Managing the Margins
Leah F. Vosko

This book seeks to understand the precarious margins of late-capitalist labour markets. Its point of departure is the prevailing view that the full-time continuous job or the standard employment relationship (SER) is being eclipsed by part-time and temporary paid employment and self-employment. To the extent that such a shift is taking place, what are its implications for precarious employment and those struggling against it? Addressing this question, the book examines the construction, consolidation, and contraction of the SER, taking as its focus the contested emergence—within, amongst and across different nation states—of regulations on ‘non-standard’ forms of employment. These regulations ‘see’ the problem of precarious employment in ‘non-standard’, which leads them to seek solutions minimizing deviations from the SER. Managing the Margins labels such approaches ‘SER-centric’ and illustrates how they leave intact the precarious margins of the labour market. The book employs three conceptual lenses—the normative model of employment, the gender contract, and citizenship boundaries. Chapters 1 to 3 sketch the gendered development of regulations forging the SER in parts of Western Europe, Australia, Canada, and the US, and its evolution in the International Labour Code. Chapters 4 to 6 examine post-1990 international labour regulations responding to precariousness in employment—focusing on the ILO Convention on Part-Time Work, EU Directives on Fixed-Term and Temporary Agency Work, and the ILO Recommendation on the Employment Relationship. To assess their logic, these chapters use illustrations of the regulation of part-time employment in Australia, temporary employment in the EU 15, and self-employment in OECD countries. The book concludes by assessing alternatives to SER-centrism.
Is a Constitutional Environmental Right Necessary? A European Perspective
Tim Hayward

Addresses the doubt about whether, even if legitimately enforceable, a constitutional right to an adequate environment is necessary. The European Union (EU) is taken as a context in which that doubt would seem particularly strongly motivated. For the range of existing environmental and human rights provisions which are binding on member states of the EU might already provide the protections that a formally declared right to an adequate environment would aim for. Shows that while those provisions offer significant protections, these nonetheless fall short of what a substantive environmental right with constitutional force would aim to achieve, and so the latter would not be nugatory.

Western Perspectives on Democracy in Central Asia
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

Discussed in this chapter are US and EU views on democracy and international democratization, as well as normative and instrumental beliefs about the benefits and intrinsic merits of democracy as a political system that underlie the US and EU frames. Despite the growing strategic importance of Central Asia for both the US and EU, the official discourses of American and European administrations have framed democracy assistance as a necessary, if not inevitable, element of foreign policy. Western-sponsored foundations and NGOs pursued a range of liberalization and democracy-enhancement projects in Central Asia that were similar to those introduced in other former Soviet territories. The IMF and World Bank also became heavily involved in advising all the Central Asian governments on the macro-level reforms required for rapid economic liberalization. This chapter names
democracy, good governance, and the rule of law as the focus of US and EU engagement with the region. There are, however, important differences in terms of views on democracy and expectations in Central Asia that must be supported to facilitate these countries' democratic transformation, conveyed through the language of discourse.

Northern Ireland and the EU: applying a theory of multi-level governance
Mary C. Murphy

in Theories of International Relations and Northern Ireland

Chapter eight analyses the relevance of the theory of multi-level governance (MLG) to explain the role of the European Union (EU) in Northern Ireland and contends that the EU successfully engages Northern Ireland as a region of a member state without threatening that state’s sovereignty or power. The EU has increasingly become successful because of its accommodation with the British state, and the British state allows the EU as a mechanism to reconcile communities in Northern Ireland. MLG emphasises the multi-level nature of EU politics and attaches significance to the role played by subnational units and supranational institutions in the policy process. The model also proposes new forms of governance which offers a specific conception of EU politics based on an altered relationship between state and non-state actors, where the latter have become increasingly influential. The MLG model may not fully capture some of the internal constraints, complexities, and divisions which are characteristic of Northern Ireland’s recent political experience and which are reflected in its evolving relationship with the EU.

