European Research Colloquium

“The Transnationalization of States, Economies and Civil Societies: New Challenges for Governance in Europe”

Transnationalization and Governance

-Bibliography-

(April 2007)

1. Theorizing and Conceptualizing Transnationalization

Suggested readings:


The volume does not deal with the impact of re-ordering processes on our lives but reaches out to understand how new modes of governance are shaped and come about. The term “transnational” implies entanglement and boundaries. Hence, the authors understand transnational governance as a kind of governance activity which is embedded in particular geopolitical structures and hence enveloped in multiple and interacting institutional webs. The transnational arena depicts a playing field not only for states but also for other actors such as business enterprises, regulators, judicials, scientists and activists who establish linkages across national borders. The authors define five institutional forces which determine the “rules of the game” in the transnational world providing frameworks for judging which behavioural, organizing, discursive, interaction patterns are appropriate. These are scientization, marketization, formal organizing, moral rationalization and reinvented democratisation. Further, the chapters identify “new” actors that form transnational networks of interest like central bankers, and “old” actors such as states and universities and examine how these actors transform due to transnationalization. Finally, the volume deals with processes of governance, i.e. fields and issues as diverse as international accounting, competition legislation, higher education and markets for CO₂ emission. The authors analyse how these fields are governed transnationally through soft rules and to what extent they converge on a global scale. This volume argues that the transnational world is not about the disappearance of rules and order. Regulatory and governance activities instead increase in scope and breadth, even in policy fields that have not been subject of rule making activity before, such as environmental policy. This overall progress of soft regulation does not mark the withdrawal of states. Instead, states remain involved in the regulatory game and may well gain power and influence as they form coalitions and constellations beyond their territories.

Orenstein and Schmitz review recent books on transnational politics that cross the boundary between international relations and comparative politics by emphasizing that analysis of domestic and international decision making must include the analysis of transnational influences. This is in particular true for scholarly work on regime change and policy formation as both are shaped by transnational diffusion processes and transnational mobilization.

The books under review are:

The article summarizes the state of the art of scholarly research on transnational actors (TNAs) and their interdependent relationship with the international and domestic realm. First, the article provides an overview about the different TNAs in terms of their international structure (formal organization vs. loose networks) and their motivation (instrumental goals vs. “common good” motives). Second, Risse provides an historical overview about the significance of TNAs and shows that rulers have always operated in a transnational environment. Third, he reveals that the construction of dichotomies between society-centred and a state dominated view of IR is misleading since it distracts from analyzing 1) how states, their institutional structures, as well as their international relations, affect TNAs and networks as dependent variables and 2) how TNAs influence international and domestic politics. Risse then turns to the question how states and international organizations enable and constrain TNAs’ activities: He argues that multi-national companies are very much determined by the institutional arrangements of the country they are acting in whereas (I)NGOs heavily depend financially on national and international donors which ties them to their donors’ specific policy goals. However, national governments and International Organizations could not fulfill many of their tasks without externalizing them to INGOs which hints towards a certain degree of interdependence among them. Most relevant is the part in which Risse summarizes the different factors that influence the extent to which TNAs’ influence domestic and international contexts. Special emphasis is put on the creation of international norms and on the diffusion of these norms into domestic practices by transnational advocacy networks and INGOs. The explanatory power of independent variables such as ideational compatibility and vulnerability of TNAs’ targets in material and ideational terms as well as regarding the level of uncertainty among domestic policy-makers have already been tested in the human rights areas but need to be applied to other issue-areas of international relations in future research.
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Additional readings:


Appadurai offers a cultural study of globalization and shows how imagination works as a social force in today's world, providing new resources for identity and energies for creating alternatives to the nation-state. Appadurai examines the current epoch of globalization, which is characterized by the twin forces of mass migration and electronic mediation, and examines a) media flows across national boundaries that produce images of well-being that cannot be satisfied by national standards of living and consumer capabilities; b) flows of discourses of human rights which generate demands from work forces that are repressed by state violence which is backed by global arms flows as well as c) ideas about gender and modernity that circulate to create large female work forces at the same time that cross-national ideologies of "culture", "authenticity" and national honor create increasing pressures on just these working women to embody traditional virtues. Appadurai simultaneously explores and explodes boundaries - between how we imagine the world and how that imagination influences our self-understanding, between social institutions and their effects on the people who participate in them, between nations and peoples that seem to be ever more homogeneous and yet ever more filled with differences. The book, hence, questions traditional oppositions between culture and power, tradition and modernity, global and local, pointing out the vital role imagination plays in our construction of the world of today and tomorrow.


Gourevitch was one of the first scholars who argued that the international system is not only a consequence of domestic politics and structure but also a cause of them. He suggests that international relations and domestic politics are so interrelated that they should be analysed simultaneously. His argument inspired scholarly research in the fields of Transnationalism and Europeanization to explore the dynamics between the domestic and the international realm.


Globalization has made it increasingly necessary to break with nation-state centered analysis in macrosociologies. Social structure is becoming transnationalized, and an epistemological shift is required in concurrence with this ontological change. A new interdisciplinary transnational studies should be predicated on a paradigmatic shift in the focus of social inquiry from the nation-state as the basic unit of analysis to the global system as the appropriate unit. Sociology's fundamental contribution to a transnational studies should be the study of transnational social structure. This article does not establish a new transnational paradigm. Rather, it surveys and critiques nation-state-centrism in extant paradigms, provides a rationale for a new transnational approach, and proposes a research curriculum of a new transnational studies that may contribute to paradigmatic reconceptualization.
2. Transnationalization of the economy and changing patterns of social and economic governance

Suggested readings:


Using Latour’s concepts of “actor-network” and “translation,” the authors show that neoliberalism’s success in Eastern Europe is best analyzed not as an institutional form diffused along the nodes of a network, but as itself an actor-network based on a particular translation strategy that construes socialism as a laboratory of economic knowledge. They argue that socialism was made into a laboratory of economic knowledge during the socialist calculation debate of the 1920s and 1930s. An extensive debate during the Cold War is also documented and shows that a transnational network continued to be organized around attempts to connect the results obtained in the socialist laboratory with debates and struggles in Western economics. Finally, the drafting of transition blueprints in postcommunist Eastern Europe after 1989, with the participation of American economists, is shown to be a continuation of this transnational network.


