

Proseminar 15137 – International Political Economy

The Regulatory State in the 21st Century – Towards a new Paradigm?

(updated 24.11.2015)

Winter term 2015/16
Blockseminar on Fridays, November 6, 13
and 20, 2015: 14-18 pm c.t.
Ihnestr.22/UG 5 Seminarraum (Ihnestr. 22)
&
on Saturdays, November 7, 14 and 21, 2015:
12-16 pm c.t.
KL 24/122d (Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

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Introduction on October 12, 2015
16-18 pm c.t. &
Summary on February 8, 2016
16-18 pm c.t.
Ihnestr. 22/UG 5 Seminarraum (Ihnestr. 22)

Course description:

The subject of this course are the various facets of the modern regulatory state. The seminar will be divided into three parts, of which the first pursues two related aims: we will first discuss the relationship between state and economy in general, before we talk about the concept of regulation. Second, we will trace changes in state functions during the past decades and analyze the argument of the rise of the regulatory state. Then we will look at the real world and see how these changes played out, what impact they had and what unintended consequences came along. Therefore, the second part will give us the opportunity to look at different manifestations of the regulatory state in the world. One session each will be dedicated to the developments in the US, the EU, Brazil and Indonesia. We will identify instances of ‘best practice’, persistent shortcomings as well as outright failures. In the third part, we will analyze different issue areas of domestic and international regulation: the environment, migration and finance. A last topic will be chosen by participants: regulation and rising debt levels *or* the welfare state *or* inequality. The seminar will provide a comprehensive overview of the state and its transformation in modern capitalism. Ultimately, we will gain insights concerning the state’s more recent evolution: has there been a retreat of the state, a fundamental change in state functions or, to the contrary, a further extension of state power?

Course requirements:

Certificate of attendance ('Teilnahmeschein'):

- Regular and active participation
- Minutes or presentation

Full certificate ('Leistungsschein'):

- Regular and active participation
- Minutes or presentation
- 'Referatsausarbeitung' (3000 words) or term paper (4000 words)

IMPORTANT: please send me an e-mail by Sunday, 18.10.2015, confirming your interest of participation in the seminar *and* whether you want to write the minutes for one session or hold a presentation (necessary for Referatsausarbeitung); for both, you may also indicate to which part of the seminar you preferably want to contribute (Part I, II or III). With regard to the total number of participants I will then allocate the tasks and topics. Finally, indicate what topic you would like to discuss in Session 13. Regulation and Public Debt *or* Welfare *or* Inequality.

Regular participation: the seminar is structured as a 'Blockseminar', i.e. six four-hour sessions on three successive weekends in November 2015. Please make sure beforehand whether you can participate at all of these dates. Inform me in advance if you face difficulties in fulfilling this requirement, we may then find an appropriate solution.

Active participation: a successful and enriching seminar depends crucially on the engagement of all participants. In particular when group work and open discussion will constitute the larger part of the session. This presupposes attendance, interest as well as thorough preparation by all students. The *required reading* for each session ranges between 20-40 pages, demanding approximately at least two hours of preparation. Please plan accordingly. Furthermore, the reading of the occasional *recommended readings* is strongly encouraged, for it provides useful background knowledge.

Minutes: for each session, selected students will write up minutes of 1-2 pages to be posted on Blackboard. These should roughly display the contents of the session and will benefit all participants afterwards. Please send me the minutes as Word-Document at the latest one week after the respective session.

Presentation: the sessions will not follow the 'presentation-questions-discussion' structure. However, there will be opportunities for short input-presentations on particular concepts over the course of the seminar. The presentation slots will be allocated after the introductory session, when the actual number of participants has been determined.

Essay: the essay is a well-referenced opinion piece. Make sure the opinion-part does not fall short. Feel free to engage with the given topic in the realm of politics, economics, finance, international relations in the way you consider appropriate. Deadline is the 31.03.2016 (I would recommend to write it during the semester). Word count is ca. 1000 (meaning 800-1200 words), including footnotes, excluding bibliography.

