Abstracts

Matthias Mader/Harald Schoen
Only a Matter of Perspective?
Framing Effects and Mass Attitudes on a Potential Deployment of German Troops to Libya
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 5-34

This article examines whether public support for the deployment of German troops abroad is affected by elite-initiated communication strategies. Utilizing data from a survey experiment, we study the effects of different frames on mass attitudes towards a potential military mission to Libya in 2011. We show that in this case stressing the risks and dangers of military combat does not significantly lower mission support. Reminding citizens of the humanitarian goals of the deployment, however, substantively boosts public support. Citizens who prefer an active German foreign policy and left-leaning citizens are influenced most strongly by the humanitarian frame.

Keywords: public opinion, use of force, framing, germany, libya, survey experiment.

Lisbeth Zimmermann/Andreas von Staden/Angela Marciniak/Linda Wallbott/Friedrich Arndt
Must There Be Order?
Solving Conflicts between Normative Orders
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 35-60

The effects of the pluralization of global normative orders are increasingly attracting scholarly attention in both International Law and Political Science, with a particular focus on the question of how conflicts between different orders are, or should be, dealt with. This literature review discusses how different branches of research in Political Science and International Law deal with conflicts resulting from the overlap of normative orders, and which strategies they present as solutions. The article identifies three biases in existing research: a focus on unambiguous solutions, the juxtaposition of legal and political solutions, and a focus on formalized orders. Based on this review, a typology of strategies for the solution of conflicts arising from overlap is presented, distinguishing between the toleration of ambivalence, case-by-case decisions, and the intentional creation of unambiguity. The latter can be created by the reordering of structures, hierarchization, or harmonization.

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In conclusion we discuss research perspectives regarding the descriptive, causal, and normative analysis of conflicts between normative orders.

Keywords: norm conflicts, normative orders, pluralization, regime overlap, globalization.

Nicole Deitelhoff/Lisbeth Zimmermann
From the Heart of Darkness: Critical Reading and Understanding of Constructivist Norm Research
A Reply to Stephan Engelkamp, Katharina Glaab and Judith Renner
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 61-74

In their article Stephan Engelkamp, Katharina Glaab and Judith Renner claim that mainstream research on international norms lacks a concept of power, is eurocentric and non-reflective. As an alternative, the authors propose a critical research program on international norms based on a post-structuralist perspective. This perspective should allow researchers to unmask hegemonic norms and values, to reconstruct and strengthen non-Western, local norms and values and to become aware and reflective of their position in truth production. We demonstrate that this proposal fails to enable a critical research program because (1) it misjudges the strengths and weaknesses of constructivist norm research, (2) it furthers a non-reflective application of concepts such as »western« and »local«, and (3), it develops no intellectual tools to normatively judge political processes.

Keywords: norms, power, constructivism, post-structuralism, critical theory.

Philipp Genschel/Markus Jachtenfuchs
Politics as usual!
An Institutional Analysis of the Euro Crisis
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 75-88

The EU's reaction to the dramatic Euro crisis follows a normal institutional pathway which has already been pursued in earlier crises of integration. The EU is characterized by jointdecision-making which does not only prevent crisis management by integration but also crisis management by desintegration. Thus, the EU has to rely on conflict-preventing incremental decision-making strategies. Disagreements in monetary policy since Maastricht have been circumvented by incomplete contracts which led to massive follow-up problems during the Euro crisis. Faced with critical publics in many member states, the EU reacts with further conflict-preventing decision-strategies such as the limited creation of fiscal capacity and a strong preference for regulation. As in earlier crises, the EU emphasizes incremental integration in order to mitigate pressing crisis symptoms and to reassure critical

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publics. However, these strategies do not solve the causes of the crisis but only further process the crisis in institutionally acceptable pathways.

Keywords: european union, euro crisis, joint-decision making, institutionalism, regulation.

Hans-Jürgen Bieling
The Project of the Euro Rescue and the Contradictions of European Crisis Constitutionalism
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 89-103

Over the past years, the development of the European Union, particularly of the Eurozone, was marked by crisis constitutionalist reforms. In order to understand, how these reforms fit into the previous course of European integration, this article adopts a neo-gramscian and regulation theory inspired political economic perspective which conceives the history of European integration as a crisis-induced process of negotiated settlements. In comparison to former crises and corresponding political reactions, however, the current constellation is specific: on the one hand, the euro and sovereign debt crisis seems to represent less an evolutionary crisis but more an existential crisis whose handling is highly uncertain; and on the other hand, European crisis constitutionalism generates alarming socioeconomic, democratic and intergovernmental consequences.

Keywords: crisis constitutionalism, euro rescue, financial market capitalism, social crisis, post-democracy.

Christian Fehlker/Demosthenes Ioannou/Arne Niemann
Building a European Financial Market Union: A Case of Functional Spillover
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 105-124

Weaknesses in the design of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) have surfaced in the wake of the financial crisis and have led to a deepening of European integration. Relatively rapid and notable integration steps have taken place in response to the crisis in order to address among others vulnerabilities in the banking system and in the public finances of EU member states. In some cases, the need for action was particularly urgent as member states became entrenched in a vicious sovereign-bank nexus endangering financial stability in EMU. In the area of financial supervision in particular, national authorities within an incomplete European framework proved ill equipped to respond to the evolving crisis. The initial remedial action taken was later supplemented by deeper institutional reforms leading to an increased level of integration. This paper provides an explanation of these developments from a neo-functionalist perspective, and identifies in particular the concept

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of functional spillover as a driver in this process. The crisis amplified functional spillovers between the different policy areas under EMU. It provided the trigger for the manifestation of underlying functional pressures leading to deeper integration. We conclude that until such functional pressures adequately subside, this process can be expected to yield further integration steps.

Keywords: financial crisis, economic and monetary union, banking supervision, neofunctionalism, functional spillover.

Loukas Tsoukalis
We Need a New Grand Bargain in Europe
ZIB, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 125-135

This article examines the linkages between economics and politics, markets and institutions during the most serious crisis that has hit Europe for decades. With the bursting of a big international financial bubble at its origin, it has exposed a systemic failure in the euro area coupled with different national failures. Many *unthinkables* have become reality since then at both national and European level, but we are still nowhere near the end of the crisis. The distribution of the burden of adjustment within and between countries remains highly divisive, and so is the overall direction of the economic strategy: they are closely interconnected. EMU has become a make or break issue for European integration. Europe needs a new grand bargain to escape from the zero-sum mentality that has prevailed between creditors and debtors, between North and South.

Keywords: banks, crisis, debt, euro, integration.

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