The volume examines the effects of EMU accession on domestic transformation in the accession states of Central and Eastern Europe. In contrast to traditional bottom-up or top-down approaches Dyson et al. explain how Europeanization works by applying the concept of “defining and negotiating fit” that integrates mechanisms of formal and informal conditionality and contagion and allows to grasp the effects of EMU accession on domestic transformation across policy space and over time. Formal conditionality encompasses various mechanisms such as national central bank independence, aid and technical assistance in the pre-accession period, benchmarking and monitoring, advice and twinning as well as the control of entry into the Euro zone through “gate-keepers” like the ECB or the EC. Informal conditionality is, instead, conceived as the existence of a “sound money and finance paradigm” and of currency area theory which fills the gap of uncertainty among policy makers in transitioning countries and may increase political competition. The concept of contagion is considered to be central in explaining how fit is defined and negotiated in EMU accession. Contagion operates through two main mechanisms: 1) the unofficial use of the euro as a parallel currency in the region and invoicing exports and international financing and 2) the domestic transmission of ideas about euro entry through central bankers and finance ministry officials who are embedded in transnational policy communities that are bound together by a “sound money and finance paradigm”. Hence, the volume reveals several mechanisms at work that help to understand variation in speed and character of EMU accession across Central and Eastern Europe.
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The diffusion of economic ideas is often attributed to a homogenization of world culture that instructs policymakers, despite different national contexts, to adopt common policies. Our analysis below supports the broad contention of diffusion of privatization as an idea, while underscoring the heterogeneity, or “palace wars”, among ideological stances within an epistemic community. The results show that the diffusion of privatization as an idea was significantly affected by American-trained (and particularly Chicago-trained) economists in the adopting countries. Diffusion of privatization as an economic idea reflects less a learning or emulation of better policies, but the dynamics of discourse and ideology among knowledgeable individuals in a globally dispersed epistemic community.

Additional readings:


A growing portion of tax policy in postcommunist Europe is driven by external factors relating to regional and global economic integration. The EU accession process and global competition for capital have largely determined tax policymaking and the development of capitalist tax regimes in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Eurostat data, OECD and EU reports, and interviews with political and bureaucratic officials support these conclusions. Recent trends in taxation in postcommunist Europe provide a striking example of the declining economic policy autonomy of states, in this case, newly autonomous states with a great sensitivity to issues of national sovereignty.


This study deals with the extent and content of 'Europeanisation' in the Central and East European (CEE) countries at the level of market making. It argues that Europeanisation at the level of market making was about creating states with strong capacities to preserve and regulate markets and with increased and reconstructed administrative and planning capabilities. The most successful CEE countries with their strong states and weak social and economic actors converged towards a moving target, that is, towards EU countries in the process of supranational market making with dramatically different constellation of powers among key economic actors. The paper discusses the specifics of national level market making in the CEE countries, the factors of divergence within the region, and the 'diverging convergence' between the CEE and the EU countries.

In terms of ownership and operations, many companies in Eastern Europe have now been integrated into the world economy. In this article, informed in part by a critical engagement with the Global Commodity Chains (GCC) perspective, we explore the nature and significance of international linkages among firms in Eastern Europe. In particular, we argue that it has been the legacies of the state socialist past embedded in the inherited macro- and microeconomic structures, on the one hand, and the strategies of multinational firms on the other, rather than the international linkages in any simple sense, that have been the main influencing factors. While we do not deny the existence of inter-firm relations similar to the ones described in the GCC literature, we point out that these relationships are much more complex than assumed in that approach and that this complexity is a product of the very different historical backgrounds and modes of incorporation into the world economy of the various Eastern European societies. Drawing on empirical evidence from Hungary and focusing specifically on employment and other labour issues, we argue that there are a variety of firm development paths in Eastern Europe and that these have differing implications for the integration of firms, regions and countries of Eastern Europe into the world economy.


Rapid privatisation in the CEE should have led to international bidding and an increasing foreign investment in the banking sector. However, whereas a big amount of banking assets were foreign owned in Poland and Hungary by 2003 (Poland: 68,7 %, Hungary: 88,8%), in Romania the share was only 43,5%. Rachel Epstein analyses why the degree of foreign ownership in banking varies across the postcommunist states despite low levels of domestic capital accumulation in all Central and Eastern European countries. She argues that international actors like OECD, IMF and EU could only shape the policymaking process in target countries and convince actors to open their banking sector for foreign investment under given preconditions in the domestic context: a) The more uncertain domestic actors are about which policies they should support, b) the more desire domestic actors have to be socially recognized and c) the greater the credibility of international policy agendas are, the more likely domestic actors comply with external actor agendas. Varying degrees of these influential factors in Poland, Hungary and Romania explain their diverse outcomes in terms of banking ownership structure.


The books analyses the behavior of multinational companies (MNCs) as the complex outcome of the interaction between influences from the parent national business system (NBS) and the host NBS as well as the supranational level. The various contributions of the volume draw a differentiated picture of MNCs as “rule makers” and “rule takers”. In terms of MNCs as “rules makers” it is argued that MNCs exert direct influence on priorities and strategies of public policy makers at the national level of parent and host NBS. Further, some authors stress the indirect influence of MNCs on the supranational level like the EU at which the imposition
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of a neo-liberal model of European integration in the interests of transnational capital causes an ongoing struggle between policy makers. The notion of MNCs as “rule takers” is explored in the lights of micro- and macropolitical processes. The volume shows that institutional arrangements of national business systems in terms of management practices, state-industrial relations as well as supranational regulatory patterns influence MNCs behaviour.


