## The Universal Republic: A Realistic Utopia?

## Mathias Koenig-Archibugi

Can humanity achieve collective self-government in a highly interdependent world? Catastrophic climate change, biodiversity loss, pandemics, war and displacement, the dangers of nuclear weapons and new technologies, and persistent poverty and inequality are among the global challenges that expose the weaknesses of existing international institutions as well as the profound disparities of power and vulnerability that exist among the world's people.

The Universal Republic: A Realistic Utopia? examines whether a democratic world state is a feasible and desirable solution to the problem of establishing effective and just governance on the planet we share. While this question has haunted thinkers and doers for centuries, this book opens up novel perspectives by putting the powerful methods and rich data of contemporary social science into the service of a systematic analysis of several key dimensions of the broader theme. The first part of the book shows why a democratic world state -a universal republic- is possible: why it can be achieved, and how it can endure without generating a frightful global despotism. The second part of the book shows why the universal republic is desirable, by exploring how it can help bring under our collective control the persistent sources of coercion, harm, and other processes that affect us deeply across national borders. By combining insights from political philosophy and empirical political science, this work sheds new light on a crucial question of our time: how to bring about a more democratic world.

Oxford Academic

Google Play ebook

**Amazon Kindle** 

Apple Books

VitalSource ebook

## Bibliography

- Abizadeh, Arash. 2005. "Does collective identity presuppose an other? On the alleged incoherence of global solidarity." *American Political Science Review* 99 (1):45-60.
- Abizadeh, Arash. 2008. "Democratic theory and border coercion: No right to unilaterally control your own borders." *Political Theory* 36 (1):37-65.
- Abizadeh, Arash. 2010. "Democratic legitimacy and state coercion: A reply to David Miller." *Political Theory* 38 (1):121-130.
- Abizadeh, Arash. 2012. "On the demos and its kin: Nationalism, democracy, and the boundary problem." *American Political Science Review* 106 (4):867-882.
- Abizadeh, Arash. 2021a. "Counter-majoritarian democracy: Persistent minorities, federalism, and the power of numbers." *American Political Science Review* 115 (3):742-756.
- Abizadeh, Arash. 2021b. "Representation, bicameralism, political equality, and sortition: Reconstituting the second chamber as a randomly selected assembly." *Perspectives on Politics* 19 (3):791-806.
- Acton, John E. E. D. 1877/2007. "The History of Freedom in Antiquity." In *The Spirit of the Age: Victorian Essays*, edited by Gertrude Himmelfarb, 227-247. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Afnan, Maximillian. 2023. "Global public reason: Too thick or too thin." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* Published online: 24 March.
- Agné, Hans. 2010. "Why democracy must be global: self-founding and democratic intervention." *International Theory* 2 (3):381-409.
- Agné, Hans. 2022. Democratism: Explaining International Politics with Democracy Beyond the State. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Agné, Hans, Lisa Maria Dellmuth, and Jonas Tallberg. 2015. "Does stakeholder involvement foster democratic legitimacy in international organizations? An empirical assessment of a normative theory." *The Review of International Organizations* 10 (4):465-488.
- Ahmed, Syud Amer, Enis Barış, Delfin S Go, Hans Lofgren, Israel Osorio-Rodarte, and Karen Thierfelder. 2018. "Assessing the global poverty effects of antimicrobial resistance." *World Development* 111:148-160.
