

Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	13
<i>Chapter 1: Overview, Purpose and Background</i>	15
A. Outline and Main Objective	15
B. Relevance of the Topic – Europe in a Nutshell	16
C. State of Research	18
I. Looking Back – ‘Northern’ Issues in European Political Science	18
II. Mapping Out the White Spots on the Research Agenda	19
D. Methodological Approach	20
I. Working Material and Information Retrieval	20
II. Research Strategy	21
E. Preliminary Assumptions, Research Questions and Structure	22
<i>Chapter 2: Regional and Sub-Regional Co-operation in Northern Europe</i>	24
A. Geo-political Labels in Northern Europe	24
I. Northern Europe, Scandinavia and the North	24
II. ‘Nordic’ vs. ‘Northern’	26
III. The ‘Baltic States’	26
IV. Overview: The Geo-Political Terminology Used in this Study	27
B. Northern Europe – Some General Characteristics and Features	27
I. BSR Specificities and Sensitivities	27
II. Remoteness and Marginality – The Periphery’s Romantic Temptation	30
C. What Makes a Region a ‘Region’? Reflections on Baltic Sea ‘Regionness’	33
D. Regionalism – Definitions, Delimitations and Typologies	36
I. The Regionalism Complex and the Importance of Conceptual Clarity	36
II. Baltic Sea Region: What Sort of ‘Regionalism’?	37
III. Levels of Regionalism: Macro-, Meso- and Micro-Regionalism	39
IV. Typologies	41
1. Old vs. New Regionalism and the New Regionalism Approach	42
2. Hard vs. Soft Regionalism	46

E. Regionalism in Northern Europe After 1989	48
I. The Early Phase of Construction	48
II. The Irony of Competition I	49
III. The Council of the Baltic Sea States	51
IV. Visions and Constructed Realities – The History Tool	53
1. The Vision of a ‘New Hansa’ and the ‘Spirit of Kotka’	54
2. The Tale of Homo Balticus	56
V. The Argument of Challenges – United in Diversity	58
F. Mental Geography – The Constitution of the BSR as a Spatial Concept	61
I. Is ‘Nordic’ Plus ‘Baltic’ Equal to Inclusive ‘Balticness’?	61
1. Nordic Togetherness – The Changing Role of Nordic Cooperation	62
2. The Baltic States and Baltic Unity – Imposition or Expedient?	69
3. Nordic-Baltic Co-operation	74
II. The ‘Nordic Bloc’ – Driving Core for Baltic Sea Regionalism?	75
III. ‘Old North’ vs. ‘New Regionalism’ – Competing for the Same Space?	78
G. Councils, Associations, Unions, Leagues	84
I. Networks and Clusters	84
II. Patterns of Cooperation: Sorting out the Mess	86
<i>Chapter 3: The EU Northern Dimension</i>	89
A. Introduction: The EU Approach Towards the North	89
I. Enlarging the Union – Association, Partnership and Accession in the BSR	90
1. The Swedish and Finnish EU Accession	90
2. The Baltic States	93
II. The EU Committee of the Regions	94
III. The EU Performance in Regional Development: E.S.D.P. and INTERREG	97
IV. The EU Neighbourhood Policy	101
B. The EU Northern Dimension – A General Overview	104
I. Policy Outline	105
II. Policy Implementation and Progression	108
III. Preliminary Evaluation: What Role for the EU ND?	109
C. Preliminary Conclusions: The EU as a Regional (F)Actor in Northern Europe	111
D. Excursus: Mare Europaeum – Whose Mare Nostrum?	113
I. The Contended Sea – A Brief Historical Retrospect	113
II. What Accounts for Swedish and Finnish Self-Perception?	115
III. Small State Theory – The Conduct of Small States in Foreign Policy	117

1. What Makes a State a ‘Small State’?	117
2. Is There a Specific Pattern for Small State Foreign Policy Conduct?	119
3. Small States and ‘Perceived Greatness’ – ‘Too Big for Their Boots’?	122
4. Sweden and Finland – Typical Small States?	123
5. Small States, Great Powers and Leadership in the Nordic Family	125
IV. Sweden and Finland as European Actors and Regional Stakeholders	127
1. Sweden, Finland, European Integration and the EU	128
2. Sweden, Finland and the BSR	130
E. The EU Northern Dimension – Showcase for the Swedish-Finnish Divide?	134
I. The Irony of Competition II	134
1. The Finnish Northern Dimension Initiative	135
2. The Finnish Initiative from a Swedish Point of View	138
II. And the Story Goes On: Is Sweden Trying to ‘Keep the EU ND Alive’?	142
III. Promoting the Finnish Perspective: Finland’s EU Presidency 2006	145
F. Evaluation: The EU ND Reconsidered	150
<i>Chapter 4: Explaining the Baltic Sea Conundrum</i>	154
A. Introductory Remarks on Regionalism and Integration	154
B. Theoretical Approaches to European Integration	155
I. European Integration Theory: Addressing regional integration?	155
II. Broad Tendencies and Competing Traditions in EIT	157
1. Dichotomy I: Intergovernmentalism vs. Neo-Functionalism	160
2. Dichotomy II: Rationalism vs. Constructivism	161
C. Applying Integration Theory to the Baltic Sea Case – Application Patterns	164
I. Application pattern I: The BSR – A Micro-Cosmic Version of the EU?	165
1. Application of Selected Approaches to the BSR Case	165
a. Neo-Realism	166
b. Liberal Intergovernmentalism	167
c. Neo-Functionalism	168
d. Multi-Level Governance	169
e. Neoliberal/Rational Institutionalism	170
2. Excursus: Social Constructivism	172
a. The Discursive Construction of Regions	172
b. Why the Explanatory Power of Constructivism Remains Low	179
II. Intermediate Synthesis: Crosslinking Typologies and Theories	188
III. Application Pattern II: The Correlation Between Meso and Macro-Level	190
D. Inputs from International Relations Theory	193

I. Application pattern I: The Security Community Approach	194
1. Deutschian Transactionalism	195
2. Security Community Building in Northern Europe	195
3. Adler and Barnett – Transactionalism Reconstructed	196
4. Regional Security Complex Theory: Reactions from Copenhagen	197
5. Inclusive Balticness: Extending the Nordic Non-War Community?	199
II. Application Pattern II: Sketching a Model of Explanation	200
1. The BSR as a Subset	202
2. The BSR in a Cobweb Variation: Peripheral and Marginal?	204
3. The BSR as an Auto-Dynamic Unit Within the Wider Unit Europe	205
4. What Kind of ‘Europe of the Regions’?	208
E. A Short Ride into the Field of Comparative Theory	211
I. Structuring Social Action – Structural Functionalism by Parsons	212
II. Reconciling Application Patterns: Trial Application to the Baltic Sea Case	216
F. Conclusions on the Theoretical Incorporation of Baltic Sea Regionalism	218
<i>Summary – Questions and Answers</i>	223
<i>Epilogue</i>	228
<i>Annex: Baltic Sea Associations and Structures in Detail</i>	231
<i>Bibliography</i>	261