The book examines industry's transnational promotion of environmental ideas and practices. Rather than positing change in national and international environmental policy as the only valuable outcome, it looks at the environmental benefits of changes in perspectives, policies, and practices within the firms themselves. Ronie Garcia-Johnson shows that multinational corporations have incentives to raise the environmental, health, and safety standards of domestic companies in their host countries to maintain their competitive advantage. To determine industry's exportation and importation of environmentalism, Garcia-Johnson focuses on the flow of ideas, values, and strategies from United States-based chemical companies to companies in Mexico and Brazil. The comparative case study explains how and why Mexican and Brazilian companies are importing environmental ideas and changing their production policies. Garcia-Johnson then explores the effects of these private policies on communities, nongovernmental organizations, governments, and national environmental politics within Brazil and Mexico.


This article investigates the processes through which the European Union has become a major actor in national media regulation. The European Union is not viewed as a monolith but as a constellation of institutions that pursue Europeanization with different policy instruments and intersecting agendas. Therefore, the article illustrates how the European Commission (in turn, operating through different Directorates-General and the Merger Task Force), the European Court of Justice and the European Parliament have successfully constrained and ultimately 'Europeanized' the policies of five member states (France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK). The ensuing pattern is one of policy convergence – a result that is somewhat surprising considering the usual argument that the impact of the European Union is refracted by institutional structures that produce national modes of adaptation to Europe.


Free Trade has always been highly contested, but both the arguments about it and the treaties that regulate it have changed dramatically since the Second World War. Under the 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) regime, objections to free trade were essentially economic, and tariffs were a nation state's primary means of protecting its interests. However, by the early 1970s, tariffs had been substantially reduced, and the imposition and removal of non-tariff barriers that reflected a wide range of domestic concerns about the protection of health, safety, and the environment have since come to dominate trade agreements and their implementation. The expanding scope of these international treaties, and their effect on domestic regulatory objectives, has created new challenges for the nation-state,
and for the international trade system as a whole. Domestic regulatory objectives that are generally embedded in a nation state's legal system or even in its constitution, are now negotiable and are susceptible to adjudication at the international level where they may, or may not, be used to camouflage unrelated economic interests. The international trade system adapted to this situation in 1994 by transforming the GATT into the World Trade Organization (WTO), which has more effective means for dispute resolution and includes a number of special agreements – such as the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS) and the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) – with rules for balancing the economic concerns of free trade with the social concerns of regulatory objectives. These developments have generated legal queries about the general legitimacy of transnational governance arrangements and their ‘constitutionalization’, i.e. the quest for transnational governance that is mediated by law and not only accepted de facto but considered deserving of acceptance.


Johnson analyses why central bankers in post-communist EU accession states pressed for rapid adoption of the euro despite the social and economic costs involved and why their efforts failed? Her analysis reveals that EU diffusion works through both, normative persuasion and material coercion, influencing groups of domestic actors differently. Johnson argues that the diffusion in post-communist banking through external actors like the central banks in advanced industrial societies, IMF, ECB and BIS took place in a two step process. Whereas the central bankers themselves were socialised through intensive training session and thus internalised the validity and efficiency of the western model of central banking, the broader domestic environment like the post-communist governments and the media accepted the western model only much slower and through a rather incentive-driven process.


After the end of the Cold War, the Baltic Sea Region (BSR) developed into a highly dynamic area of cross-border cooperation and transnational networking. Four types of governance beyond the nation-state are discussed here: (1) international regimes, such as the Helsinki Convention for the Protection of the Baltic Sea; (2) transnational policy networks, such as Baltic 21, the world’s first regional Agenda 21; (3) transnational networks, such as the Union of the Baltic Cities (UBC); and (4) the European Union with approaches such as the “Northern Dimension” for the development of the Baltic Sea Region. Governance towards sustainable development of the Baltic Sea Region undoubtedly requires a combination of national governance with these governance types beyond the nation-state. In this respect, transnational (policy) networks and the European Union provide promising new approaches that can complement the traditional forms of international and intergovernmental cooperation between nation-states. These new governance types represent two parallel trends: a development towards (1) transnationalization and (2) the Europeanization of the Baltic Sea Region.
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The article asks whether the social policies of European welfare states converge and how this process is influenced by the transnationalization of social policy. Three influential factors are examined: 1) Differences and similarities in terms of domestic factors across the EU member states, 2) the effect of learning among the members, 3) the impact of the EU on the member states. Impacts of domestic and transnational processes on the convergence of social policies across the EU are mutually dependent. This is because two social policy models exist within the EU: Continental Europe adopted the Bismarckian, whereas the anglo-saxon and Nordic countries followed the Beveridge model. Within the two groups convergence occurs due to transnational policy transfer leading to the stabilisation of the respective model. However, the EU impact also leads to convergence across the two models. This outcome is in particular due to the Open Method of Coordination which is used by the EU as a tool to guarantee similar performance across its member states with regard to pension policies and geriatric nursing through institutionalised form of Transnationalisation, i.e. benchmarking.


This volume brings together views on the nexus and the conflicts between transformation of states and societies and transnationalization processes in politics, economy, and culture. Thematic articles and case studies deal with conditioned nations/states in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. These nations/states are, on the one hand, subjected to transnational institutions, models, and forces and cannot fall back on the model of the classic nation state. On the other hand, the issues traditionally linked to the nation state as a polity - sovereignty, national economy, and identity - are still salient, as they serve to describe and evaluate the consequences of transnationalization. The volume addresses those processes as imminently political ones and poses the question of a transnational polity.