- Albanese, Matteo, and Pablo Del Hierro. 2016. Transnational Fascism in the Twentieth Century: Spain, Italy and the Global Neo-fascist Network. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Albert, Mathias. 2014. "World state: Brunkhorst's 'cosmopolitan state'and varieties of differentiation." *Social & Legal Studies* 23 (4):517-531.
- Albert, Mathias, Gorm Harste, Heikki Patomäki, and Knud Erik Jørgensen. 2012. "Introduction: World state futures." *Cooperation and Conflict* 47 (2):145-156.
- Albert, Mathias, and Rudolf Stichweh, eds. 2007. Weltstaat und Weltstaatlichkeit: Beobachtungen globaler politscher Strukturbildung. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Aldington, Richard, ed. 1927. Letters of Voltaire and Frederick the Great. New York: Brentano's.
- Aldrich, John H. 2011. Why Parties? A Second Look. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. 1999. "Public goods and ethnic divisions." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114 (4):1243-1284.
- Alesina, Alberto, Arnaud Devleeschauwer, William Easterly, Sergio Kurlat, and Romain Wacziarg. 2003. "Fractionalization." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8 (2):155-194.
- Altman, David, Federico Rojas-de-Galarreta, and Francisco Urdinez. 2021. "An interactive model of democratic peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 58 (3):384-398.
- Ambedkar, B.R. 1936/2016. Annihilation of Caste. London: Verso.
- Americans Talk Issues Foundation. 1993. Americans Talk Issues Foundation Poll: March 1993. edited by The Telephone Center. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- An-Naim, Abdullahi Ahmed. 2021. *Decolonizing Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, Carl C, Manfred Denich, Anne Warchold, Jürgen P Kropp, and Prajal Pradhan. 2022. "A systems model of SDG target influence on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." *Sustainability Science* 17 (4):1459-1472.
- Ansell, Ben W, and David J Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2007. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. London: Penguin Books.
- Archibugi, Daniele. 1993. "The reform of the UN and cosmopolitan democracy: A critical review." *Journal of Peace Research* 30 (3):301.
- Archibugi, Daniele. 1995. "Immanuel Kant, cosmopolitan law and peace." *European Journal of International Relations* 1 (4):429-456.
- Archibugi, Daniele. 1997. "So what if democracies don't fight each other?" *Peace Review* 9 (3):379-384.
- Archibugi, Daniele. 2008. A Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Archibugi, Daniele. 2012. "From peace between democracies to global democracy." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 254-273. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archibugi, Daniele, and Marco Cellini. 2017. "The internal and external levers to achieve global democracy." *Global Policy* 8:65-77.
- Archibugi, Daniele, and David Held. 2011. "Cosmopolitan democracy: paths and agents." *Ethics & International Affairs* 25 (4):433-461.
- Archibugi, Daniele, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, and Raffaele Marchetti. 2012. "Introduction: Mapping global democracy." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 1-21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arel-Bundock, Vincent. 2017. "The unintended consequences of bilateralism: Treaty shopping and international tax policy." *International Organization* 71 (2):349-371.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1970. "Karl Jaspers: Citizen of the world?" In *Men in Dark Times*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace.
- Aristotle. 1995. "Politics." In *Complete Works of Aristotle, Volume 2. The Revised Oxford Translation*, edited by Jonathan Barnes. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Aron, Raymond. 1961/2002. "The dawn of universal history." In *The Dawn Of Universal History: Selected Essays from a Witness to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Basic Books
- Aron, Raymond. 1966. *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*. London: Weidenfels and Nicholson.