Term paper: the deadline for the assignment is the 31.03.2016, extensions only for legitimate reasons and after advance notification. Please send your paper as PDF to vldreher@zedat.fu-berlin.de

You may send me a one- to two-page outline of your topic or idea for advice in advance, addressing what question or puzzle you want to analyze, why it is interesting, and how you want to answer it (or how you could imagine answering it). I will comment on your work by e-mail or we can meet to discuss your project.

FU students: the word count for ‘Referatsausarbeitung’ (only FU students) is ca. 3000 and for term paper 4000, including footnotes, excluding bibliography.

ERASMUS and exchange students: a certificate of attendance will give you 3 ECTS, a full certificate 7 ECTS. The term paper for a full certificate should count 3000 words, regular rules apply. Please remember to prepare the ‘Leistungsnachweis’ and to bring it to the last session for me to sign http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/polwiss/studium/auslandsstudium/llp_erasmus/modulschein-2008-Erasmus.pdf

Grading: the Referatsausarbeitung and term paper will be graded according to an evaluation sheet, which is available in the Introduction folder on Blackboard.

Further guidelines on academic writing: please refer to the “Introduction and Guidelines to Academic Research and Writing” by the Institute of Political Science at the University of Bremen for an excellent overview (5-31, www.politik.uni-bremen.de/downloads/StudyGuide-1.pdf, also on Blackboard). Further advice can be found here (in German): www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/polwiss/forschung/international/europa/studium_lehre/hinweise_downloads/index.html

Course schedule:

Required readings are obligatory for participation in the seminar. *Recommended readings* offer important background knowledge, thus I would strongly encourage you to read these as well. All texts of the two categories will be available on Blackboard. *Further readings* provide additional literature on the topic.

1. Introduction (12.10.2015, 16-18 pm, Ihnestr.22)

Recommended reading:

Strange, S. (1988) *States and Markets*, 2nd ed [1994], London: Continuum (Prologue, Some Desert Island Stories, 1-6).

Lukes, S. (2003) *Liberals and cannibals. The implications of diversity*, London: Verso (Chapter 12, Five Fables of Human Rights, 154-107).

PART I - Substance & History of the Regulatory State

2. The State and the Economy (6.11.2015, 14-16 pm, Ihnestr.22)

Required reading:

Pierson, C. (2004) *The modern state*, 2nd ed, London, New York: Routledge (Chapter 6, The State and the Economy, 94-127).

Recommended reading:

Garner, R., Ferdinand, P. and Lawson, S. (2009) *Introduction to politics*, Second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press (Chapter 7, Institutions and States, 155-176).

Further reading:

Strange, S. (1988) *States and Markets*, 2nd ed [1994], London: Continuum.

3. What is Regulation? (06.11.2015, 16-18 pm, Ihnestr.22)

Required reading:

Jordana, J. and Levi-Faur, D. (eds) (2004) *The politics of regulation. Institutions and regulatory reforms in the age of governance*, Cheltenham [u.a.]: Elgar (Chapter 1, The Politics of Regulation in the Age of Governance 1-15).

Braithwaite, J., Coglianese, C. and Levi-Faur, D. (2007) 'Can regulation and governance make a difference?', *Regulation & Governance*,1(1): 1-7.

Recommended reading:

Shleifer, A. (2005) 'Understanding Regulation', *European Financial Management*,11(4): 439-451.

Dudley, S. E. and Brito, J. (2012) *Regulation. A primer*, 2nd ed, Arlington, Va.: Mercatus Center at George Mason University.

4. Regulatory Policy-Making (07.11.2015, 12-14 pm, Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

Required reading:

Howlett, M., Ramesh, M. and Perl, A. (2009) *Studying public policy. Policy cycles & policy subsystems*, 3rd ed, Ont., New York: Oxford University Press (Chapter 1, Introduction: Why Study Public Policy?, 2-16).

Howlett, M., Ramesh, M. and Perl, A. (2009) *Studying public policy. Policy cycles & policy subsystems*, 3rd ed, Ont., New York: Oxford University Press (part of Chapter 3, The Policy Context, 50-59).

Further reading:

Sabatier, P. A. (1977) 'Regulatory Policy-Making: Toward a Framework of Analysis', *Natural Resources Journal*,17(3): 415-460.

5. The Rise of the Regulatory State (07.11.2015 14-16 pm, Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

Required reading:

Levi-Faur, D. (2005) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 12-32.

