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CABINETS AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES: RE-ASSESSING THE LITERATURE[1]

Michelangelo VERCESI[2]

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One very promising way when it comes to illustrate how cabinets work and to classify them is to look at their internal decision-making processes. In this paper, I give a new and comprehensive picture of cabinets in parliamentary and semi-presidential systems on this basis. In particular, in the first part, I review what the literature has proposed in this respect. Secondly, after illustrating some shortcomings of the works at issue, I present, proceeding from a famous Andeweg's proposal, a new typology of cabinets based on two dimensions. For each of the eight ideal-types stemming from it, some empirical examples are illustrated.

Key words: Cabinet, Decision-Making, Typology, Prime Minister, Executive.

1 INTRODUCTION

Cabinet government is a very widespread system of government. Nowadays, not only almost all European countries are ruled through it, but also some of the most important extra-European democracies – such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, India, Israel – rely on it. Therefore, understanding how cabinets take decisions can be a very noteworthy operation in order to obtain a better knowledge of a central feature of these countries.

A cabinet is the apex of the executive in parliamentary systems.[3] It is made up of a set of ministers coordinated by a prime minister in a context of

[3] See also Shirley A. Warshaw, *Powersharing. White House-Cabinet Relations in the Modern Presidency* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

(formal[4]) collegiality. In semi-presidential democracies, this institution shares the governmental functions with a chief of State elected by the people. One of its main characteristic is that, in order to survive, it needs the confidence of Parliament.[5]

To study the internal cabinet decision-making, two dimensions, more than others, seem to be useful: the internal distribution of power and the degree of centralisation of the decision-making process.[6] These dimensions provide the general structural features of the decision-making.

The main aim of the article is to offer a new typology of cabinets according to their internal decision-making processes. Initially, I will review some attempts of classification and typologies of cabinets in the literature. Then, I will point out their main problems and their strong points. Subsequently, I will advance my new proposal by means, in particular, of a re-assessment of a work by Andeweg; it will be argued that cabinets can be grouped into a limited number of ideal-types, and examples drawn from the real world will be brought forward. Some brief and preliminary annotations about the possible uses of this framework for further researches will be finally suggested.

2 CLASSIFICATIONS AND TYPOLOGIES IN THE LITERATURE: THE STATE OF THE ART

Years ago, Philip Selznick wrote that "'[d]ecision-making' is one of those fashionable phrases that may well obscure more than it illuminates".[7] Nonetheless, a specification of models or types of cabinets on the basis of their decision-making processes seems to be a viable road to follow, and indeed many authors have chosen this path.

Almost all[8] classifications and typologies[9] of cabinets in the politological literature are built having in mind two – or at least one of two – crucial aspects of the decision-making process, namely who takes decisions (or, in other words, who has the decisive power) and how s/he does so (that is, how s/he exercises his or her decisive power).[10]

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[4] I speak of 'formal' collegiality because, as we shall see, often ministers have not the same clout, and decisions are not actually taken by all of them together.

[5] This confidence can be required explicit through an investiture vote at government inauguration, as in Italy, or presumed until there is a no confidence vote, as in the United Kingdom. See Torbjörn Bergman et al, "Democratic Delegation and Accountability: Cross-national Patterns," in *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies,* eds. Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller and Torbjörn Bergman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2003] 2006), 148–157.

[6] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 25-32.

[7] Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration. A Sociological Interpretation* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1957), 29.

[8] An exception is in Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "The Centre of Government in West Germany: Changing Patterns under 14 Legislatures (1949–1987)," *European Journal of Political Research,* 16, 2 (1988), 187–189, where the author classifies six decision-making styles in the cabinet, not on the basis of how decisions are taken, but of the nature of the decisions. He argues that these styles are determined by structural and behavioural variables, and that a cabinet may decide and discuss *purely routine matters*; *almost routine matters*; *highly conflictual matters*; *general problems*; *strategy on long-term planning*; *tactical political questions.*

[9] In the literature, too often there is a confusion about the notions of "classification" and "typology". Unlike classifications, typologies explain: from certain premises, certain outcomes (in this case, the types of the typology) are deduced. Classifications, instead, give only descriptions of reality without explanations. See Giorgio Fedel, *Saggi sul linguaggio e l'oratoria politica* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1999), 24–25. However, in this article, I will deal with both classifications and typologies as instruments for singling out patterns of the reality.

[10] The literature offers also some classifications and typologies of some specific figures of cabinets, in particular prime ministers and simple ministers. With regard to the former see Brian Farrell, *Chairman or*

First of all, it is worth taking into account the classic dichotomy *prime ministerial* vs. *cabinet government*, applied in particular – but not only – to the United Kingdom.[11] In the former, the prime minister is a real *primus*: the power is concentrated in his or her hands, s/he leads the life of the cabinet, sets the executive goals and determines the general governmental policy, and is able to give instructions to ministers within their jurisdiction. In the latter, on the contrary, the power is equally (or almost equally) distributed among ministers, and hence the head of government is only a first among equals.[12]

But this dichotomy is rather simplistic and does not give a complete picture of the complex reality. Several works have tried to give a solution to this problem, and, in this respect, a well-known classification is that of Rhodes. He underlines the weaknesses of the debate over 'prime minister versus cabinet' and suggests six models of core executive operations, being the

Chief? The Role of Taoiseach in Irish Government (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1971); Jean Blondel, "Decisioni di governo e vincoli partitici," *Rivista italiana di scienza politica*, XIX, 2 (1989), 207–209; Richard Rose, "Prime Ministers in Parliamentary Democracies," in *West European Prime Ministers*, ed. G.W. Jones (London: Frank Cass, 1991); Anthony King, "'Chief Executives' in Western Europe," in *Developing Democracy. Comparative Research in Honour of J. F. P. Blondel,* eds. Ian Budge and David McKay (London: Sage, 1994); Jean Blondel, "Processi decisionali, conflitti e governo di cabinet," *Quaderni di scienza politica,* VI, 2 (1999): 205–209; Cristina Barbieri, *Il capo del governo in Italia. Una ricerca empirica* (Milano: Giuffrè, 2001); Giovanni Sartori, *Ingegneria costituzionale comparata. Strutture, incentivi ed esiti* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004), 116; Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 12–13. These works are dedicated to the prime ministerial power. Norton, instead, proposes a typology of prime ministers based on their personal characteristics; he distinguishes four types: *innovators*, *reformers*, *egoists* and *balancers*. See Philip Norton, "Political Leadership," in *Half a Century of British Politics,* ed. Lynton Robins and Bill Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 76–77. As for works on ministers, classifications and typologies are based on performed roles or ministerial career paths. See for example Richard Rose, "The Making of Cabinet Ministers," *British Journal of Political Science,* 1, 4 (1971), 405; Bruce Headey, *British Cabinet Ministers: The Roles of Politicians in Executive Office* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974), chapter 3; Wilma E. Bakema and Ineke P. Secker, "Ministerial Expertise and the Dutch Case," *European Journal of Political Research,* 16, 2 (1988), 156-158; Ferdinand Müller-Rommel "The Centre of Government in West Germany: Changing Patterns under 14 Legislatures (1949–1987)," *European Journal of Political Research,* 16, 2 (1988), 185; Jean Blondel, "Individual Ministers and their Role in Cabinet Decision-Making," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* ed. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 184–186; David Marsh, David Richards and Martin J. Smith "Re-Assessing the Role of Departmental Cabinet Ministers," *Public Administration,* 78, 2 (2000), 306; Philip Norton, "Barons in a Shrinking Kingdom: Senior Ministers in British Government," in *Transforming British Government. Volume 2: Changing Roles and Relationships*, ed. R.A.W. Rhodes (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 109–110.

[11] For instance Thomas A. Baylis, *Governing by Committee. Collegial Leadership in Advanced Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 45–49; R.H.S. Crossman, *"Introduction" to Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution* (London: Fontana, 1963).

[12] Some authors have argued that there has been a long-term trend towards a strengthening of the role of prime ministers, which may be called "presidentialisation". Indicators of such a process – it is argued – are the prime ministerial power to control the ministerial careers and to decide about policy; a centralised support staff; the party leadership; the personalisation of electoral campaigns and the growing attention of the media on leaders (e.g., R.H.S. Crossman, *"Introduction" to Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution* (London: Fontana, 1963); R.H.S. Crossman, *The Myths of Cabinet Government* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); John P. Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1977); R.H.S. Crossman, "Prime Ministerial Government," in *The British Prime Minister*, ed. Anthony King (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985, reprinted from Crossman's *"Introduction" to* aforementioned Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, 37–57); Michael Foley, *The Rise of the British Presidency* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Michael Foley, *The British Presidency. Tony Blair and the Politics of Public Leadership* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Ellis S. Krauss and Benjamin Nyblade "'Presidentialization' in Japan? The Prime Minister, Media and Elections in Japan," *British Journal of Political Science,* 35, 2 (2005), 361-367; Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (eds.), *The Presidentialization of Politics. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2005] 2007)). Others have criticized this thesis, stressing the importance of the constraints on the prime ministerial action (e.g., Patrick Gordon Walker, *The Cabinet* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970); G.W. Jones, "The Prime Minister's Power" in *The British Prime Minister*, ed. Anthony King (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), 203-216; Richard Hefferman, "Prime Ministerial Predominance? Core Executive Politics in the UK," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 5, 3 (2003), 368-370; Patrick Weller, "Cabinet Government: An Elusive Ideal?," *Public Administration,* 81, 4 (2003), 719-720; Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005); R.A.W. Rhodes, "Executives in Parliamentary Government," in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions,* eds. R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder and Bert A. Rockman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)).

core executive "all those organisations and procedures which coordinate central government policies, and act as final arbiters of conflict between different parts of the government machine".[13] The models are: a) *prime ministerial government* (prime minister's predominance in cabinet decision-making); b) *prime ministerial cliques* (premier's influence is tightly connected to his or her inner group of advisers or to an *éminence grise*); c) *cabinet government* (classic model of collective decision-making); d) *ministerial government* (departmentalism and ministerial autonomy[14]); e) *the segmented decision model* (the power is shared and the prime minister and the cabinet operate in different policy areas, whereas ministers operate below the interdepartmental level); f) *the bureaucratic coordination model* (the civil service is dominant).[15]

O'Leary applies this framework to the Irish case; the only difference is the unification of the first two models in a single prime ministerial government.[16]

Laver and Shepsle do the same with the first two models, remove the segmented one and consider two further models: *legislative government* (hypothetical as no specialist has promoted it) and *party government*. The former implies an executive constrained by the legislature; the latter that the members of the government "are subject to the discipline of well-organized political parties".[17]

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[13] R.A.W. Rhodes, "From Prime Ministerial Power to Core Executive," in *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive* eds. R.A.W. Rhodes and Patrick Dunleavy (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 12. For a very similar definition see also Patrick Dunleavy and R.A.W. Rhodes, "Core Executive Studies in Britain," *Public Administration,* 68, 1 (1990), 4.

[14] Looking at the degree and the type of ministerial autonomy, Mark Hallerberg, "Electoral Laws, Government, and Parliament," in *Patterns of Parliamentary Behavior. Passage of Legislation Across Western Europe,* eds. Herbert Döring and Mark Hallerberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 14–16 singles out three different types of government. The *fiefdom* government, for example, implies a high degree of autonomy. On the contrary, when ministers are more constrained in their actions, it would be possible to find the *delegation* or, alternatively, the *commitment* type. According to the first type, a strong prime minister formulates guidelines of policy and delegates strategic powers to the ministers, whereas, in the second situation, these ministers are bound by a coalition agreement. See also Mark Hallerberg and Jürgen von Hagen, "Electoral Institutions, Cabinet Negotiations, and Budget Deficits in the European Union," in *Fiscal Institutions and Fiscal Performance,* eds. James N. Poterba and Jürgen von Hagen (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 214–219.

[15] R.A.W. Rhodes, "From Prime Ministerial Power to Core Executive," in *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive,* eds. R.A.W. Rhodes and Patrick Dunleavy (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 15–26. As we shall see, the bureaucratic government model is included in those classifications of executives which analyse them from a more extensive point of view, whereas those authors dealing with cabinet *stricto sensu* do not directly tackle this issue; and this is the way I have chosen. However, this does not mean that I am not aware that sometimes bureaucracy plays a central role in governmental policy co-ordination. This has been the case, for example, with the Japanese government (e.g., Thomas A. Baylis, *Governing by Committee. Collegial Leadership in Advanced Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 84–88; Robert Elgie, *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 155–159. On the involvement of civil servants in committee meetings see Jean-Louis Thiébault, "The Organisational Structure of Western European Cabinets and its Impact on Decision-Making," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 86–87.

[16] Brendan O'Leary, "*An Taoiseach*: The Irish Prime Minister," in *West European Prime Ministers*, ed. G.W. Jones (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 154–156.

[17] Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Cabinet Ministers and Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies," in *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government,* eds. Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6–7. Criticisms of these two models are in Robert Elgie, "Models of Executive Politics: a Framework for the Study of Executive Power Relations in Parliamentary and Semi-presidential Regimes," *Political Studies,* XLV, 2 (1997), 221.

TABLE 1: MODELS OF EXECUTIVE

	Prime ministerial government	Cabinet government	Ministerial government	Segmented	Bureaucratic government	Party government	Legislative government
Rhodes	X X	X	X	X	X		
O'Leary	X	X	X	X	X		
Laver and Shepsle	X	X	X		X	X	X

Source: Robert Elgie, "Models of Executive Politics: a Framework for the Study of Executive Power Relations in Parliamentary and Semi-presidential Regimes," *Political Studies,* XLV, 2 (1997), 220, modified.

By adopting a revised version of (Dunleavy and) Rhodes' proposal, Elgie, too, has sought to construct a framework for the study of executive politics (within both parliamentary and semi-presidential systems). He singles out six models: *monocratic government*; *collective government*; *ministerial government*; *bureaucratic government*; *shared government* (a highly restricted number of people are jointly responsible for taking decisions in all policy areas); *segmented government* (which is different from the shared government because there is a functional or sectorial distribution of power).[18]

A particular simplification of this picture is made by Keman, who limits the cases to the *prime ministerial*, the *collegial* and the *ministerial* ones.[19]

Mackie and Hogwood, for their part, suggest a classification of seven arenas "within which members of cabinet may arrive at what are effectively final government decisions, though these may subsequently have to be formally endorsed by full cabinet". These arenas are 1) *unilateral decisions*, "taken by a minister as head of a department or by other ministers or officials within his or her department"; 2) *'internalised' coordination* by a minister heading more than one department; 3) *bilateral decisions* resulting from discussions between two ministers; 4) *multilateral decisions* involving more than two ministers outside a formal framework; 5) *cabinet committee decisions*; 6) *cabinet decisions*, taken in the full cabinet; 7) *party decision* resulting from inter (or intra) party negotiations.[20]

Not only Mackie and Hogwood (and Laver and Shepsle) take into account the party variable, but also Blondel does so. Unlike these authors, he does not create a taxonomy of models, but develops a typology of cabinet decision-making built upon three general dimensions: *the degree of party control*, *the extent of involvement of ministers* and *the role of the head of government*. Five types ensue from them. The first dimension distinguishes between autonomous and subordinate cabinets. A totally subordinate cabinet will be a *formal* cabinet if the prime minister is only an arbitrator and ministers devote themselves exclusively to their departments; usually, this

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[18] There are ten variants of the segmented government model. Ibid., 222–225. See also Robert Elgie, *The Role of the Prime Minister in France, 1981–91* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), 21–37.

[19] Hans Keman, "Parties and Government: Features of Governing in Representative Democracies," in *Handbook of Party Politics,* eds. Richard S. Katz and William Crotty (London: Sage, [2006] 2009), 166–169.

[20] Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood, "Decision-making in Cabinet Government," in *Unlocking the Cabinet. Cabinet Structures in Comparative Perspective,* eds. Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood (London: Sage, 1985), 2–3. The same classification is in Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood, "Decision Arenas in Executive Decision Making: Cabinet Committees in Comparative Perspective," *British Journal of Political Science* 14, 3 (1984): 285–312. See also the five patterns of decision-making of Thomas A. Baylis, *Governing by Committee. Collegial Leadership in Advanced Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 145: he distinguishes between decisions made *in the department*; *in a sub-cabinet committee*; *in an extra-cabinet body*; *in the full cabinet*; and *by the chief executive him- or herself*.

type is associated with a coalition of strong parties. A more autonomous cabinet, especially with respect to minor issues, is an *administrative* cabinet, which may show two variants: when the prime minister is a 'good' arbitrator it may be called *consensual*; if, on the contrary, there were a weak prime minister not able to find solutions to inter-ministerial conflicts, the cabinet would be *arbitral*. An even more autonomous cabinet, with a fairly weak prime minister and with ministers eager to be involved in the decision-making may be labelled *collegial* cabinet. Finally, there is a *prime ministerial* cabinet when the head of government is a predominant activist and parties do not want to intervene (or are enable to do it); it is more likely in case of single-party government.[21]

All mentioned proposals – in part with the exception of Blondel's – do not succeed in clearly and analytically distinguishing between the two aforementioned different important aspects of the cabinet decision-making: 'who' decides (who has the power) and 'how' s/he decides (the used arenas and his or her relationships with other actors). Mackie and Hogwood, in addition, focus only on the second question, omitting to take the internal distribution of power in consideration, or, however, taking it into account only implicitly.

This is not true, instead, with respect, for example, to the Andeweg's work, in which these two ideas are kept strongly separated. Andeweg starts from the simple observation that too often the terms 'collegial' and 'collective' are used as synonyms, though they denote distinct dimensions of cabinets. Indeed,

"[t]he *collective* character of the government does not entail any specific distribution of power within the cabinet: it merely states that not one person (an individual minister or the prime minister) takes the decisions, but that all ministers are part of the process. Collective government is indeed the assumption that underlies the constitutional or customary rule of collective *responsibility*: it is largely concerned with the consequences of the involvement of ministers, whether such an involvement has been large or small, substantial or perfunctory.

The *collegial* character of the government is based on the principle that all ministers should have an *equal* say in the decision-making process. This corresponds to a different concept, that of collegial government, which is assumed by the principle of "one man, one vote" within the cabinet. The idea is present, whether or not matters are decided by votes and notwithstanding the fact that in most countries where cabinet government exists the prime minister has the casting vote in the event of a tie".[22]

The ideal-type of cabinet is both collective and collegial. The two dimensions are analytically different, and they are to be considered as continua.[23]

As for collegiality, at one extreme, a cabinet may be guided by a powerful prime minister and thus be 'monocratic' and, at the other, be truly collegial.

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[21] Jean Blondel, "Decisioni di governo e vincoli partitici," *Rivista italiana di scienza politica,* XIX, 2 (1989), 218–219.

[22] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 25–26, emphases original.

[23] Rudy Andeweg, "Collegiality and Collectivity: Cabinets, Cabinet Committees, and Cabinet Ministers," in *The Hollow Crown. Countervailing Trends in Core Executive,* eds. Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 61.

One indicator of the *monocratic* character can be the prime ministerial power to give instructions to individual ministers within their field of action in their departments.[24] On the contrary, the cabinet will be *collegial* if the power is equally distributed among ministers.[25] Between such extremes, there are some situations in which a small group of ministers dominates the life of the cabinet. In this case, the cabinet can be named *oligarchical*. The indicator "*par excellence*" suggested by Andeweg is the existence of an inner cabinet[26] (formal or informal). In some cases, inner cabinets may reinforce the position of the prime minister (i.e., in Britain); in others, they seem to reduce the "potentially 'monocratic' ambitions of the prime minister". They are indicators of oligarchical cabinets only in the latter situation.[27]

Andeweg trichotomises also the second dimension. Like Mackie and Hogwood, he thinks in terms of arenas. *Collective* cabinets, where decisions are mainly taken in the meetings of the full cabinet, are opposed to *fragmented* governments, where "there are few interactions or common meetings of cabinet ministers and in which each minister, together with his or her department officials, in effect forms a self-contained decision-making system".[28] Between these two extremes it is possible to find a situation of *segmented* decision-making. Segmentation can be based on divisions on policy areas or be a result of divisions based on party political cleavages; meetings of ministers of the same party are frequent in coalitions.[29]

The combination of the two dimensions forms a typology of governments on the basis of their internal decision-making processes.[30] The result is shown in table 2.

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[24] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 27.

[25] Ibid., 28; underlines that "such cabinets are collegial only in a relative sense and by comparison with other types of cabinets".

[26] An inner cabinet can be defined as "a group of senior ministers meeting collectively and regularly to discuss the main lines of government policy and giving shape and coherence to overall policy". See Simon James, "Relations between Prime Minister and Cabinet: From Wilson to Thatcher," in *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive,* eds. R.A.W. Rhodes and Patrick Dunleavy (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 81.

[27] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 28.

[28] Ibid., 31.

[29] Ibid., 29–30.

[30] Ibid.; Rudy Andeweg, "Collegiality and Collectivity: Cabinets, Cabinet Committees, and Cabinet Ministers," in *The Hollow Crown. Countervailing Trends in Core Executive,* eds. Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 62; Rudy Andeweg, "On Studying Governments," in *Governing Europe,* eds. Jack Hayward and Anand Menon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 47. This typology can be also applied to those systems which are not parliamentary. For example, Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005); 233 ff. uses this framework for the study of the US government. The Swiss Federal Council can be treat as a fragmented and collegial government Rudy Andeweg, "On Studying Governments," in *Governing Europe,* eds. Jack Hayward and Anand Menon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 47.

TABLE 2: TYPES OF CABINETS ACCORDING TO ANDEWEG

		Fragmented individual	Segmented		Centralized collective
			Sectoral	Partisan	
		1	4	7	10
Centralised	Prime ministerial	Globally dominated cabinets	Dominated cabinet committee arrangements	Dominated consociational cabinets	Cabinets with a dominating chairman
		2	5	8	11
	Oligarchical	Clientelist cabinets	'Overlord'-based cabinets	Coalition committee-based cabinets	Cabinets with an 'inner circle'
		3	6	9	12
Dispersed	Collegial	*Ressortprinzip* cabinets	Autonomous cabinet committees	Consociational cabinets	Truly collective and collegial cabinets

Source: Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 33.

It is worth noting that types 7, 8 and 9 apply only to cases of coalitions or single-party governments when the party in power is characterized by an high factionalism.[31]

This typology is a very good starting point to study cabinets. However, as we shall see, it shows some problems. For now, let us take into account the criticism put forward by Barbieri. The author suggests to remove the distinction between sectoral and partisan segmentation and proposes a single general concept of segmentation because the partisan character of the decision-making process may affect all arenas and not only the inter-ministerial meetings; furthermore, Barbieri considers the party variable as something external to the typology. This modification reduces the number of types of cabinets from twelve to nine, but, as for the rest, the result is substantially similar.[32]

Burch and Holliday choose a similar approach. They call the two dimensions *prime ministerial style* and *mode of cabinet system relations among top personnel*. According to them, a prime minister can be *active* or, on the contrary, *passive*. With regard to the mode of cabinet relations, the authors isolate three modes: *singular*, *oligarchic* and *collective*[33] (figure 1).

[31] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 36.

[32] Cristina Barbieri, *Il capo del governo in Italia. Una ricerca empirica* (Milano: Giuffrè, 2001), 36; Cristina Barbieri, "Dentro il cabinet. Novità istituzionali nei rapporti tra ministri," in *Il governo e i suoi apparati. L'evoluzione del caso italiano in prospettiva comparata,* eds. Cristina Barbieri and Luca Verzichelli (Genova: Name, 2003), 121.

[33] Martin Burch and Ian Holliday, *The British Cabinet System* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996), 143–146. For a similar analysis see Simon James, "The Cabinet System Since 1945: Fragmentation and Integration," *Parliamentary Affairs,* 47, 4 (1994), 621–626. The author distinguishes, on the one hand, between *strong leadership*, *medium leadership* and *weak leadership*, and, on the other, between *weak collegiality*, *medium collegiality* and *strong collegiality*.

FIGURE 1: TONES OF ADMINISTRATIONS ACCORDING TO BURCH AND HOLLIDAY
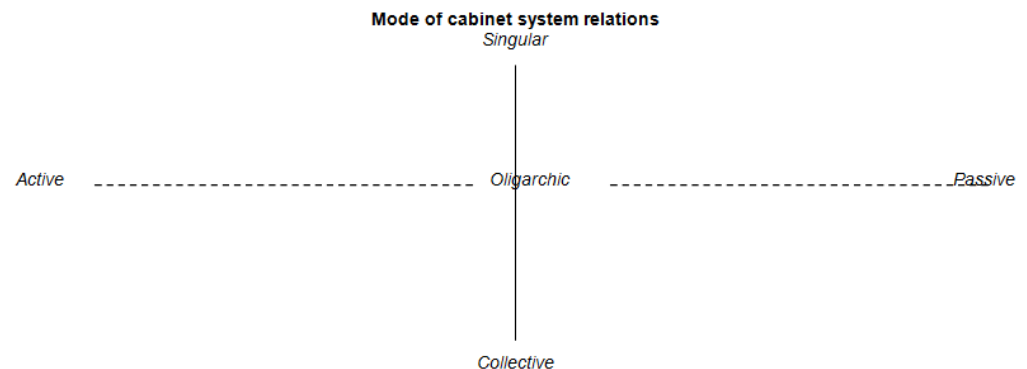
Source: Martin Burch and Ian Holliday, *The British Cabinet System* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996), 146.

The two dimensions of collectivity and collegiality – even if the terms are not yet again the same – are used by Aucoin to analyse the Canadian cabinet.[34] He identifies four "basic modes of cabinet government". One mode is *collegial*: it entails that ministers bring their proposals to their colleagues, and decisions are then collectively taken; it is consistent both with the full cabinet and cabinet committees. In the *conglomerate* mode ministers are not required or encouraged to bring all matters before cabinet for collective decisions, there is a great ministerial autonomy, and the policy is managed by departments. Thirdly, in the *corporate* mode, co-ordination of matters encompassing the responsibilities of the cabinet as a whole is highly centralised. Finally, *command* mode takes two forms: in the first form, prime minister uses a "small circle of the most senior ministers to set the government's strategic policy priorities and plans and to settle major disputes among ministers". The second form is an essentially unilateral exercise of personal power by the prime minister.[35]

As highlighted by Weller and Bakvis, these modes stem from the combination of two dimensions, named *centralisation* (collegiality in Andeweg) and *integration-differentiation* (collectivity in Andeweg) by Aucoin.[36]

TABLE 3: MODELS OF CABINET DECISION-MAKING ACCORDING TO AUCOIN

	Integrated	Differentiated
Centralised	Command	Corporate
Decentralised	Collegial	Conglomerate

Source: Patrick Weller and Herman Bakvis, "The Hollow Crown: Coherence and Capacity in Central Government," in *The Hollow Crown. Countervailing Trends in Core Executive,* eds. Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 5.

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[34] With regard to the Canadian executive see also Colin Campbell, "Political Leadership in Canada: Pierre Elliot Trudeau and the Ottawa Model," in *Presidents and Prime Ministers,* eds. Richard Rose and Ezra N. Suleiman (Washington: AEI, [1980] 1982), 85–86. Here the author posits four styles of executive leadership: *broker politics*; *administrative politics*; *the planning and priorities style*; *the politics of survival.*

[35] Peter Aucoin, "Prime Minister and Cabinet. Power at the Apex," in *Canadian Politics,* eds. James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon (Peterborough: Broadview Press, [1999] 2000), 119–126.

