Scientific foreign policy evaluation can and should challenge specific foreign policy strategies and policies, but it can produce recommendations for

»better« foreign policies generally only for the organisation of foreign policy decision-making and broad foreign policy guidelines. The evaluation of specific decisions and the formulation of policy recommendations based on an assessment of policy effects, on the other hand, would require causal models which social sciences do not, and arguably cannot, possess. Foreign policy evaluation therefore is more art than science. Still, it is not only desirable but also feasible if it is undertaken with a clear sense and a systematic reflection of its limitations. The best from of foreign policy evaluation is therefore in principle an evaluation undertaken jointly by social scientists and practitioners through dialogue involving different perspectives.

Thomas Widmer

Evaluation in Foreign Policy: Reasons for an Evaluation Gap

A Reply to Peter Rudolf

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In his contribution on foreign policy evaluation Peter Rudolf discusses the neglect of evaluation in foreign policy analysis. This reply supports the basic claims as made by Rudolf but adds some differentiations that are crucial from an evaluation perspective. Furthermore, empirical evidence from Swiss foreign policy is presented in order to illustrate the evaluation gap. In accordance with the arguments provided by Rudolf, eight theses explaining the observed situation are proposed. The reply concludes, based on experiences from other policy fields, with some considerations related to the feasibility and desirability of an expansion of evaluation in foreign policy.