Recommended reading:

Garner, R., Ferdinand, P. and Lawson, S. (2009) *Introduction to politics*, Second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press (Chapter 10, Bureaucracies, Policy Studies, and Governance, 220-239).

Further reading:

Braithwaite, J. (2000) 'The New Regulatory State and the Transformation of Criminology', *British Journal of Criminology*,40(2): 222–238.

Levi-Faur, D. (2005) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 12–32.

Yeung, K. (2010) 'The Regulatory State', in R. Baldwin, M. Cave and M. Lodge (eds) *The Oxford handbook of regulation*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 64–86.

Jordana, J., Levi-Faur, D. and i Marin, X. F. (2011) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Agencies: Channels of Transfer and Stages of Diffusion', *Comparative Political Studies*,44(10): 1343–1369.

Guardiancich, I. and Guidi, M. (2015) 'Formal independence of regulatory agencies and Varieties of Capitalism: A case of institutional complementarity?', *Regulation & Governance*: online.

PART II – Looking across Jurisdictions

6. The Rise in the US (13.11.2015, 14-16 pm, Ihnestr.22)

Required reading:

Law, M. T. and Kim, S. (2011) 'The rise of the American regulatory state: view from the Progressive Era', in D. Levi-Faur (ed) *Handbook on the politics of regulation*, Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, pp. 113–128.

Glaeser, E. and Shleifer, A. (2003) 'The Rise of the Regulatory State', *Journal of Economic Literature*,41: 401–425.

Further reading:

Livermore, M. A. and Revesz, R. L. (2012) 'Regulatory Review, and Capture and Agency Inaction', *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

7. The Rise in Europe (13.11.2015, 16-18 pm, Ihnestr.22)

Required reading:

Majone, G. (1996) 'A European Regulatory State?', in J. J. Richardson (ed) *European Union. Power and policy-making*, Abingdon [U.K.], New York: Routledge, pp. 261–277.

Recommended reading:

Caporaso, J. A. (1996) 'The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*,34(1).

Further reading:

Beblavý, M. (2002): *Understanding the Waves of Agencification and the Governance Problems They Have Raised in Central and Eastern European Countries*, OECD.

- Levi-Faur, D. and Gilad, S. (2004) 'The Rise of the British Regulatory State: Transcending the Privatization Debate', *Comparative Politics*,37(1): 105–124.
- Gilardi, F. (2005) 'The Institutional Foundations of Regulatory Capitalism: The Diffusion of Independent Regulatory Agencies in Western Europe', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 84–101
- Majone, G. (2014) 'From Regulatory State to a Democratic Default', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*,52(6): 1216–1223.

8. The Rise in Brazil (14.11.2015, 12-14 pm, Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

Required reading:

- Dubash, N. K. and Morgan, B. (2012) 'Understanding the rise of the regulatory state of the South', *Regulation & Governance*,6(3): 261–281.
- Prado, M. M. (2012) 'Implementing independent regulatory agencies in Brazil: The contrasting experiences in the electricity and telecommunications sectors', *Regulation & Governance*,6(3): 300–326.

Recommended reading:

- Levi-Faur, D. (2012) 'States Making & Market Building for the Global South. The Developmental State vs. the Regulatory State?', URL (consulted 30 September 2015): <http://regulation.huji.ac.il/papers/jp44.pdf>.

Further reading:

- Urueña, R. (2012) 'The rise of the constitutional regulatory state in Colombia: The case of water governance', *Regulation & Governance*,6(3): 282–299.

9. The Rise in Indonesia (14.11.2015, 14-16 pm, Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

Required reading:

- Jarvis, D. (2012) 'The Regulatory State in Developing Countries: Can It Exist and Do We Want It? The Case of the Indonesian Power Sector', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*,42(3): 464–492.

Further reading:

- Pearson, M. M. (2005) 'The Business of Governing Business in China: Institutions and Norms of the Emerging Regulatory State', *World Politics*,57(02): 296–322.
- Xu, S. and Chen, W. (2006) 'The reform of electricity power sector in the PR of China', *Energy Policy*,34(16): 2455–2465.
- Shatkin, G. (2014) 'Reinterpreting the Meaning of the 'Singapore Model': State Capitalism and Urban Planning', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*,38(1): 116–137.
- Yamamoto, H. (2003) 'New Public Management - Japan's Practice', URL (consulted 1 October 2015): <http://www.iips.org/en/research/data/bp293e.pdf>.