[36] Patrick Weller and Herman Bakvis, "The Hollow Crown: Coherence and Capacity in Central Government," in *The Hollow Crown. Countervailing Trends in Core Executive,* eds. Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 4–5. See also the quotation in Rudy Andeweg, "Collegiality and Collectivity: Cabinets, Cabinet Committees, and Cabinet Ministers" in the same book, 61.

Up to this point, we have reviewed the literature relevant to classifications and typologies of cabinets. This step will come in useful in the next section to build a new typology, which, as pointed out, is a re-assessment of the Andeweg's work on cabinet decision-making.

3 TYPES OF CABINETS: A NEW PROPOSAL

3.1 A Preliminary Assessment of the Literature

In the first place, I have to show what does not work in the mentioned proposals in order to understand why a new typology can be useful.

I have stated that a study on cabinets must be based, first and foremost, on two specific aspects of governments, namely the internal distribution of power among the members and the degree of centralization of the decision-making process. These are the two dimensions that Andeweg (and Barbieri), Burch and Holliday, and Aucoin take into account. On the contrary – it is worth underlining it once more – the other authors do not make any analytical distinction of this kind; indeed, they suggest models of cabinet government by blurring the two dimensions, or, as in the case of Mackie and Hogwood, taking into consideration only one of them (the arenas for the decision-making).

I argue that the two dimensions at issue are key aspects for the analysis of cabinets because, in order to single out different types of cabinets according to their ways of taking decisions (that is, our aim), we need to know not only where decisions are taken or how many people are involved, but also who has the real power to decide, to set the agenda and how s/he exerts his or her influence. And these two factors must be clearly distinguished; as Andeweg has shown, a certain structure of power may be compatible with more than one type of decision-making arena. A strong prime minister may exercise his or her power mainly through bilateral meetings or, for example, in the full cabinet. On the other hand, equal ministers may be very autonomous in taking policy decisions or be required to bring all matters before their colleagues. Obviously, the two dimensions are related[37], but possibilities of different 'combinations' remain.[38]

As I have pointed out, Blondel seems to have somehow in mind these aspects. Indeed, he talks about the role of the head of government and the extent of involvement of ministers. The former dimension implies, in a rough manner, the distribution of power within government, but it takes into account only the strength of the prime minister, without giving attention, for example, to the presence of oligarchies. As for the latter, it tells us only whether ministers tend to be involved in the cabinet decision-making or operate mainly in their departments, but it is not clear how this occurs.

Then, with regard to the third Blondel's dimension – the degree of party control –, it is external to cabinets, not internal, and therefore we cannot use it in order to build an *internal* typology of cabinets based on types of *internal*

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[37] Cristina Barbieri, *Il capo del governo in Italia. Una ricerca empirica* (Milano: Giuffrè, 2001), 36–37.
[38] Rudy Andeweg, "Collegiality and Collectivity: Cabinets, Cabinet Committees, and Cabinet Ministers," in *The Hollow Crown. Countervailing Trends in Core Executive,* eds. Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 62–63.

decision-making, whose dynamics are to be studied regardless of the degree of cabinet autonomy from other political institutions and organisations. To be sure, the party influence on governments is a key factor for the forms of cabinet decision-making, but it affects these from 'outside'. Elgie is right when he says that "although it is undoubtedly the case that party concerns will alter the balance of power amongst … actors [within the executive], parties (including parliamentary parties) are external to the executive".[39] Andeweg is well-aware of this: according to him, cabinets may be more or less dependent and therefore more or less central to the national decision-making process, and "what is specifically at stake is the role of the political parties forming the government", but this kind of restriction is external to the cabinet.[40]

For all these reasons, Andeweg's and Aucoin's (and Barbieri's and Burch and Holliday's) proposals seem to be stronger than the other mentioned works.[41] As said, my proposal arises from a re-assessment of the Andeweg's typology. I have chosen it because it is the most precise and comprehensive; nonetheless, as pointed out, it suffers from some problems: first of all, there is an oversimplification of an important aspect of cabinet decision-making, namely the influence of the party variable. I agree with Barbieri when she says that it affects all types of decision-making arenas and not only the inter-ministerial ones and that it would be worth treating this variable only as an external factor with respect to the typology. Consequently, henceforth, when I will use the term 'segmentation', I will refer to a single category, without further distinctions. Let us see the other problematic points.

3.2 The Dimensions of the Typology

My typology is built upon the two aforementioned dimensions: I will call them *distribution of power* (collegiality in Andeweg) and *centralisation of the decision-making process* (collectivity in Andeweg). But I will deal with them in a different way.

Firstly, let us look at the second dimension. What we are interested in here is the type of horizontal co-ordination of the whole cabinet decision-making process. With regard to this, it is possible to say that the more the arenas in which decisions are taken are inclusive in terms of participants, and the higher the degree of centralisation of decision-making will be.

As we have seen, Andeweg trichotomises this dimension between fragmentation, segmentation and collectivity. He considers the segmentation as a specific way of taking decisions that characterizes some cabinets and not others. Under his reasoning, some cabinets might be fragmented, others segmented, and others collective. But this is not true, if we look at the reality. All cabinets show some degree of segmentation, whereas completely fragmented or totally collective cabinets do not exist. There are always some "cohabiting" forces which drive to centralisation or, on the contrary, to decentralisation, but none of them succeed in taking the upper hand. As a

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[39] Robert Elgie, "Models of Executive Politics: a Framework for the Study of Executive Power Relations in Parliamentary and Semi-presidential Regimes," *Political Studies,* XLV, 2 (1997), 221.

[40] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 24. Another variation based on the type of relationship with the external environment is that between "representative" cabinets and "administrative" cabinets. Jean Blondel, "Introduction: Western European Cabinets in Comparative Perspective," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 12–13.

[41] It is not a case that they are typologies and not mere classifications. See above, footnote 9.

consequence of workload, of the technical nature of business, and of cabinet sizes, the full cabinet has lost its decision-making function and in many cases it has become an arena with the function of rubber stamp for decisions taken elsewhere, or, at most, a court of appeal.[42] Andeweg himself asserts that the cell of his typology representing the case of the ideal-type cabinet (collective and collegial) "is probably empty"[43], and Blondel and Manning point out that "[t]he stipulation that all governmental decisions should be taken by all the members is obviously unrealistic".[44]

To the opposite extreme, the same can be said with regard to the idea of fragmented decision-making. Ministers are not simply "policy dictators"[45] within their portfolio, operating without interference by other ministers and by cabinet as collective entity. A minimum of co-ordination is always necessary. Usually, ministers are both heads of departments and agents of the cabinet.[46]

Therefore, we are confronted with a typology with some empty types. But why should we keep them? In order to tackle and solve this problem, the dimension of the centralisation of the decision-making can be reduced to only two categories: *decentralised* (fragmented) decision-making and *centralised* (integrated) decision-making. There is centralisation when the decision-making process develops *for the most and important part* within inter-ministerial arenas (the Council of Ministers being the most inclusive) and not in periphery, that is, in single departments, as is the case with decentralisation and extensively autonomous ministers. It is worth reminding that the dimensions are continua, and that a full centralization would entail a totally collective decision-making. This dichotomisation is similar in Aucoin. He sees the cabinet committee system[47] as the natural development of collective government. Cabinet committees – he argues – "check the tendency for individual ministers to … become primarily departmental spokespersons rather than cabinet ministers responsible for ensuring that their departments function as part of an integrated whole". Both the full

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[42] Jean-Louis Thiébault, "The Organisational Structure of Western European Cabinets and its Impact on Decision-Making," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 78–79.

[43] Rudy Andeweg, "Collegiality and Collectivity: Cabinets, Cabinet Committees, and Cabinet Ministers," in *The Hollow Crown. Countervailing Trends in Core Executive,* eds. Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes *(*Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 62.

[44] Jean Blondel and Nick Manning "Do Ministers Do What They Say? Ministerial Unreliability, Collegial and Hierarchical Governments," *Political Studies,* 50, 3 (2002), 462. In fact, the two authors define collegial (collective for Andeweg) government only on the basis of these three conditions (p. 468): a) "it is composed of senior policy makers … forming a compact group as a result of most of them having known and worked with each other in a political party and in the legislature for a substantial period before joining the government"; b) "all major government policy matters go to this group for final ratification"; c) "the members of the group are responsible for and publicly support the overall mass of decisions that have been ratified". It is clear that the notion of collective decision-making is not required. For a more classic position see Thomas A. Baylis, *Governing by Committee. Collegial Leadership in Advanced Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989,), 7.

[45] Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Coalitions and Cabinet Government," *The American Political Science Review,* 84, 3 (1990), 888; Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government: a Research Agenda," in *Developing Democracy. Comparative Research in Honour of J. F. P. Blondel,* eds. Ian Budge and David McKay (London: Sage, 1994); Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Making and Breaking Governments. Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[46] Rudy Andeweg, "Ministers As Double Agents? The Delegation Process Between Cabinet and Ministers," *European Journal of Political Research,* 37, 3 (2000), 377-379; Jean Blondel and Nick Manning "Do Ministers Do What They Say? Ministerial Unreliability, Collegial and Hierarchical Governments," *Political Studies,* 50, 3 (2002), 455-460; Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller and Torbjörn Bergman (eds.), *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2003] 2006).

[47] Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood (eds.), *Unlocking the Cabinet. Cabinet Structures in Comparative Perspective* (London: Sage, 1985); Giovanni Sartori, *Elementi di teoria politica,* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995), 401–410.

cabinet and committees may be employed; however, "[i]n either case, … ministerial and departmental autonomy is sacrificed to a more integrated authority structure".[48]

As for the other dimension – the internal distribution of power –, it ought to be better delineated. The main problem concerns the category of the oligarchical distribution. As King has pointed out, there are strong prime ministers, weak prime ministers and chief executives with a medium degree of influence within government.[49] In the first case, the distribution of power is clearly monocratic, and we are confronted with *prime ministerial* (monocratic) governments.[50] Even if there were an oligarchy, it would be a mere instrument to reinforce the role of the prime minister.[51] The situation changes when there is a weaker head of government.[52] In particular, when an oligarchical distribution of power is associated with the presence of a prime minister with a medium degree of influence, the premier will be likely a member of the oligarchy with a significant role. In other words, the prime minister is not so strong to be in a position of predominance, but s/he is not so weak to be excluded from the group which guides the cabinet or, however, to have no substantial voice in the decision-making process. To sum up, s/he is a "*primus* of the *primi*".[53] If, instead, the head of government is a truly weak chief executive, an arbitrator who only mediates among ministers, s/he will not probably be an important part of the leading group, which will be characterized by an acephalous structure. Therefore, the category of the oligarchical distribution of power needs a further distinction: the oligarchy may be *with prime minister* or, on the contrary, *acephalous.*[54]

With regard to the notion of collegial cabinet, I suggest to change the label, and to simply call this type of distribution *dispersed power*. This is due to the fact that, as pointed out, truly collegial cabinets no longer exist (and perhaps they never existed), even when the prime minister is not predominant and there is not a defined oligarchy. Indeed, there are always some senior ministers. At worst, a special role is occupied by the minister of finance[55],

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[48] Peter Aucoin, "Prime Minister and Cabinet. Power at the Apex," in *Canadian Politics,* eds. James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon (Peterborough: Broadview Press, [1999] 2000), 120.

[49] Anthony King, "'Chief Executives' in Western Europe," in *Developing Democracy. Comparative Research in Honour of J. F. P. Blondel,* eds. Ian Budge and David McKay (London: Sage, 1994), 152-153. See also Eoin O'Malley, "The Power of Prime Ministers: Results of an Expert Survey," *International Political Science Review,* 28, 1 (2007), 16-18.

[50] However, it is worth noting that the prime ministerial power, even in these cases, is never absolute and unconditional, and that it depends on the degree of control of several types of resources (Richard Hefferman, "Prime Ministerial Predominance? Core Executive Politics in the UK," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 5, 3 (2003), 351-356), among which there are, for example, the important support structures (Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Ministers and the Role of the Prime Ministerial Staff," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 135-141; Guy B. Peters, R.A.W. Rhodes and Vincent Wright (eds.), *Administering the Summit. Administration of the Core Executive in Developed Countries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Jean Blondel, Ferdinand Müller-Rommel and Darina Malová, *Governing New European Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), chap. 8; Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Prime Ministerial Staff in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe: A Role Assessment by Cabinet Ministers," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics,* 24, 2 (2008), 256-271).

[51] Rudy Andeweg, "A Model of the Cabinet System: The Dimensions of Cabinet Decision-Making Processes," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 28.

[52] I am grateful to Professor Cristina Barbieri for having raised this point.

[53] André-Paul Frognier, "Belgium: A Complex Cabinet in a Fragmented Polity," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 92.

[54] Note that the prime minister can be part of the oligarchy or outside it. However, the important point is that, even when in the oligarchy, s/he is not so strong to be more influential than the other members. The oligarchy is acephalous because there are no prominent figures inside it. An opposite situation is that of the oligarchy with prime minister.

[55] Torbjörn Larsson, "The Role and Position of Ministers of Finance," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand

given his or her possibility to interfere in a great number of decisions taken by his or her colleagues. According to Larsson, "the minister of finance can even be regarded as a second prime minister, since no other minister is involved in all the aspects of the life of the cabinet in the way the minister of finance is".[56]

However, when power is almost equally dispersed among ministers, neither individuals nor groups are able to determine for the most part the governmental policy. On the contrary, when power is primarily exercised by the prime minister alone or by an oligarchy, there is a marked deviation from the notion of collegial government; however, this does not mean that who is not prime minister or member of the oligarchy has not a voice in the decision-making process.

3.3 Types of Cabinets

By combining the two dimensions, a new typology arises. It makes it possible to single out eight types of cabinets on the basis of their internal decision-making process (table 4).

TABLE 4: TYPES OF CABINETS

Internal distribution of power		Centralisation of the decision-making process	
		DECENTRALISED	CENTRALISED
PRIME MINISTERIAL		1. Radially dominated cabinet	2. Dominated cabinet with centralised decision-making
OLIGARCHICAL	WITH PRIME MINISTER	3. Ministerial cabinet with guided oligarchy	4. Inner circle with prime minister-based cabinet
	ACEPHALOUS	5. Ministerial cabinet with acephalous oligarchy	6. Acephalous inner circle-based cabinet
DISPERSED POWER		7. Cabinet with autonomous and 'separated' ministers	8. Acephalous cabinet with centralised decision-making

In a *radially dominated cabinet* (type 1), the decision-making process develops especially in the periphery and is channelled through integrated arenas only when it is necessary. The prime minister is predominant[57] within cabinet, s/he gives instructions to individual ministers and decides the governmental programme and lines of action; s/he exercises his or her power mainly by means of bilateral meetings with the ministers. In short, as Hefferman and Webb assert, the prime minister "is at the centre of an

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Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 212-218; Jean Blondel, Ferdinand Müller-Rommel and Darina Malová, *Governing New European Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), chap. 11.

[56] Torbjörn Larsson, "The Role and Position of Ministers of Finance," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 207–208.

[57] Saying that a prime minister is predominant is not equal to say that s/he commands the executive and controls its action as if s/he were a 'primus solus', such as the American president (Giovanni Sartori, *Ingegneria costituzionale comparata. Strutture, incentivi ed esiti* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004), 117); rather, it means that s/he is prominent enough to be a head of government "with more authority and power than other actors …, a 'stronger or main element' within the … executive" (Richard Hefferman, "Prime Ministerial Predominance? Core Executive Politics in the UK," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 5, 3 (2003), 349). It goes without saying that the degree of these authority and power can vary.

interlocking network of bilateral contacts".[58] Konrad Adenauer cabinets clearly fit in with the radially dominated type of government. Adenauer's dominance of the executive has been defined "legendary"[59] and the post-war German political system has been described as a 'Chancellor Democracy' (*Kanzlerdemokratie*). During this time, the preparatory work for chief executive's political decisions was mainly carried out in the Chancellor's Office[60], and then the impact of this work reached the ministries.[61] Further noticeable examples are those of Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair in Britain. The former made a great use of bilateral meetings to the detriment of the cabinet as a collegial institution;[62] the latter – another premier with a high degree of domination of the decision-making process – went much further than even Mrs Thatcher did. Neither the full cabinet – employed as a simple court of appeal or a clearing house for issues not settled elsewhere – nor the cabinet committees were the real decision-making arenas. Once again, this role was played by bilateral meetings between the prime minister and individual ministers.[63]

If a monocratic distribution of power is associated with a tendentially centralized decision-making process, there will be a *dominated cabinet with*

[58] Richard Hefferman and Paul Webb, "The British Prime Minister: Much More Than 'First Among Equals'," in *The Presidentialization of Politics. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies,* eds. Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (Oxford: Oxford University Press [2005] 2007), 40.

[59] Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 104.

[60] Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Management of Politics in the German Chancellor's Office," in *Administering the Summit. Administration of the Core Executive in Developed Countries,* eds. Guy B. Peters, R.A.W. Rhodes and Vincent Wright (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 92-93.

[61] Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Federal Republic of Germany: A System of Chancellor Government," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 181–182. See also Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "The Centre of Government in West Germany: Changing Patterns under 14 Legislatures (1949–1987)," *European Journal of Political Research,* 16, 2 (1988), 182; Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 104–105. In Germany three constitutional principles are at stake: the Chancellor principle (*Kanzlerprinzip*), the Minister principle (*Ressortprinzip*) and the Cabinet principle (*Kabinettsprinzip*); the third "is the least important" (Robert Elgie, *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 85). Ministers enjoy a so large autonomy in the decision-making that Mayntz has defined them "as sectoral leaders who exercise executive authority in their own right and not merely in the Chancellor's name" (Renate Mayntz, "Executive Leadership in Germany: Dispersion of Power or 'Kanzlerdemokratie'?" in *Presidents and Prime Ministers,* eds. Richard Rose and Ezra N. Suleiman (Washington: AEI, [1980] 1982), 150; but the departmentalisation of the policy-making process is counterbalanced by the co-ordinating role played by the head of government, who enjoys the authority to formulate guidelines of policy. Ibid.; Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "The Centre of Government in West Germany: Changing Patterns under 14 Legislatures (1949–1987)," *European Journal of Political Research,* 16, 2 (1988), 180-184; Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "The Role of German Ministers in Cabinet Decision-Making," in *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government,* eds. Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 154-159; Robert Elgie, *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), chap. 4; Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Federal Republic of Germany: A System of Chancellor Government," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

[62] Kevin Theakston, "Political Skills and Context in Prime Ministerial Leadership in Britain," in *Leadership in Context,* eds. Erwin C. Hargrove and John E. Owens (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 100–104; Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005); 80–81.

[63] Richard Hefferman, "Prime Ministerial Predominance? Core Executive Politics in the UK," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 5, 3 (2003), 358–369; Kevin Theakston, "Political Skills and Context in Prime Ministerial Leadership in Britain," in *Leadership in Context,* eds. Erwin C. Hargrove and John E. Owens (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 115–118; Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 83–86; Oreste Massari, "Gran Bretagna: verso la presidenzializzazione?" in *Capi di governo*, ed. Gianfranco Pasquino (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 122. Another important feature of the Blair premiership was the close relationship between the premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown, who in turn became prime minister in 2007. Richard Hefferman, "Prime Ministerial Predominance? Core Executive Politics in the UK," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 5, 3 (2003), 365–367; Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 85; Richard Hefferman and Paul Webb, "The British Prime Minister: Much More Than 'First Among Equals'," in *The Presidentialization of Politics. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies,* eds. Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (Oxford: Oxford University Press [2005] 2007), 40–41.

centralized decision-making (type 2). In this case, the chief executive wields the power for the most part through cabinet committees, other informal inter-ministerial meetings, or, to the extreme, the Council of Ministers, with all ministers attending. British cabinets – which, since the Second World War, have had a developed and important ramified system of committees and subcommittees[64] – have followed this pattern on several occasions. A pronounced combination of a strong leadership and good degrees of collectivity may be found in the Edward Heath cabinet. Heath was determined to be a strong prime minister, but, at the same time, made an intensive use of committees and devoted himself to maintain the ministerial collectivity.[65]

As we have seen, some cabinets and their decision-making processes are dominated by an oligarchy. When the prime minister is a member of this group with an important say in the formulation of policies and the domination of the decision-making process is exercised mainly through bilateral meetings with individual ministers, the cabinet is a *ministerial cabinet with guided oligarchy* (type 3). In Italy – a country with a tradition, in particular until the 1980s, of very weak prime ministers[66] – the Craxi administration seemed to reproduce in part these characteristics. Indeed, Craxi, the leader of the Socialist Party, tried to exert a sturdy leadership, but he never guided a monocratic government, but, rather, a strongly oligarchical coalition cabinet.[67]

On the contrary, in an *inner circle with prime minister-based cabinet* (type 4), a similar oligarchical group exercises its influence within a cabinet which decides mainly through partially or totally collective arenas. Belgian cabinets have often associated a quite collective decision-making with an oligarchical distribution of power and, at the same time, a growing personalisation of the

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[64] Brian W. Hogwood and Thomas T. Mackie, "The United Kingdom: Decision Sifting in a Secret Garden," in *Unlocking the Cabinet. Cabinet Structures in Comparative Perspective,* eds. Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood (London: Sage, 1985); Simon James, "The Cabinet System Since 1945: Fragmentation and Integration," *Parliamentary Affairs,* 47, 4 (1994), 613-619; Patrick Dunleavy, "Estimating the Distribution of Positional Influence in Cabinet Committees under Major," in *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive,* eds. R.A.W. Rhodes and Patrick Dunleavy (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 299-304; Simon James, "Relations between Prime Minister and Cabinet: From Wilson to Thatcher," in *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive,* eds. R.A.W. Rhodes and Patrick Dunleavy (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 69–73; Martin Burch, "The United Kingdom," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 28–29.

[65] Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 77–79. Brian W. Hogwood and Thomas T. Mackie, "The United Kingdom: Decision Sifting in a Secret Garden," in *Unlocking the Cabinet. Cabinet Structures in Comparative Perspective,* eds. Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood (London: Sage, 1985), 51–52 reports a quotation from *The Times* of 7 February 1984, according to which, during the Heath government, "all Cabinet committee decisions, even non-controversial ones, were reported to the Cabinet, giving ministers who had not been closely involved the opportunity to have their say".

[66] As Mauro Calise, "Presidentialization, Italian Style," in *The Presidentialization of Politics. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies,* eds. Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2005] 2007), 96 points out, the Italian prime minister, before those years, was "scarcely even *primus inter pares*, with the status of little more than a mediator among the parties (and factions) that comprised his government". See the same work for a study on the strengthening of the prime ministerial figure in Italy in the last two decades. On the weakness of the Italian prime minister see Sabino Cassese, "Is There a Government in Italy? Politics and Administration at the Top," in *Presidents and Prime Ministers,* eds. Richard Rose and Ezra N. Suleiman (Washington: AEI, [1980] 1982); David Hine and Renato Finocchi, "The Italian Prime Minister," in *West European Prime Ministers*, ed. G.W. Jones (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 79-88. Robert Elgie, *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), chapter 7.

[67] Maurizio Cotta, "Italy: A Fragmented Government," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 148; Cristina Barbieri, "Dentro il cabinet. Novità istituzionali nei rapporti tra ministri," in *Il governo e i suoi apparati. L'evoluzione del caso italiano in prospettiva comparata,* eds. Cristina Barbieri and Luca Verzichelli (Genova: Name, 2003), 137–138.

prime ministerial power. This is true, for instance, for Martens governments in the 1980s.[68]

But, as pointed out, oligarchical cabinets may be formally headed by a weak prime minister; and this prime minister would not have any central role within the oligarchy – and therefore within the group exercising the real power – and, on the whole, s/he would have only a little voice in the decision-making process. Such a picture can be found, together with a decentralised decision-making, in the *ministerial cabinets with acephalous oligarchy* (type 5). The Kiesinger cabinet in Germany, from 1967 onwards, came close to this model. Chancellor Kiesinger was "[d]oomed to chair a grand coalition cabinet brimming with political heavyweights from both major parties"[69], and, even within his own party, he was marginalized; as Baylis states, he "could do little more than serve as coordinator and broker among the powerful figures of his cabinet".[70]

In the *acephalous inner circle-based cabinets* (type 6) the distribution of power is similar, but the decision-making process is more centralized. In the early 1970s, the Dutch cabinet was an example with respect to the formulation of socio-economic policy. A small group of ministers, known as the 'Socio-economic Triangle' and composed by the ministers of finance, economic affairs and social affairs, decided on the relevant matters. For its role – the socio-economic policy became more and more important for the general governmental policy – and also for reasons of political representation, the prime minister joined the group in the Den Uyl cabinet (1973-1977).[71] In Germany, the Kiesinger cabinet's first six months, a period in which the full cabinet was the true decision-making arena, showed many of these traits.[72]

A *cabinet with autonomous and "separated" ministers* (type 7) is characterized by the decentralization of the decision-making process and by the presence of more or less equal ministers, among whom nobody is strongly prominent. These ministers are largely autonomous in taking decisions within their jurisdiction. During the premiership of Aldo Moro, a prime minister acting as a mediator, the Italian cabinet functioned in this manner.[73]

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[68] Arco Timmermans, "Cabinet Ministers and Policy-Making in Belgium: The Impact of Coalitional Constraints," in *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government,* eds. Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); André-Paul Frognier, "Belgium: A Complex Cabinet in a Fragmented Polity," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 92-93.

[69] Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 107.

[70] Thomas A. Baylis, *Governing by Committee. Collegial Leadership in Advanced Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 75. See also Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 107–109.

[71] Rudy Andeweg, "The Netherlands: Cabinet Committees in a Coalition Cabinet," in *Unlocking the Cabinet. Cabinet Structures in Comparative Perspective,* eds. Thomas T. Mackie and Brian W. Hogwood (London: Sage, 1985), 148–149; Rudy Andeweg, "Centrifugal Forces and Collective Decision-Making: The Case of the Dutch Cabinet," *European Journal of Political Research,* 16, 2 (1988), 144–146.

[72] Ludger Helms, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors. Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 108.

[73] Cristina Barbieri, *Il capo del governo in Italia. Una ricerca empirica* (Milano: Giuffrè, 2001). The Italian ministers have often and generally enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Some authors have defined the Italian government as a "collection of ministries" (Jean-Louis Thiébault, "The Organisational Structure of Western European Cabinets and its Impact on Decision-Making," in *Governing Together. The Extent and Limits of Joint Decision-Making in Western European Cabinets,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 89) or as a "government by ministries" (Sabino Cassese, "Is There a Government in Italy? Politics and Administration at the Top," in *Presidents and Prime Ministers,* eds. Richard Rose and Ezra N. Suleiman (Washington: AEI, [1980] 1982), 175). Furthermore, in the past, committees, "instead of being instruments for the coordination of the ministries, … [were] a way of projecting into the government the particular interests of individual

Finally, sometimes, there may be rather collegial cabinets which decide by means of a centralized decision-making, and, according to our types, they are to be called *acephalous cabinets with centralized decision-making* (type 8). In this case, good examples may be found among the cabinets of the French Fourth Republic.[74]

To sum up, the typology shows eight types of cabinets. With regard to them, it is worth noting that they are Weberian ideal-types.[75] In other words, a certain cabinet may tend to a certain type, and, however, exhibit some characteristics typical of another. The typology shows us the features that prevail within a government with respect to the two mentioned dimensions.

