

## Abstracts

*Tina Freyburg*

### **Planting the Seeds of Change Inside?**

Functional Cooperation with Authoritarian Regimes and Socialization into Democratic Governance

ZIB, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 5-46

Is functional cooperation with authoritarian regimes a blessing or a curse for democratization? Scholars predominantly view cooperation with authoritarian regimes as counterproductive in terms of democratization because it stabilizes the regime. This paper presents evidence to suggest that functional cooperation can also be considered a promising way of yielding subtle processes of democratization. It explores to what extent state officials become acquainted with democratic governance by participating in transgovernmental policy networks, notably the *Twinning* program, set up by the European Union in order to implement functional cooperation with its Southern neighborhood. The study complements regression analyses of unique survey data on Moroccan state officials' attitudes toward democratic governance with a qualitative comparison of different networks. The findings corroborate an optimistic reading of functional cooperation. By significantly shaping the attitudes toward democratic governance of involved state officials, it appears to be able to plant and foster seeds of change inside authoritarian regimes.

**Keywords:** arab authoritarian regimes, democratic governance, european union, functional cooperation, international socialization.

*Alexander Spencer*

### **Bildung your Opinion**

The Metaphorical Construction of Terrorism in the Media

ZIB, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 47-75

This article wants to illustrate a constructivist approach to the analysis of terrorism. It wants to show how particular metaphorical constructions of the »terrorist« in the media make certain counter-measures possible. Based on approaches in cognitive linguistics the article conducts a metaphor analysis of the *Bild* newspaper and illustrates five different conceptual understandings: *Terrorism Is War*; *Terrorism Is Crime*; *Terrorism Is Uncivilised Evil*; *Terrorism Is Natural* and *Terrorism Is Disease*. Thereby the article shows that metaphors do not only describe reality but they actively take part in the construction of the world as we see it, think of it and ultimately react to it. By projecting understandings from one conceptual area such as war to a different

area such as terrorism, metaphors make certain counter measures appear appropriate while other means are placed outside of the options considered sensible.

**Keywords:** terrorism, metaphor, constructivism, discourse analysis, media.

*Benjamin Faude*

**The Paradox of Legalization**

How Dispute Settlement Mechanisms Interact

ZIB, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 77-108

In this article it is argued that, in order to grasp the legalization of world politics entirely, it is necessary to investigate the inter-institutional implications of institution-specific processes of legalization. First, the interdependence of legalization and institutional interaction is explicated. Subsequently, a theoretical approach to analyse institutional interaction through Dispute Settlement is developed. Empirically, two case studies demonstrate how and with which consequences the Dispute Settlement Mechanisms of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) mutually influence each other through inconsistent and partial decisions. It becomes clear that institution-specific processes of legalization generally imply the danger of undermining the legalization processes within other institutions. With regard to the resolution of international conflicts, a consequence of the institution-specific legalization is paradoxically the relapse from the rule-based mode of interaction within the Dispute Settlement Mechanisms into the power-based mode of interaction outside the Dispute Settlement Mechanisms.

**Keywords:** institutional interaction, legalization, judicialization, fragmentation of international law, international trade governance.

*Christian Grobe*

**The Gap Left by Empiricist Conceptions of Rational Choice Theory**

A Reply to Johannes Marx

ZIB, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 109-124

Building bridges between rationalist and constructivist theories of international relations has become a discipline-wide effort over the last years. This article offers a critical assessment of the latest approach in this intellectual tradition put forth by Johannes Marx. Drawing on work by experimental economists I show why it is not possible to reconstruct rational choice theory as universal hard core of IR. Since this step required theorizing an endogenous change of preferences, as Marx argues, it would overstretch the rationalist approach. In order to avoid this undesirable effect, I introduce an alternative conception of rational action. This conception, its commitment to fixed preferences notwithstanding, offers an integrative perspective on the

current debate between rationalist and constructivists with a specific focus on bargaining and arguing in international negotiations.

**Keywords:** rational choice, experimental methods, arguing, bargaining, preference change.

*Johannes Marx*

**The Status and Potential of Assumptions in Economics**

A Reply to Christian Grobe

ZIB, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 125-132

In economics, there is an intense debate about the status and potential of »assumptions«. Christian Grobe's reply to my article refers to this discussion. Contrary to his allegations, the article argues that analytical assumptions cannot be applied to the explanation of social phenomena. Instead, it will be shown that merely empirical assumptions can provide adequate explanations along the lines of the covering law model.

**Keywords:** assumptions in economics, covering law model, explanation, rational choice, methodology.

*Karsten Lehmann*

**On the Plurality of Religious Traditions and Organizations in International Politics**

A Reply to Claudia Baumgart-Ochse and Mariano Barbato

ZIB, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 133-148

The paper is a reply to two responses, published by Claudia Baumgart-Ochse and Mariano Barbato in the 2010-edition of the *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*. It focuses on contributions by Religious Studies scholars to an inter-disciplinary discussion with Political Science and International Relations. In doing so, the paper highlights the implications of (a) typologies of religious organisations as well as (b) a multi-level model of religions. These considerations draw on results of a research project on Religious Non-governmental Organisations (RNGOs) inside the UN-context.

**Keywords:** religious non-governmental organisations, united nations organisation, interdisciplinary discussions, religious studies, international relations.