PART III – Looking across (Inter)national Issue Areas

10. Regulation of Migration (20.11.2015, 14-18 pm, Ihnestr. 22)

Required reading:

- Sassen, S. (2005) 'Regulating Immigration in a Global Age: A New Policy Landscape', *Parallax*,11(1): 35–45.
- Czaika, M. and Haas, H. de (2013) 'The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies', *Population and Development Review*,39(3): 487–508.

Further reading:

- Marginson, S. (2012) 'Including the other: regulation of the human rights of mobile students in a nation-bound world', *Higher Education*,63(4): 497–512.
- Terlouw, K. (2012) 'Border Surfers and Euroregions: Unplanned Cross-Border Behaviour and Planned Territorial Structures of Cross-Border Governance', *Planning Practice and Research*,27(3): 351–366.
- Ortega, F. and Peri, G. (2013) 'The effect of income and immigration policies on international migration', *Migration Studies*,1(1): 47–74.

11. Regulation of Finance (21.11.2015, 12-14 pm, Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

Required reading:

- Griffith-Jones, S., Thiemann, M. and Seabrooke, L. (2010) *Taming Finance by Empowering Regulators. A Survey of Policies, Politics and Possibilities*.

Further reading:

- Drezner, D. W. (2007) *All politics is global. Explaining international regulatory regimes*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Singer, D. A. (2007) *Regulating capital. Setting standards for the international financial system*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Underhill, G. R. D., Blom, J. and Mügge, D. (2010) 'Introduction: the challenges and prospects of global financial integration', in Underhill, Geoffrey R. D, J. Blom and D. Mügge (eds) *Global financial integration thirty years on. From reform to crisis*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–22.
- Helleiner, E. and Pagliari, S. (2011) 'The End of an Era in International Financial Regulation? A Postcrisis Research Agenda', *International Organization*,65(01): 169–200.
- Gandrud, C. (2013) 'The diffusion of financial supervisory governance ideas', *Review of International Political Economy*,20(4): 881–916.
- Porter, T. (2014) *Financial regulation after the global financial crises*, London: Routledge.

12. Regulation and Inequality (and public debt)-(21.11.2015, 14-16 pm, Habelschwerdter Allee 45)

Required reading:

Piketty, T. (2014) *Capital in the twenty-first century*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (Introduction, 20-38 & Chapter 13, A Social State for the 21st Century, 471-492).

Recommended reading:

Streeck, W. (2013) 'The politics of public debt: Neoliberalism, capitalist development, and the restructuring of the state', URL (consulted 18 September 2015):
<http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/78032/1/755988647.pdf>.

Further reading:

Mooij, R. d. (2012) 'Tax Biases to Debt Finance: Assessing the Problem, Finding Solutions*', *Fiscal Studies*,33(4): 489–512.

EC (2012) 'The Debt-Equity Tax Bias: consequences and solutions', URL (consulted 15 September 2015):
http://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/resources/documents/taxation/gen_info/economic_analysis/tax_papers/taxation_paper_33_en.pdf.

13. Summary (08.02.2016, 16-18 pm, Ihnestr.22)

Additional: Regulation of the Environment

Further reading:

Busch, P.-O., Jörgens, H. and Tews, K. (2005) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Instruments: The Making of a New International Environmental Regime', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 146–167.

Selin, H. and Van Deveer, Stacy D. (2014) 'Broader, Deeper and Greener: European Union Environmental Politics, Policies, and Outcomes', *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*,40(1).

Taylor, C., Pollard, S., Rocks, S. and Angus, A. (2012) 'Selecting Policy Instruments for Better Environmental Regulation: a Critique and Future Research Agenda', *Environmental Policy and Governance*,22(4): 268–292.