4 SOME COCLUDING REMARKS AND RESEARCH OUTLOOKS

In this paper I have presented a sum of what literature has proposed about the classifications and typologies of cabinets in parliamentary and semi-presidential democracies. I have tried to systematise it, in order to point out its major shortcomings and to isolate the good points from which it is possible to start in building an amended and more comprehensive typology. The typology has been created on the basis of two main dimensions, namely the internal distribution of power (who actually takes decisions in the cabinet) and the centralisation of the decision-making (the arena of the decision-making). The result is a grid of eight types able to give a complete picture of the real world of cabinets. For each type, I have briefly described some examples selected across countries and across time.

The main aim of this paper was to provide a useful and amended framework for those interested in the study of cabinet government and of the mechanisms of governance[76] through which it works. Indeed, the typology allows, on the one hand, true and genuine comparative studies on cabinet government and its decision-making processes and, on the other, opens the door to new research outlooks.

As for this second point, one path could be, for example, the explanation of the types of cabinets. Why, in a certain political context, does a particular type of cabinet emerge and another does not? In other words, it could be possible to investigate the factors affecting the two mentioned dimensions of the typology. In this respect, a major impact seems to be that of parties[77], in particular with regard to the dimension of the distribution of power. As we have seen, the party variable is not for sure internal to the typology, but it affects this from the external. Specific political-party situations may enhance the position of some actors or, on the contrary, make the power more

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ministries" (ibid., 202). On Italian cabinet committees until 1980s see Pasquale Ciriello, *Ordinamento di governo e comitati interministeriali* (Napoli: Jovene, 1981). Cf. also David Hine and Renato Finocchi, "The Italian Prime Minister," in *West European Prime Ministers*, ed. G.W. Jones (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 84–88; Frederic Spotts and Theodor Wieser, *Italy, a Difficult Democracy. A Survey of Italian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1986] 1995), 116–117; Maurizio Cotta, "Italy: A Fragmented Government," in *Cabinets in Western Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 153–154.

[74] François Petry, "The Role of Cabinet Ministers in the French Fourth Republic," in *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government,* eds. Michael Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 126-129.

[75] Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), 89–99.

[76] Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm (eds.), *Coalition Governments in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller and Torbjörn Bergman (eds.), *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining: The Democratic Life Cycle in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[77] G.W. Jones, "West European Prime Ministers in Perspective," in *West European Prime Ministers*, ed. G.W. Jones (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 173-177.

dispersed among them. Another factor could be the personality of some figures, for example of some prime ministers. Müller-Rommel has argued that five types of factors are likely to account for the functioning of cabinets. They would be the "structural characteristics of the political system"; "political parties"; "the role of individual ministers"; the "behaviour of prime ministers"; and "the administrative characteristics of the prime minister's office".[78] Therefore, a task that is out of the capacity of this paper, but that could be pursued in an interesting and fruitful manner, is to empirically test these hypotheses according to the new framework.

An alternative choice could be the analysis – instead of the causes – of the consequences of the types of cabinets in terms of products of the decision-making. Is there a relation between the type of the cabinet decision-making and the policy outcomes of the cabinet? For example, it is likely that a more dispersed power implies less radical policies and more compromises among the relevant actors thanks to a sort of mutual control[79], whereas a strong centre (e.g., prime minister) favours impositions on other ministers and therefore, sometimes, even more radical policies (however this may be affected also by the degree of ideological heterogeneity of the cabinet). A specific research on this theme could be a good point in order to link processes and outcomes.

As we can see, the framework I have presented – apart from being a synthesis and an improvement of the literature – is both a tool for making easier our understanding of cabinet system in a comparative perspective and a good starting platform to study many important aspects of the this world with a basis to orient oneself in it.

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[78] Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Cabinets in Post-Communist East-Central Europe and the Balkans: Empirical Findings and Research Agenda," in *Cabinets in Eastern Europe,* eds. Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 199–201.

[79] Wolfgang C. Müller and Thomas M. Meyer, "Mutual Veto? How Coalitions Work," in *Reform Processes and Policy Change. Veto Players and Decision-Making in Modern Democracies,* eds. Thomas König, George Tsebelis and Marc Debus (New York: Springer, 2010), 101-108.

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THE MACEDONIAN EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION VS. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORM: THE LACK OF INTERACTION BETWEEN EU ACCESSION REQUIREMENTS

Sanja VRBEK[1]

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The paper discusses the problem of lack of interaction between different EU accession requirements as an intrinsic feature of the EU external governance that impacts the quality of the Europeanisation outcomes in the candidate countries. It takes the Macedonian equitable representation policy of the smaller ethnic communities as a case study, and discusses its interplay with the requirement on Public Administration reform. On the basis of a qualitative analysis of the EU Progress Reports and a desktop research on the implementation of the equitable representation policy vis-à-vis the Public Administration reform, the paper infers that the EU approach seriously fails in linking these interrelated accession requirements. This contributes to overlooking the real roots of the problems, and additionally reflects on the lack of clear guidelines and recommendations for the candidates. Thus, EU fails to establish a right 'diagnosis' and 'therapy' for the country, which leads to suboptimal Europeanisation outcomes.

Key words: EU external governance; Macedonia; Ohrid Framework Agreement; Policy on Equitable Representation; Public Administration Reform.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Europeanisation of the candidate countries has been established as an independent research discipline focused on the European Union (EU) external governance as one of the crucial factors in the candidate countries' democratic and economic reformation. In spite of the initial enthusiasm with regard to the EU's transformational power, the research eventually has become more interested in the limitations of the Europeanisation process. These limitations come to the surface mostly in those policy areas that lack a

clear legal basis in the EU *acquis*. They are often manifested as suboptimal policy/institutional solutions implemented by the candidate countries. In this context, the paper recognizes the lack of interaction between different accession requirements as a serious intrinsic shortcoming of the EU external governance, responsible for the suboptimal Europeanisation outcomes. It departures from the assumption that in policy areas where the EU accession conditionality stands on 'shaky' legal basis, and lacks clear policy/institutional models, the interaction of different, but interrelated accession criteria is an important factor in providing clear guidelines for the candidate country's reform.

This problem, although recognized in the Europeanisation literature, has not been researched extensively. Moreover, it has been completely underplayed in the research of the Western Balkans (WB), a region offering a more complicated context than the Central Eastern European (CEE) enlargement. The WB's complexity does not only imply a lack of clear membership prospect, but also unresolved statehood issues and disputes with neighbours; vivid memory of military conflicts; security challenges; ethnically heterogeneous population; all of which lead to a new, more demanding conditionality. This new conditionality not only lacks a legal basis in the *acquis*, but the EU, as an actor responsible for the monitoring and guidance of the process, lacks the appropriate experience, due to the absence of these problems at the previous enlargements. Thus, the capacity of the EU to provide as clear and detailed language as possible in its documents (the Accession Partnership and the yearly Progress Reports) in order to fill the legal gap is challenged.

The paper's hypothesis is that the EU does not provide clear guidelines for the candidate countries, due to a lack of interaction between different, but interrelated accession criteria. This contributes to the emergence of suboptimal policy and institutional outcomes implemented within the candidate countries.

The Macedonian policy on equitable representation of the smaller ethnic communities is taken as a case study, and is discussed from the aspect of its interplay with the requirement on Public Administration reform (PA). The aim is to assess the EU approach towards these two different, but directly interrelated requirements from the political *acquis*. Therefore, a qualitative analysis of the EU Progress Reports on the Macedonian progress is conducted. In addition, the EU assessment of the reform is contrasted with the main dilemmas and problems deriving from the implementation of the reforms on the ground. The purpose of the paper is to assess the capacity of the EU approach to address these dilemmas and problems; hence, to answer whether the interaction of different, but interrelated accession criteria is crucial for the quality of the reforms undertaken by the candidate country.

In the next chapters, the paper provides a brief literature review, followed by a desktop research noting the main challenges and problems of the policy on equitable representation vis-à-vis the PA reform. Then, these observations are contrasted with the conclusions from the qualitative analysis of the EU Progress Reports. Eventually, it infers a conclusion about how the lack of interaction between different accession criteria impacts the Europeanisation policy/institutional outcomes.

2 THE INTERACTION OF DIFFERENT ACCESSION CONDITIONS THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE EUROPEANISATION LITERATURE

The membership in the European Union is a strong incentive for the potential candidates and the candidate countries to undergo radical transformation. The transformational power and capacity of the EU external governance[2] is especially evident when the macro-level democratization and marketization of the candidate countries are analyzed.[3] Thus, the most common reference to Freedom House ratings, foreign direct investments, or GDP growth, serves as a strong argument for the success and power of the EU enlargement governance. The context of asymmetrical relationship[4] between the EU and the candidate countries enables the Union, through a clearly linked conditionality to the prospect of membership, to initiate reforms of the candidates' legal and political systems.

However, the success of the Europeanisation process is questionable when the different policy areas are analysed individually. Here, the Europeanisation literature is not united with regards to the effects of the accession process. For instance, Grabbe concludes that, despite the shortcomings, the Europeanisation effects in the candidate countries are much broader and deeper in scope compared to the member states.[5] Contrary to that, Goetz argues that the effects of the process are shallow and reversible, since the candidates' aim is to circumvent deep Europeanisation and 'locking in' effects, counting on their uploading capacity once they become member states.[6] However, the reality is somewhere in between. Accepting the cynical line of Goetz implies an assumption that the candidate countries have a strong policy making capacity in different EU related areas. However, the candidates are usually weak states, and often do not have a clear idea, nor an expertise on EU policies. Therefore, they do not have the capacity to 'rebel' against the 'locking in' effects strategically, by implementing shallow institutions to be reversed once they become member states. Thus, the sub-optimal results of the policy/institutional outcomes do not derive from the strategic decision of the candidates to circumvent radical changes until they become member states, but rather from the interplay of both domestic and EU conditions.

Whether the EU conditionality will be successful, depends on the attractiveness of the membership prospect among the national actors, the speed of adjustment and illegitimate and inefficient institutions dating back to communist times.[7] The process is additionally challenged by the intrinsic features (problems) of the EU conditionality strategy, recognized by Grabbe: 1. Lack of institutional templates; 2. Uncertain linkage between fulfilling particular tasks and receiving particular benefits; 3. Lack of transparency about how much progress has been made and what the standards of compliance are (complex requirements, not amendable to quantitative

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[2] Lykke Friis and Anna Murphy, "The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Governance and Boundaries," *Journal of common market studies,* 37, 2 (1999), 211–232.

[3] James Hughes, Gwendolyn Sasse and Claire Gordon, "Conditionality and Compliance in the EU's Eastward Enlargement: Regional Policy and the Reform of Sub-national Government," *Journal of common market studies,* 42, 3 (2004), 523.

[4] Andew Moravcsik and Milada A. Vachudova, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies,* 17, 1 (2003), 46.

[5] Heather Grabbe, "Europeanisation goes East: Power and Uncertainty in the EU accession process," in *The Politcs of Europeanisation,* ed. Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 303.

[6] See Klaus H. Goetz. *Europeanisation in West and East: A Challenge to Institutional Theory.* Paper prepared for 1st Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Bordeaux, September 26–28, 2002.

[7] Heather Grabbe, "How does Europeanisation affect Governance? Conditionality, Diffusion and Diversity," *Journal of European Public Policy,* 8, 4 (2001), 1014.

targets); 4. Inconsistencies within the EU's advice to applicants; 5. Complex actor's constellations involved, meaning that different EU institutions give different advice and signals.[8]

Hence, Grabbe partly tackles the problem of interaction between different accession criteria, when pointing to the inconsistencies within the EU's advice to the applicants. Namely, she points out the tension between "decentralisation versus control and efficiency, and democratic legitimacy versus fast and full implementation of the *acquis*"[9], generated by the collision of the EU requirements on regionalisation and democratisation. The requirements on subsidiarity, sub-national government autonomy and more participatory decision-making have clashed with those EU requirements that encourage the exclusion of both the sub-national actors and parliaments from the accession process, on the advantage of the executive.[10]

A somewhat different, but representative example of lack of interaction between different sets of requirements is found in the Bulgarian accession. Here, the lack of linkage between the political criteria for membership and the reforms required under specific *acquis* chapters lead to the paradox that the Commission praised the high degree of formal legal harmonisation within the chapter Justice and Home Affairs, but criticized the country for its failure to comply with the rule of law principle from the political conditionality.[11]

Similarly, in 2003, the Macedonian equitable representation policy of the smaller ethnic communities challenged the consistency of the EU conditionality requirements.[12] Namely, the country progress was conditioned by the improvement of the Albanian representation within the central and local institutions, which assumed budget implication in terms of increased public spending. At the same time, EU demanded cuts in the administration and decrease of the public expenditure, as a requirement from the economic conditionality. Thus, the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which has been set by the EU as the most important part of the political conditionality, and crucial for any step forward with regard to the Macedonian accession, came directly in collision with the economic set of conditions.

These problems of clashing accession requirements have been raised within the theoretical discussion of the concept of conditionality. However, the concept has been criticised for being narrow and thus, incapable of establishing a clear causal relationship between the EU approach and the candidate countries' compliance record.[13] It means that there is no straightforward link between the application of the conditionality and the change within the candidate countries. Any possible causal relation is disturbed by other (e.g. domestic) factors, which also shape the final outcome. Hence, a more comprehensive theoretical framework has been developed by Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, as an answer to this criticism.[14] Namely, three models explaining the rule transfer in the candidate

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[8] Ibid., 1023–24.
[9] Ibid., 1023.
[10] Ibid.
[11] See Vladimir Shopov. *Projecting Political Influence: Beyond EU Conditionality*. Paper presented at the European Neighbourhood Policy conference, Sofia, April 11–12, 2008, 8.
[12] Othon Anastasakis and Dimitar Bechev, *EU Conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Process* (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 2003), 13.
[13] James Hughes, Gwendolyn Sasse and Claire Gordon, *Europeanisation and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe: The Myth of Conditionality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2.
[14] Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe," in *The Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 1–29.

countries have been designed – the external incentive model, the social learning and the lesson drawing model; the former embodying the logic of the rational institutionalism and the latter two, the logic of the social institutionalism. By contrasting the two logics, the literature on Europeanisation anchors the rational, rather than the social constructivist logic, as the most relevant to explaining the successful rule transfer in the candidate countries.[15] The 'new' theoretical models developed for the candidate countries are not quite 'new', since they rely on the same theoretical lines as those developed for the EU member states.[16] However, the novelty is that they shift the academic focus on a spectrum of EU and domestic factors for the explanation of rule transfer in the candidate countries.

The upgraded theoretical framework is relevant to the paper, to the extent that it refers to the issue of interaction between different sets of conditionality. In this context, the social learning model is to be mentioned, as it partly tackles the problem. Its variable "legitimacy of rules and processes", is measured *inter alia* by the presence of cross-conditionality (implying dissonance between the EU accession criteria and the conditionality of other international institutions). However, since the Europeanisation literature has rejected the social constructivist approach, it also rejects the 'legitimacy' of the accession requirements as a relevant factor in the explanation of the Europeanisation outcomes. More precisely, the theory sets the "high credibility of treats (exclusion) and promises (membership)"[17] and "the size of the governmental adoption costs",[18] both variables from the external incentive model, as the only relevant factors in the rule transfer of the political *acquis*. Similarly, the credible membership perspective was recognized as the only relevant factor in the rule transfer of the *acquis* conditionality.[19] Hence, the Europeanisation literature concludes that the rules' legitimacy and cross-conditionality have no impact on the process of successful rule transfer in the candidate countries. These conclusions are based only on a formal compliance with the EU standards and norms, implying that an adoption of the relevant legislation and a positive EU assessment are the only criteria for determining successful rule transfer.[20] Since a formal compliance does not equal a genuine transformation, the current Europeanisation literature has pretty limited and superficial reach in explaining the process. Thus, cases like Slovakia (after Meciar' rule) or Latvia are considered to be success examples of the Europeanisation transformative power;[21] nevertheless, there are serious shortcomings registered even after the EU accession.[22] The conclusions of

[15] Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (ed.), *The Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[16] Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Europeanisation in new member and candidate states," *Living Reviews in European Governance* 1, 3 (2006). Available at http://europeangovernance.livingreviews.org/Articles/lreg-2006-3/ (28 October 2011).

[17] Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Conclusions: The impact of the EU on the Accession Countries," in *The Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 213.

[18] Ibid., 213.

[19] Ibid., 215–216.

[20] Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (ed.), *The Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[21] Judith G. Kelley, "Does domestic politics limit the influence of external actors on ethnic politics?" *Human rights review,* 4, 3 (2003): 49–50; see also Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Conclusions: The impact of the EU on the Accession Countries," in *The Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[22] Kyriaki Topidi, "The Limits of EU Conditionality: Minority Rights in Slovakia," *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe,* 1 (2003). Available at http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2003/nr1/Focus1-2003_Topidi.pdf (28

the Europeanisation literature with regard to successful rule transfer are unable to explain the persistence or emergence of problems in the candidate countries even after the positive EU assessment. This is the gap in the literature that the paper aims to address by analysing how the interaction of the different EU accession requirements contributes to the (sub)optimal policy/institutional choices implemented by the candidate countries.

3 THE COLLISION OF THE FAIR REPRESENTATION POLICY AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORM

Macedonia was granted a candidate status in 2005, as a reward for the implementation of the Ohrid Framework agreement (OFA). This means that the provisions of the OFA have been fully incorporated into the Macedonian legal and political system.[23] Moreover, the silence of the Accession Partnership, regarding any particular legal requirements in this area, means that all major legal questions of OFA are closed and that a satisfactory legal framework is set in place. This, *inter alia*, refers to the legal framework of the policy on equitable representation of the smaller ethnic communities. It implies that any problems emerging from the implementation can be resolved within the present legal framework.

This paper, however, claims the opposite. The present legal framework accommodating the principle on fair representation and its implementation are in collision with the PA reform, precisely the merit requirement. Furthermore, the current EU approach does not contribute to a solution, but encourages the *status quo* situation. This is due to the artificial division and lack of interaction between the requirements on fair representation and on the PA reform in the EU official documents.

Since, from a legal point of view, the equitable representation policy is a closed question, the Accession Partnership only has required from the authorities to "upgrade and implement the strategy on equitable representation of non-majority communities, notably by providing adequate resources and imposing effective sanctions for failure to meet targets".[24] This leads to a conclusion that the legal rules successfully accommodate the grievances of the minorities; hence, the administrative capacity and the implementation dynamic are the only problems that need to be addressed in the future.

However, the situation on the ground is different. The problems that emerge from this policy cannot be effectively tackled within the present legal framework. Nevertheless, both the Accession Partnership and the Progress Reports are silent regarding any concrete measure for improvement of the legislation. The Progress Reports and the Accession Partnership are EU instruments, through which the vague Copenhagen criteria (particularly the political ones) are more closely specified. Neither the PA reform[25] nor the fair representation policy stands firmly on the *acquis*; therefore, the EU develops

November 2011); see also Geoffrey Pridham, "Change and Continuity in the European Union's Political Conditionality: Aims, Approach, and Priorities," *Democratization,* 14, 3 (2007), 453.

[23] Zoran Ilievski and Dane Taleski, "Was the EU's Role in Conflict Management in Macedonia a Success?" *Ethnopolitics,* 8, 3 (2009): 359.

[24] Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 2008/212/EC of 18 February 2008 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and repealing Decision 2006/57/EC,* Brussels, 2008. Available at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:080:0032:0045:EN:PDF (20 October 2011).

[25] Antoaneta Dimitrova, "Enlargement, Institution building and the EU's administrative capacity requirement," *West European Politics,* 25, 4 (2002), 177–180.

more precise conditionality and guidelines through these instruments. This aims to secure, on the one hand, clearer information about the future tasks of the candidate country, and, on the other hand, better transparency of the EU assessment. The issue of 'clarity' of the tasks is crucial, due to the candidates' lack of policy-making capacity and "protectorate mentality"[26] characterising their political cultures. In such a context of weak states, the EU Progress Reports are the most credible reference point for any future reform steps. Thus, by not properly articulating the problems and the recommendations, EU indirectly contributes to the *status quo* of the reform.

The policy on equitable representation, on the one hand, supports Grabbe's observation that quantified targets could be the answer to the problem of "moving target"[27] and flexible Commission assessments. The statistics on the increase of the percentage of the smaller ethnic communities within the PA were used as one of the main arguments for the successful implementation of the OFA; thus, they were crucial for the EU decision to grant Macedonia the candidate status. However, this policy has also shown that quantified targets are not sufficient guidelines for the establishment of optimal policies on the ground. Although, the aim of the reform was to establish more just and inclusive public administration reflecting the ethnic parameters set by the 2002 census, in reality, its implementation was reduced to a dubious process of filling posts, only for the sake of meeting the required percentage. Moreover, the reform was praised by EU only on statistical grounds, referring exclusively to the percentage of employed civil servants belonging to the smaller ethnic communities. This was the case even when significant number of the new employees *de facto* did not go to work, but stayed at home while being paid from the state budget.[28] They served as a quantitative argument for the success of the reform for both the EU and the national politicians.[29]

Grabbe also referred to the "speed of adjustment"[30] as a feature of the EU approach that leads to a more successful convergence with the EU requirements in the candidate countries. But even in this aspect the Macedonian case of equitable representation provides a counterfactual example. Here, the speed of the reform has been clearly to the detriment of its quality. The EU pressure for speedy reform has derived from the specific context of latent interethnic tensions being kept under control, only by fast and visible results of the OFA implementation. Any slower implementation not only would have raised suspicions among the Albanian ethnic community about the political will for reform, but would also have negatively impacted the Commission assessment, thus, the euro-integration progress.

In spite of the 'quantitative' success and the positive EU assessment, this policy faced the experts' criticism from the very beginning. The critics, on the one hand, focused on the negligence of the smaller ethnic communities at the expense of the Albanian ethnic community; and, on the other hand,

[26] Othon Anastasakis and Dimitar Bechev, *EU Conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Process* (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 2003), 17.
[27] Heather Grabbe, "European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire," *International Political Science Review,* 23, 3 (2002), 251.
[28] This problem became visible in 2009. However, it was not mentioned and addressed in the 2009 Progress report.
[29] Мери Јордановска и Владимир Николовски, "Фиктивни рамковни вработувања за мир во коалиција," *Нова Македонија*, октомври 9, 2009. Available at http://www.novamakedonija.mk/NewsDetal.asp?vest=109999232&id=9&setIzdanie=21808 (20 October 2011); also see Светлана Унковска, "Договор за рамковни игри со бројки," *Утрински весник*, август 9, 2010. Available at http://www.utrinski.com.mk/?ItemID=1E5B4D07C9A0554 D88F1CD73CCEC9F45 (12 October 2011).
[30] Heather Grabbe, "How does Europeanisation affect Governance? Conditionality, Diffusion and Diversity," *Journal of European Public Policy,* 8, 4 (2001), 1015.

focused on the negative impact this policy had on the overall Public Administration (PA) reform, particularly the implementation of the merit principle.[31] It was pointed out that the Macedonian fair representation policy deviates from the general understanding of the positive discrimination concept assuming open competition, rather than automatic preference of the disadvantaged group. This is also in breach of the idea of positive action embedded in the EU law, although in a different context, which clearly opposes measures giving an automatic preference to individuals who belong to the disadvantaged group.[32] In the Macedonian case, the candidates from the smaller ethnic groups are not recruited in an open competitive procedure with candidates from the majority; but the recruitment procedure is conducted exclusively among them.[33] Therefore, a candidate does not get the position on the bases of his competitive skills compared to those of all possible candidates and, then, on the basis of his affiliation to the disadvantaged group; but solely and automatically on the latter.

Another problematic aspect of the recruitment procedure of candidates from the non-majority ethnic communities was the abolishment of the expert's exam as an employment requirement during the first phase of its implementation (2004–2006);[34] otherwise compulsory in the regular recruitment procedure. Moreover, the recruitment procedure has been divided between two institutions; the regular recruitment procedure has been conducted by the Civil Service Agency, whereas the Secretariat for implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (SIOFA) within the Government has been responsible for the 'OFA employments'.[35] Therefore, the OFA employments have been perceived as an opportunity window by the political parties representing the minorities in the government, who usually have the power over SIOFA, to secure electoral support by 'bribing' their voters with employments.[36] This kind of employment faced the criticism of partisan influence; and the policy on equitable representation was accused of being directly responsible for undermining the merit system within the PA.[37]

In spite of the positive EU assessment[38] of the reform, there is obviously an absence of legal mechanism that consolidates the merit principle with the principle of fair representation. The relevant legislation[39] stipulates the need

[31] See Marija Risteska. *Policy brief no.19: Ten Years after the OFA.* Paper presented at the conference One decade after the Ohrid Framework agreement: Lessons (to be) learned from the Macedonian experience, Skopje, June 24–26, 2011.

[32] The EU law sets the basic principles of positive discrimination in the area of gender equality. Although, the context is different, it is representative of the EU idea about the concept of positive discrimination in general. The relevant case law, Abrahamsson v Fogelqvist (C-407/98) clearly established that automatic preference to candidates from the under-represented sex is in breach of the EU law. See Penelope Kent, *European Union Law* (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 2006), 192–193.

[33] See Marija Risteska. *Policy brief no.19: Ten Years after the OFA.* Paper presented at the conference One decade after the Ohrid Framework agreement: Lessons (to be) learned from the Macedonian experience, Skopje, June 24–26, 2011, 11.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See European Commission. *Commission Staff Working Documents The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2010 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2010–2011,* Brussels, 2010, 21.

[36] See SIGMA. *The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: The Public Service and the Administrative Framework Assessment May 2008.* Available at http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/48/48/41637503.pdf (27 October 2011), 3.

[37] Ibid.

[38] See European Commission. *Commission Staff Working Documents The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2009 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010,* Brussels, 2009, 13; European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Documents The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2010 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2010-2011,* Brussels, 2010, 11.

[39] See Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia. *Law on Civil Servants*, 76, 7 June 2010, art.12.

for balance of both principles, but fails to provide clear legal mechanisms to address their potential collision in practice. More precise, but equally useless language can be found in the "Strategy for Just and Equitable Representation". Here, the general idea of the positive discrimination concept is clearly stated: if a candidate belonging to the smaller ethnic community for which the post is reserved, has the same qualifications as the candidate belonging to the majority ethnic community, the authorities are encouraged to employ the candidate from the group subjected to a positive discrimination.[40] Nevertheless, this part of the Strategy is obsolete since it refers to an implementation of a positive discrimination in a context of open competition, which is not ensured in practice by the current equitable representation policy design.

Unlike the Macedonian case, other systems of positive discrimination are familiar with legal mechanisms that consolidate principles of merit and fair representation. For instance, the South Tyrolean system, in spite of its shortcomings, is considered to be one of the most successful examples of positive discrimination.[41] The mechanism[42] applied within the South Tyrolean system stipulates that in case it is impossible to find a qualified candidate belonging to the group for which the post is reserved, the post is given to the most qualified candidate of one of the other two linguistic groups. The latter group has to return such 'off quota' post in some subsequent recruitment procedure.

