Table of Contents

Introduction					
Chapter 1: Overview, Purpose and Background					
A. Outline and Main Objective					
B. Relevance of the Topic - Europe in a Nutshell					
C. State of Research	18				
I. Looking Back - 'Northern' Issues in European Political ScienceII. Mapping Out the White Spots on the Research Agenda	18 19				
D. Methodological Approach	20				
I. Working Material and Information RetrievalII. Research Strategy	20 21				
E. Preliminary Assumptions, Research Questions and Structure	22				
Chapter 2: Regional and Sub-Regional Co-operation in Northern Europe	24				
A. Geo-political Labels in Northern Europe	24				
I. Northern Europe, Scandinavia and the NorthII. 'Nordic' vs. 'Northern'III. The 'Baltic States'IV. Overview: The Geo-Political Terminology Used in this Study	24 26 26 27				
B. Northern Europe – Some General Characteristics and Features	27				
I. BSR Specificities and SensitivitiesII. Remoteness and Marginality – The Periphery's Romantic Temptation	27 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 II. Baltic Sea Region: What Sort of 'Regionalism'? III. Levels of Regionalism: Macro-, Meso- and Micro-Regionalism IV. Typologies 1. Old vs. New Regionalism and the New Regionalism Approach 	36 37 39 41 42				
2 Hard vs. Soft Regionalism	1				



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	
Ch	apter 3: The EU Northern Dimension	89	
A.	Introduction: The EU Approach Towards the North		
	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	
	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	

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

	I.	Ap	plication 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.	Ap	pplication 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 S	hort	Ride into the Field of Comparative Theory	211
	I.	Str	ructuring Social Action – Structural Functionalism by Parsons	212
	II.	Re	conciling Application Patterns: Trial Application to the Baltic Sea Case	216
F.	Con	clus	sions on the Theoretical Incorporation of Baltic Sea Regionalism	218
Sun	nmai	y –	Questions and Answers	223
Epi	Epilogue			
Anr	ıex:	Bali	tic Sea Associations and Structures in Detail	231
Bib	Bibliography			