The Phases of European Integration
Bernard Stirn

in Towards a European Public Law

The chapter shows how, from the early beginnings of the efforts of the European idea’s founding fathers up until the present day, the
European project has developed along three axes. The first follows the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) to the European Union (EU); the second follows the development of the Council of Europe and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR); the third follows the other European institutions, such as, for example, those concerned with military co-operation and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and the Schengen area. The chapter shows how within a geographic space that has been enlarged considerably, the countries of Europe have attained a level of economic and political solidarity that undoubtedly surpasses the hopes of the founding fathers of the European project.

Demos-cracy for the European Union
Philippe Van Parijs

in Institutional Cosmopolitanism

The European Union (EU) has become a community of citizens whose fates are massively affected by socioeconomic institutions they share in common. For this reason, the European Union will need to be governed not quite like a nation—which it will never be—but far more like a nation than like a mere international organization (IO)—which it no longer is and will never be again. That is, it should be governed far less through bargaining between member-states and far more through arguing between citizens and their representatives. This requires strengthening a common demos through such means as the pan-European election of some members of the European Parliament and the democratization of English as a lingua franca, while never losing sight of the fragmented nature of this demos. In this respect, the Swiss model should provide, if not guidance, at least inspiration.

Assessing the Effectiveness of Democracy Promotion Frames
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

in Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative Strategies
In this chapter, alternative democracy promotion frames used by the US, EU, Russia, China, and the governments of the Central Asian states are assessed on several dimensions of effectiveness, including cultural compatibility, salience, consistency, and credibility. The effectiveness of the Central Asian governments' discursive frames is assessed against the beliefs, values, and dispositions of their own citizens, as determined by the survey instrument and focus groups. By looking at the limitations of the Western democracy promotion frames and the interest-based compatibility of ideas promoted by Russia and China, as well as by investigating the public resonance of national democracy frames, this chapter demonstrates that the alternative models for governance promoted by Russia and China enjoy greater support in Central Asia—just as the Central Asian governments' own models of democracy resonate strongly with their respective populations.

Benchmark-Based Free Allocations in EU ETS Phase III
Oliver Sartor, Stephen Lecourt, and Clement Pallière

This paper exploits a detailed and original database to analyse the welfare and efficiency implications of the move to benchmark-based free allocation rules in EU ETS Phase 3 (2013-20). It is shown empirically that the new allocation rules will lead to a material improvement of the distributional welfare properties of free allocation, by reducing the scope for windfall profits in non-electricity sectors of the EU ETS. Evidence also suggests that new rules have the potential to improve the economic efficiency of the EU ETS by forcing a larger share of installations to purchase allowances at the margin. However, although harmonised benchmarks help to reduce the scope for competitive distortions arising from differing allocation levels to installations in the same sector, the use of ex-ante output levels to determine allocations still leaves considerable scope for internal market distortions, as illustrated using the example of the cement sector.
A Framing Perspective on Democracy Promotion
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

in Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative Strategies
Published in print: 2015 Published Online: May 2016

This chapter begins with a discussion of international perspectives on democratization, premised on the assumption that the strategies of international actors determine the outcomes of democracy promotion abroad. It then offers a novel perspective on international democratization that relies on the concept of frames to discern the content of democracy promotion discourses. Specifically, this chapter looks at democracy promotion frames, which encompass a certain understanding of democracy, assumptions about why it is important, intended goals of democratization, and explanations of how to meet these democratic expectations. This chapter also outlines the various forms of research and analysis the author utilized for the study, including the process by which she examined texts produced by representatives of the US, EU, Russia, China, and the Central Asian governments, as well as her survey design.