This, differently from the Macedonian experience, presupposes competition among candidates from all groups. The reserved post is not given by automatism to a candidate of the disadvantaged group for which the post is reserved, but on the bases of his/her competitiveness and skills. Furthermore, this mechanism answers some of the recent problems the South Tyrolean system of fair representation faced, which might not be alien to the Macedonian case in the future. Namely, a lack of interest among the German speaking community for employment in the health service and the court administration has been registered, due to the low salaries in these public sectors.[43] This made the required percentage impossible to reach. However, the abovementioned legal mechanism addressed the challenge, by providing more flexible distribution of the posts, corresponding to the real needs of the labour market.

At first glance, this problem seems impossible to happen in the Macedonian context, due to the high unemployment rate.[44] However, it is not an impossible scenario. It has already occurred, but on a significantly smaller (minor) scale compared to the South Tyrolean case. Nevertheless, it is an interesting situation[45] that challenged the capacity of the legal framework to deal with similar problems of larger scale in the future. In 2007, the Ministry of Defence faced a problem to fill the yearly quotas for the non-majority ethnic communities, even after lowering the selection criteria. There was

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[40] See Government of Republic of Macedonia. *Strategy for Just and Equitable Representation,* 2007, 23.
[41] Emma Lantschner and Giovanni Poggeschi, "Quota system, Census and Declaration of Belonging to a Linguistic Group, and Quota System," in *Tolerance Established by Law. Self Government and Group Rights: The Autonomy of South Tyrol*, ed. Joseph Marko, Francesco Palermo and Jens Woelk (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2008), 219–233.
[42] Ibid., 222.
[43] Ibid.
[44] The latest information from the Statistical office for 2011 registers unemployment rate of 31.3%. State Statistical office of Republic of Macedonia, *Key indicators – Labour market*, Skopje, 2011. Available at http://www.stat.gov.mk/OblastOpsto_en.aspx?id=14 (1 December 2011).
[45] Игор Илиевски, "АРМ со пропустлив филтер за малцинските заедници," *Дневник*, декември 4, 2007. Available at http://www.dnevnik.com.mk/?itemID=6F23B774957E3A4BB36BD177D6B0C595&arc=1 (11 October 2011).

simply no interest among the smaller ethnic communities for the reserved posts in the army. Several awareness raising campaigns were conducted by the Ministry of Defence, as well as concrete measures to advertise this employment possibility. However, all efforts (direct visits on the field, TV and newspaper advertisements) were fruitless. This problem neither provoked inner debate for a more flexible approach to the issue of fair representation, nor 'caught the eye' of the EU reports. It is very possible that the former was only a consequence of the latter, since the EU is the only reference point with regards to the decision, when and what needs to be reformed.

4 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EU PROGRESS REPORTS 2006–2011

The EU Progress Reports are the most exploited reference points within the public debate in the candidate states about the future reform steps. Therefore, the paper analyses the language of these documents and their capacity to guide the candidate country in addressing the key problems on the accession path. Therefore, a qualitative analysis of the EU 2006–2011 Progress Reports has been conducted. The focus of the analysis is placed on the interaction of the criteria on equitable representation and PA reform.

The qualitative analysis shows that the equitable representation policy and the PA reform, although interrelated, are separately approached by the EU Progress Reports. The issue of equitable representation has been addressed exclusively as a minority protection measure, independently from the PA reform. It has been tackled under a special title "Minority rights, cultural rights and protection of minorities", within the political criterion assessment. Similarly, the part of the progress reports dealing with the PA reform, did not thoroughly refer to the issue of fair representation. Before 2009, the equitable representation policy was not even mentioned in the part of the Progress Report dealing with the PA reform. Thus, in this period the policy on equitable representation was exclusively dealt with under the title "Minority rights, cultural rights and protection of minorities", while the PA reform was exclusively discussed under a special title "Public administration".

There has been a slight change, rather formal than substantial, in the approach from 2009 onwards. In the 2009 Progress Report for the first time, the issue of fair representation was mentioned in the context of the PA reform, urging more coherent approach by the state institutions in securing the representation of all ethnic communities. In addition, it required strengthening of the "planning of the human-resource needs across the entire civil service..."[46] Reading between the lines, EU was provoked by the varying record of the policy implementation across the PA, and reminded the government that the principle of equitable representation must not be implemented selectively, but at all levels and by all PA institutions. However, this did not represent a drastic shift, since the issue of equitable representation was again discussed under the title discussing minority rights and exclusively from the aspect of the number of employments from the smaller ethnic communities.[47]

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[46] See European Commission. *Commission Staff Working Documents The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2009 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009–2010,* Brussels, 2009, 12.
[47] Ibid., 21.

In the 2010 progress report, for the first time, under the title "Public administration", the recruitment of a large number of employees from non-majority communities conducted on "quantity basis and without matching the needs of the institutions with the required training and qualifications"[48], was recognized as a problem. Moreover, it was noted that the recruitment procedure was subjected to "undue influences". In addition, the progress report urged the authorities to address the lack of coordination between the Civil Servants Agency (CSA) and the Secretariat for Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (SIOFA), in the area of planning. Due to a lack of other guidelines, a logical conclusion follows that the shortcomings noted can be effectively addressed only by a better coordination of CSA and SIOFA.

In addition, the PA reform was criticised for undermining the merit principle within the general recruitment procedure. The 2010 report noted that "the final stage of the civil servant's recruitment does not guarantee a transparent, merit-based selection, as it leaves too large room for discretion".[49] Furthermore, the vagueness of the legislative framework with regards to the application of external vs. internal recruitment procedure was another target of criticism. Again, the EU did not register any causal link between the implementation of the fair representation policy and the general state of the art within the PA.

The 2011 progress report, consistently to the previous, registered the problem of mismatch of the employment under the positive discrimination measure and the real needs of the institutions. It again referred to the problem of political influence on the recruitment procedure.[50] Although, these questions have been raised in both parts of the Progress Report on "Public administration" and "Minority rights, cultural rights and protection of minorities", the EU again failed to recognize any causal link, or at least to discuss the current design of the equitable representation policy as problematic for the implementation of the merit principle in the PA.

The 2011 Progress Report is critical of the amendments of the Civil Servants Law, stating that "the rules on recruitment, appraisal and promotion; appointment of senior managers; and termination of employment"[51] remain the weakest link of the PA reform. However, it is not clear whether EU finds connection between the general situation of the PA and the similar problem it has recognized in the case the fair representation policy. The progress report does not clarify whether the former is the generator of the latter, or simply its consequence. By failing to establish or clearly to reject any interdependence between these two questions, EU fails to identify the reasons behind the problems depicted in the progress report.

The 2011 progress report has a consistent approach also with regards to the quality of the guidelines and recommendations. Again, they fail to address the main problems and challenges registered. The latest 2011 report, second year in a row, advises better coordination between the state institutions; now,

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[48] See European Commission. *Commission Staff Working Documents The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2010 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2010–2011,* Brussels, 2010, 11.
[49] Ibid., 10.
[50] See European Commission. *Commission Staff Working Documents The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2011 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2011–2012,* Brussels, 2011, 10.
[51] Ibid., 9.

between the SIOFA and the Ministry of Information Society and Administration (MISA), which took over the CSA responsibilities. This type of superficial and technical guidelines contributes to nothing more, but sustaining the *status quo* instead of tackling the roots of the problem. It only raises the chances for repetition of the same wording in the next Progress Report, implying no substantial improvement.

5 CONCLUSION

The fair representation policy, as it is designed and implemented at the moment, contradicts the merit principle that EU requires within the PA reform. Thus, the analysed case study has shown that the 'lack of communication' between the different requirements prevents the EU from detecting the real reasons behind the problems noted in the progress reports. Additionally, it fails to provide adequate guidelines for the future steps of the candidate country.

The present EU approach only has a capacity to provide a snapshot of the state of the art; however, fails clearly and analytically to link the interrelated problems and establish the right 'diagnosis'. It risks overlooking the present and anticipating the future problems, as well as suggesting appropriate solutions to them. Substantial guidelines and recommendations in the EU Progress Reports, beyond some technical observations and directions, are missing; thus, the Reports do not go step further from the prevailing descriptive assessment provided. In a context of passive political culture and 'protectorate mentality', where the reform process follows exclusively 'top-down' logic, the current EU approach contributes for nothing more, but sustaining the *status quo*.

The paper takes a rather limited aspect of the EU conditionality; thus, its conclusions do not pursue universality and exclusivity in explaining the sub-optimal results of the Europeanisation outcomes in the candidate states. The main aim of the paper is to bring a new, relevant and previously neglected factor into the focus of the Europeanisation research agenda.

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BUILDING CROSS-BORDER COMMUNITIES THROUGH COOPERATION: EU REGIONAL POLICY AND CROSS-BORDER REGIONS AS SPACES OF GOVERNMENT

Marinko BANJAC[1]

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The European Union's cross-border cooperation initiatives are perceived as an important tool for harnessing the process of European integration, which includes the ideas of fostering economic competitiveness and reducing regional discrepancies. The paper aims to analyse the role and function of notions of cooperation and cross-border communities used and advanced within the EU regional policy and, more specifically, within the European Territorial Cooperation objective. We argue that cooperation is a specific governmental technology which works through the promises of incorporation and inclusion of different stakeholders, binding them into more or less durable and institutionalised cross-border communities. Through cooperation, members of the community can be mobilised in novel programmes which encourage and harness political practices of self-responsibility and self-management. As such, cooperation is promoted as a necessary feature for building, cultivating and fostering cross-border communities in which self-disciplined citizens and other stakeholders are governed such that they are deemed responsible agents in their own development.

Key words: cooperation, community, governmentality, cross-border cooperation, European regional policy, regions

1 INTRODUCTION

The prevailing assumption in the age of globalisation is that borders are becoming increasingly irrelevant and insignificant. According to Hutton, for example, globalisation has stimulated a process in which "all borders are

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[1] Marinko Banjac is an Assistant at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. He graduated in political science from the same University, where he recently acquired his PhD researching nineteenth century African political thought. His research interests include also political theory, African political systems and African nationalism(s) as well as (im)migration and multiculturalism in the European Union.

coming down—economic, political and social. There is a new conception of time, risk and opportunity".[2] [3] For many, the European Union is a clear exemplification of this borderless world.[4] With the 1985 Schengen Agreement and its subsequent incorporation into the European Union *acquis* in 1997, the ideas of the abolishment of internal border controls and harmonisation of internal security measures were gradually realised. Furthermore, the idea of integrated economic space across the Member States of the European Union was actualised with the introduction of the Single European Market which offers four key freedoms, namely, the freedom of the movement of goods, capital, services and people. Here, state borders are viewed not only as unnecessary but also as barriers to increased competition and efficient allocation of resources and as blockages in the cross-border flows of goods and services.[5]

It was the Single Market project that provided the opportunity for the European Union to rationalise borders between the Member States, not as barriers but as something which creates opportunities and new possibilities for enhanced cooperation. In this context, the European Commission developed new initiatives for These initiatives are seen as an integrative element of the process of European integration, which is intricately connected to the ideas of fostering economic competitiveness and reducing regional discrepancies. The key term in this context is cohesion, that is, the economic, social and territorial cohesion of the Union. Therefore, "challenged by the idea of European integration, the strategies to describe and guide potential opportunities for contact, networking, and integration across borders are searched for".[6]

Within the European Union, the cross-border initiatives are fostered through the EU regional policy, which is an investment policy aimed at supporting social and territorial cohesion by reducing disparities between unequally developed regions of the Member States. Cohesion policy, as this policy is also known, consists of a set of distinct yet interrelated regional policy measures "with spatially redistributive effects based on multi-sectoral interventions targeted at specific areas".[7] Between 2007 and 2012, the Cohesion policy has focused on three main objectives: (1) convergence, that is, solidarity among regions, (2) regional competitiveness and employment and (3) European territorial cooperation. While the aim of the first two objectives is to reduce regional disparities and to create jobs by promoting competitiveness, respectively, the aim of the third is primarily to encourage cooperation across borders between countries or regions. In the words of the current Directorate-General for Regional Policy, José Palma Andres, "European Territorial Cooperation offers a unique opportunity for regions and Member States to divert from the national logic and develop a shared space

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[2] Anthony Giddens, "Anthony Giddens and Will Hutton in Conversation," in *On the edge: living with global capitalism*, ed. Anthony Giddens and Will Hutton (London: Jonathan Cape,), 1–2.

[3] The notions of a borderless world and the insignificance of borders within the European space are far from uncontested. "Borderless-ness" has been widely criticised and rebuffed. See, for example, Henry Wai-chung Yeung, "Capital, State and Space: Contesting the Borderless World," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 23, 1 (1998), 291–309.

[4] Joseph S. Nye and John D. Donahue, *Governance in a globalizing world* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000); Kenichi Ohmae, *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy* (London: Collins, 1990); Alan S. Milward, *The rise and fall of a national strategy, 1945–1963* (London: Frank Cass, 2002).

[5] See CEC, Commission of the European Communities, *Research on the "Cost of non-Europe": basic findings* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1988).

[6] Henk Van Houtum, "An overview of European geographical research on borders and border regions," *Journal of Borderlands Studies,* 15, 1 (2000), 64.

[7] Markus Perkmann, *Policy Entrepreneurs, Multilevel Governance and Policy Networks in the European Polity: The Case of the Euregio* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster, 2002), 3.

together, build ties over borders and learn from one another. It is a laboratory of EU integration and EU territorial cohesion".[8]

Quite a few studies have examined borders and border regions, especially since the early 1990s, which is obviously connected to the intensified activities of the EU to promote the cross-border activities of border regions. There has been increasing attention on the terms and concepts connected to the processes of regional, national and cross-border integration, such as borders, regionalisation, networks and the Single European Market.[9] Moreover, comparative studies of the cross-border cooperative efforts of the border regions across Europe have shown the diversity in the effects of European regional policy on cross-border governance in different border regions.[10]

While recognising the importance of such studies, this paper aims to analyse the role and function of the notions of community and cooperation used within the European Territorial Cooperation objective and, more broadly, within the EU regional policy. We argue that cooperation is a specific governmental technology,[11] formulated, advanced and affirmed through diverse documents, policies, programmes and (institutionalised) practices, working through the promises of incorporation and inclusion of different stakeholders, binding them into more or less durable cross-border communities. As such, these communities are not primarily geographical or social spaces, but moral fields of the affect-laden relationship among stakeholders, ranging from individuals to collective subjectivities and political actors.[12] Through cooperation, members of the community can be mobilised in novel programmes which encourage and harness political practices of self-responsibility and self-management. Cooperation is, therefore a specific governmental technology which establishes cross-border communities in which self-disciplined citizens and other stakeholders are governed such that they are deemed responsible agents in their own development.

Following the main arguments outlined above, the paper is structured as follows. First, we critically theorise the notions of cooperation and community as two distinct yet interrelated concepts employed in advanced liberal societies.[13] As such, we theorise the notion of cooperation as a specific technique of governance comprising, on the one hand, the creation of

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[8] European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, *European territorial cooperation: building bridges between people* (Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011a), 8.

[9] Michael Keating, *The new regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial restructuring and political change*. (Cheltenham: E. Elgar, 1998); Liam O'Dowd, "The Changing Significance of European Borders," in *New borders for a changing Europe: cross-border cooperation and governance*, ed. J. Anderson, L. O'Dowd and T. M. (Wilson. London: Frank Cass, 2003), 14–36; Neil Brenner, "Building 'Euro-Regions'," *European Urban and Regional Studies,* 7, 4 (2000), 319–345; Anssi Paasi, "Region and place: regional identity in question," *Progress in Human Geography,* 27, 4 (2003), 475–485; Mike Goldsmith, "The Europeanisation of local government," *Urban Studies,* 30, 4–5 (1993), 683; Markus Perkmann and Sum Ngai-Ling, *Globalization, regionalization, and cross-border regions* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

[10] See, for example, Chang-woon Nam, *Cross-border cooperation between regions: a comparative analysis of Bayern, Comunidad Valenciana, Andalusia and Norte (Portugal)* (Munich: Ifo-Inst. für Wirtschaftsforschung, 1993).

[11] Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975–1976* (New York: Picador, 2003); Michel Foucault, *Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Barry Hindess, *Discourses of power: from Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

[12] Nikolas Rose, "The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government," *Economy and Society,* 25, 3 (1996), 331–332; Suzan Ilcan and Tanya Basok, "Community government: voluntary agencies, social justice, and the responsibilization of citizens," *Citizenship Studies,* 8, 2 (2004), 129–144.

[13] Nikolas Rose, "Governing ''Advanced'' Liberal Democracies," in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, ed. Barry, T. Osborne and N. Rose (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press and UCL Press, 1996), 37–64.

communities as collective allegiances of diverse actors, while simultaneously moulding, shaping, configuring and framing the conduct, behaviour and practices of those actors. Community is, therefore, instituted as a sector for (European) governance which is characterised by the decentralisation and pluralisation of decision-making centres so that governance is obtained in sites "at a distance" from diverse centres of power. In the second part of the paper, we analyse the role and images of borders and border regions in the European context. We particularly reflect upon the historical formations and current arrangements of regional cooperation within the EU regional policy. In the third part of the paper, we move on to analyse how cooperation and the notion of community are employed within the EU's European Territorial Cooperation objective as a specific governmental technology.

2 COOPERATION AND COMMUNITY: THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS FROM A GOVERNMENTALITY PERSPECTIVE

Through Cohesion policy, and, more specifically, through cross-border cooperation initiatives, the declared aim of the European Union is not only to support social and territorial cohesion but also to empower different regional actors to participate in decision-making processes and to enable local authorities to actively participate in European integration. As Hrbek[14] points out, the European Union's specific aspiration is to ensure that European political unity is based not only on cooperation among national structures but also on cooperation among regional communities. Cooperation and regional communities have obviously occupied a prominent place in Europe.

Therefore, it is important to understand how and why the concept of community emerged as one of the new territories of (European) government for the administration and regulation of individuals and populations. In this context, we need to theoretically examine how power and government operate in advanced liberalism. The latter is, according to Rose,[15] following Foucault's insights on power and governmentality, a diagram of government based on new ways of allocating the tasks of government among the political apparatus, intermediate associations, professionals, economic actors, communities and private citizens. Therefore, a modern form of government should not be understood solely in terms of central authority as a coercive force, and it should not be reduced to a type of sovereignty in which legitimate authority is codified in law. Rather, government means the deliberations, strategies, tactics and devices employed by authorities aimed at individuals as well as populations at large;[16] in advanced liberalism, it is possible to locate the emergence of rationalities and techniques that seek to govern the society without governing[17] and, instead, govern through "the conduct of conduct", that is, through a form of "activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons".[18] In his genealogy of this new mode of governing, Foucault, among others, traced how the clear distinction between public and private, prominent in liberal theory, is highly

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[14] Rudolf Hrbek, "The role of the regions in the EU and the principle of subsidiarity," *The International Spectator,* 38, 2 (2003), 59.

[15] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[16] Nikolas Rose, Pat O'Malley and Mariana Valverde, "Governmentality," *Annual Review of Law and Social Science,* 2, 1 (2006), 86–87.

[17] Alan Hunt, *Governing morals: a social history of moral regulation* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 216–217.

[18] Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality: with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 2.

problematic because during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, government discovered that the population had a reality of its own, with its own regularities and processes that were more or less independent of government.[19] "Government had to act upon these relations […]" and in this manner addressed itself "to knowing and regulating the processes proper to the population, the laws that modulate its wealth, health, and longevity, its capacity to wage war and enhance in labour […]".[20] Advanced liberalism, therefore, does not offer a clear distinction between private and public, but a relationship where the state or any other authority maintains the infrastructure of law and order while the population promotes the well-being of individuals as well as the population at large.[21] The task of government is no longer limited to planning, controlling, supervising and regulating, but enabling, inspiring and assisting citizens to secure their well-being and to promote welfare for all.

Communities are a specific sector of government, where individuals as well as collectives can be mobilised and deployed in programmes which stimulate, inspire, encourage and harness active practices and self-management. The community became the object of government's political strategies and manoeuvres precisely because of its apparent non-political status, naturalness, primordiality and even neutrality.[22] This apparent non-political status of community made it the target of the exercise of political power while maintaining its position as ostensibly external to politics.[23] Community's natural and primordial appearance is not something which is conjured *ex nihilo* or is uncontested. Government's mobilization of community as its framework or sector for different political projects is always enmeshed with diverse perspectives on meanings and the supposed role of a specific community. Any community as a site of government is always marked with an excess of symbols, geographies and memories which government is unable to confine, and therefore, community becomes the site of struggle. That is why every governmental attempt to act through the community is a political strategy of assembling a constituency and forming more or less permanent social networks.

A certain paradox is inscribed in the political strategy of building a community. Community needs to be constantly improved and built upon, yet this is "nothing more than the birth-to-presence of a form of being which pre-exists".[24] In other words, although community appears as something already present, this presence must constantly be confirmed, verified and attested. If a community is to be something which offers a framework for a good life and the well-being of all of its members, it needs to be permanently improved and enhanced. While improvement is the responsibility of every member of a community, this participation is not enough. If authorities aspire to govern through community, this governance is rendered technical. It is expert assistance and constant investigation, mapping, classification and documentation of community that provide an assessment of the community's

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[19] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality: with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87–104.

[20] Nikolas Rose, Pat O'Malley and Mariana Valverde, "Governmentality," *Annual Review of Law and Social Science,* 2, 1 (2006), 87.

[21] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 139.

[22] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community & society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957).

[23] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 168.

[24] Nikolas Rose, "The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government," *Economy and Society,* 25, 3 (1996), 334.

characteristics.[25] Yet, on the other hand, expert knowledge is not enough to form, constitute and manage community either. Community as a field of government must be spacialised in diverse ways; it can be geographical, a social or sociological space or a space of services and, above all, a moral field binding individuals into more or less durable relations. Therefore, community must be a framework where emotional relationships are integrative to the formation of micro-cultures of values and meanings in which individuals and collective identities are constructed.[26] What one can observe here is that the collective logic of the community is closely associated and coupled with what can be termed individualised ethos, in which the important values are choice, personal responsibility and control over one's own fate, self-promotion and self-government.[27] This coupling enables new modes of community participation to take place, where self-reliance and self-responsibility appear as crucial features of the empowerment and engagement of members of a specific community in decisions over matters which affect local life and the lives of individuals.

While Rose forcefully argues, as shown above, that community became a moral field binding various actors into different institutional forms of collaboration in which self-responsibility and self-management are crucial political practices, we need to reflect also upon how these actors form networks and are joined, associated and tied into relations. Different scholars[28] have shown that the formation of a community evolves in different institutional forms that foster collaboration between diverse actors. These institutional forms can emerge and can be based on formal or more informal networks, institutional or organisational arrangements. They can be temporary or more lasting networks with established and explicit rules and procedures, while also having a symbolic dimension which is crucial for establishing certain norms, loyalties and (cultural) identities.[29] Emphasis is put on the cooperation between the actors who form a specific community. Therefore, cooperation through which community becomes a field of government is a range of governing techniques which include various devices, strategies and mechanisms which form community as an arena for collaboration as well as a group of subjects who are ready and willing to collaborate, show solidarity, listen and accept the opinions of others and achieve a consensus. Government seeks to constitute cooperative subjectivities which are able to "ally themselves with political authorities, focusing upon their problems and problematizing new issues, translating political concerns about economic productivity, innovation […]".[30] On the other hand, individuals ally among themselves, cooperating and working together to solve existing issues and problems, and make decisions regarding investments, to enhance entrepreneurial dynamism[31] and to mobilise themselves in their own governance. This process of cooperation is what Foucault termed "ordered maximisation of collective and individual

[25] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 175.

[26] Ibid., 172.

[27] Nikolas Rose, "The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government," *Economy and Society,* 25, 3 (1996), 335.

[28] Ole Johan Andersen, "Public–Private Partnerships: Organisational Hybrids as Channels for Local Mobilisation and Participation?," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27, 1 (2004), 1–21; Erik Swyngedouw, "Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-beyond-the-State," *Urban Studies* 42, 11 (2005), 1991–2006.

[29] Josefina Syssner, "Conceptualizations of Culture and Identity in Regional Policy," *Regional & Federal Studies* 19, 3 (2009): 453.

[30] Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political power beyond the State: problematics of government," *The British Journal of Sociology,* 61 (2010), 286.

[31] Jason Read, "A Genealogy of Homo-Economicus: Neoliberalism and the Production of Subjectivity," *Foucault Studies,* 6, (2009), 25–36.

forces",[32] and it is necessarily spatialised, since it must be situated in a defined territory. One of the defining features of cooperation within a community is its rearrangement and transfer on local and more in-touch scales which are understood and advanced as the prime spaces for new forms of political actions and practices.[33] On this local level, cooperation is a governmental technology "through which different forces seek to render programmes operable, and by means of which a multitude of connections are established between the aspirations of authorities and the activities of individuals and groups".[34]

3 MEANING(S) OF BORDERS AND REGIONAL (CROSS-BORDER) COOPERATION: HISTORICAL FORMATIONS AND CURRENT ARRANGEMENTS WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Borders as a phenomenon, ideas, processes, symbols and a body of practices, precisely because of their alternating forms, fluidity, complexity and heterogeneous and divergent meanings, are an important theme in the work of many scholars ranging from geographers, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, literary scholars and legal experts.[35] Due to the global processes of increasing interdependence, the new élan in the European integration in the last two decades of the twentieth century and the creation of many new borders since the breakdown of the Cold War power structures, there has been an immense and widespread upsurge in the study of borders.[36] As Delanty[37] notes, with the emergence of European polity, the question of European borders is especially significant. New, often contradictory, meanings of borders have appeared, while the older ones took on new functions and the external borders of the European Union were materialised as an area of new European external governance.[38] These changes made it possible to observe new re-territorialisations, the emergence of new spaces and changes in the character and characteristics of old borders. Spaces within the European Union are now regulated and governed in new ways and, with this, they have become increasingly differentiated. There is, in this context, a complex political process of creating distinctions between different types of borders in which the crucial distinction is between internal and external borders. Consequentially, there is a constant process of differentiation in terms of who is included and who is excluded from the European space, who is allowed to cross borders and under what condition.[39] This political function of borders is also reflected in diverse European Union policies where there has been "a proliferation of

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[32] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 24–25.

[33] Erik Swyngedouw, "Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-beyond-the-State," *Urban Studies,* 42, 11 (2005), 2001; David Blunkett, *Politics and progress: renewing democracy and civil society* (London: Politico's, 2001).

[34] Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political power beyond the State: problematics of government," *The British Journal of Sociology,* 61 (2010), 281.

[35] David Newman, "Borders and Bordering," *European Journal of Social Theory,* 9, 2 (2006), 171.

[36] James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd, "Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance," *Regional Studies,* 33, 7 (1999), 593–604; Henk Van Houtum, "An overview of European geographical research on borders and border regions," *Journal of Borderlands Studies,* 15, 1 (2000), 58.

[37] Gerard Delanty, "Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure," *Comparative European Politics*, 4 (2006), 183.

[38] Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig, "EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics," *Journal of European Public Policy,* 16, 6 (2009), 791–812.