This paper analyses the rise of the new order of regulatory capitalism. It starts with an analytical and historical analysis of the relations between capitalism and regulation, and suggests that change in the governance of capitalist economy is best captured by reference to five dimensions: (a) a new division of labor between state and society (e.g., privatization); (b) an increase in delegation (redefining the boundaries between the experts and the politicians); (c) proliferation of new technologies of regulation; (d) formalization of inter- and intra-institutional relations and the proliferation of mechanisms of self-regulation in the shadow of the state.; and (e) the growth in the influence of experts in general and of international networks of experts in particular. Regulation, though not necessarily directly by the state, seems to be the wave of the future and the current wave of regulatory reforms opens a new chapter in the relations between the state and the economy. It is therefore suggested that is the notion of regulatory capitalism (rather than of the regulatory state or the regulatory society) best captures the extent to which governance nowadays rests on rule making and rule enforcement in both the domestic and the international arenas.

The paper examines the concept of ‘transnational communities’ as a way of understanding globalization practices in business and management. It argues that ‘transnational communities’ are emergent properties of the internationalizing of economic activity. Three specific aspects of this process are considered in detail: the development of multinational companies; the development of international regulatory bodies; and the development of cognitive and normative frameworks through the practices of business education, management consultancies and other global professional service firms. It is argued that in each case, transnational spaces are emerging; within these spaces, transnational communities are developing. The article calls for more research into the diverse nature of these spaces and communities as a way of avoiding the sterile polarities of what Held et al. (1999) refer to as the ‘hyperglobalists’ and the ‘sceptics’.


This article examines the impact of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on domestic trade policies and practices. It shows that protectionist measures, including those practiced by the United States, have been effectively challenged, and consequently restricted, due to the WTO strengthened dispute settlement procedures. Further, the article shows that the new procedures affected the substantive policy outcomes by changing the political influence of competing actors. Specifically, Nitsan identifies four transformations affecting the political influence of participants: the re-scaling of political authority, the judicialization of inter-state relations, the institutionalization of the international organization, and the structural internationalization of the state. Based on this case, the article offers a view of globalization as an institutional project. This view emphasizes the political dimension of the process of globalization; it suggests that this project was facilitated by transforming the institutional arrangements in place; and it identifies the contradictions inherent in it both to U.S. hegemony and to the globalization project itself.


The article identifies five theoretical positions in the debate on the effect of globalisation on national policies and institutions with focus on issues of financial liberalisation in emerging economies. These positions are distinguished in terms of their assumptions about the main systemic level of causal influences on national policies and their assumption about convergence/divergence of national policies and institutions. Five levels of systemic impact are identified: transnational economic influence; national political influence; international, transnational and global political influences. The article concludes with a discussion of prospects for ‘unpacking’ and combining the theories with examples relating to East Asian financial policies.


This article analyzes the emergence and spread of the new pension reforms, a set of privatizing reforms that is part of a broader neoliberal agenda for global economic policy. The new
pension reforms are significant both because they revolutionize the post-war social contract and because global policy actors have been involved directly in their implementation in more than 25 countries around the world. In this sense, the new pension reforms are a case of global policy. This article defines the scope of global policy, explores the content of the new pension reforms, and shows the new pension reforms to be a global policy in their development, transfer, and implementation.


The volume focuses on the emergence of employment policy as a transnational issue and examines unemployment in Europe in the context of globalization and the implementation of Economic and Monetary Union in the EU. The authors analyse how various social and political forces, both national and transnational, have addresses the challenges facing the European economies and how this interplay has influences the emerging EU social and employment policies. Finally, the focus turns to variations within the EU and how to conceptualize the articulation of global, European and national dynamics.


Prange analyses the pharmaceutical sector and discovers that the decentralisation and institutionalisation strategy of the EU Commission makes rule adoption more efficient. By shifting management functions of the negotiations to an independent regulatory agency and creating a Pan-European Regulatory Forum (PERF) in order to allow relevant actors such as politicians, regulators, businessmen and industry associations’ representatives to meet, the EU induced processes of learning, arguing and persuasion in which the relevant actors followed a logic of appropriateness and communicative action.


Simmons examines why national attempts to regulate global capital markets vary in terms of politicisation and modes of institutionalisation by focusing on the mechanisms that encourage convergence across various areas of financial regulation. She argues that neither theories of “races to the bottom” nor theories of cooperation can sufficiently explain the variation. The first argue that governments want to attract financial business and therefore loosen its regulatory standards but cannot explain why regulatory standards tighten in other areas as it is the case with capital adequacy requirements for banks. The latter argue that international institutions are created to reduce uncertainty and transaction costs but cannot explain why these motivations do lead to regulation in the case of trade but do not in the case of financial markets. Therefore, Simmons applies a framework that includes the analysis of market incentives, political pressure and multilateral institutions in the coordination of regulatory policies. She argues that the convergence of capital market regulation depends on the incentives to emulate and the nature and extent of externalities. Simmons concluded that harmonization is most likely in cases of significant negative externalities and high incentives to emulate as it is the case with capital adequacy and is least likely when incentives to emulate
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are low and negative externalities insignificant, as it is the case with standards for information sharing among securities regulators.


This article examines some of the problems that ‘modern’ legal theory poses for a consideration of the extended reach of social actors and institutions in time and space. While jurisprudence has begun to engage with the concept of globalization, it has done so in a relatively limited manner. Thus legal theory's encounters with highly visible transnational practices have, for the most part, resulted not in challenging the prevailing formal legal paradigm, but in a renewed if slightly modified search for a general jurisprudence that ultimately takes little account of the manner in which the work of law is carried out transnationally. The first part of this article examines how legal theory's concern to maintain its own integrity places limitations on its ability to examine the permeability of social boundaries. The latter part draws on critical human geography, post–structuralism and actor–network theory (ANT), to examine the manner in which transnational actors have been able to mobilize law, and in particular intellectual property rights (IPRs), as a necessary strategy for both maintaining the meanings of bio–technologies through time and space, and enrolling farmers into particular social networks.