Are Foreign Top PhD Students More Likely to Stay in the United States? Some Evidence from European Economists
Linda Van Bouwel and Reinhilde Veugelers

in The Mobility of Students and the Highly Skilled: Implications for Education Financing and Economic Policy
Published in print: 2015 Published Online: May 2015

This chapter complements the previous one by analyzing the determinants of the mobility of high-skilled individuals. It examines based on a sample of European students who obtained a PhD in economics in the US, whether the best among them are less likely to return. The evidence is in favor of “elite non-return migration”. “Better” students are indeed more likely to stay in the US for their first job, at least if they can stay at a top institution. This suggests that the quality of the working environment is of crucial importance for the return migration decision of top researchers. In addition, the location choice made for the
first job strongly predicts the location of the current job. Particularly for those students with a first job at a US top institute, later return is less likely even if their current job in the US is at a non-top institute. These findings have important policy implications for the EU: promoting return migration of researchers requires more top quality research institutions, and focusing on early career PhD holders is especially useful.

The European question
Richard Hayton

in Reconstructing Conservatism?: The Conservative party in opposition, 1997-2010

Published in print: 2012 Published Online: January 2014 Publisher: Manchester University Press
DOI: 10.7228/ manchester/9780719083167.003.0004

European integration has long been one of the most controversial and divisive issues in British Conservative politics. It caused the deepest divisions in the party since the Corn Laws, contributing to Thatcher's downfall and undermining the government of her successor. This chapter traces how this issue was handled between 1997 and 2010. Whilst most academic attention has focused on the intense divisions Europe caused in the Conservative Party during the Thatcher and Major governments, the chapter suggests that the issue was largely neutralised within the party in opposition, when the Conservatives settled on a broadly Thatcherite Eurosceptic position. However, it is argued that returning to office is likely to heighten tensions, highlighting the continuing significance of this issue for contemporary Conservatism.

Global Anti-Corruption Norms
Anja P. Jakobi

in Common Goods and Evils?: The Formation of Global Crime Governance

Published in print: 2013 Published Online: September 2013 Publisher: Oxford University Press
DOI: 10.1093/ acprof:oso/9780199674602.003.0006

This chapter presents global anti-corruption efforts. While the United States has influenced these global efforts in important ways, civil society was also important for their development. The chapter starts with the background of fighting corruption and the American domestic laws initiated in the 1970s. Given that anti-corruption efforts have been institutionalized in different international organizations, the chapter
subsequently presents these different, partly overlapping regulations. All major organizations are covered in detail, for example the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the European Union, and the United Nations. A network analysis shows that the United States is the most central actor in a global network of anti-corruption efforts. The chapter confirms the hypothesized relationship outlined before, given that the institutional entrepreneurship of the United States and a policy that is both prescriptive and rationalized resulted in rather fragmented governance effort.

Towards a European Public Law
Bernard Stirn

This book argues that, on the basis of the law of the European Union (EU), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and the domestic public law of the countries of Europe, a European public law is taking shape. European law is marked to a large extent by the differences which subsist between the cultures and legal systems of Europe; nevertheless European legal integration has been quickened by the similarities that exist and the wish for integration. The book analyses the historical development of the European legal project, and the challenges of the model of European public law and what is needed for it to strengthen. It concludes that by means of three circles—the law of the EU, the ECHR, and domestic law—a European public law is emerging. This European public law is renewing the way in which international and domestic law co-exists, and the very co-existence between the State and the law itself.

Social Investment as a Policy Platform
Frank Vandenbroucke

This contribution argues for a truly reciprocal social investment pact for Europe: member states should be committed to policies that respond to the need for social investment; simultaneously, member states’ efforts in this direction—notably efforts by those in a difficult budgetary
context—should be supported in a tangible way. Social investment is a policy perspective that should be based on a broad consensus between people who may entertain certain disagreements regarding the level of their empirical and/or normative understanding of the social world. For that reason, the expression of an ‘overlapping consensus’ is used for delineating social investment advocacy. Data on education spending show that we are far removed from a social investment perspective at the European Union (EU) level. This underscores the fact that social investment advocates need to clearly consider the role the EU has to play in social investment progress.