[39] James Wesley Scott, "Bordering and Ordering: the European Neighbourhood: A Critical Perspective on EU Territoriality and Geopolitics," *TRAMES: A Journal of the Humanities & Social Sciences,* 13, 3 (2009), 232–247; Henk Van Houtum and Ton Van Naerssen, "Bordering, Ordering and Othering," *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie,* 93, 2 (2002), 125–136; Henk van Houtum, Olivier Thomas Kramsch and Wolfgang Zierhofer, *B/ordering space* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005).

European Union development programmes for border areas; and of policy-oriented agencies, either freestanding or part of local government, dealing with cross-border regions, cooperation and governance".[40]

Therefore, the internal borders of the European Union play an important role in conceiving and structuring diverse policy processes within the European integration. Especially since the early 1980s, the integration process has been meant to unify economic space across Member States through removing the borders between them. Here, state borders are viewed as barriers to market flows and, as such, need to be removed with the implementation of diverse European policies and programmes in order to enhance cross-border flows of goods and services. This logic is also incorporated in the project of the European Single Market.[41]

The efforts to create a Single European Market initiated diverse strategies and mechanisms through which the European Union has sought to realise the objectives and measures related to the idea of the Single Market. Among others, the European Commission developed and advanced new initiatives for border regions, as they were understood as zones peripheral to key economic flows and as underdeveloped spaces of common European territory as well as spaces where economic integration is crucial if economic flows within the European Union are to be smooth, uninterrupted and unobstructed. For the Market to function properly, therefore, the bridge or gateway dimensions of the state borders and border regions had to be enhanced.[42] Within this perception of borders, the latter are not understood as physical barriers hindering economic flows, but as barriers to the successful integration and effective collaboration of diverse actors in creating European polity. Hence, borders need to be transformed and utilised in a way that will enable them to create opportunities for contact, networking and cooperation, thereby transforming them from barriers to gateways, and transforming border regions from underdeveloped spaces to spaces of intensive flows, numerous economic possibilities and the thorough integration of diverse actors from both sides of the borders. In this context, border regions were advanced on the European level as a framework where the European Union could form an alliance with regional and local bodies and other stakeholders, constituting border regions as a cornerstone of the future European political community.[43]

Early cross-border initiatives, in which border regions were advanced as spaces of new economic, cultural and political partnerships among the border communities of different European countries, were launched in the 1950s. A tradition of cross-border cooperation developed in the Rhine Basin, involving Dutch, German, Swiss and French border areas. Moreover, early cross-border initiatives may also be traced to Benelux countries. The expressions "Euroregio" and "Euroregion" were coined on the Dutch-German border. As Perkmann[44] states, Euroregion originally denoted a formal collaboration between border municipalities. Besides local authorities, other

[40] James Anderson, Liam O'dowd, and Thomas M. Wilson, "Why Study Borders Now?," in *New Borders for a Changing Europe*, eds. James Anderson, Liam O'dowd and Thomas M. Wilson (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 1.

[41] Liam O'Dowd, "The Changing Significance of European Borders," in *New borders for a changing Europe: cross-border cooperation and governance*, eds. James Anderson, Liam O'dowd and Thomas M. Wilson (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 20–21.

[42] Ibid.

[43] C. Mestre, *The Implications for Frontier Regions of the Completion of the Single Market* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1992).

[44] Markus Perkmann, "Building Governance Institutions Across European Borders," *Regional Studies,* 33, 7 (1999), 658.

public agencies, associations and chambers of commerce were involved in these cooperation initiatives. These collaborative actions were locally specific and focused on particular issues related to, for example, industrial decline, pollution and land-use planning. According to O'Dowd,[45] although early cross-border networking was quite abundant and successful, it was not replicated elsewhere in Europe and, thus, remained marginal until the 1980s.

In the 1980s, both the Council of Europe and the European Union increasingly began to regard cross-border cooperation as an important mechanism for developing the European community, which can be seen as a response to practical matters and factors, such as the increasing need to address environmental and transportation policies.[46] As noted above, it was also the aim of creating a single European Market and reducing regional disparities that gave an élan to the Council of Europe and the European Union to step up as the main drivers of cross-border cooperation. The first legal act to recognise the right of territorial border regions to cooperate in diverse political matters was the Council of Europe law, based upon the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, which entered into force in December 1981. The Convention was expected to facilitate cross-border collaboration between local and regional authorities and, consequentially, stimulate regional development and improve diverse public services.

In the early 1990s, cross-border cooperation was adopted by the European community as a part of a transnational strategy of cooperation and integration.[47] During that decade, such cooperation initiatives became the most dynamic areas of EU regional policy,[48] which is also reflected in the fact that practically all borders in the European Union were covered by some type of cross-border cooperation scheme.[49] Euroregions included the European Union, national governments and local authorities, as well as other actors who helped establish networks of cooperation. Cross-border cooperation was, thus, promoted as one of the crucial mechanisms in creating a borderless European space.

To provide financial assistance to cross-border cooperation related activities, the community developed and launched the Interreg Initiative in 1990. Interreg also served as a mechanism to call upon the Member States to develop joint cross-border programmes, which included diverse actors, ranging from local and regional to national authorities. The aim was to promote and enhance institutional structures through which cross-border communities could administer, plan and implement these programmes.[50] Interreg was financed under the European Regional Development Fund, but, as a community initiative, has been more autonomously managed by the Commission than most of the other regional policies. It was made up of three

[45] Liam O'Dowd, "The Changing Significance of European Borders," in *New borders for a changing Europe: cross-border cooperation and governance*, eds. James Anderson, Liam O'dowd and Thomas M. Wilson (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 19.

[46] Alice Engl, "Future Perspectives on Territorial Cooperation in Europe: The EC Regulation on a European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation and the Planned Council of Europe Third Protocol to the Madrid Outline Convention concerning Euroregional Co–operation Groupings". *EDAP Papers,* 3 (2007).

[47] Liam O'Dowd, "The Changing Significance of European Borders," in *New borders for a changing Europe: cross-border cooperation and governance*, eds. James Anderson, Liam O'dowd and Thomas M. Wilson (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 22.

[48] Thomas Christiansen and Knud Erik Jørgensen, "Transnational governance 'above' and 'below' the state: The changing nature of borders in the new Europe," *Regional & Federal Studies,* 10, 2 (2000), 62–77.

[49] Gabriel Popescu, "The conflicting logics of cross-border reterritorialization: Geopolitics of Euroregions in Eastern Europe," *Political Geography,* 27, 4 (2008), 423.

[50] Markus Perkmann, "Cross-Border Regions in Europe," *European Urban and Regional Studies,* 10, 2 (2003), 659.

strands, namely, Interreg A, Interreg B and Interreg C. Strand A covered cross-border cooperation between adjacent regions and was by far the largest strand in terms of budget and the number of programmes. Strand B involved transnational cooperation between national, regional and/or local authorities. Under this strand, the European Union promoted European integration through the formation of larger European regions. Strand C covered interregional cooperation and aimed to facilitate the effectiveness of regional development policies. Furthermore, Strand C covered large-scale networks which improved the efficiency of information exchange and the sharing of experiences. The first Interreg Initiative was re-confirmed in 1994 as Interreg II and again in 2000 as Interreg III.

For the period 2007–2013, the European Commission introduced a new cohesion policy architecture which integrated Interreg III into the European territorial cooperation objective.[51] The European territorial cooperation objective aims to reinforce cooperation at different levels and promote common solutions to a range of socio-political issues shared by cross-border region communities. Similarly to former Interreg Initiatives, European Territorial Cooperation covers three types of programmes which are financed by the European Regional Development Fund; 52 cross-border programmes are financed at a sum of €5.6 billion and 13 trans-national cooperation programmes at a sum of €1.8 billion. The interregional cooperation programme (INTERREG IVC) and 3 networking programmes (Urban II, Interact II and ESPON) cover all 27 EU Member States and are funded at a sum of €445 million. The total budget of €8.7 billion for the European Territorial Cooperation objective accounts for 2.5% of the total 2007–2013 allocation for cohesion policy.

In 2007, the European Parliament and the Council also established the European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation, a new European legal instrument for the promotion of cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation. Compared to the structures which governed cooperation initiatives before 2007, this legal entity will, according to the Commission, more effectively enable regional and local authorities and other public bodies from different Member States, to set up cooperation groupings with a legal personality. This instrument is, at least in part, a response to the recognition of the European Commission in its launching of the Interreg III programme, in that while quite a few cooperation activities have occurred, "it has been much more difficult to establish genuine cross-border activity jointly".[52]

4 BUILDING EUROPEAN CROSS-BORDER COMMUNITIES THROUGH COOPERATION

At the outset of EU Regional policy, under which European territorial cooperation is an important objective, there is an aim to reduce the territorial, economic and social disparities between large- as well as small-scale regions of the Member States. Although the project of the European Union is based on the idea of convergence and equal development of all its territories, the European authorities recognise that there are disparities and unequal possibilities among the different European regions. The persistent problem of

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[51] European Commission, *Cohesion policy 2007–13: Commentaries and official texts* (Luxemburg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2007).
[52] See Liam O'Dowd, "The Changing Significance of European Borders," in *New borders for a changing Europe: cross-border cooperation and governance*, eds. James Anderson, Liam O'dowd and Thomas M. Wilson (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 22.

the disparities among regions is not something which is permanent; according to the EU, it is a deficiency that can be uprooted and removed. The key rationale of EU regional policy is, therefore, built on the expectation and anticipation of the balanced, cohesive, harmonious and symmetrical development of all European areas. One of the key mechanisms for achieving this has been identified in cooperation as the utilisation of the unexploited potentials of regional advantages. In the words of Johannes Hahn, member of the European Commission in charge of regional policy, "The huge cooperation community involving stakeholders at regional and local level, Members of the European Parliament, and many of our partners in the Member States share the conviction that cooperation is a great European tool with a lot of potential still to be explored".[53]

Cooperation is playing an increasingly relevant role in shaping European integration, and it is also being promoted as an essential tool in the construction of a unified and cohesive European Union. Cooperation in the European Union is seen as necessary because there are differences and disparities between European areas which need to be overcome, if the EU is to work in the most optimal way.[54] According to the European Commission,[55] there are at least three aspects of cooperation, namely, sharing, integration and the improvement of the quality of life.

Firstly, cooperation can be understood as sharing knowledge, infrastructure or other assets which can facilitate the creation of joint facilities of diverse social services, and thereby stimulate more integrated communities, the improvement of cross-border transport systems and the transference of lessons learned from one region to another. Another aspect of cooperation is integration. According to the Commission, cooperation in this context can help people integrate into a Europe beyond their borders by supporting long-term partnerships across borders. Through partnerships, people are willing and ready to trust each other and enhance their understanding of the differences and particularities of regions across borders. Connected with this, cooperation enhances integration by promoting joint cooperation structures, institutions and organizations. The third aspect of cooperation is related to the improvement of the quality of life. In this sense, cooperation is a tool for minimising the potential consequences of natural disasters, enhancing the joint protection of environmental resources, creating more efficient and speedy services for EU citizens and supporting job creation and job protection.[56]

Cooperation is obviously advanced as a complex and multidimensional mechanism which tackles a large variety of issues. It includes different stakeholders or partners from diverse levels, ranging from national and local authorities to universities and civil society organisations. Furthermore, it promotes partnership(s) between these actors in an attempt to create cross-border communities which are involved in tackling a rich variety of issues that directly affect the lives of the individuals living in these communities. As the former European Commissioner for Regional Policy and current Member of European Parliament, Danuta Hübner stated in her reflection on the cohesive

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[53] European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, *European territorial cooperation: building bridges between people* (Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011a), 3.
[54] See Colin Wolfe "INTERREG, irrelevant or indispensable?," *Inforegio-PANORAMA 24* (December 2007), 7.
[55] European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, *European territorial cooperation: building bridges between people* (Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2011a).
[56] Ibid.

development of European regions, it is "local communities […], particularly in cities and rural areas [that] should play a more important role in delivering priorities on the ground".[57] Communities are placed in a key position to fulfil the needs of a particular region and people. European funding mechanisms are presented as mere tools which create opportunities, while communities are those who must, through cooperation, take the responsibility of seizing the opportunities and fulfilling the agendas of development, reducing the disparities and harnessing, controlling and directing growth towards their own ends. It was in this sense that Vladimír Špidla, the European Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal opportunities, in explaining the role of the EU funding opportunities and the impact of Cohesion Policy all over the regions of Europe, stressed that "the funds help people to cope with the changes we see and the challenges we face. Investing in people's future has real impact in their daily lives. The funds represent not only good economic policy but also the social face of Europe".[58]

The agenda of change focussed on eradicating the discrepancies among the European regions and facilitating the development of lagging areas and the communities living there is based on and articulated through economic logic. The key elements in the advancement and progression of all regions across Europe are, according to this logic, growth, investment, competitiveness and entrepreneurialism. Therefore, Hübner proposes that "in regions experiencing strong barriers to growth, it will be essential to address the key bottlenecks and identify the core capacities to facilitate integration in the single market and unlock their growth potential",[59] while Paweł Samecki, European Commissioner for Regional Policy, claims that "a further motivation behind a development policy run at EU level lies in the existence of strong cross-border interdependencies and the need for reinforcing linkages between leading and lagging areas, maximising cross-border spill-over effects and gearing investments towards EU priorities".[60]

In order to promote and trigger the economic objective as well as the social cohesion envisaged in the idea of the Single Market and European integration at large, specific institutional mechanisms and establishments had to be established for particular actions of cooperation to be taken. As Paasi[61] writes, institutional shaping, also in the context of the governmentalisation of sub-national regional places, is part and parcel of the emergence of the territorial and symbolic shape, which refers to the development of informal and formal institutions that are needed for the (re)production of regional spaces. The process of the institutionalisation of regions and cross-border cooperation is evident in the establishment of the regions through specific programmes under the European Territorial Cooperation. Currently, there are fifty-two formulated cross-border

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[57] See Hübner, Danuta. *Reflection paper on future Cohesion Policy: Informal Meeting of Ministers for Regional Policy.* Available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/policy/future/pdf/reflection_paper_future.pdf (December 2011), 4.

[58] See Špidla cited in Inforegio-PANORAMA, ""Telling the Story" conference explores innovative ways to communicate on cohesion policy," *Inforegio-PANORAMA 24* (December 2007), 25.

[59] See Hübner, Danuta. *Reflection paper on future Cohesion Policy: Informal Meeting of Ministers for Regional Policy.* Available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/policy/future/pdf/reflection_paper_future.pdf (December 2011).

[60] See Samecki, Paweł. *Orientation paper on the future of cohesion policy*, 2009. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/newsroom/pdf/pawel_samecki_orientation_paper.pdf (December 2011).

[61] Anssi Paasi, "The resurgence of the 'Region' and 'Regional Identity': theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe," *Review of International Studies* 35, Supplement S1 (2009), 136.

programmes, defined also through cartographic images[62] with the goals of systematising, bounding and totalising specific spaces.[63] The need to map regions is part of what Painter[64] calls cartographic reason, which seeks to parcel the world into knowable places, to make those places legible and, we might add, governable. In addition to cartographic mapping, regions as units are identified and distinguished through a series of functional, political, economic, cultural and administrative practices.[65] Within this paradox—demarcating the borders of EU regions, where borders are supposed to dissolve—making, deciding and locating regional boundaries is crucial for establishing regions as particular institutional settings, where regions gain administrative status and where actors in a region can qualify for economic support from EU funds.[66]

In more formal terms, cross-border cooperation is also institutionalised through the establishment of the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC). This is a European legal instrument designed to "overcome the obstacle hindering territorial cooperation".[67] The EGTC is a legal entity which is supposed to enable regional, local and other actors from different Member States to set up joint groupings with a legal personality to implement cooperation programmes and projects co-financed by the community. As such, the EGTC offers local, regional and national authorities and other public bodies a more coherent cooperation context. Setting up the institutional framework offered through EGTC is seen as a crucial step towards creating a ground on which cooperation can be actualised more easily: "the EGTC regulation tool allows broad partnership, a real intervention capacity across borders […]. It simplifies the previously very heterogeneous legal framework conditions existing for cross-border cooperation […]".[68]

Obviously, cooperation and European regions as frameworks for cooperation initiatives do not arise in a vacuum. The European Union encourages and fosters cooperation through diverse schemes of institutionalisation. Establishing regions as particular institutional settings in which specific programmes are implemented is crucial, because territorial cohesion at the EU level is increasingly seen as a precondition to economic and social cohesion.[69] Furthermore, sub-national government and other institutions, such as firms, financial institutions and innovation centres, are encouraged by the European Union to participate in realising community policies and agendas. To ensure closer inter-institutional coordination among different-scale authorities from diverse Member States while also identifying and

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[62] See European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy, *Cross-border programmes under the European Territorial Cooperation Objective* (Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional Policy).

[63] John Pickles, *A history of spaces: cartographic reason, mapping and the geo-coded world* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[64] Joe Painter, "Cartographic anxiety and the search for regionality," *Environment and planning A,* 40, 2 (2008), 346.

[65] Anssi Paasi, "The resurgence of the 'Region' and 'Regional Identity': theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe," *Review of International Studies,* 35, Supplement S1 (2009), 134.

[66] Ibid., 136.

[67] European Union, *Regulation (EC) No 1080/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the European Regional Development Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1783/1999, Official Journal of the European Union, 31 July 2006, L210.* Available at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:210:0019:0024:EN:PDF (December 2011).

[68] European Commission, *Report from the commission to the European parliament and the council The application of the Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006 on a European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC).* Available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/newsroom/pdf/COM_2011_0462_F_EN_RAPPORT.pdf (December 2011).

[69] See Samecki, Paweł. *Orientation paper on the future of cohesion policy*, 2009. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/newsroom/pdf/pawel_samecki_orientation_paper.pdf (December 2011).

advancing particular preferential objectives, measures and agendas, a specific institutional mechanism was established by the European Commission. It is through these processes of institutionalisation that new (regional) governance emerges, in which specific old issues are reconstructed and new objectives are advanced. Against this background, the regions play a role as administrative arenas in which different interests and positions are connected and mediated and, on the other hand, different actors are networked. As Langedijk[70] writes, the objectives on the regional scale are prevailingly conceptualised through the integration of three issues: first and foremost, economic development and competitiveness; secondly, environmental development and sustainability; and thirdly, social development and cohesion. Dominant economic interests are, thus, articulated with and through the language of social cohesion and sustainability, and both of these concepts are achievable through (cross-border) cooperation. In these processes, a region is not a fixed "scale" but a perpetual and dynamic process of scaling the practices and discourses[71] and of establishing (institutionalised) political spaces[72] which come to dominate the thinking and practices of local authorities as well as regional communities.

Besides the institutionalisation, specific regional identities, primarily articulated in terms of community, serve as "an important vehicle in the shaping of stories and images of region, and, more specifically, in applying the 'logics' of regional-economic positioning and regional governance".[73] These communities are not something fixed or pre-established; rather, they emerge and are re(articulated) together with the construction of cross-border regions[74] in which more or less institutionalised structures of governance may catalyse, propagate and advance new moral bonds and forms of allegiance: "governable spaces are not fabricated counter to experience; they make new kinds of experience possible, produce new modes of perception, invest percepts with affects, with dangers and opportunities, with saliences and attractions".[75] For example, Jean-Marc Popot, the director of the Regional Centre of Innovation and Technology at Charleville-Mézières (France) and a promoter of the Interreg projects, pointed out that "the added value of Interreg is, quite simply, that it allows us to work with our neighbours. Before Interreg, we didn't have a cross-border mentality".[76] Such statements promote the European dimension of cross-border cooperation as something which has never been there before, at least not fully. Cross-border mentality is a resource for mobilising and rendering possible new particular mentalities, conducts and practices in and through which communities with cultures of practicality, self-responsibility and self-help are constituted, formed and constantly (re)articulated.

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[70] Arnoud Lagendijk, "Regionalisation in Europe. Stories, institutions and boundaries," in *B/ordering space*, eds. H. Van Houtum, O. Kramsch and W. Zierhofer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 77–92.

[71] Anssi Paasi, "The resurgence of the 'Region' and 'Regional Identity': theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe," *Review of International Studies,* 35, Supplement S1 (2009), 136.

[72] Michael Keating, "The invention of regions: political restructuring and territorial government in Western Europe," *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy,* 15, 4 (1997), 383–398.

[73] Arnoud Lagendijk, "Regionalisation in Europe. Stories, institutions and boundaries," in *B/ordering space*, eds. Henk Van Houtum, Oliver Kramsch and Wolfgang Zierhofer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 82.

[74] Henk Van Houtum, "Borders of Comfort: Spatial Economic Bordering Processes in and by the European Union," in *New borders for a changing Europe: cross-border cooperation and governance*, eds. James Anderson, Liam O'Dowd and Thomas M. Wilson (London: Frank Cass, 2002).

[75] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32.

[76] See Popot cited in Inforegio-PANORAMA, "French-Belgian territorial cooperation: Erasing the border," *Inforegio-PANORAMA 24* (December 2007), 23.

5 CONCLUSION

The paper has examined emerging discourses, specific policies and the rationale behind practices of cross-border cooperation within EU regional policy. It has analysed the ways in which cooperation has been developed and employed as a specific governmental technology aimed at creating European border regions as spaces of partnerships among diverse stakeholders. As such, cooperation relates to the demarcation of space not only as a territorially bounded area but also as an area of action and organisation of diverse actors into more or less durable relations. Programmes and specific initiatives which advance cooperation as a mode of action are attempts to create cross-border communities in which emotional relationships are crucial for the creation of micro-cultures of value, meanings and practices of self-responsibility and self-management. Cooperation is, therefore, a specific governmental technology which establishes cross-border communities as particular spaces or arenas circumscribing and guiding the conduct(s) of subjects to commit themselves to governance and the development of European border regions.

The paper argued that cooperation is playing an increasingly relevant role in the construction of a unified and cohesive European Union. Within the processes of integration and unification of economic space, special attention is given to border regions as zones where territorial, social and economic cohesiveness across borders must particularly be assured if the European Union is to be a diverse, yet homogenous polity. In this context, cooperation is deemed a crucial mechanism for transforming borders from barriers to gateways and border regions to spaces of numerous possibilities. Especially since the early 1990s, the European Union has promoted cross-border cooperation through EU regional policy and, more particularly, through specific Interreg Initiatives. Currently, cross-border cooperation is advanced through the European territorial cooperation objective. In analysing how cooperation is understood, rationalised and advanced within this objective, we have shown that cooperation is necessary for building cross-border communities including different actors from different levels, ranging from national and local authorities to universities, civil society organizations and individuals. Cross-border communities have become both the object and subject of regional policy agendas. Communities are constituted through cooperation, (financially) supported by specific European programmes and initiatives, and simultaneously, communities are the source of diverse solutions to concrete problems. Communities are placed in a key position to fulfil the needs of a particular region and the population living there. European funding mechanisms which support cooperation are presented and advanced as mere tools harnessing opportunities, while communities themselves are those who must follow the agendas of cohesiveness and development.

Shaping processes of cross-border cooperation at the European level, in which communities as morally-bounded collective subjectivities are involved, are crucial for inducing a particular form of governance that dwells or stems from the ambiguous relationship between regional identity and the formation of cross-border regions, including the drawing of boundaries.[77] On the other hand, governing through cooperation in legitimised and operationalised precisely on the basis of the concept of the cross-border community, in which

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[77] Michael Keating, "The invention of regions: political restructuring and territorial government in Western Europe," *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy,* 15, 4 (1997), 383–398; Anssi Paasi, "Region and place: regional identity in question," *Progress in Human Geography,* 27, 4 (2003), 478.

the members allegedly share values, a destiny and the willingness to take the initiative in and responsibility for cross-border regional development.

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THE EU AND CHINA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP: LOOKING FOR A FRESH RESTART

Arnaldo M.A. GONÇALVES[1]

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The article looks at the EU and China three decade relationship and the challenges and opportunities encouraged by a common view for redesign of the international order according to a multilateral approach and some basic differences. The author analyzed the principal) policy documents approved by the European Commission and the European Council, over the years, looking to extract EU benchmark for this relationship and shows how the Chinese regard the European Union in the context of the PRC's foreign policy. The article shows that although important bilateral ties lack depth and clarity and that the reciprocal expectations of both actors seem high and unrealistic. Europe is undergoing a process of constitutional redesign where pressures for deeper integration coexist with the will of new Eastern Europe Member-States to reinforce their sovereignty and gain autonomy. China is also going through a process of internal balancing and leadership reshuffle that heading the country towards an uncertain destiny. The author concludes that the European Union and China need to be more realistic on what they pursue with their relationship.

Key words: China, European Union, Trade, External Relations, Human Rights, International Law, European Law, European Commission.

1 INTRODUCTION

When the London Council of Foreign Ministers decided six decades ago to divide up Germany and approve the Marshall Plan, Europeans were very far away from anticipating the enormous consequences this decision would have in their lives and for the geography and future of Europe. Nowadays, Europe looks very different. The Berlin Wall was brought down. The former European Community of six has been enlarged to include, sequentially, Great Britain and Ireland, the Mediterranean countries, the Scandinavian nations and the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, which were parts of the Soviet empire or Soviet neighbours. In the wings, Turkey, Croatia,

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Bosnia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia and Serbia expect to join the EU. If all these countries meet the Amsterdam criteria - democracy, the rule of law, a market economy and adherence to the EU's goals of political and economic union - they may be in the best position to be members of this fashionable club. Croatia and Turkey started already accession talks in October 2005. Croatia signed its Treaty of Accession in December, 2011 and if the ratification process goes well, the Treaty will come into force on July 1st, 2013. Turkey may complete the negotiation process in twenty years, although that aim depends basically on the course of Turkish domestic politics and the role Europe – as a continent – envisage for the big Muslim nation.

The objective of a unified Europe[2] is not completed for reasons basically ascribed to Europeans, by themselves. After the difficult approval of the Treaty of Lisbon there is an important debate where the boundaries of Europe lay and where the layers of Europe's identity, as a cultural, religious and political territorial entity, stand. Europe is basically a cultural entity with a common past, an international being without a common defence or external security policy, the perception of a common enemy, or even a coordinated foreign policy if we may call that to the sort of understanding that came out from the Treaty of Lisbon. Europe is a political dwarf, a collection of states situated in a space delimited by the Atlantic Ocean and line 30 degrees East latitude, if we exclude the territorial areas of Ukraine and Belarus that fall within that. Europe is a group of nations also divided by their fates, defined by their agreement on relevant questions of race, equality, social equilibrium, emigration, fiscal or labour policy, defence and security.

The current problems of Europe are not only of political or economic uncertainty. The European Union undergoes a difficult process of re-thinking its international legal identity, in short how the world sees it. How much Europe (and how less sovereignty) are Europeans capable of admitting? How do Europeans see the role of non-Christian communities such as the Turks or the Croats within the European Christian mainland? What type of relations does Europe foresees with its Central Asian and North Africa neighbours.[3] These are among the many "ifs" that trouble Europe's future.

This article deals with something else): how the European Union as sole entity sees China? China, the far-off country where Europe's ships sailed for three centuries looking to open a new trade route. A country that has no territorial connection to Europe whatsoever but as the statistics prove, is the most important partner of Europe as a Union, a interlocutor on global issues, a co-defender of a new world international order.