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Suggested readings:


This article investigates the allocation of regulatory authority in the EU. By introducing the concept of a ‘regulatory regime’, it criticizes not only earlier accounts of the EU ‘regulatory state’, but also current delegation approaches. As a starting point, it identifies a dilemma for the EU regulatory policy. Despite the rising need for uniform EU-level rules in the internal market, the bulk of formal powers and the institutional focus of regulatory activities continue to be located at the national level. This results in a supranational regulatory gap. Our thesis is that this gap is partly filled by transnational regulatory networks. Under certain conditions, regulatory networks offer a back road to the informal Europeanization of government regulation. However, the informalization of governance is vulnerable to strong distributive conflict, and, if effective, it raises unresolved problems of democratic legitimacy.

The end of the Cold War posed an unprecedented challenge to authoritarian regimes. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the ascendancy of Western democracies, and the virtual disappearance of legitimate regime alternatives created powerful incentives for developing world elites to adopt formal democratic institutions. As a result, overtly authoritarian regimes disappeared from much of the globe, giving way, in most cases, to regimes based on multiparty elections. However, many of these emerging electoral regimes were not democracies. In countries as diverse as Belarus, Cambodia, Croatia, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico, Peru, Serbia, Slovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Zambia, and Zimbabwe during the 1990s, competitive elections coexisted with substantial abuse of democratic procedures. Contrary to many expectations, these regimes were not simply “in transition” to democracy. Although some competitive authoritarian regimes democratized during the post-Cold War period, others remained stable and authoritarian. In other cases, autocratic governments fell but regimes nevertheless failed to democratize. The authors argue that these diverging regime paths were heavily influenced by countries’ relationships to the West. To understand this variation, they suggest that it is useful to treat the post-Cold War international environment as operating along two dimensions: Western leverage, or governments’ vulnerability to external pressure, and linkage to the West, or the density of a country’s ties to the United States, the European Union (EU), and Western-led multilateral institutions.


Slaughter suggests that governments increasingly operate through global networks. Her main argument is that the state is not disappearing but is disaggregating. Its component institutions - regulators, judges and legislators - create 1) horizontal networks that link between counterpart national officials across borders and 2) vertical networks between national government officials and their supranational counterparts. Government networks solve the globalization dilemma, since they are better equipped to address global and regional problems, but still remain accountable to their people. In contrast to a centralized decision-making power and coercive authority on a global level, government network remain embedded in their domestic context while reaching out beyond national borders. However, Slaughter not only argues that impact of government networks change the world order but also suggests that these networks shape the domestic realm due to the fact that national representatives have additional or sometimes competing preferences as a result of their membership in these networks.

Additional readings:


This introductory article sets out the conceptual and empirical outlines of the special issue. It identifies a lack of transnational perspective in the scholarship on the European integration
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underway in the Western Balkans, and argues that a transnational perspective can help gauge the success of this process. Importantly, the intensified transnationalization during the decade of conflict in the region in the 1990s, and its aftermath, can both encourage and hinder post-communist democratization. In addition, the article explores the methodological challenge in studying transnationalism in a global age, and queries the meaning of ‘transnational’. As globalization causes the pluralization of political spaces, so transnational relations are sustained by a myriad of different actors, both state and non-state, as well as public and private. These newly created webs of cross-border contacts raise the question of what ‘national’ means in the transnational and what it implies for the reform processes in the aspirant states driven by the quest to join the European Union.


Bruszt and Stark argue that market making in Central and Eastern Europe is not about the reduction of state functions as it was proclaimed by the Washington Consensus. Instead the process of market making is shaped by EU accession and therefore concentrates on the remaking of the state by getting the rules right. Regulation increases economic performance: Those countries that are adopting demanding criteria of Europeanization are those that are further on the road to functioning market economies. Bruszt and Stark, however, ask whether increasing regulation enlarges the scope of societal actors that are included in a development strategy? And how are domestic elites that are accountable to supranational regulatory bodies accountable to their citizens? The authors argue that regulative regimes developed elsewhere can dissociate the local from the European and the global. To solve this dilemma, they suggest to weaken the regulative authorities of national states and, instead, empower nonstate institutions of economic governance at the national, sectoral, regional, local and workplace level.


Bull discusses current processes of regional integration of business in Latin America, and how this impacts on state-led integration processes. She argues that processes of “transnationalization” and “privatization” determine the Latin American states, and led to recent changes of Latin American states. She finally draws some implications for regionalization theory from the example of Latin America.


This paper addresses the less researched topic of internal displacement as a human rights issue and analyzes the extent that the transnationalization of human rights issues and the pressures from regional organizations affected the rights of ethnic minorities, particularly internally displaced ethnic groups. In order to shed light on how much state sovereignty on sensitive internal matters can be challenged by regional organizations, the paper examines Turkey's efforts to join the European Community (through membership in the Council of Europe and
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the European Union) in light of its policies toward its internally displaced Kurdish population. Although the analysis focuses on internal displacement as an issue within this field, it also studies general human rights problems, such as minority rights, cultural rights, and representation of minorities, within the context of Turkey's Kurdish Question.


The volume analyses democratization across Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America along the transnational dimension. The authors stress the importance of understanding democratization as the construction of citizenship as well as institution-building and examines the role transnational actors play in these processes.


Europeanization adds new tasks to national parliaments, i.e. the scrutiny of the government’s position taken within the EU, principally actions and votes taken in the Council of Ministers. Holzhacker argues that national parliamentary scrutiny is important since it increases the legitimacy and participation in the process of European decision-making. This is because national parliamentary scrutiny is the primary institutional source for receiving input from opposition parties on the EU level. The large bulk of scholarly research focuses on institutional changes undertaken by national parliaments to better control the decision-making processes in terms of working style, nature of scrutiny processes and the phase in the policy cycle when scrutiny occurs.