Evolving social policy languages in Spain
Ana M. Guillén and David Luque

in Analysing social policy concepts and language: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives

The interest of the Spanish welfare state for analyzing the evolution of social policy language is derived precisely from its peculiar historical development. Social policy was initiated in Spain in 1900. The development of social insurance followed the Bismarckian model from then until the end of Franco’s authoritarian regime in 1975. However, the Spanish welfare state has become a mix-model during the last 35 years of democratic rule. In fact, while the income-maintenance system remains broadly rooted in Bismarckian principles, health care, education, and, partially, social care services have been universalized following the social democratic model. This chapter analyzes the changes in social policy language, focusing especially on the periods of transition to democracy and consolidation. The chapter also compares the language used in different policy areas and whether it is in accordance with the principles in which they are grounded.

The international response
Stephen Emerson and Hussein Solomon

in African security in the twenty-first century: Challenges and opportunities
While candidly acknowledging that African governments, institutions, and societies need to take more responsibility and ought to do more to address their security challenges, they just cannot do it alone. Given the increasingly complex and interdependent nature of the African security environment the continent simply lacks the resources and capacity to tackle current and future problems. Thus, the active involvement and constructive participation of the wider global community is essential. This chapter calls for international involvement that is intelligently focused, prudently implemented, and done in partnership with Africans. Involvement that requires listening to African concerns and geared toward addressing African needs and not any external agenda. This will require an across the board overhaul of international programs, tools, and strategic vision. It also means a vastly reduced role for militaries and short-term fixes and a greater emphasis on finding the ways and means that empower people and societies through political, social and economic development.

The Ukrainian crisis to the center of the stage in 2014 and after: a game-changing earthquake in the relationship

James W. Peterson

in Russian-American Relations in the Post-Cold War World

Published in print: 2017 Published Online: January 2018
Published Online: January 2018
Publisher: Manchester University Press
DOI: 10.7228/manchester/9781526105783.003.0011

Rejection of assistance from the European Union (EU) and reliance instead on increased Russian connections, by the Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych led to the 2014 crisis in Ukraine. As a result, the Russian ethnic group that held majority status in the Crimean Republic pushed for a referendum that led to its detachment from Ukraine and attachment to Russia. Russia held continuing military exercises along its border with Ukraine, and that activity fed the instability in the eastern border region of Ukraine. Western responses included a range of steps that entailed both diplomatic and military dimensions. Diplomatic contacts centered on two four-party Minsk Summits that resulted in an agreement called the Minsk Protocol. NATO led the military response that included relocation of western troops from southern Europe to the jeopardized area of northeast Europe. In addition, NATO also created a Spearhead Force of 5,000 troops that could quickly move into any threatened area in the future. Finally, western nations imposed economic sanctions on Russian personnel and institutions in an effort to bring about changed policies.
The book examines the role of the United Kingdom (UK) in shaping post-crisis financial regulatory reform, and assesses the implications of the UK’s withdrawal from the European Union (EU). It develops a domestic political economy approach to examine how the interaction of three domestic groups—elected officials, financial regulators, and the financial industry—shaped UK preferences, strategy, and influence in international and EU-level regulatory negotiations. The framework is applied to five case studies: bank capital and liquidity requirements; bank recovery and resolution rules; bank structural reforms; hedge fund regulation; and the regulation of over-the-counter derivatives.

We conclude by reflecting on the future of UK financial regulation after Brexit. The book argues that UK regulators pursued more stringent regulation when they had strong political support to resist financial industry lobbying. UK regulators promoted international harmonization of rules when this protected the competitiveness of industry or enabled cross-border externalities to be managed more effectively, but were often more resistant to new EU rules when these threatened UK interests. Consequently, the UK was more successful at shaping international standards by leveraging its market power, regulatory capacity, and alliance-building (with the US). But it often met with greater political resistance at the EU level, forcing it to use legal challenges to block reform or secure exemptions. The book concludes that political and regulatory pressure was pivotal in defining the UK’s ‘hard’ Brexit position, and so the future UK–EU relationship in finance will most likely be based on a framework of regulatory equivalence.