The PRC looks to Europe, for the outcome of the four-year financial crisis, with some relief and amusement. Firstly China has been spared the pain and difficulties coming from that persistent crisis; secondly it has enjoyed the benefits of the expansion that followed globalization without paying the price

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[2] Europe is mostly a geographical and a cultural *nomen*. Only the Romans managed to unify Europe and after this all the efforts to reach that unity failed. The last attempt was the *Convention for the Future of Europe* that led to the approval of the misfortune *Constitution of Europe*. For the purpose of this article, the author names "Europe" or "EU" the union of twenty-seven independent states based on the European Communities and founded to enhance political, economic and social co-operation. They were formerly known as European Community (EC) or European Economic Community (EEC).

[3] According with a survey published by the site EUObserver three quarters of Irish opposed the idea of a second vote to the Lisbon Treaty. 71 percent of the respondents say they were against the move, compared to 24 percent who where in favour. On 12 June, 2008, 53.4 percent of the Irish vote against the Treaty. See EUObserver. *Ireland strong opposed to Lisbon revolt,* London, 28 July 2008. Available at http://www.euobserver.com. (15 May 2012).

for that. But Europe is still in China's mindset as something worthy to learn about. The process of convergence between the "five balances" articulated in the PRC's 11th Five-Year Plan and the European preoccupation with equilibrium, economic efficiency, social equity and environment, accentuate a common ground, coming from two completely different historical experiences.[4] China experiment both admiration and distrust on Europe. China senses that the European Union lacks a strategic vision and suffers from disunity, which impedes her from becoming a credible actor in international affairs. At the same time China appreciates the prototype of a unified Europe. One "leg" of a multilateral order, with China fulfilling an important role. Chinese authorities express admiration with the unifying role performed by the Euro, naming it "a most impressive achievement" and anticipate Europe's capacity to build a greater common defence and security identity.[5] Europe remains culturally attractive as China considers itself and Europe the two "core civilizations" of the world. The EU "is the primary collective sense in which the Chinese view Europe and they expect it to enlarge further" suggests a commentator.[6]

This cheerful conclusion is probably too optimistic. China enforces its vision of a world dominated by Great Powers aiming to use the bilateral relation with the EU and the US, as a pendulum. China envisions a new world order with the Asian nations at the core and the United States with a much more secondary role[7], a perception that is perceived as a threat by neoconservatives or offensive realists like Robert Kaplan or John Mearsheimer.[8]

The Europe Union struggles to have a more important role in the main issues of the international agenda, v.g. the role of International Organizations like IMF, the World Bank or the G20, organizations which China aims to gain greater influence correspondent to its economic clout. For that objective to be attained, the EU needs to build big consortium of good-will and China is an important partner for that; Insofar as the EU needs to turn the EU-PRC three decade relationship into something more accountable, balanced and comprehensive (mostly in European eyes). The impression that comes out from Brussels habitual political statements is that the EU doesn't understand that China is a pragmatic and realistic power, involved in a non-zero sum game and looking to pursue its own interests, even at the expense of others. The EU needs to be focused on what precise targets to achieve through the EU-China bilateral relationship, to balance the operating costs of this cooperation and technical assistance (to China) with a fair outcome in new business opportunities for European firms in China, namely in agriculture, banking, telecommunications, insurance services or energy. The EU needs to ask more from China in political terms, applying more pressure for a crucial political reform, respect for Human Rights, transparency and conformity to the Rule of Law.

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[4] Jean-Pierre Cabestan, "European Union-China Relations and the United States," *Asian Perspective Revue,* 30, 4 (2006), 15.
[5] Karine Lisbonne-de Vergeron, *Contemporary Chinese Views of Europe* (London: Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2007), XIV–XVI.
[6] *Ibid.*, XVI.
[7] Niall Ferguson, *Colossus. The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (London, New York, Toronto: Penguin Books, 2005), 260–261.
[8] See Robert Kagan, "Behind the Modern China," *Washington Post,* 23 March 2008. Available at http://www.carnegieendowment.org (10 May 2012). See also John Mearsheimer, "The Rise of China Will Not Be Peaceful at All," *The Australian,* 1 November 2005. Available at http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/P0014.pdf (13 May 2012).

2 CHINA AND EUROPE *RENDEZ-VOUS*

Europe and China relations were influenced, during the second half of the twentieth century, by external factors. The first was China's participation in the Korean War alongside the Soviet Union against the Western block led by the United States. The second was the deterrence process initiated with the visit of Richard Nixon to China, a visit that took place from September 21st to 28th, 1972. On both occasions, Europe was mainly an observer, not a participant. At the start, the United States punished China for its alliance with Moscow; then they made peace with China as the power balance between the western and Eastern communist blocks moved apart and it became imperative to contain the USSR.

So it was with little surprise that only after the normalization of US-China relations[9], did the European countries see this as an opportunity to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. The group of nations that presently constitutes, the European Union, recognized the PRC as China's legitimate government between 1971 and 1979. The first European country to do it was Italy and the last, Ireland.

There was one exception to the previous conclusion. De Gaulle's vision of French exceptionalism led him, in January 1964, to recognize China's communist regime, against NATO official policy and the opinion of European leaders. Nonetheless no substantial gain came to France from this isolated step. Consequently, the nucleus of the European Community (EC) articulates with the United States on how to narrow and overcome the isolation of Communist China and re-establish links. This historical fact is evidence of Europe's dependency on America's international interests (within NATO) and the rationale why China, for a long time, assessed its bilateral relation with Europe and the European Union, as basically secondary.

When the European Commissioner, Christopher Soames, visited China in 1973, two years before diplomatic relations were formalized; he found that China was still struggling to liberate itself from its revolutionary past. After Mao and Zhou died and the Gang of Four was brought to trial, China gradually retook its place as a reasonable and pragmatic developing Asian economy. Late 1978, during the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Deng Xiaoping, the paramount leader, convinced his peers of the need to free China from reclusion and sail economically to the open sea, changing China's economic policy and opening to the outside world. This new policy was launched and implemented without major setbacks over the following five decades.

In response to this, Europe and China conceded each other the Most-Favoured-Nation Status (MFN) in areas like import or export duties and tariffs. On April 3, 1978, China and the European Communities (EC) signed, the first Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) in Brussels, opening the way to a positive and advantageous relationship.[10]

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[9] Diplomatic relations between the US and the People's Republic of China were established in December 16, 1978, six years after Nixon visit.

[10] Later this agreement was replaced by an Agreement on Trade and Co-operation signed in 1985 between the EC and China. In 1998 the European Commission opened its representation in Beijing. See Franco Algieri, "EU Economic Relations with China: An Institutional Perspective," in *China and Europe since 1978: a European Perspective,* ed. Richard Louis Edmonds (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 64.

The practice of bilateral dialogue enhanced by the meetings of the TCA Joint Committee and the visits of representatives of both sides, either to Brussels or Beijing, ease the way to a better understanding of EU's and China's intentions and national agendas. On June 1979, an agreement on textile trade was reached and in 1983 and 1984 several agreements on cooperation on science and technology and agriculture and human resources management were signed.

This *open-door policy* towards Europe[11] followed a calculated strategy idealized by Deng Xiao-Ping to secure profitable trade and commercial relations with the US but avoided making China too dependent on them. According to observers, the European model of large governmental assistance and regulation of the economy had greater appeal to Beijing's leaders than the typical Smithean model of unregulated economies adopted by the Americans and British.[12] This special relationship with Europe helped China "to learn from the outside" and "to adapt internally", according with two well-known rhetorical mottos.[13]

The good atmosphere in Europe-China relations kept steadily during the 90s and the first decade of Twenty-First century. In 2004, China become the EU's second largest trading partner after the US and China's largest trading partner, followed by the US, Japan and Southeast Asia. According to EU statistics, China's rapid economic development had a significant impact upon EU-China trade and economic relations. This can bee seen in the total bilateral trade that has increased more than sixty-fold since 1978, and worth €210 billion in 2005. The EU went from a trade surplus - at the beginning of the 1980s - to a deficit of €106 billion in 2005, EU's largest trade deficit with any partner. In recent years, EU companies have invested considerably in China, with Foreign Direct Investment to over US 35 billion.

The relevance of China-EU trade suggests that China uses the EU as a counter-weight to the US-China political and economic tensions and an alternative source of high-tech technology. The United States has kept an embargo of exports to China on "dual use technologies", i.e. civilian technologies that could be used to make weapons or have military applications.[14] The EU has a different stance on this issue and regards the transfer of technologies to Beijing as a way to make profits and gain trust.

In May 2000, China concluded a bilateral market access agreement with the EU that facilitated the PRC's admission to the WTO, an objective that Beijing had as a priority goal. WTO membership has brought enormous benefits to China and its trading partners, consolidating China's central role in the global economy and allowing a greater degree of certainty for trading partners in China.[15] But as it is argued elsewhere for these benefits to be completed, it becomes essential that China implements its obligations to the WTO in a timely and comprehensive manner.[16] There is great debate whether China is doing this or not. Meanwhile eleven years have passed since its admission.[17]

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[11] China was the first country of the so-said Communist block to recognize the European Communities (EC).

[12] John R. Faust and Judith F. Korgberg, *China in World Politics* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995), 77.

[13] Paolo D. Farah, "Five Years of China's WTO Membership," *Legal Issues of Economic Integration,* 33, 3 (2006), 299.

[14] Reuben Wong, *Forging Common EU Policies on China* (Singapore, National University of Singapore, 2006).

[15] Cfr. World Trade Organization. *Accession of the People's Republic of China – Decision of 10 November 2001*. Available at http://docsonline.wto.org/DDFDocuments/t/WT/L/432.doc (7 May 2012).

[16] Albert Keidel, *China's Economic Rise-Fact and Fiction,* in Policy Brief 61, Washington D.C., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2008. Available at

3 THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION TOWARDS CHINA

The normalization of relations with China has been a part of an EU Asian Strategy, backed by the German government, to strength the use of Asian markets for European exports. In the summer of 1994, the European Commission adopted a *New Asia Strategy*[18] targeting Asia as Europe's new economic frontier. In accordance with this strategy, five Communications were set by the European Commission and the European Council regulating EU's relationship with China: *A Long Term Policy for China-Europe Relations* (1995); *Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China* (1998); *Implementation of the 1998 Communication and Future Steps for a more effective EU Policy* (2001); *A Maturing Partnership. Shared Interests and Challenges in EU-China relations* (2003); *EU-China: Closer Partners, Growing Responsibilities* (2006).

The sequence of these policy papers makes two things clear. First, it emphasizes the great importance given to the development of a fair, reciprocal and mutually beneficial economic relationship with China. Secondly, it outlines the comparative little weight that the political and the security dimension of the EU represents in this affiliation. A possible explanation for that is that Europe's fragile foreign policy – if it exists - responds, basically, to the needs of the European exporters and Multinational Corporations and European bureaucrats. Another credible explanation is that the EU has been for most of its history an economic community and not a true political union.[19] The interlinking of tangible economic interests of the Europeans through the integration of national economies is considered the path to establish a community with a shared sense of destiny that has been mostly absent. Even this conclusion is not exempt from contradictions as the British, the Danish or the Swedish made several times clear.

Truly, The European Commission is hardly the government of Europe and the European Parliament not the General Assembly of Europe. The well-known anecdote of the red phone connecting the American and the Chinese presidents and the lack of a corresponding mechanism between Beijing and Brussels illustrates, cynically, the lack of statehood on the part of the EU and the absence of an international and security dimension on EU-China multilayer relations.

The lack of a monitoring device to follow, in the field, the progress of the policies and targets achieved as understood by the above-mentioned Communications Commission-Council, figures as a delicate problem for the EU-China relations. The European Council position has been rather ceremonial and equivocal more than a catalyst of Europe's interests. This is an additional reason why the powers of the European institutions, within the Union constitutional treaty, need to be assessed and adjusted. This objective

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www.carnegieendowment.org/2008/07/08/china-s-economic-rise-fact-and-fiction/2t9 (12 May 2012). See also Robert Sutter, "Why Does China Matter?" *The Washington Quarterly,* 27, 1 (2003–2004), 75–89.

[17] Joseph Y. S. Cheng, "China's WTO Membership and its concern for State Sovereignty," *Journal of Contemporary China,* 13, 41 (2004), 819–821.

[18] See European Commission. *Toward a New Asia Strategy, COM (94) 314 final.* Brussels: European Commission, 1994.

[19] In this sense see Heinrich Schneider, "The Constitution Debate," *European Integration online Papers (EioP),* 7, 4 (2003).

was partially sought in the Treaty of Lisbon but there is a lot more to be done.[20]

One important consequence of the EU stake with a policy of articulated engagement with China was the identification of areas of economic and development cooperation. The 1998 Communication "Building a Comprehensive Partnership"[21] highlighted developments in various dialogues concerning regional security, economic and trade issues, human rights, and the need to start a dialogue on issues such as illegal immigration, drug-trafficking, money-laundering and organized crime. In its follow-up of 2001, the Commission reiterated that "engagement (between China and the EU) means developing comprehensive relations which allow for working towards a common understanding on all issues of concern, in support of multilateral problem-solving wherever this applies on international and regional issues".[22] The Commission restated the need to engage China further in the international community through a continued strengthening of the political dialogue by: ensuring greater coherence and continuity in scheduling agreed talks at all levels; targeted reinforcement of the expert level dialogue on specific issues of particular interest; ensuring a better preparation of, and a link between, the dialogue at all levels; better integration of interrelated global issues, and the consideration of producing occasional joint EU-China texts on issues of common concern in the margins of Summit meetings; and codifying the framework for the EU-China political dialogue.

In the Communication "A Maturing Partnership" (2003) the Commission went a little further by assuring that "it is the clear interest of the EU and China to work as strategic partners on the international scene (…) through a further reinforcement of their cooperation, the EU and China will be better able to promote these shared visions and interests".[23] On October 2006, The Barroso Commission set out its strategy towards China in the Communication "EU-China: Closer partner, growing responsibilities" (2006). The communication looks to EU-China relations in the context of China's re-mergence as an economic and global world power. It points out that the EU intents to foster its comprehensive engagement with China, elaborates a five-pronged strategy focused in supporting China's transition to a plural society, the development of sustainable development, the improvement on trade and economic bilateral relations, the strengthening of bilateral cooperation as well increasing regional and international cooperation. The document raises, for the first time, the point that the crescent responsibilities and expectations generated by China's rising needs to be accompanied with stronger influence and participation of China in handling and solving world problems. Adding some focus to underline criticism of lacking of palpable results the Council welcome the Communication and the trade working paper

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[20] The relations with China are not the most serious problem in Europe fragile "communautarisation" of its foreign policy. The relation with Russia (and its neighbours) is even worse than China's as Europe depends on Russia for the supply of gasoline and energy, during the winter season. The clash between national interests and Europe need for a common vision is been notorious.

[21] European Commission. *Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China* (Brussels, European Commission, 1998), 181.

[22] European Commission. *EU Strategy towards China: Implementation of the 1998 Communication and Future Steps for a More Effective EU Policy* (Brussels: European Commission, 2001), 265.

[23] See European Commission. *A Maturing partnership: Shared Interests and Challenges in EU-China Relations, Updating the European Commission's Communications on EU-China relations of 1998 and 2001, COM(2003) 533 final,* Brussels, 10 September 2003. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/china/com_03_533/com_533_en.pdf (8 May 2012).

associated with it and conclude "that for EU-China partnership to develop its full potential it must be balanced, reciprocal and mutually beneficial".[24]

These successive Communications reinforce the need to focus on the EU-China dialogue, making it more then a vain exercise of political rhetoric that seems to be, for the most part of the journey. In its 2005 "Overview of Sectorial Dialogues between China and the European Commission"[25], Brussels authorities listed 24 different areas of sectorial dialogue between the two sides including agriculture, civil aviation, competition policy, consumer product safety, customs cooperation, education and culture, employment and social affairs, energy, environment, food safety, global satellite navigation services, information society, intellectual property rights, macroeconomic policy and regulation of financial markets, maritime transport, regional policy, regulatory and industrial policy, science and technology, space cooperation, trade policy dialogue, textile trade dialogue and transport (in general). The progress made by these portholes of dialogue is contested by some observers.[26] Therein, from the 17 areas of cooperation existing in 2004, bilateral cooperation has expanded to cover in a more detailed and specialised manner to more than 50 areas. The sectorial dialogues seem to help develop a fair foundation for the EU-China relationship, which is now characterized by increasingly close policy co-ordination in many important areas. They are assessed by the Brussels authorities as "an effective tool for further widening and deepening EU relations with China, for exploring new areas of common interest and for exchanging know-how, especially in the area of economic reform".[27]

4 A DUAL DISCOURSE ON CHINA

The former External Relations Commissioner, Chris Patten, during his term as Commissioner, defined three basic objectives for the EU external policy with Asia and China, in particularly: constructive engagement, multilateral cooperation, promotion of human rights, good governance. Patten considered the last relationship "the most complex and multifaceted dialogue in human rights that the EU has with any country". Assessing the progress on it, in 2005, the European Council stated that "although China amended its constitution in March 2004 to include a reference to human rights, and although there have been positive developments on social questions including migrant workers and HIV/AIDS and on the ongoing reform of the judicial and legal system, the EU remains concerned about continuing violations of human rights in China".[28]

Seven years later, the current President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso, expressed a more conciliatory evaluation of the EU-China sixteen-year political dialogue.[29] In a speech at the Chinese Academy

[24] European Commission. *EU-China: Closer partners, growing responsibilities* (Brussels, European Commission, 1998), 631.
[25] See Directorate General External Relations. *The EU External Relations with China, an Overview of Sectoral Dialogues between China and the European Commission.* Available at http://eeas.europa.eu/china/sectoraldialogue_en.htm (15 May 2012).
[26] Terry Narramore, "China and Europe: Engagement, Multipolarity and Strategy," *The Pacific Review*, 21, 1, (2008), 87–108; see also David Scott, "China and the EU: A Strategic Axis for the Twenty-First Century?," *International Relations,* 21, 23 (2007), 23–45.
[27] See European Union, External Action Service, High Representative Catherine Ashton. *Information Note.* Available at http://eeas.europa.eu/china/docs/sectoraldialogues_en.pdf (3 May 2012).
[28] See European Union. *EU Annual Report on Human Rights' adopted by the Council on 3 October 2005.* Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/HR2005en.pdf (15 May 2012).
[29] The first dialogue to be started was on environment (June 1992). The Energy and Human Rights Dialogues followed this dialogue in 1994 and 1996. The last one to be set was on December 2006, the

of Social Sciences (in Beijing) he noted the difficulties happening in the relationship, namely in trade, but was swift in assuring that "we should be confident that our relations have matured sufficiently to deal with any disagreement in a responsible manner and in full confidence of the willingness of both sides to overcome these challenges. We must always keep the big picture in mind and should not let one or two issues overshadow our overall relationship".[30]

Even though European officials have been cautious in treating the more sensitive issues in the bilateral relations, a tougher attitude towards China came to light between 2006 and 2008. It included areas such as trade and WTO rules, intellectual property rights, demand for energy resources, and external policy in Africa.

Peter Mandelson, the then Trade Commissioner, made a very direct argument in a speech at Tsinghua University in 2006: "we are witnessing the creation of a truly multi-polar economic world, and politics is following closely…identify any global problem we face and you will find that China is an essential part of the solution, with a role in framing the international agenda and assuming new leadership responsibilities as it does so. It is no longer possible for China to shut out the world or behave as if it where outside the system looking in".[31]

One actor that has kept along the lines a sturdy criticism on China, namely on human rights, is the European Parliament (EP). In its Resolution on *EU-China Relations* (2005/2161(INI)), the chamber stressed the importance of the EU-China Strategic Partnership for relations between both political actors considering it worthy if "based on shares common values". But the EP acknowledged that "democratic values, credibility, stability and responsibility should constitute the fundamental basis of the relationship", as the "strengthening of EU's relationship with China implies meeting global challenges such as climate change, security and non-proliferation of arms". The EP emphasized that the "sectorial dialogues" between the two sides have grown considerably in recent years, looking "forward to the advent of the EU-China Strategic Partnership and closer relation". The EP: a) urged the Council and the Commission to formulate a consistent and coherent policy towards China; b) welcomed the work of the Commission in the sectorial dialogues with China in different issues, and requested "that Parliament be briefed at regular basis on progress made"; c) called on China (and the EU) to establish their partnership on the basis of mutual openness, credibility, stability, responsibility, and mutual understanding; d) regretted that the increased trade and economic relations with China "have brought about no substantial progress in the field of democracy, human rights and the rule of law". The EP finally argued that "the development of trade relations with China must go hand in hand with the development of a genuine, fruitful and effective political dialogue".[32]

Macroeconomic Dialogue. One month later Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner discusses with the Chinese authorities the negotiations for a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA).

[30] See José Manuel Barroso, *The EU and China: painting a brighter future together,* in Beijing, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 15 July 2005. Available at www.europaworld.org/week232/barrosospeech15705.htm (15 May 2012).

[31] See European Delegation. *Mandelson: growing China must look to global role on trade, security, climate change,* in Beijing, European Delegation, 7 November 2006. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/trade/issues/bilateral/countries/china/pr071106_en.htm (15 May 2012).

[32] See European Parliament. *Resolution on EU-China Relations, 2005/2161(INI).* Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu (5 May 2012).

This position was replicated in other occasions. On September 7, 2006, the EP unanimously passed a resolution calling on China to release Falun Gong activists.[33] The resolution supplemented a report on Human Rights in China written by a Dutch MP, Hans Belder, criticizing China's record on this issue and expressed grim concern regarding torture and labour camps in China.[34] On July 10, 2007, the EP approved another resolution expressing solidarity for the victims of the earthquake in Sichuan, but deplored "the fact that China's human rights records remains a matter for concern owing to the widespread and systematic human rights abuses". The EP welcomed "the resumption of contacts, after the events of March 2008, in Lhasa, between the representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese authorities" and called for an intensification of these contacts. The resolution called "on China to abide by the public commitments which it made with regard to human rights and minority rights, democracy and the rule of law and which the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced when it decided to allow China to host the Olympic Games".[35]

Still in 2008, the EP's President, Hans-Gert Pettering, called on athletes taking part in the Beijing Olympics (that took place in Beijing) to protest against the human rights situation in Tibet: "I would like to encourage the athletes, men and women, to look at things as they are, and not turn own way, give a signal". The comments (published in German newspaper *Bild*) come amid general political criticism in Germany over Internet censorship for foreign media after Chinese authorities published new directives on the use of the Internet, by foreign journalists, during the Games.[36]

Commenting in the same issue, Durão Barroso declared in Beijing on April 4, 2008, that he favoured a closing dialogue between China and the Dalai Lama, but "respects totally the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of China over the region".[37]

The tone of constructive relationship was retaken during the Prague Summit of in May, 2009, where both sides had expressed their satisfaction with the rapid expansion of the collaboration between the EU and China since the first Summit in 1998, signed that the relation is "much deeper and stronger, founded on a global, strategic, and mutually beneficial partnership".[38] Barroso and the President of the European Council welcomed China's development and supported China's continued path of peaceful development. Wen Jiabao, the Chinese Premier, affirmed China's support for the EU's integration process and welcomed the EU's constructive role in international affairs.

But on 12 November 2009, the criticism on China returned as the President of the European Council issued a declaration condemning the executions of

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[33] The Falun Gong is a sect introduced in China in 1992 through public lectures by its founder, Li Hongzhi. It combines the practice of meditation and slow-moving *qigong* exercises with a moral philosophy. Falun Gong emphasizes morality and the cultivation of virtue as central tenets of Truthfulness, Compassion, and Forbearance. The cult identifies itself as a *qigong* practice of the Buddhist school, though its teachings also incorporate elements drawn from Taoist traditions.

[34] See European Parliament. *European Parliament Passes Resolution Calling for Release of Bu Dongwei and Gao Zhisheng*. Available at http://www.clearharmony.net/articles/200609/35369.html (5 May 2012).

[35] The report on Human Rights in China was approved by 351 votes for and 48 against, with 160 abstentions. The report also strongly recommended that the EU arms embargo against China remain intact until greater progress on human rights issues. See UNPO. *Tibet: European Parliament Adopts Critical China Report*. Available at www.unpo.org (11 May 2012).

[36] See EUObserver.com. *EU parliament chief calls for Olympics protests*, London, 4 August 2008. Available at http://euobserver.com (15 May 2012).

[37] See Radio Televisão Portuguesa. *Durão Barroso visita oficial à China*, Lisbon, RTP, 2008. Available at http://ww1.rtp.pt (17 May 2012).

[38] See Europa. *11th EU-China Summit Prague*, Pres/09/147, Joint Press Communiqué, 20 May 2009. Available at http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do (15 May 2012).

nine persons in Xingjian, following violent protests in the city of Ürümqi on July 5th-7th, 2009.[39] "Human Rights" continued to be a topic of disagreement in the years ahead. In February 2010, The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton, issued a statement regretting the decision of the Beijing High Court to uphold Liu Xiaobo's sentence of 11 years on the charge of "inciting subversion of state power".[40] Ashton stated that "the verdict against Liu Xiaobo is entirely incompatible with his right to freedom of expression". On April 2010, visiting Beijing at the head of six EU Commissioners (including the Vice-President, Catherine Ashton), the President of the European Commission, Durão Barroso, expressed great expectations on the annual Summit and perceived on it "the closeness of our cooperation" and an opportunity "to generate positive momentum in our 35-years relationship and develop a far reaching agenda for the next 5 years".[41] Barroso stated that the EU and China are important global players and is essential they work together in addressing "common challenges". Still in 2010, in the occasion of the 13th EU-China Summit, the President of the European Council[42], Herman Van Rompuy, declared that the UE aim to move the relationship forward, as the EU and China have "a strategic partnership of the utmost importance" and are "major players in the world and therefore naturally share outlook and concern on many issues".[43] Van Rompuy said that "the EU and China have commonalities, but also differences in their approach, differences that are expected and should not impede our joint will to bring our relationship to a higher level". "Our own interests coincide more and more with the global interests" he added.

Liu Xiabao returned as a topic of rhetorical confrontation at the end of 2010 when he received the Nobel Prize Award from the Swedish Academy. Catherine Ashton expressed her solidarity with the Nobel Prize and demanded his immediate release by the Chinese authorities. In April the following year, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy expressed her deep concern at the deterioration of the human rights situation in China and mentioned the increasing number of cases of arbitrary arrest of lawyers, writers, journalists, petitioners, artists and bloggers. Ashton expressed her concern for the arrest of the artist and intellectual Ai Wei Wei.[44] On May 2011, Herman Van Rompuy returned to China. He was received by the President Hu Jintao and gave a lecture at the Central Party School.[45] In his remarks after the meeting with Hu Jintao, Van Rompuy underscore China's rapid growth and its immense contribution to overall global development, the fact that the EU is PRC's largest trading

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[39] See Council of the European Union. *Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union regarding the recent executions of nine persons in Xinjiang*, press release 15843/09, Brussels, 12 November 2009. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/ (15 May 2012).

[40] Liu Xiaobo is a prominent independent intellectual, a advocate of political reform and human rights in China and an outspoken critic of the Chinese communist regime. Liu has been detained, put under house arrest and imprisoned many times for his writing and activism. Liu is a drafter and a key proponent of Charter 08. See European Union. *Statement by HR Catherine Ashton, on human rights in China*, Brussels, 12 April 2011. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs (15 May 2012).

