

SPRINGER BRIEFS IN LAW

Antonia Zervaki

Resetting the Political Culture Agenda: From Polis to International Organization



Springer

SpringerBriefs in Law

For further volumes:
<http://www.springer.com/series/10164>

Antonia Zervaki

Resetting the Political Culture Agenda: From Polis to International Organization

 Springer

Antonia Zervaki
Department of Political Science
and Public Administration
University of Athens
Athens
Greece

ISSN 2192-855X ISSN 2192-8568 (electronic)
ISBN 978-3-319-04255-8 ISBN 978-3-319-04256-5 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-04256-5
Springer Cham Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013958442

© The Author(s) 2014

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed. Exempted from this legal reservation are brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis or material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. Duplication of this publication or parts thereof is permitted only under the provisions of the Copyright Law of the Publisher's location, in its current version, and permission for use must always be obtained from Springer. Permissions for use may be obtained through RightsLink at the Copyright Clearance Center. Violations are liable to prosecution under the respective Copyright Law. The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

While the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication, neither the authors nor the editors nor the publisher can accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may be made. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Preface

The study of international organization has attained significant attention after the end of the Cold War. The aspirations and the evolution of the role of international organizations in the new geopolitical milieu, the emergence of new challenges and the changes global and regional institutions have undergone in order to accommodate the latter, both in terms of their institutional profile as well as in relation to their normative and operational dimensions, have constituted the *stimulus* for this renewed interest. The current financial crisis and the involvement of a novel institutional saga in the European continent comprising multilevel sets of obligations that bear the normative attributes of different global and regional institutions, have also fueled the academic discussion in relation to the role of international organizations and their impact on domestic institutions, policies and politics.

Leaving aside the positivist or functionalist explanations of the role of international organizations in the management of world affairs on the one hand, and their impact on the realm of domestic governance of states on the other, there is a growing literature on their contribution to the construction of a world social order, based on shared meanings and normative values. Theories such as sociological institutionalism and constructivism highlight the importance of international organizations in shaping state interests, behavior and identity. Building on these theories, this book aims at relating the “social ontology and processes” of international organizations to their “social action” by introducing political culture, a classic notion used for the analysis of social action at national or sub-national level of analysis, as a conceptual tool for the exploration of international organizations’ identity and their contribution to “the construction of coherent systems of meanings” at international level; to the development of certain “social skills” and “behavioral patterns” by their member states; and the impact of the above on institutional change and policy development.

The methodological path followed departs from the examination of what is considered as the common constituent elements of international organizations’ normative environment, that is their ideological, systemic and operational dimensions, and different types of sub-cultures pertaining to each dimension are distinguished. The definition of each set of sub-cultures is achieved through the examination of the interaction among macro (institutional), medium (norms) and micro (actors) components of each international organization. The synthesis of

different political sub-cultures traced in the institutional and social context of international organizations will eventually form their dominant political culture. The theoretical and methodological assumptions are tested on three case studies, the United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe and the European Union (EU), which are perceived as agents of distinct political cultures in the international system.

The approach adopted in this research venture, interdisciplinary in character, attempts to provide a conceptual framework and a concrete methodology for the analysis of the social environment and capabilities of international organizations without neglecting their institutional features and their impact on states or other actors.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Haritini Dipla, Professor of International Law at the University of Athens for her critical comments, suggestions and encouragement and Maro Pantelidou-Malouta, Professor of Political Science at the University of Athens for her contribution in the formulation of the arguments at an early stage of this research venture. I am also grateful to Emmanouela Doussis, Assistant Professor at the University of Athens, for her comments on the first draft of this book.

Part of the research was conducted at the European University Institute under the EUSSIRF visiting scholar initiative and I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Thomas Burke and Peter Kennealy from the EUI Library. I would also like to thank Springer International Publishing and the editors of the series *Briefs in Law* for their support and guidance.

Last but not least, I am deeply grateful to my parents Androklis and Maria and my husband Loukas for their support, encouragement and love that rendered the delivery of this book possible. I would also like to thank my sister Fotini for her assistance in the final preparation of the manuscript. I would like to dedicate this book to my son Konstantinos and apologize for the long hours of work that kept me away from him.

Athens, 15 November 2013

Contents

1 Introduction	1
References	3
Part I Integrating Political Culture Into International Organization Theory	
2 Conceptualizing International Organizations...	7
2.1 ... as Part of the Broader International Institutional Construction	7
2.2 ... as Formal and Ideational Constructions	10
2.3 ... as Social Agents: The Sociological Turn in International Organization Theory	12
References	15
3 Political Culture and the Study of International Organization: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges.	19
3.1 Political Culture: An Evolving Concept	19
3.2 Resetting the Research Agenda	22
3.2.1 Defining International Political Culture	23
3.2.2 Concretizing Research Objectives	23
3.2.3 Constructing a Methodology	24
References	26
Part II Testing the Political Culture Hypothesis for International Organizations	
4 The United Nations	29
4.1 From the Construction of an Ecumenical Social Order.....	29
4.2 ... to the Synthesis of a Global Political Culture.....	35
References	38

5	The Council of Europe	41
5.1	From the European Political Tradition to a European Public Order	41
5.2	The European Civic Culture	46
	References	48
6	The European Union	51
6.1	From a European Common Market to a European Polity	51
6.1.1	The European “Social” Market Economy	52
6.1.2	The Constitutional Elements of the European Polity	55
6.2	Constructing a Multifaceted Political Culture	57
	References	62
 Part III Conclusion		
7	Concluding Remarks	67
	Bibliography	73
	Primary Sources	85

Abbreviations and Acronyms

A	General Assembly
AFDI	Annuaire Français de Droit International
Am J Int Law	American Journal of International Law
Am Polit Sci Rev	American Political Science Review
Am Soc Int Law Proc	American Society of International Law Proceedings
Ann Rev Polit Sci	Annual Review of Political Science
Brit J Polit Sci	British Journal of Political Science
CEB	Council of Europe Development Bank
CM	Committee of Ministers
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	European Monetary Union
Eur J Int Law	European Journal of International Law
EJIR	European Journal of International Relations
EU	European Union
G-8	Group of 8
G-77	Group of 77
GA	General Assembly
Georget Law J	The Georgetown Law Journal
GPF	Global Policy Forum
Hanse Law Rev	Hanse Law Review
Hum Rights Law Rev	Human Rights Law Review
Int Aff	International Affairs
ICC	International Criminal Court
ILO	International Labour Organization
Int Law Polit	International Law and Politics
Int Org	International Organization
Int Sec	International Security
Int Soc Sci J	International Social Science Journal
Int Stud Quart	International Studies Quarterly
Int Org Law Rev	International Organizations Law Review
IR	International Relations
Int Sec	International Security