This book examines the impact of the EU on central government administration in the Nordic countries. The main argument is that during the last 10 to 15 years a development has taken place towards the transnationalization of the relationship between national and European organizations. However, transnationalization exists in different elements of the states, or in other words that segmentation is developing. The authors conclude that Europeanization reshapes administrations but at the same time the national administrative system seems to enjoy a high degree of stability.


Jordan and Liefferink argue that environmental policy has been Europeanized to some extent in all member states, but in some member states the impact has been deeper than in others. This is especially the case in terms of the impact of Europeanization on policy content. The EU has promoted a more precautionary problem-solving approach, particularly in the area of air and water pollution control. Further, EU policies have led to tighter standards in all areas of environmental policy. While the EU has affected the policy content of all ten countries, that the study takes into account, Jordan and Liefferink show that the environmental late-comers (Spain, Ireland, the UK) have been much more Europeanized than the environmentally progressive “leader” states.

This volume examines the EU as a highly institutionalized political space which has encouraged and facilitated the formation of transnational networks of policy-makers, parties, non-governmental organizations and sub-state actors at the local and regional level within the EU but also beyond its borders. The book includes theoretical chapters examining and discussing the main conceptual perspectives to studying the transnational EU and empirical case studies of transnationalism in practice on transnational party, trade union and police cooperation to transnational education policy-making and transnational consensus-building in EMU governance.


Following Milward and Moravcsik’s injunction that the analysis of European integration requires evidence-based empirical observation, this article focuses on one area of state activity - the armed forces - to illustrate the current trajectory of state transformation in Europe. The article argues that European armed forces are becoming ‘transnational’. They are undergoing a process of concentration and transnationalization. Budgets and resources are focusing on specialist military units, organized into joint rapid reaction forces, which are co-operating at an increasingly lower level with other similarly concentrated units in other states. The article concludes by suggesting that the transnationalization of the armed forces reflects the wider transformation of states: across a range of activities, states are contracting to concentrate on their core functions and co-operating ever more closely with each other to fulfill them.


Europeanization is a term used to describe the effects of European integration on the politics and policies of its member states as well as the process of enhancing European-level political institutions. Within this growing literature there is no systematic effort to incorporate the role of political parties. However, party analysis has only recently begun to acknowledge the EU as an environment that holds potentially significant consequences for parties. In this article, Ladrech attempts to begin systematic research on Europeanization and political parties by presenting a basic framework for analysis. Five areas are singled out: (1) policy/programmatic content; (2) organization; (3) patterns of party competition; (4) party-government relations; and (5) relations beyond the national party system.


Laffan explores the Europeanization of government executives who are the key actors in the Union’s networked system of governance, since they project domestic preferences in the EU arena and act as translators and editors of EU policies, norms and practices in the domestic arena. The article summarizes the most important research questions and the state of the art. The majority of studies focuses on executive adaptation in comparative perspective, the
Europeanization of national administrations and structures and the EU impact on attitudes and identities of core officials. One of the crucial findings of this literature suggests that the effect of Europeanization on executives has to be analyzed in the light of the different parts of the domestic executives: central coordinators, the inner core and outer circle of ministries. Further, Europeanization led to new structures and processes and, hence, changed the domestic management of executive affairs through the establishment of new institutions, i.e. “EU offices” in some member states or the restructuring of existing institutions in other EU members. Laffan argues that more research needs to be pursued with regard to the attitudes, practices, career trajectories, and identities of the EU cadre since they act as “boundary managers” between the domestic and the European sphere and are the transmitters of “Europeanization”.


Levi-Faur reviews recent books on the diffusion of knowledge and on its role in policy and governance systems that offer some insights into the roles of agents of knowledge, networks of professionals and organizations of knowledge in regulatory and policy-making processes. He demonstrates, that the books concur with three fundamental approaches to the study of political, social and economic change: realism, functionalism and constructivism. Yet, while they offer different perspectives on the role of knowledge in the public policy process, they agree that that role is increasingly relevant to political and policy analysis.

The books under review are:

- Dezalay, Yves/ Garth, G. Bryant (2002): The Internationalization of Palace Wars: Lawyers, Economists and the Contest to Transform Latin American States, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.


Mair reviews the literature on the relationship between European integration and the character and development of parties and party systems. He identifies two major sets of question. One addresses the problem, how Europeanization affects the organization, programs or strategies of parties. The second set deals with the process of transnational party formation on the EU level. Mair suggest four different outcomes in terms of party politics regarding the direct and indirect impact of penetration and institutionalization. The mechanism of penetration leads to the emergence of new anti-European parties within existing national political parties and to hollowing out national party competition and devaluation of national electoral competition. Institutionalization, instead, leads to the creation and consolidation of pan-European party coalitions and the emergence of alternative and non-partisan channels of representation and the diffusion of “Europe” in domestic discourse.
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The volume examines how national political parties in six European member states (Austria, Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Sweden) have responded to the increasing relevance of European governance. Situated in the context of the debate on Europeanization, the contributors illustrate that national political parties have been surprisingly well equipped to handle the challenges of the increasing importance of multi-level governance in Europe.


The volume addresses the questions whether the state is weakened by globalization and whether national economic policies converge under the competition pressure of globalization. The authors show that the state is not weakened by globalization in its fundamental tasks such as the provision of macroeconomic wealth. In some contributions it is argued that transnational actors such as multi-national companies are not able to act totally independent from the state but are indeed interdependent. Others focus on NGOs as influential actors and suggest that they are without doubt influential actors in organizing global economic governance. However, they lack the ability of governments to represent a wide range of interests in a balanced way due to their thematical one-sidedness and lack of inner-organizational democracy and transparency.