[41] See Europa. *President Barroso's visit to China, 29 April–1st May*, Press Release Rapid, ref IP/10/465, Brussels, 26 April 2010. Available at http://europa.eu/rapid/ (15 May 2012).

[42] After the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon the post become more effective and the chairperson elected by two and half years. Van Rompuy was elected for a second term in March 2012. See Xinhua. *Van Rompuy re-elected as European Council President*, Beijing, 2 March 2012. Available at http://www.china.org.cn/world/2012-03/02/content_24779710.htm (16 May 2012).

[43] See European Council, The President. *Introductory remarks by Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council at the EU-China Summit, PCE 209/10,* Brussels, 6 October 2010. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs (8 May 2012).

[44] See European Union. *Statement by HR Catherine Ashton, on human rights in China*, Brussels, 12 April 2011. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs (15 May 2012).

[45] See European Council, The President. *Remarks by Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council following his meeting in China with President Hu Jintao, PCE 114/11,* Beijing, 16 May 2011. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs (8 May 2012).

partner, being both economies and societies interlinked on a relevant scale. Van Rompuy argued that the EU and China "are mutually becoming part of the solutions of each other's challenges" and that one of the key challenges to the development of UE-China strategic partnership is "to preserve the climate of openness in our economic and trade relationship" even if the world passes a time of economic downturn. He added that Europe "is keen to achieve progress towards establishing a level playing field in our economic relations". Van Rompuy stressed the importance of enhancing people-to-people contacts, announcing the expansion of the number of European students studying in China. Van Rompuy alluded to China's public image, reputation, and influence, as being shaped by "factors going beyond its economic performance". He expressly said that "safeguarding human rights and the rule of law is part of drift". Van Rompuy remembered that China and the EU have signed up to the international instruments that "enshrine the universal values of human rights, and have a shared responsibility to uphold them".[46]

It would be hard to conclude from this recitative that the European Union has a coherent and articulated foreign policy towards China, namely on issues that have a relevant political dimension. Part of the positions framed by the EU reflect the agendas or interests of the member-states, others the equilibrium attempted by the European institutions to create a more balanced relationship with China, others still the outcome of lobbying groups pressure that manoeuvre behind some MPS of the European Parliament. This state reflects, in a way, the drifting of the political ambiance in Europe to the right since the early 2000s, a decade when central-right governments were dominant in most European capitals. Although the economy and trade still are at the nucleus of the EU-China relationship, global issues like the political situation in the Korean Peninsula, the internal situation in Iran, Afghanistan or Iraq urgently call for the attention of both partners. Because of the instability of world affairs, the upraising of the Arab Spring, and the force of the Media, Human Rights have become a central topic for European and Western audiences.

To respond to these different inputs there is a tendency (that came from the past) for EU politicians use a double discourse on China, a kind of "stick and carrot" strategy. On one side there are those that argue that China is Europe's pleasant partner. On the other side there are those that assess China as a trouble maker that needs to be put in order. The "chairmen" Durão Barroso and Von Rompuy appear to pursue an institutional (neoliberal) approach to China emphasizing what is positive in the EU-China strategic partnership and down-plays the cases that generate tensions or acrimony. Catherine Ashton, the Labour politician that is Vice-President of the Commission and head of the EU's diplomacy, exteriorize a discourse of moral rectitude and ethical behaviour (an idealistic approach) that would frame the European Union foreign policy and that has its foundation in the Charter of Human Rights of the EU and in article 10 of the Treaty of European Union added by the Treaty of Lisbon.[47]

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[46] Ibid.

[47] The article says: "1. The Union's action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.2. The Union shall seek to develop relations and build partnerships with third countries, and international, regional or global organisations which share the principles referred to in the first subparagraph. It shall promote multilateral solutions to common problems, in particular in the framework of the United Nations." Treaty of Lisbon. *Amendments to the Treaty on European Union and to the Treaty Establishing the European Community, paragraph*

It seems obvious that at the bottom of this "Janus" duality resides a problem with the conception of the EU's foreign policy, something that critics point out as the reason for the EU's fragility as an authentic international actor. Policy drafters have a problem with the *identity* or *constructionist approach* they adopt as a tool to build a stable relationship with China.[48] The *identity approach* disregards institutional or negotiation tactics (akin to the neoliberal perspective) or the remaking of the balance of power between the European Union and China (preferred by the realist's approach) to reinforce Europe's positions towards China.[49] Emphasizing the role of *ideas* which define the *identities* of the actors and making them part of the negotiation process; those policy makers argue that the EU needs to change China according to the European prototype. Divergent identities generate conflict and create mistrust; converging identities have the opposite effect favouring strategies of cooperation and exchange. If China turns out to be democratic and Human Rights-friendly - they say - all the problems happening in EU-China relationship will disappear. Ideas - they argue - define values, norms and beliefs that national governments and International Organizations hold and pursue when they apply power. So if China is convinced to share, in its process of transformation, the collective identity that Europe institutionalizes in their constitutional texts and that represent the paradigm principles of Europe, the EU's position would be automatically valued with regard to other countries that pursue a more confrontational approach. So the real way-out to this deadlock is continuous, multilayer, dialogue.

It is not possible to maintain, indefinitely, a negotiation approach that holds its interlocutor as simultaneously a friend and foe. It would reveal incoherence and hypocrisy. So the EU's double discourse cannot survive. The anarchy of the international relations, the hypothetical decline of the United States as world's hegemon, China's sustained path to regional leadership recommend a strategy that is flexible, intelligent and non-conditioned by voluntary declarations of principles. On delicate issues as human rights, history shows that the enforcement of political pressures through proper channels is preferable to public outcries which provoke tension and a negative attitude. There is also a problem of coherence. How can the EU's foreign policy conceptors define an external policy toward China based upon principles such as democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms? How can the EU enforce at the same time a "realistic" policy towards Africa, Central Asia or Latin-America, including countries like Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia or Uganda whose record on Human Rights conformity is grey at best?

5 China's scrutiny of the bilateral dialogue

China's reaction to the tone and achievements of the China-EU bilateral dialogue has been mild-mannered and appreciative. The Joint Statement of the Ninth EU-China Summit accentuated "the past decade had seen significant challenges in the EU and in China and a progressive deepening of

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24. Available at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/12007L/htm/C2007306EN.01001001.htm (11 May 2012).

[48] There are different paradigms to analyze international relations, namely realism, liberalism, neo-realism, constructivism, critical theory or neoliberalism to name some of the theoretical approaches. It should be noted that the debate from different perspectives and groupings is sometimes overlapping and there is hardly one approach that has the secret of the laws of world events.

[49] Henry R. Nau, *Perspectives on International Relations,* 2nd edition (Washington D.C: CQ Press, 2009), 44–53.

the relationship, which was maturing into a comprehensive strategic partnership". The Statement stresses "the leaders of both sides (Wen Jiabao, José Manuel Barroso and Matti Vanhanen, prime-minister of Finland, and organizer of the meeting) believed that the strengthening of the relationship has been of great value to the long interests of the EU and China". The document noted "the importance of high-level political dialogue and consultations at all levels in enhancing understanding and trust, expanding common ground and advancing bilateral relations" and welcomed the "recently established regular strategic dialogue mechanism, which had proven to be a valuable tool in the frank and in-depth discussions of important international and regional issues".[50] The wording carefully chosen by the heads of the delegations illustrated a deliberate intention to encourage "harmony and convergence" the fundamental principles on China's external policy.

On the Tenth China-EU Summit held on November 28, 2007, in Beijing, the mood of the bilateral relationship was positively signed by China's official agency. According to Xinhua, Wen Jiabao declared "during the decade the China-EU ties have witnessed the fastest development in history and mutual beneficial cooperation has produced rich results and ties now have reached an unprecedented level in width and depth". The meeting was, he said, "an occasion where both sides touch upon the entire core issues in the China-EU relations in a pragmatic and open attitude and "agreed to properly handle the disputes through dialogue and negotiation".[51] In this context, Wen Jiabao made a four-point proposal gathering improvements in the structure and volume of trade; maintaining close high-level contacts and have prompt exchanges on bilateral and global issues; speeding up negotiations on a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement; strengthening practical cooperation in areas like climate change, energy and environmental protection.[52] On that same occasion, after a meeting with Durão Barroso, and José Sócrates[53], Hu Jintao reiterated the priorities of China for the China-EU dialogue "China and EU should, in the spirit of mutual respect and negotiation on an equal footing, properly handle new circumstances and problems emerging from the development of bilateral ties so as to expand common ground, narrow discord and create a much better internal and external environment for further pushing forward the China-EU all-round strategic partnership".

On February 14, 2012, Premier Wen Jiabao, European Council President Herman Van Rompuy and European Commission President José Manuel Barroso jointly met the press at the Great Hall of the People. The press conference followed the 14th EU-China Summit. The tone of Wen Jiabao's remarks was once again conciliatory "the overall development of China-EU relations remained stable against the ever-changing and complicated international situation in recent years".[54] He noted that "no matter in bilateral or multilateral areas, the interests of China and the EU are more closely intertwined". He saluted the coordination, communication and cooperation

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[50] See Delegation of the European Commission. *Joint Statement*, 9 September 2006. Available at http://www.delchn.cec.eu.int/en/whatsnew/pren090906.htm (15 May 2012).
[51] Just one week before Peter Mandelson had warned that China might face anti-dumping measures if Beijing would not make anything about its "unsustainable" trade surplus with the European Union. Brussels has been criticizing China for its counterfeit goods market and for exporting even for Europe fake goods.
[52] See Xinhua. *China, EU outline strategic partnership*, Beijing, 29 November 2007. Available at http://news.xinhuanet.com (15 May 2012).
[53] At the time the Prime-Minister of Portugal and rotative President of the European Council.
[54] See Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Grenada. *Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, European Council President Herman Van Rompuy and European Commission President José Manuel Barroso Jointly Meet Journalists*, Beijing, 16 February, 2012. Available at http://gd.china embassy.org/eng/zyxw/t905695.htm (15 May 2012).

between the two sides "the remarkable progress achieved in the development of China-EU relations" what in his own words make "the growing momentum of China-EU cooperative relations more obvious". Wen Jiabao mentioned the common issues shared by China and the EU t "promoting reform, enhancing solidarity and deepening cooperation is the common choice of China and EU and the only right path for the two sides." He touched the issue of Human Rights "China is willing to continue to carry out exchanges and dialogues with the EU in various fields, including human rights". He argued that those dialogues "should be established on the basis of mutual respect and on an objective and fair basis" and "should help to enhance mutual trust and cooperation".

China has been very careful and self-controlled having a positive standpoint towards Europe and downplays any point of friction or dissatisfaction coming from trade imbalances or from differing views on international issues.[55] This posture is not supposed to shift in the short-run. First of all, China likes to argue China-EU hold a common view on international affairs based upon a multilateral approach. China's diplomatic practice is consistent with the official view of *China's EU Policy Paper* "China will continue to pursue its independent foreign policy of peace and work closely with other countries for the establishment of a new international political and economic order that is fair and equitable, and based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, China as always, respect diversity in the world and promote democracy in international relations in the interest of world peace and common development." [56]

Secondly, China assesses his priorities and challenges with a *realist* view and analysis of the problems of the international agenda.[57] China sees States as the most important actors on world stage and answering to no higher authority, looks for conflicts of interest (among them) as inevitable and sees the anarchical nature of the international society as an invitation for foreign policymakers to make choices as *rational problem* solving. So state sovereignty, an important principle of international law, give State leaders the freedom and responsibility to do whatever they sense necessary to advance the state's interest and its survival. This has been a constant on the views of several China's leaders since Deng Xiaoping or even Mao.

Xiaolin Guo, a Chinese scholar, remarks that despite differences in style and practice between the three last secretary-generals of Chinese Communist Party there has been a notable consistency in policy-making in domestic and international affairs. Guo says "at every juncture of volatility in international affairs, China's central leadership has invariably reiterated its determination to stick to socialism in domestic development while opposing hegemony in international affairs. From Deng to Hu, there has been a notable consensus that hegemony is detrimental to world peace, and that it impacts adversely on economic development in China. Policy-making has, therefore, been oriented toward creating a benign environment for the country's economic

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[55] Following a discussion at EU foreign ministers meeting in March 2008, about the crackdown in Tibetan protests, China expressed is strong dissatisfaction with the EU criticism considering it interference in its own internal affairs. See EUObserver.com. *China attacks EU position on Tibet crackdown*, London, 31 March 2008. Available at http://euobserver.com (15 May 2012).

[56] See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. *China's EU Policy Paper*, Beijing, 13 October 2003. Available at http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t27708.htm (15 May 2012).

[57] See Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?," *International Security,* 27, 4 (2003), 5–56; Thomas J. Christensen, "Chinese Realpolitik", *Foreign Affairs,* 75, 5 (1996), 37–52.

development and modernization. The management of foreign relations has, without exception, been adapted to the pursuit of that goal."[58]

Yang Baoyun, professor of international relations in the University of Beijing, argues that although the China-US relations have been considered the most important external relations for the Chinese government, China-EU relations have "an important weight in the diplomatic balance of China". China's government attach a greater importance in reinforcing relations with all European countries but also enhancing its relationship with the European Union, what is – according with Baoyun – a reaction to the increasing importance of the EU in the international scene. Considering, favourably, the development of bilateral cooperation in economic, commercial, scientific and technological domains, Baoyun considers that "Europe insist in the importance of human rights but looks more for dialogue then confrontation". In his view, China appreciates this attitude and this is why "both parties agree on pursuing its dialogue on this subject on the basis of mutual respect and equal footing". A specific trace distinguishes Sino European relations: the larger success achieved in the economic domain as compared with the political sphere of cooperation.[59]

During 2006 an ongoing series of top-level exchanges have resulted in China and Europe implementing layers of cooperation and dialogue accorded during the annual summits. In 2007 and 2008 the relationship became deeper. Two-thirds of the EU commissioners visited China, as did dozens of EU parliamentarians. The heads of state or government of 14 European countries also visited China in 2007. During the 10th China-EU Summit on November 2007, the two sides agreed to launch a High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue to address their burgeoning relationship in this field to new areas like personnel training, economic reform, marketing promotion, environmental protection, agriculture and poverty alleviation, etc.[60] This stance continued till the present. The official data on bilateral relations on trade and investments, the approval of new sectoral dialogues confirm the idea of a system of interchanges that bring China and the EU together

China's booming diplomacy reflects a renewed insight of its national interests, an awareness of his main interests (energy security, economic growth, political stability, and recognition) and the will to move from a defensive stance to a more outward one. Beijing perceives the difficulties of a responsible "international stakeholder" position as it becomes an "indispensable actor" in global politics. By doing so, China has raised its profile and is putting itself under international scrutiny as a Great Power.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between the EU and China is now almost 40 years old and it embraces areas that range from trade & commerce and human rights to foreign affairs and from research and development to education and culture.

[58] Xiaolin, Guo. *Repackaging Confucius: PRC Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Soft Power,* Asia Paper, Stockholm, Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2008. Available at http://www.isdp.eu/files/publications/ap/08/xg08repackagingconfucius.pdf (6 May 2012).
[59] Yang Baoyun. *"*Confiance et prudence: la diplomatie chinoise au début du XXIe siècle." *La revue international et stratégique,* 44, (2001–2002). Available at http://www.cairn.info/revue-internationale-et-strategique-2001-4.html (15 May 2012).
[60] Bates Gill and Melissa Murphy, *China-Europe Relations. Implications and Policy Responses for the United States. A Report of the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies* (Washington D.C.: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 2008).

This relationship has developed in the same frantic pace that we may find in the progress of Chinese society. Some of the suspicion, frustration or ignorance that has overshadowed that affiliation has disappeared but it is obvious that history still has an enormous influence on EU-China relations. China regularly stresses that its first priority is economic and sustained development and emphasize that nonetheless the tremendous growth over these four decades a there is still a huge distance to be overcome in order to reach an acceptable living standard for its entire people. China sees poverty and backwardness as a form of human rights and certainly it is. China doesn't like to be lectured on individual Human Rights cases such as the Falun Gong sect, Tibetan protests, Liu Xiaobo or Ai Wei demonstrations. Beijing normally over-reacts when the EU leaders raise that issue qualifying it as interference of China's internal affairs. China's accountability to international human rights will continue to be a topic of disagreement in the coming decades, as they are closely related to the democratic openness of China.

After a decade of rosy rhetoric and steadily improving ties, China-Europe relations entered a more complicated phase, recalls an author.[61] After the first phase of "honeymoon" China and Europe entered the "marriage" phase and both parties are beginning to realize that their relationship has complexities, tensions, and divergences that are common to any kind of relationship. Some of these anxieties are internal but others rise from outside factors and actors that contributed to the reshaping of the relationship.

Looking ahead several variables will likely shape EU policy towards China. One of them is the impact of the trade deficit on European economies, and new claims of protectionism looking to guard the EU against international competition. Another is the willingness of China to respond, positively, to some of the complains outlined in the 2006 Communication of the Commission, like obstructions to European investments in China, dumping Chinese exports, subsidies, illegal immigration (to Europe) and other non-quantative restrictions that impact European exports and strike at its interests.[62] Another topic is Europe's refusal to answer positively to China's request to lift the arms embargo imposed in 1989 and grant the Market Economy Status (MES). Even another is China eagerness to proceed to effective political reforms. The EU has invest strongly in assisting China in pursuing a set of reforms dealing with the liberalization of the economy, allowing the strengthening of a civil society and making the political system more open, transparent and accountable. Europe expects that China will now reward this assistance, positively.

Another variable is the part that China is available to commit to "global governance", meaning by that, the participation in UN peacekeeping operations, a contribution to the issue of non-proliferation, to help to resolve the North Korea issue, to facilitate the dialogue between the West and Iran. Europe is deeply concerned about China's support for non-democratic states, particularly in Africa, Latin America and in Asia, what has been addressed as a "value-free democracy". Europe sees this move as China's strategy to take by force areas of European customary influence. The last variable is the China-US relationship and the way this factor weights on EU-China relation. In a year of presidential elections in the United States there is

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[61] David Shambaugh, *China-Europe relations get complicated* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2007).
[62] Duncan Freeman, "New EU, China pact looks beyond trade," *Asia Times,* 2 November 2006. Available at http://www.atimes.com/atimes/china/HK02Ad01.html (15 May 2012).

a lot of curiosity about changes a democratic president may bring in to this "competitive partnership" with reflects in transatlantic relations. Some commentators suggest that it would be unrealistic to aim for such dramatic alterations in US-China relations and that after a few months of ideological hitting everything will be back to the customary track. Others argue that a conciliatory stance between the two world powers may be scratched by lateral conflicts in the Middle East or Africa that foster the US and China to different sides of the barricade.

In any scenario, Sino-European relationship remains an important stable factor in a world doomed to Great-Power rivalry and security competition. Europe has been the catalytic force in the relationship and plays an important role as a passionate suitor, but both sides need to control their expectations, be more practical learn to live together even with some occasional frictions. It is said that any marriage as up and downs and the secret of a good relation is to refresh the passion. Europe-China dating needs more passion and less calculation.

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METAPHOR CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL METAPHORS IN SLOVENIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Jernej PIKALO[1]

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> *"The greatest thing by far is to be the master of metaphor. It is the one thing that cannot be learned from the others; and it also is a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilarities."*[2]

The aim of the paper is to compare construction metaphors and political discourses, and their trajectories of change in the cases of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Slovenia. The paper examines how the political appeared and functioned through the use of metaphor in Yugoslavia and Slovenia. A repetitive structure of metaphorical thought in both state formations was and is positioned along the axis of building connections/unity versus independence/diversity. In the first section of the paper, five major theoretical considerations relevant to a study of metaphor in political science are considered. In the second section, the paper focuses on construction metaphors of binding/connection, bridge, container and block. It evaluates the role, extension, influence and effectiveness of metaphors in their historical contexts.

Key words: political metaphor; metaphor theory; political discourse; Slovenia; Yugoslavia.

[1] Jernej Pikalo is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Faculty of Social Sciences, Kardeljeva pl. 5, SI-1000 Ljubljana, jernej.pikalo@fdv.uni-lj.si.
[2] Aristotle, *Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1459a.

1 INTRODUCTION

Construction metaphors have historically played an important role in the political imagination.[3] They have been used in various contexts to generate perceptions and images of politics that have necessarily changed as conceptions of nature and construction have become altered. Politics has usually been viewed as being on the receiving end of the relationship, borrowing imagery and vocabulary from construction. However, some studies[4] have shown that there is a relationship of mutual construction, and that concepts from the natural sciences are themselves affected by political, technological and informational (mental) images and discourses.

In this paper, I aim to investigate the relationship between construction metaphors and political discourses, and their trajectories of change in the cases of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Slovenia. The main question I want to ask in this paper is *how* the political appeared and functioned via metaphor in Yugoslavia and Slovenia. I am *not* interested in contents of the metaphors in various historical periods, in what metaphors mean or in metaphors in general. What I am interested in, however, is how and why a certain view of the political and its components appears in a certain way at certain times, by using certain metaphors. I am interested in how, by uttering and imagining in metaphorical expressions, we impose knowledge of the political on the political.

By way of example, the case of metaphor usage in Yugoslavia and, subsequently, in independent Slovenia will be used. We hope to show that a recurring structure of metaphorical thought (in both state formations) is positioned along the axis of building connections/unity versus independence/diversity. The pattern of political thinking seems to be repetitive; both Yugoslav and Slovenian political discourses show metaphorical political creativity, conceptual use of metaphors to steer public opinion and, in the most tragic consequence, to start wars. It is a story of a new political rhetoric, evoking background images to serve metaphorical purposes, but above all it is a story of real political power and the potential of political metaphors, a story of *how* the political appears and functions via metaphor. We begin by outlining some major theoretical considerations relevant to a study of metaphor in political science, and then move on to focus interpretatively on discovering and recovering the relationship between construction and political metaphors.

2 POLITICAL METAPHOR: MAIN ISSUES

2.1 One: Metaphor just a literary device?

Political metaphors have a long history. One of the most persistent questions about the nature and role of political metaphors has been the distinction between the metaphorical and literal meanings of political concepts. In its 1771 edition, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states:

[3] Jan Brochner, "Construction metaphors in Aristotle: knowledge, purpose, process," *Construction Management and Economics*, 27, 5 (2009), 515–523.

[4] E. g. Evelyn Fox Keller, *Refiguring Life: Metaphors of the Twentieth-Century Biology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Iina Hellsten, *The Politics of Metaphor: Biotechnology and Biodiversity in the Media* (Tampere: University of Tampere, 2002); Dimitris E. Akrivoulis, *The 'Quantum Politics' Metaphor in International Relations: Towards a Hermeneutics of Political Metaphoricity* (Bath: PSA UK Annual Conference, 2007).

Metaphor, in rhetoric, a trope, by which we put a strange word for a proper word, by reason of its resemblance to it; a simile or comparison intended to enforce or illustrate the thing we speak of, without the signs or forms of comparison.[5]

A metaphor can be a number of things. It can simply be a rhetorical device, a figure of speech, a tool in language, a device of poetic imagination or a deviant linguistic expression; in each case, it is a matter of words rather than thought or action, the primary role for which is the depiction of social reality with a word used outside of its usual literal meaning. Alternately, as we have come to know it since the linguistic turn in social sciences and its accompanying linguistic-based methodologies, a metaphor can be considered something 'more' than just an ornament of language.

When seen as a strange word that substitutes for a proper word, several questions appear instantaneously: What is literal and what is metaphorical? Is the distinction between the literal and the metaphorical transcultural and transhistorical? Is the literal supposed to have privileged and direct access to the 'right' meaning of a concept, and the metaphorical only indirect access via the literal? Who defines what the 'right' meaning of the concept is? And, last but not least, what is the 'reality' that language-users so eagerly want their words to describe? What *Weltanschauung* is presupposed by this particular vision of 'the metaphorical'?

The Greek roots of the word 'metaphor' have, however, nothing to do with metaphor as a corrupting device in language. Metaphor, literally meaning 'to carry over', is in the Aristotelian tradition characteristically defined in terms of movement, change with respect to location, mainly indicating movement 'from … to.'[6] Aristotle applies the word 'metaphor' to every transposition in terms. We could suppose, therefore, that metaphor is a kind of borrowing, that borrowed meaning is contrasted with 'proper' meaning, that one resorts to metaphors to fill a semantic void and that a borrowed word takes the place of an absent proper word where such a place exists.[7]

But no such thing occurs. Metaphors may disturb an already established logical order of language where transposition operates, but this does not mean that metaphors have an ontologically creative function in the Aristotelian tradition. Since the transposition operates within this established order, metaphors do not bring a new order upon an already established one. Aristotle's process of *epiphora* (movement from … to) rests on a perception of resemblance, established ontologically prior to metaphor itself. Metaphors merely add meanings, fill semantic voids and substitute where necessary, but they do not have a creative function. Aristotle's ontological assumption is that language is transparent to reality and that metaphors are operating within this already established order.

The classical perception of metaphor as having a merely substitutive function was challenged by Max Black in the seminal 1962 study *Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy*.[8] According to Black,

[5] Charles A. Miller, *Ship of State: The Nautical Metaphors of Thomas Jefferson* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 3.
[6] Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 17.
[7] Ibid., 17–18.
[8] Max Black, *Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

metaphor does more than just substitute for a literal term[9], in particular when a speaker chooses to replace it with another expression different from a supposed 'normal', 'proper' meaning. Mere substitution introduces no new information and has therefore no cognitive function. Black's 'interaction view' of metaphor, on the other hand, goes beyond a merely decorative function for metaphor. It emphasises cognitive function by stressing re-organisation and transformation of the original term. Metaphor operates by describing one phenomenon in terms of the other. In doing so, it evokes re-organisation of meanings in both domains, and reciprocity of impact.

Metaphor also has a function of depicting certain views as prominent by emphasising some details and de-emphasising others. As such, it functions almost like a pair of tinted glasses, through which a re-organisation of the observed object is viewed. Successful metaphor establishes a privileged perspective on the object and thus becomes normalised; in so doing, it disappears as metaphor.[10]

In both the classical and the interaction view of metaphor, reality is seen as ontologically objective. It is considered to be something lying outside of a narrative that relates descriptively to the world, which is itself beyond the reach of discursive structures and is ontologically foundational. Although the interaction view of metaphor does allow for some details to be emphasised and others to be omitted, this does not mean that thought is considered to be ontologically prior to reality; rather, thought is viewed as taking a posterior position and is therefore *dependent* upon reality, reflecting it. Reality is thus an objective entity not susceptible to the creative power of thought. Putnam has criticised this position at length as a common philosophical error, because it presumes that reality is one single super-thing, whereas an examination of the ways in which we endlessly renegotiate reality, as our language and life develop, leads to quite another philosophically significant conclusion.[11]

Putnam's argument (and similar arguments by other constructivists) can be developed even further, since the question of the nature of reality is also a question about the privileged position of those who define reality through speaking and acting; a question of who is authorised to speak and act and in what way; and a question about 'regimes of truth', knowledgeable practices, emotional states of utterances and so forth. In short, it is a question about the creative and constitutive power and potential that creates the world in an ontological sense. Shapiro, for example, echoes the tradition of social theory after the linguistic turn by arguing 'that there are no "things" that have meaning apart from the human practices that are implicit in what we regard as things and that our discursive practices are vehicles for the production of subjects and objects that participate in what are generally regarded as forms of knowledge.'[12]

[9] Elliot Zashin and Philip C. Chapman, "The Uses of Metaphor and Analogy: Toward a Renewal of Political Language," *The Journal of Politics,* 36 (1974), 296–297; Paul Ricouer, *The Rule of Metaphor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 83–90; Sabine Maasen, "Who is Afraid of Metaphors?," in *Biology as Society, Society as Biology: Metaphors*, eds. Sabine Maasen, Everett Mendelsohn and Peter Weingart (Dodrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1995), 14–15.
[10] Sabine Maasen, "Who is Afraid of Metaphors?," in *Biology as Society, Society as Biology: Metaphors*, eds. Sabine Maasen, Everett Mendelsohn and Peter Weingart (Dodrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1995), 14–15.
[11] Hilary Putnam, "Sense, Nonsense and the Senses: An Inquiry into the Powers of the Human Mind", *The Journal of Philosophy*, 91 (1994), 452.
[12] Michael J. Shapiro, "Metaphor in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences", *Culture and Critique,* 2, (1985–86), 193–194.