- Aron, Raymond. 1972. *Progress and Disillusion: The Dialectics of Modern Society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Arrow, Kenneth Joseph. 1951. Social Choice and Individual Values. New York: Wiley.
- Aurobindo, Sri. 1950. The Ideal of Human Unity. New York: Dutton.
- Axelsen, David V. 2013. "The state made me do it: How anti-cosmopolitanism is created by the state." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 21 (4):451-472.
- Baccini, Leonardo, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. 2014. "Why do states commit to international labor standards? Interdependent ratification of core ILO Conventions, 1948–2009." *World Politics* 66 (3):446-490.
- Bächtiger, André, John S Dryzek, Jane Mansbridge, and Mark E Warren, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bäckstrand, Karin. 2006. "Democratizing global environmental governance? Stakeholder democracy after the World Summit on Sustainable Development." *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (4):467-498.
- Baderin, Alice, Andreas Busen, Thomas Schramme, Luke Ulaş, and David Miller. 2018. "Who cares what the people think? Revisiting David Miller's approach to theorising about justice." *Contemporary Political Theory* 17 (1):69-104.
- Bai, Tongdong. 2019. *Against Political Equality: The Confucian Case*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bai, Xuechunzi, Varun Gauri, and Susan T Fiske. 2021. "Cosmopolitan morality trades off ingroup for the world, separating benefits and protection." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118 (40):e2100991118.
- Bairoch, Paul. 1999. "Brief history of the social clause in trade policy." In *Trade and Jobs in Europe: Much Ado About Nothing?*, edited by Mathias Dewatripont, André Sapir and Khalid Sekkat, 161-71. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bakaki, Zorzeta. 2018. "Do international organizations reduce the risk of crisis recurrence?" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3 (3):358-370.
- Baker, Andrew, and Richard Murphy. 2021. "Creating a race to the top in global tax governance: The political case for tax spillover assessments." *Globalizations* 18 (1):22-38.
- Baltz, Samuel, Fabricio Vasselai, and Allen Hicken. 2022. "An unexpected consensus among diverse ways to measure democracy." *Democratization* 29 (5):814-837.
- Banks, Arthur S., and Kenneth A. Wilson. 2023. *Cross-National Time-Series Data (CNTS)*. Jerusalem, Israel: Databanks International.
- Baratta, Joseph Preston. 2004a. *The Politics of World Federation. Volume 1: United Nations, UN Reform, Atomic Control.* Westport: Praeger.
- Baratta, Joseph Preston. 2004b. *The Politics of World Federation. Volume 2: From World Federalism to Global Governance*. Westport: Praeger.
- Barbey, Christophe. 2013. "Nonmilitarisation and countries without armies: A necessary step toward nonkilling security institutions." In *Nonkilling Security and the State*, edited by Joám Evans Pim, 153-76. Honolulu and Omaha: Center for Global Nonkilling and Creighton University.
- Barbier, Edward B, and Joanne C Burgess. 2019. "Sustainable development goal indicators: Analyzing trade-offs and complementarities." *World Development* 122:295-305.
- Barlam, Tamar F, and Kalpana Gupta. 2015. "Antibiotic resistance spreads internationally across borders." *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics* 43 (S3):12-16.
- Barlow, Joel. 1801. Joel Barlow to His Fellow Citizens of the United States. Letter II. On Certain Political Measures Proposed to their Consideration. Philadelphia: W. Duane.
- Barnhart, Joslyn N, Robert F Trager, Elizabeth N Saunders, and Allan Dafoe. 2020. "The suffragist peace." *International Organization* 74 (4):633-670.