Shields asks whether the processes of globalization occur within, above and below the state by analyzing the Polish case. He argues that the Polish state has not retreated; rather it remains the central arena of contestation for the construction of the transition order. The Polish transition shows that the dichotomies of orthodox approaches to transition; of domestic and international; of politics and economics are increasingly meaningless as global and local mutate into one another into the transnational. In Poland this has been shown with the blurred boundaries of state and market in the transfer of ownership from public to private spheres. The state/market dualism is too simplistic a model of political economy. Alternatives to the neoliberal model of transition like the institutional and evolutionary approaches can include a variety of state market configurations that recognize that market and capitalism are not synonymous. These approaches also enable a more accurate representation of emerging property relations in transition as new owners and managers emerge from older relations. Yet in line with the neoliberal argument, they are inadequate in analyzing the broader dynamics of transition. Shield concludes that the current configuration of transition is the manifestation of tensions, negotiations and compromises between national and transnational capital that have diverse interests in and beyond Poland.

This paper focuses on the role of international actors in policy/knowledge transfer processes to suggest a dynamic for the transnationalization of policy results. The paper seeks to redress the tendency towards methodological nationalism in much of the early policy transfer literature by bringing to the fore the role of international organizations and non-state actors in transnational transfer networks. Secondly, attention is drawn to 'soft' forms of transfer - such as the spread of norms - as a necessary complement to the hard transfer of policy tools, structures and practices and in which non-state actors play a more prominent role. Thirdly, transnational networks are identified as an important vehicle for the spread of policy and practice not only cross-nationally but in emergent venues of global governance.


In her book, Vachudova combines an explanation of the different political trajectories in East Central Europe (ECE) with the study of the significance of EU leverage on democratization in the region. Her goal is to explain variation or convergence across her six case studies which she divides into a “liberal” (Poland, Hungary, and - though a hybrid case - the Czech Republic) and an “illiberal” (Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia) “pattern of political change” after the collapse of communist rule. Vachudova applies a two-level model combining domestic factors (the quality of political competition) with international factors (the EU’s leverage). She differentiates between an early period of “passive” leverage (1989-94) and “active” leverage beginning in 1995. Passive leverage is defined as the attraction of EU membership whereas active leverage is defined as deliberate conditionality exercised in the EU’s pre-accession process. Vachudova concludes that passive leverage reinforces domestic strategies of reform in the liberal pattern states, whereas in illiberal states it did not change the course of democratisation. In contrast, active leverage had a greater impact on the configuration, the strength, and the agenda of opposition forces competing against illiberal parties since it changed the institutional environment. Consequently, Romania, Bulgaria and Slovakia only became liberal democracies when the EU’s active leverage strengthened liberal oppositional forces.
4. Transnationalization and Civil Society

Suggested readings


Keck and Sikkink examine the nature of transnational advocacy groups which include relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, dense exchanges of information and services. The authors argue that advocacy networks help to transform the practice of national sovereign by making international resources available to new actors in domestic political and social struggles. Keck and Sikkink describe the mechanism by which transnational advocacy networks link the domestic and the international realm as “boomerang effect”: Domestic actors who are unable to address their issues to their national government are empowered by links to international networks which provide domestic groups with information, leverage and material resources and thus enable them to put pressure on their governments. The book does not only provide useful insights about the mechanisms which are used by transnational advocacy networks to exert influence on states, international organisations or private actors but also examines how to measure the effectiveness of their influence.


This volume examines the influence of transnational advocacy on creating, strengthening, implementing and monitoring international norms. The authors differentiate between different forms of transnational collective action: international nongovernmental organizations, transnational advocacy networks, transnational coalitions, and transnational social movements. The volume adds value to the wide range of studies dealing with transnational activism by including cases of transnational collective action that have been less successful and by providing additional quantitative evidence, e.g. through studies on environmental coalition building in India. Further, the volume addresses rarely posed questions concerning accountability and representation of transnational coalitions. To what extent do transnational networks and coalitions enhance democracy in international institutions and to what extent are they democratic themselves? The authors conclude that networks are far from being representative since many of the networks have Western roots and do thus disseminate Western values such as universalism, progress and individualism. Further, the influence of transnational networks on outcomes differs across the degree of political freedom in the target societies. In authoritarian regimes it is hence more difficult to address environmental or human rights issues although their societies are much more in need than their democratic counterparts. Last but not least transnational network face an accountability problem, which needs to be overcome through standard setting, monitoring and credentialing although networks then run risk of bureaucratization leading to less flexibility.

Can civic organizations be both locally rooted and globally connected? Based on a survey of 1,002 of the largest civic organizations in Hungary, we conclude that there is not a forced choice between foreign ties and domestic integration. By studying variation in types of foreign interactions and variation in types of domestic integration, our analysis goes beyond notions of footloose experts versus rooted cosmopolitans. Organizations differ in their rootedness according to whether they have ties to their members and constituents, whether they have ties to other organizations in the civic sector, and whether they associate with actors from outside the civic sector. Similarly, we specify different types of foreign ties. In both domains our emphasis is on the type of action involved in the tie—especially relations of accountability and partnership. By demonstrating a systematic relationship between the patterns of foreign ties and the patterns of domestic integration, we chart three emerging forms of transnational publics.


Tarrow tackles the questions to what extent the expansion of transnational activism changes the actors, their interactions and the forms of claims their making how this feeds back to the traditional division between the domestic and the international realm. He argues that individuals who move into transnational activism are both constrained and supported by domestic networks, that in making this move they activate transitional processes between states and international politics, and that when they return home, they bring with them new ways of framing domestic issues, and perhaps new identities that may some day fuse domestic with international contention. While globalization provides incentives and causes of resistance for many transnational activists, the changing structure of international politics offers activists focal points for collective action, provides them with expanded resources and opportunities and brings them together in transnational coalitions and campaigns. Tarrow suggests that transnational activists do not become transnational citizens but should be instead conceived as “rooted cosmopolitans” who mobilize domestic and international resources and opportunities to advance claims not only across borders but also within their own national context.