2.2 Two: Ontologically creative function of metaphors

Metaphors can therefore perform functions other than just corrupting language. They are also creative of the world and reality. This does not, however, mean that there must be an unequivocal, linear or singular relationship between the language and the world. Social theory and twentieth-century social science methodologies have offered numerous insights and solutions for this question; most post-positivist theories reject the notion that writing and thinking are transparent activities[13] performed by historically and socially 'cleansed' or 'disembedded' subjects. Non-empirical and non-positivist political studies rely heavily on the narrative form of explanation, thereby rejecting the view of language as literal, static and intersubjectively and transhistorically uniform. They argue instead for a multifaceted view of language that includes paradoxes and antitheses as *constructive* elements of the world-creating process.[14] Incoherence in language may thus lead to coherence in reality, if coherence in the form of an 'objective' explanation can be established, as post-positivist methodologies would predict.

The way we organise our perceptions of the world (and the world itself) is very much dependent upon the ways through which we form knowledge about the world. These may be called traditions, cultures, discourses or epistemic realities, the key point being that knowledge is dependent upon the structures that govern its production. Metaphors are therefore dependent upon the same structures, functioning in this respect as myths, rendering the unintelligible intelligible and the non-empirical empirical. It is through metaphor that the abstract field of 'the political' *becomes* empirical as a matter of reality, and thus becomes a world that political science can purport to explain.

If we look upon metaphors in the classical sense of 'carrying over' together with these new, post-positivist methodological insights, metaphor becomes the bridge, the concept that connects the unconnected or the concept whose mission is to bridge the unbridgeable gap between words and reality. As such, metaphor is exercising its liberating potential to free 'the political' (and not just political science) from conceiving of the relationship between words and reality in positivist, linear or singular terms. Thus, in meta-metaphorical terms, metaphor defies the logical relation of self-identity (which, in any case, implies the possibility of literal, i.e. non-metaphorical, thought).

Thought processes that create the world are irreducibly metaphorical in their structure; the world is rendered intelligible through metaphor.[15] Political metaphors are manifestations of these thought processes, through which the political world and its processes become intelligible. In this way, metaphors inscribe meanings and produce political realities that stretch the limits of our imaginations.

This poetic function of metaphor presents a potential for construction and creativity in politics and political science. It is closely connected with the transference of meanings from one domain to the other. As such it is a

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[13] Thinking as a transparent activity is itself based on a metaphor of language as a tool, something that directly translates inputs coming to the senses from the 'outside' world into linguistic outputs 'about' that world.

[14] Elliot Zashin and Philip C. Chapman, "The Uses of Metaphor and Analogy: Toward a Renewal of Political Language," *The Journal of Politics,* 36 (1974), 294.

[15] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980/2003).

challenge as well as a potential avenue for the transformation of meanings across any number of domains. One result of these processes may be that grids of intelligibility themselves become unstable, requiring a re-articulation of knowledge and identity not just epistemically, but also ontologically.

2.3 Three: Contextualisation of metaphors

Isolated statements or utterances are the usual units of metaphorical analysis for cognitive linguists. This is also the path that most analysts of political metaphors have taken. That approach is somewhat problematic for political scientists, because it fails to take into account the wider contexts of statements and discourses and the circumstances of their production.[16] Social and political contexts play a major role in how the metaphors of political science are defined, how they function and what their meanings are. Analysing the contextual embeddedness of a text is a necessary, though not completely satisfactory, way to analyse its metaphors. The contingency of historical contexts should be taken into account in order to situate metaphors within political, social and scientific relations of power. Since contexts are texts as well, they should not be objectified as if they had an ontological foundation prior to and independent of texts themselves. Metaphors develop their meanings in this interplay of texts and contexts, albeit not by means of a linear causality between the two.

The principal weakness of analysing metaphors in text-context hermeneutical fashion is the neglect for power relations and institutions that structure the context in question. The aim of research related to metaphors in political sciences (and social sciences in general) should be to locate metaphors in wider contexts, beyond mere statements and their meanings. We should be interested in discursive relations and epistemic realities that permit or forbid the emergence of political metaphors and, consequently, metaphorically-induced knowledge of the political. The analysis should question the *mode* of existence of political metaphors – what it means for them to have appeared when and where they did. They and not the others.

Research of political metaphors should strive to determine the methods and efforts necessary to stabilize and fix dominant meanings with metaphors. Current studies should also aim to identify how knowledge of the political (problem, system, etc.) was structured and changed through the use of metaphor, as well as how knowledge was ordered and 'othered' due to metaphors. Grids of intelligibility in a given discourse (e.g. political discourse) are inherently unstable, requiring constant and repeated re-articulation of knowledge and identity. Intelligibility through 'regime of truth' is not done once and for all; rather, historical transformations and discontinuities are regular. Historical contexts are contingent, and authorised speakers are required to produce and reproduce knowledge in order to maintain it. This requires them to be situated in wider epistemic realities. In short, the analysis of metaphors in political science should be about what metaphors *do* to the systems of representation and meaning, and *how* they do it.

Metaphors are not ontologically prior to historical contexts or discourses as 'regimes of truth'. They are not external to historical contexts, instead emerging in the very field of the battle for meaning, and playing their roles. They signify the political, and order and reorder it. Their specific potential is

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[16] Veronique Mottier, "Metaphors, Mini-Narratives and Foucauldian Discourse Theory," in *Political Language and Metaphor: Interpreting and Changing the World*, eds. Terrell Carver and Jernej Pikalo (London: Routledge, 2008), 182–194.

in their poetic power, in their innovative potential, in their bridging power and in their structuring as usually partial, not total, standing for a laboriously fixed and normalised concept, also referred to as dead metaphor.

Metaphors as narratives are spelled out only against tacit knowledge of the audience. Without tacit knowledge, metaphors have none of their cognitive functions. The knowledge is usually informed by the political, historical or social context of the audience. Contexts include several texts, each of which can give the text (i.e. metaphor) a different meaning. Contexts are contingent and therefore open for change. The mode of being of metaphor is established in the interplay between texts and contexts, authors and their intentions, and wider historical and linguistic contexts. Bevir's position of weak intentionalism in the approach to the study of history of political ideas is important because it emphasises the possibility of authorial innovations through procedural individualism.[17] Bevir is not siding with either of the two sides of the Cambridge School – contextualists and conventionalists – instead arguing for weak intentionalism, whereby one does not limit explanation of meaning to the field of unsubjective intention coming from the context (as so-called strong intentionalism does). Weak intentionalism argues for research that looks into meanings of political ideas for specific individuals and not in general, with specific individuals comprising both readers and authors. In analysis of political metaphors, this means that the researcher must look into individual usages and meanings of metaphors for authors as their cognitive schemes.

2.4 Four: The role of audience(s)

The role of the reader/audience in the process of the decoding of meaning is largely neglected in the Cambridge School. Readers, each with their own tacit knowledge structures and cognitive schemata, are important elements in the analysis of historical and contemporary political metaphors. Double hermeneutics, whereby a researcher (i.e. reader) also questions and takes into account his or her cognitive structures and tacit contextual knowledge during an analysis of someone else's text, is essential in researching metaphors.

Which metaphors will come into play and become dominant is dependent not only upon discursive, but also non-discursive backgrounds. Foucault has described non-discursive background in terms of 'an institutional field, a set of events, practices and political decisions, a sequence of economic processes that involve demographic fluctuations, techniques of public assistance, manpower needs, different levels of unemployment, etc.'[18] Discourses in themselves cannot force; instead, they acquire force through their influence on human actors in the form of research agendas, funding opportunities, political issues, arising social questions, vogue, ... The success of metaphors as cognitive schemata, which organize our world, is dependent upon discursive and non-discursive factors. Contextual research of metaphors should thus take both into account.

Non-discursive background is central for determining the meaning of metaphors for the audience/reader. Ethos, pathos and logos are components of an argument in classic Aristotelian rhetoric, but are far from enough to determine the meaning of a metaphor. Meaning is not given by ethos, logos and pathos, but is rather negotiated in the process of meaning creation

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[17] Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[18] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), 157.

between interlocutor and audience. By employing political metaphor one does not just convince the audience/reader about the appropriateness of seeing an issue in certain way, but is also structuring it. As a result, the process of meaning determination and meaning creation is mutually productive.

2.5 Five: Metaphor effectiveness

Not all metaphors are equally effective. Their effectiveness depends on shared social conventions, on the authority granted to those that use it and on shared dominant background knowledge. A 'wrong' metaphor in the 'wrong' time period has no effect, and not all metaphors have the same productive effects. With the example of the process of fertilization, Fox Keller has effectively demonstrated how a change in the ideology of gender has prompted a change in the use of metaphors of biological fertilization.[19]

3 BRIDGES OF MY COUNT(R)Y: FROM BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY TO INDEPENDENCE TO BRIDGES

Political metaphors are products of their time. The knowledge about 'the political' that they produce, and the production of knowledge about them, are both embedded in the epistemic frame of an epoch. Thinking about 'the political' is informed and structured by metaphors included in various discourses. The transfer of meanings and imagery from these discourses enables the poetic function of metaphor to work, and creativity and innovation can thus take place.

This part of my paper has several purposes: to identify metaphors governing political discourse in the Socialist Yugoslavia and subsequently in the Slovenian political usage, to discuss their sources and to show the contextual embeddedness of metaphors. I argue that metaphors are not just rhetorical devices, but rather serve as imagery for thought processes. The locus of metaphor is not language, but thought. Metaphors (present or dead) are ways of conceptualising the world and our (political) behaviour. They are ontologically creative and constitutive for political realities. Most of the metaphors as structures of thought are 'silent' or even 'dead' metaphors – they are not present in the political language as a language element, but rather as ways of thinking. For most of the most prominent political metaphors – such as 'branches of government' or 'political system', for example – most people do not even notice that they are dealing with metaphors. Such metaphors have been normalised to an extent that they structure the only view and knowledge people have about these issues.

Narratives, images, symbolism and thinking in day-to-day post-1945 Yugoslavia used to be ideologically structured around the axis of building connections, unity and brotherhood versus independence and diversity.[20] There were times in the 45-year history of Yugoslavia when a particular

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[19] Evelyn Fox Keller, *Refiguring Life: Metaphors of the Twentieth-Century Biology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), xiii.

[20] This axis is not there just since 1945, but since a very long time. For the Ottomans, as well as Western colonial cultures, the Balkans is the BRIDGE between the East and the West. The metaphor was immortalised in Ivo Andrić's *The Bridge on the Drina*, where transformation from a BRIDGE as a connection of two sides to a WALL as separation occurs. For Todorova the BRIDGE metaphor is central for understanding the Balkans' position between the East and the West, a position that Todorova calls »in-betweenness«. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). See also Dušan I. Bijelić, "*Introduction: Blowing Up the 'Bridge',*" in *Balkan as Metaphor*, eds. Dušan I. Bijelić and Obrad Savić (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 16.

ideology or imagery was stronger and other times when it was weaker. In political terms, this meant either stronger centralistic and unionist tendencies, or more federative or even confederative ideals in favour of constitutive republics. The prevailing structure oscillated between the two, with each side prevailing at different times. The ideological and metaphorical structure came to an end with President's Tito death, when the processes of independence and diversity started to grow stronger by the day until Yugoslavia fell apart in 1991.

In terms of metaphorical structure of political ideas the axis could be described as a constant tension between CONTAINER and BINDING/CONNECTION.

The concept of CONTAINER metaphor is well known in literature on political metaphors.[21] It functions by way of identity building, by setting up identity borders and by 'othering'. By employing metaphors, 'we experience ourselves as entities, separate from the rest of the world – CONTAINERS with an inside and outside. We also experience things external to us as entities – often also CONTAINERS with insides and outsides. […] And when things have no distinct boundaries, we often project boundaries upon them - conceptualizing them as entities and often as containers.'[22]

Since 1945, the official ideology of Yugoslavia was brotherhood and unity.[23] Yugoslavia was a multi-national society with a history of violent (political) conflicts between nations even before 1945. Nationalistic tensions had been a source of major political disputes in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, so it is not surprising that one of the goals of the new post-WWII politics was to try to overcome these rivalries with new ethnic policies. A new socialist political system also had, *inter alia*, a goal of overcoming ethnic and national tensions by masking and replacing them with new socialist economic and political policies. The ideology of brotherhood and unity was the most direct expression of this approach to ethnic relations. On the ground, this meant voluntary work brigades of young people rebuilding Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s (mainly involving roads, bridges and train lines, but also work in the fields). Youth from all republics worked together on common assignments. The goal was to rebuild the war-torn country and to get the socialist economy running through voluntary work. The work brigades also had a function of deepening mutual understanding among the youth and extending socialist ideology. In so doing, brotherhood and unity among individuals and nations was strengthened. 'Štafeta mladosti', a relay run of youth throughout Yugoslavia that lasted several months and finished on Tito's birthday, with celebrations at an athletic stadium in Belgrade, was another way of metaphorically strengthening the values of brotherhood and unity. As such, towns, villages and cities in the country were invisibly and metaphorically linked to each other by a passing torch, whose journey culminated at the all-Yugoslav celebration on Tito's birthday. The concept of brotherhood and unity also meant that the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) had, in addition to its security function, an ideological function of being a

[21] For a pioneering article on conceptual metaphors that also deals with CONTAINER metaphor, see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language," *The Journal of Philosophy*, 77, 8 (1980), 45 –486.
[22] Ibid., 477.
[23] Among numerous works that deal with the history of Yugoslavia, see Leslie Benson, *Yugoslavia: A Concise History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Sabrina P. Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962–1991* (Bloomingdale: Indiana University Press, 1992); Lenard J. Cohen, *Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Balkan Politics in Transition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).

guardian of the brotherhood and unity project. The underlying metaphorical structure of this ideological operation was building BINDING/CONNECTION.

At times, however, another mental political structure prevailed that could be identified with the CONTAINER metaphor. In the years post-1945, when national and nationalistic forces were at their strongest (for example, in the seventies with economic liberalism, or in the eighties after Tito's death), republics were increasingly open, seen as CONTAINERS in terms of economy culture, linguistics, ethnicity, nationalism, security and wealth. It meant they were guardians of these various peculiarities and, politically, this meant that they were playing against each other, certainly not in keeping with the sense of brotherhood and unity. Thus, they each had the idea of retaining what was theirs, making increasingly visible distinctions between 'us and them', shielding their citizens from other republics or even the JNA by not sending their recruits to other republics to serve in the JNA, and by increasingly employing their national languages in the federal assembly (their constitutional right, though not always exercised). There was a constant tension between these two metaphorical thought structures.

In the interplay between the BINDING/CONNECTION and CONTAINER metaphors, we may say how effectively metaphor can depict certain views as prominent – by emphasising certain details and de-emphasising others. Depending on the historical decade in Yugoslav history, one metaphor or the other was successful in establishing the privileged perspective on political reality, thus rendering it normal at that time.

Remarkably, one can see that the pattern of political thought is being repeated in one of the successor republics of Yugoslavia. The underlying mental structure of Slovenian politics is in many ways similar to that of Yugoslavia, including tension between CONTAINER and BINDING/CONNECTION. In Slovenia's case, CONTAINERS are replaced by BLOCKS or PILLARS of society, while BINDINGS/CONNECTIONS are replaced by BRIDGES.

Slovenia is a pluralistic society with a number of political cultures functioning as the PILLARS of society.[24] The Catholic political culture or BLOCK is the most cohesive and organized societal segment, followed by the socialist and the liberal blocs. Members of the Catholic PILLAR are located mostly on the periphery, while members of the liberal and socialist PILLARS tend to be found in urban centres. The first two BLOCKS operate in a much more corporative manner than the liberal BLOCKS.

Slovenian political culture contains strong elements of corporatism. A living being that organizes all the main concepts of the body politic and determines political behaviour is the best metaphor for corporate political behaviour. According to this concept, the state, politics and society are not and cannot be separated. It is because of the tradition of corporatism that the self-management system in its various ideological forms gained so much credence in Slovenia. The fundamental objective of the corporative culture is the survival of the nation because only through the survival of the nation can the lower or sub-communities survive and, indirectly, the individual as well.

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[24] See Igor Lukšič, *Politična kultura: Političnost morale* (Ljubljana: Faculty of social sciences, 2006); Igor Lukšič, "Corporatism packaged in pluralist ideology: the case of Slovenia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies,* 36, (2003), 509–525.

In the pluralist Slovenia of the nineties, the three vying camps of political culture formed even more prominent blocs than they had in the last fifty years of socialism.

The Catholic bloc established its own political party along with many new interest groups. It founded a daily newspaper, Slovenec (The Slovenian) along with its own radio and television programs. It has also established a grammar school, several kindergartens and has made attempts to penetrate the public school system. The arena of political parties is split on the dividing line between Catholic and non-Catholic; this line is most prominent in the case of the two social-democratic parties, Social Democrats and Slovenian Democratic Party, one being Catholic and the other non-Catholic. Indeed, every fundamental doctrine with which major Slovenian parties identify themselves is split by Catholicism. Nevertheless, the Catholic bloc does not operate as a single political entity.

The socialist bloc is not as well structured as its Catholic counterpart. In contrast, it is organized politically under Social Democrats, who have close ties to the biggest trade union organization. The socialist bloc has no other interest groups or associations, and therefore functions primarily according to the voluntary initiatives of various individuals and groups. In the same way that the Catholic bloc is divided into factions, so too are adherents of the Socialist bloc scattered among a number of political parties, namely the Christian Socialists, Social Democrats, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Pensioners' Party and the Slovene National Party. This political bloc became somewhat demoralized in the 1990s and, as a result, often seemed weak.

The liberal bloc has the weakest organizational structure of all. However, throughout the nineties, up until the 2004 general elections, it hardly needed a cohesive organization, since liberal ideas under the system of the market economy and liberal democracy were a hegemonic ideology. Politically, the liberal bloc is organized under the Liberal Democracy Party.

The fear that one of the political blocs would, through totalitarian means, overcome the other blocs or pillars of Slovenian political cultures faded towards the end of the nineties. The success of grand political coalitions on the one hand, and the political failure of one-bloc coalitions on the other, served to diminish this fear. The success of grand coalitions revealed that old models of intolerance and unwillingness to cooperate, and of forcing whole political movements out of public life, enjoys no support in Slovenian politics.

The fear that one block would overcome the other began fading with the 1996 elections. At the time, it was clear that one-block coalitions did not enjoy the support of the people. People were fed up with politicking across the Catholic-Socialist divide. Opinion polls showed that the electorate was looking for moderate political parties that would be able to cross the deep-running historical and political cleavages.[25]

The Slovenian People's Party (SPP) was, after independence, one of the first political parties to re-establish its operations. It was founded at the beginning of the 20th century and was prohibited from working between 1945-1989.[26] After 1990, it positioned itself as a moderate right wing party and was part of

[25] See Ali H. Žerdin. *Apokalipsa politične krize.* Available at http://www.mladina.si/92312/apokalipsa-politicne-krize (28 May 2012).
[26] Marjan Brezovšek, Miro Haček and Milan Zver*, Democratic Praxis in Slovenia* (Plzen: Aleš Čenek Publishing, 2007), 134. For a comprehensive overview of genealogy of political parties in Slovenia, see Danica Fink-Hafner, *Politične stranke* (Ljubljana: Faculty of social sciences, 2001).

the Catholic block. In the elections of the 1990s, it was not particularly successful, so when a new generation of politicians took over in the mid-1990s, they changed their political strategy. They aimed to be more of a centre-right political party than any other, and also saw that the key to electoral success is bridging the divide between left and right. In the preparations for the 1996 elections, and in line with advice from the opinion pollsters and political strategists, the party developed the metaphor of a BRIDGE as a way of metaphorically creating a new political reality. BRIDGE in their policy proposals mainly meant bridging the gap between left and right, working together, getting rid of the BLOCK structure of Slovenian politics, joining forces, bridging bridges and so forth.[27] By employing this metaphor, they became the second-largest party at the 1996 elections with nearly a 20% share of the seats in the parliament.[28]

When we analyse the use of the BRIDGE metaphor, we see that it was not only used as a literary device, as the stand-in for another word, but that it had creative potential. By employing it, the strategists and politicians of the SPP were able to ontologically create a new understanding of the political space in Slovenia. No longer was political space described as consisting of two BLOCKS, but there was instead a BRIDGE that connected those two BLOCKS. Beforehand, politics had been about playing against each other, and now a new and bold vision was to connect. For the SPP, which had not played a role of the hegemon in any of the BLOCKS, being a BRIDGE meant acquiring a new (ontologically creative) role in Slovenian politics. Consequently, the SPP invented a new position and role in Slovenian politics, which in turn led to electoral success.

Contextualisation and analysis of non-discursive background is essential for understanding the success and effectiveness of this metaphor. Metaphor appeared at exactly the right time, when the older generation of SPP politicians had left the political scene. They were, in comparison with the new generation, more entrenched in the block position. The new generation needed something to differentiate itself from the older one, and the metaphor provided an ideal opportunity. This metaphor also proved successful because the electorate in a newly established democracy was fed up with political in-fighting and petty bickering from both the left and right. The polls at the time showed that they preferred a political party with moderate ideas and the ability to co-operate with both sides of the political spectrum. In this sense, the new metaphor performed its integrative function, not just within the party, but also across the political space.

The BRIDGE metaphor also had its distortive function. One of the policies of the SPP was to be nationalistic in terms of defending disputed territories in the unresolved border issue with neighbouring Croatia.[29] As they were building bridges on the inside, they were trying to tear down or at least limit the chance of passage for those existing to the outside.[30] The electorate

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[27] Later this strategic position would be taken by Borut Pahor of Social Democrats. See Ali H. Žerdin. *Pahor gre v center.* Available at http://www.mladina.si/94907/pahor-gre-v-center (28 May 2012).

[28] See *Decision – Making by Citizens*. Available at http://volitve.gov.si/en/index.html (27 May 2012).

[29] SPP has politically used best the new »orientalist paradigm« that attained a hegemonic position in Slovenian political rhetoric towards former Yugoslavia. See review of statements of Slovene intellectuals in Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, "Orientalist Variations on the Theme 'Balkans': Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics," *Slavic Review,* 51, 1 (1992), 1–15. See also Patrick Hyder Patterson, "On the Edge of Reason: The Boundaries of Balkanism in Slovenian, Austrian, and Italian Discourse," *Slavic Review*, 62, 1 (2003), 110–141.

[30] See analysis of Slovenian identity building through differentiation with the Balkans by Lene Hansen, "Slovenian Identity: State-Building on the Balkan Border," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 21, 4 (1996), 473–495.

welcomed such positions throughout the 1990s and 2000s[31], their idea being that Slovenia would not give up 'its' parts of the disputed land and access to the sea, and was ready to block Croatia in their negotiations to join the European Union.[32] During those two decades, there were several very tense periods, usually around election times. By constructing political tension, the right hoped to mobilize nationalistic sentiments before elections. Usually, the story would revolve around a disputed house on the border with Croatia, where a Slovenian citizen had first to cross Slovenian customs and passport control, then pass a small bridge across the bordering river and finally go through Croatian customs and passport control just to be able to reach their home. Underneath the old stone bridge, the bordering river Dragonja barely flows, and the SPP was of the opinion that a Slovenian citizen does not need to report to the Croatian authorities for customs and passport checks, and is able to bring home any goods he likes duty-free.

Several political manifestations were held on the border bridge, usually before the elections, all led by the leaders of SPP or its prominent members. The last time the SPP organised political rally there was on the 22nd September 2004, just before the general elections. Protests turned mildly violent and police from both sides intervened, taking care not to clash with each other. This caused a general panic in which the president of the SPP fell from the bridge into the river.[33] causing a minor injury to his arm. Was this irony or poetic justice? In any case, on this bridge, the story and political potential of the BRIDGE metaphor ended.

4 CONCLUSION

In this article, we wanted to show the recurring structure of metaphorical thought in the former Yugoslavia and Slovenia. The pattern of political thinking seems to be both integrative and disintegrative in both countries, depending on the historical era. Comparatively speaking, the two political discourses more or less successfully employed different political metaphors with the same functions for structuring of the political reality. The success and effectiveness of the metaphors was dependent upon the background of historical, political and societal conditions.

The comparative analysis of Yugoslav and Slovenian political metaphors shows their ontologically creative potential. Politicians and political strategists were able to ontologically (re)create new understandings of political spaces and politics by employing metaphors such as BINDING/CONNECTION, BRIDGE, CONTAINER, or BLOCK. In terms of the structure of political thought, all of them used similar linguistic and political strategies for attaining similar results, albeit at very different levels and under different historical circumstances. The integrative versus disintegrative function of politics seems to have been a major concern in multi-national and multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, and multi-party Slovenia. An intriguing question for political

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[31] SPP got second largest share of votes at the 1996 general elections with 19,38% of votes, at the 2000 general elections it was 4th with 9,54% of votes, and won 11,38% at the 1998 local elections. For more detailed results see See *Decision – Making by Citizens*. Available at http://volitve.gov.si/en/index.html (27 May 2012).

[32] The issue was not resolved until the »Pahor-Kosor« Agreement in 2009. For a history of negotiations between Slovenia and Croatia on the border issue, see Vasilka Sancin, "Slovenia-Croatia Border Dispute: From »Drnovšek-Račan« to »Pahor-Kosor« Agreement," *European Perspectives – Journal on European Perspectives of the Western Balkans*, 2, 2 (2010), 93–111.

[33] See Ali H. Žerdin. *Zdrs nekdanjega graditelja mostov*. Dnevnik, 10 March 2007. Available at http://moj.dnevnik.si/objektiv/233178 (28 May 2012).

comparativists is whether these patterns of political thinking can also be found and applied in other political entities.

In researching the effectiveness of either of the metaphors in a comparative perspective, one must take into account the role of the audiences. Underlying metaphorical thought structure may be similar, but if metaphors do not evoke background imagery shared by the audiences, they will fail to achieve their goal. Being sensitive to the historical, societal or political backgrounds of audiences is therefore of prime importance.

The case presented is a story of the real political power and potential of political metaphors. Metaphors allow language to free itself from the function of direct description and to set up a contingent relationship between words and reality. As such, imagination is freed from the constraints of objectivism, and new creations of the world can occur. The relationship between metaphors and objects is then a reciprocal construction; in other words, to say it with a metaphor, metaphors are the prose of the world we create in their image.

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