References

- Beblavý, M. (2002) 'Understanding the Waves of Agencification and the Governance Problems They Have Raised in Central and Eastern European Countries', URL (consulted 1 October 2015): http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/governance/understanding-the-waves-of-agencification-and-the-governance-problems-they-have-raised-in-central-and-eastern-european-countries_budget-v2-art6-en.
- Braithwaite, J. (2000) 'The New Regulatory State and the Transformation of Criminology', *British Journal of Criminology*,40(2): 222–238.
- Braithwaite, J., Coglianese, C. and Levi-Faur, D. (2007) 'Can regulation and governance make a difference?', *Regulation & Governance*,1(1): 1–7.
- Busch, P.-O., Jörgens, H. and Tews, K. (2005) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Instruments: The Making of a New International Environmental Regime', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 146–167.
- Caporaso, J. A. (1996) 'The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*,34(1).
- Czaika, M. and Haas, H. de (2013) 'The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies', *Population and Development Review*,39(3): 487–508.
- Drezner, D. W. (2007) *All politics is global. Explaining international regulatory regimes*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Dubash, N. K. and Morgan, B. (2012) 'Understanding the rise of the regulatory state of the South', *Regulation & Governance*,6(3): 261–281.
- Dudley, S. E. and Brito, J. (2012) *Regulation. A primer*, 2nd ed, Arlington, Va.: Mercatus Center at George Mason University.
- EC (2012) 'The Debt-Equity Tax Bias: consequences and solutions', URL (consulted 15 September 2015): http://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/resources/documents/taxation/gen_info/economic_analysis/tax_papers/taxation_paper_33_en.pdf.
- Gandrud, C. (2013) 'The diffusion of financial supervisory governance ideas', *Review of International Political Economy*,20(4): 881–916.
- Garner, R., Ferdinand, P. and Lawson, S. (2009) *Introduction to politics*, Second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gilardi, F. (2005) 'The Institutional Foundations of Regulatory Capitalism: The Diffusion of Independent Regulatory Agencies in Western Europe', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 84–101.
- Glaeser, E. and Shleifer, A. (2003) 'The Rise of the Regulatory State', *Journal of Economic Literature*,41: 401–425.
- Griffith-Jones, S., Thiemann, M. and Seabrooke, L. (2010) *Taming Finance by Empowering Regulators. A Survey of Policies, Politics and Possibilities*.
- Guardiancich, I. and Guidi, M. (2015) 'Formal independence of regulatory agencies and Varieties of Capitalism: A case of institutional complementarity?', *Regulation & Governance*: online.
- Helleiner, E. and Pagliari, S. (2011) 'The End of an Era in International Financial Regulation? A Postcrisis Research Agenda', *International Organization*,65(01): 169–200.
- Howlett, M., Ramesh, M. and Perl, A. (2009) *Studying public policy. Policy cycles & policy subsystems*, 3rd ed, Ont., New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jarvis, D. (2012) 'The Regulatory State in Developing Countries: Can It Exist and Do We Want It? The Case of the Indonesian Power Sector', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*,42(3): 464–492.
- Jordana, J. and Levi-Faur, D. (eds) (2004) *The politics of regulation. Institutions and regulatory reforms in the age of governance*, Cheltenham [u.a.]: Elgar.
- Jordana, J., Levi-Faur, D. and i Marin, X. F. (2011) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Agencies: Channels of Transfer and Stages of Diffusion', *Comparative Political Studies*,44(10): 1343–1369.
- Law, M. T. and Kim, S. (2011) 'The rise of the American regulatory state: view from the Progressive Era', in D. Levi-Faur (ed) *Handbook on the politics of regulation*, Cheltenham, UK,

- Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, pp. 113–128.
- Levi-Faur, D. (2005) ‘The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism’, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,598(1): 12–32.
- Levi-Faur, D. (2011) ‘The Odyssey of the Regulatory State. Episode one: The Rescue of the Welfare State’, URL (consulted 21 August 2015): <http://regulation.huji.ac.il/papers/jp39.pdf>.
- Levi-Faur, D. (2012) ‘States Making & Market Building for the Global South. The Developmental State vs. the Regulatory State?’, URL (consulted 30 September 2015): <http://regulation.huji.ac.il/papers/jp44.pdf>.
- Levi-Faur, D. and Gilad, S. (2004) ‘The Rise of the British Regulatory State: Transcending the Privatization Debate’, *Comparative Politics*,37(1): 105–124.
- Livermore, M. A. and Revesz, R. L. (2012) ‘Regulatory Review, and Capture and Agency Inaction’, *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Lukes, S. (2003) *Liberals and cannibals. The implications of diversity*, London: Verso.
- Majone, G. (1996) ‘A European Regulatory State?’, in J. J. Richardson (ed) *European Union. Power and policy-making*, Abingdon [U.K.], New York: Routledge, pp. 261–277.
- Majone, G. (2014) ‘From Regulatory State to a Democratic Default’, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*,52(6): 1216–1223.
- Marginson, S. (2012) ‘Including the other: regulation of the human rights of mobile students in a nation-bound world’, *Higher Education*,63(4): 497–512.
- Mooij, R. d. (2012) ‘Tax Biases to Debt Finance: Assessing the Problem, Finding Solutions*’, *Fiscal Studies*,33(4): 489–512.
- Ortega, F. and Peri, G. (2013) ‘The effect of income and immigration policies on international migration’, *Migration Studies*,1(1): 47–74.
- Pearson, M. M. (2005) ‘The Business of Governing Business in China: Institutions and Norms of the Emerging Regulatory State’, *World Politics*,57(02): 296–322.
- Pierson, C. (2004) *The modern state*, 2nd ed, London, New York: Routledge.
- Piketty, T. (2014) *Capital in the twenty-first century*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Porter, T. (2014) *Financial regulation after the global financial crises*, London: Routledge.
- Prado, M. M. (2012) ‘Implementing independent regulatory agencies in Brazil: The contrasting experiences in the electricity and telecommunications sectors’, *Regulation & Governance*,6(3): 300–326.
- Sabatier, P. A. (1977) ‘Regulatory Policy-Making: Toward a Framework of Analysis’, *Natural Resources Journal*,17(3): 415–460.
- Sassen, S. (2005) ‘Regulating Immigration in a Global Age: A New Policy Landscape’, *Parallax*,11(1): 35–45.
- Selin, H. and Van Deveer, Stacy D. (2014) ‘Broader, Deeper and Greener: European Union Environmental Politics, Policies, and Outcomes’, *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*,40(1).
- Shatkin, G. (2014) ‘Reinterpreting the Meaning of the ‘Singapore Model’: State Capitalism and Urban Planning’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*,38(1): 116–137.
- Shleifer, A. (2005) ‘Understanding Regulation’, *European Financial Management*,11(4): 439–451.
- Singer, D. A. (2007) *Regulating capital. Setting standards for the international financial system*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Strange, S. (1988) *States and Markets*, 2nd ed [1994], London: Continuum.
- Streck, W. (2013) ‘The politics of public debt: Neoliberalism, capitalist development, and the restructuring of the state’, URL (consulted 18 September 2015): <http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/78032/1/755988647.pdf>.
- Taylor, C., Pollard, S., Rocks, S. and Angus, A. (2012) ‘Selecting Policy Instruments for Better Environmental Regulation: a Critique and Future Research Agenda’, *Environmental Policy and Governance*,22(4): 268–292.
- Terlouw, K. (2012) ‘Border Surfers and Euroregions: Unplanned Cross-Border Behaviour and

- Planned Territorial Structures of Cross-Border Governance', *Planning Practice and Research*,27(3): 351–366.
- Underhill, G. R. D., Blom, J. and Mügge, D. (2010) 'Introduction: the challenges and prospects of global financial integration', in Underhill, Geoffrey R. D, J. Blom and D. Mügge (eds) *Global financial integration thirty years on. From reform to crisis*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–22.
- Urueña, R. (2012) 'The rise of the constitutional regulatory state in Colombia: The case of water governance', *Regulation & Governance*,6(3): 282–299.
- Xu, S. and Chen, W. (2006) 'The reform of electricity power sector in the PR of China', *Energy Policy*,34(16): 2455–2465.
- Yamamoto, H. (2003) 'New Public Management - Japan's Practice', URL (consulted 1 October 2015): <http://www.iips.org/en/research/data/bp293e.pdf>.
- Yeung, K. (2010) 'The Regulatory State', in R. Baldwin, M. Cave and M. Lodge (eds) *The Oxford handbook of regulation*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 64–86.