Additional readings


Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a number of linkages have been established between newly independent Central Asian states, or populations within them, and diaspora ethnic groups. This book explores the roles that diaspora communities play in the recent and ongoing emergence of national identities in Central Asia and the Caucasus. The loyalties of these communities are divided between their countries of residence and those states that serve as homeland of their particular ethno-cultural nation, and are further complicated by connections with contested transnational notions of common cultures and ‘peoples’. Written by highly respected experts in the field, the book addresses issues such as nationalism, conflict,
population movement, global civil society, Muslim communities in China and relations between the new nation-states and Russia.


This paper examines the main features of the non-governmental sector in Kosovo engaged in peace building and multi-ethnic coexistence. It seeks to answer the question why this Western-designed civil society sector, well integrated in the flows of the transnational aid industry, has not so far developed significant leverage against the dominant ethno-nationalist politics in Kosovo. It argues that the main problem of this civil society segment—its lack of capacity to engage in defending and legitimizing the peace-building agenda—results from an incomplete analysis of local civil society in Kosovo before 1999. It also arises from the tendency in transnationally exported definitions of the practices of a ‘good’ civil society to neglect the limits imposed by the local context where, as in Kosovo, the parameters of state sovereignty are based on ethnic homogeneity and segregation. The paper concludes by proposing that plans for Western-style multiculturalism as a programme to stabilize Kosovo may inadvertently perpetuate nationalist (ethno-centred) state building agendas.


How decision makers define state interests and formulate policies to deal with complex and technical issues can be a function of the manner in which the issues are represented by specialists to whom they turn for advice in the face of uncertainty. The contributors to this issue examine the role that networks of knowledge-based experts—epistemic communities—play in articulating the cause-and-effect relationships of complex problems, helping states identify their interests framing the issues for collective debate, proposing specific policies, and identifying salient points for negotiation. Their analyses demonstrate that control over knowledge and information is an important dimension of power and that the diffusion of new ideas and data can lead to new patterns of behavior and prove to be an important determinant of international policy coordination.

Henderson, Sarah (2002): Selling Civil Society. Western Aid and the NGO Sector in Russia, in: Comparative Political Studies, 35:2, 139-67.

To what degree can Western countries "purchase" civic engagement and participation in less developed countries that do not share the Western liberal tradition? Drawing on interview data as well as internal documents, this article looks at the effects of Western and international assistance on building civil society and, hence, democracy in Russia by focusing on the
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Russian nongovernmental organization (NGO) community. Although Western assistance has provided tangible equipment and training for NGOs, overall funding designed to facilitate the growth of civil society has had unintended consequences. Institutions, interests, and incentive structures impede successful collective action toward building a civic community by encouraging both funders and NGO activists to pursue short-term benefits over long-term development. The result is the creation of patron-client ties between the international donor and the Russian recipient rather than horizontal networks of civic engagement among Russian NGOs and their domestic audience.


When the topic of global governance or post-national governance arises, it generally does so in the context of the co-operation between nation states, international agreements and the role of international organizations. As opposed to this, global governance through the self-organization of transnational civil society is rarely discussed. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate the scope and limitations of global governance through civil society self-organization. The case of the "Forest Stewardship Council" (FSC), which is now deemed a success, has been selected to demonstrate this phenomenon at work. What is involved here is a globally distributed environmental label for the certification of sustainably managed forests. The FSC shows how a private civil society regime can be implemented, how its implementation can be controlled and how violations can be sanctioned. It may be stated that the case of the Forest Stewardship Council is a form of global governance without nation-state involvement that can be viewed as a complete alternative to global governance through nation states.


In this article, the authors examine the potential for concerted collective action in the societies that emerged from state socialism in East-Central Europe after 1989. Although scholars have found strong individual-level evidence that protest potential is weaker here than in other parts of the world, the authors question whether individual-level data adequately tap all the dimensions of activism that are relevant to contentious politics. They propose a differentiated model of civil society consisting of (a) internal potential for citizen action and (b) relational aspects of social activism and argue that some forms of the latter - and in particularly, what they call "transactional activism" - are more robust than what evidence at the individual level suggests. They also examine some local and transnational-level data from the region and speculate about the capacities for collective action they find there and their potential for contributing to the construction of a transnational Europe.


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In this article Waters examines the role of education in the family strategies of recent East Asian migrants, contributing to intellectual debates around transnationalism and the contemporary Chinese diaspora. Empirically, the article provides an insight into the experiences and objectives of an often-neglected group within studies of Chinese migration – students. The article also attempt to understand the particular role that children play within a wider family project of capital accumulation. Drawing upon the work of Bourdieu, Waters emphasizes the significance of different forms of capital in underpinning the spatial strategies of East Asian families. The research for this article was conducted in Vancouver, Canada and Hong Kong, involving in-depth interviews with university students, recent graduates and their families. In conclusion, Waters maintains that a geographically informed theory of 'cultural capital' and its relationship to the family unit can help elucidate recent patterns of trans-Pacific, transnational mobility, moving beyond more common 'political' and 'economic' interpretations of this contemporary migration.


The sociology of inequality has focused on the nation-state frame. The article argues that methodological nationalism is increasingly inadequate in a globalizing world. Migrant populations cannot be located in only one nation-state. Labour markets, cultural capital and reciprocal relations have become partly transnational. Both issues can be integrated into a theory of social inequality, if spatial relations are given adequate consideration. The opportunities of actors and the value of resources must be determined in relation to various national and transnational social spaces. Social positions in a world system cannot be characterized only by resource value. They are also structured by spatial autonomy and the quality of the spaces to which (migrant) populations have access. The argument is exemplified by a discussion of highly skilled migrants who possess cultural capital that is transnationally recognized. An analysis of their cultural capital shows how transnational and location-specific cultural capital interrelate.