- Barrett, Anthony M, Seth D Baum, and Kelly Hostetler. 2013. "Analyzing and reducing the risks of inadvertent nuclear war between the United States and Russia." *Science & Global Security* 21 (2):106-133.
- Barrett, Scott. 2007. "The smallpox eradication game." Public Choice 130 (1):179-207.
- Barro, Robert J, and Jong Wha Lee. 2013. "A new data set of educational attainment in the world, 1950–2010." *Journal of Development Economics* 104:184-198.
- Barry, Brian. 1979. "Is Democracy Special?" In *Philosophy, Politics and Society, 5th series*, edited by Peter Laslett and James Fishkin, 155-96. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Barry, Brian. 1999. "Statism and nationalism: A cosmopolitan critique." Nomos 41:12-66.
- Barry, Colin M, David L Cingranelli, and K Chad Clay. 2022. "Labor rights in comparative perspective: The WorkR dataset." *International Interactions* 48 (2):327-344.
- Bartelson, Jens. 2008. "Globalizing the democratic community." *Ethics & Global Politics* 1 (4):159-174.
- Bartelson, Jens. 2009. *Visions of World Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Bartram, Jamie, Clarissa Brocklehurst, David Bradley, Mike Muller, and Barbara Evans. 2018. "Policy review of the means of implementation targets and indicators for the sustainable
- "Policy review of the means of implementation targets and indicators for the sustainable development goal for water and sanitation." *NPJ Clean Water* 1 (1):1-5.
- Basu, Sanjay, David Stuckler, and Martin McKee. 2014. "An alternative mechanism for international health aid: Evaluating a Global Social Protection Fund." *Health Policy and Planning* 29 (1):127-136.
- Baum, Seth, Robert de Neufville, and Anthony Barrett. 2018. *A Model for the Probability of Nuclear War*. Global Catastrophic Risk Institute Working Paper.
- Bayram, A Burcu. 2015. "What drives modern Diogenes? Individual values and cosmopolitan allegiance." *European Journal of International Relations* 21 (2):451-479.
- Bayram, A Burcu. 2019. "Nationalist cosmopolitanism: The psychology of cosmopolitanism, national identity, and going to war for the country." *Nations and Nationalism* 25 (3):757-781.
- Bearce, David H, and Brandy J Jolliff Scott. 2019. "Popular non-support for international organizations: How extensive and what does this represent?" *The Review of International Organizations* 14 (2):187-216.
- Beitz, Charles. 1998. "International relations, philosophy of." In *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Volume 4*, edited by Edward Craig. London: Routledge.
- Beitz, Charles R. 1989. *Political Equality: An Essay in Democratic Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Belic, Jelena, and Zoltan Miklosi. 2023. "Cosmopolitanism and unipolarity: the theory of hegemonic transition." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 26 (2):181-203.
- Bellamy, Richard. 2007. *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bellamy, Richard. 2019. A Republican Europe of States: Cosmopolitanism, Intergovernmentalism and Democracy in the EU. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benferhat, Salem, Didier Dubois, Souhila Kaci, and Henri Prade. 2008. "Modeling positive and negative information in possibility theory." *International Journal of Intelligent Systems* 23 (10):1094-1118.
- Bengtson, Andreas. 2021. "The all-affected principle and the question of asymmetry." *Political Research Quarterly* 74 (3):718-728.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Benhabib, Seyla. 2007. "Democratic exclusions and democratic iterations: Dilemmas of just membership and prospects of cosmopolitan federalism." *European Journal of Political Theory* 6 (4):445-462.
- Bergougui, Brahim, and Syed Mansoob Murshed. 2020. "New evidence on the oil-democracy nexus utilising the Varieties of Democracy data." *Resources Policy* 69:101905.
- Berlin, Isaiah. 1969. Four Essays on Liberty. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bevilacqua, Alexander. 2012. "Conceiving the Republic of Mankind: The political thought of Anacharsis Cloots." *History of European Ideas* 38 (4):550-569.
- Bhagavan, Manu. 2012. *The Peacemakers: India and the Quest for One World*. Noida: HarperCollins Publishers India.
- Bieber, Florian. 2018. "Is nationalism on the rise? Assessing global trends." *Ethnopolitics* 17 (5):519-540.
- Bieber, Florian. 2022. "Global nationalism in times of the COVID-19 pandemic." *Nationalities Papers* 50 (1):13-25.
- Bieler, Andreas, Roland Erne, Darragh Golden, Idar Helle, Knut Kjeldstadli, Tiago Matos, and Sabina Stan, eds. 2015. *Labour and Transnational Action in Times of Crisis*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bienen, Dirk, Volker Rittberger, and Wolfgang Wagner. 1998. "Democracy in the United Nations system: Cosmopolitan and communitarian principles." In *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, David Held and Martin Köhler, 287-308. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Billion, Jean-Francis (), . , (), <a href="https://www.federalist-debate.org/archive/year-xxxiv-number-2-july">https://www.federalist-debate.org/archive/year-xxxiv-number-2-july</a>. 2021. "Pan-Africanism, Federalism and Decolonization in Sub-Saharan Africa and the West Indies." *The Federalist Debate* 34: <a href="https://www.federalist-debate.org/archive/year-xxxiv-number-2-july">https://www.federalist-debate.org/archive/year-xxxiv-number-2-july</a>.
- Binder, Martin. 2016. The United Nations and the Politics of Selective Humanitarian Intervention. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bob, Clifford. 2012. *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "Do intergovernmental organizations promote peace?" *World Politics* 57 (1):1-38.
- Boese, Vanessa A, Martin Lundstedt, Kelly Morrison, Yuko Sato, and Staffan I Lindberg. 2022. "State of the world 2021: Autocratization changing its nature?" *Democratization* 29 (6):983-1013.
- Boffey, Daniel. 2022. "Russia reasserts right to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine." *The Guardian* 26 March.
- Bohman, James. 2005. "From demos to demoi: Democracy across borders." *Ratio Juris* 18 (3):293-314.
- Böhmelt, Tobias, and Carola Betzold. 2013. "The impact of environmental interest groups in international negotiations: Do ENGOs induce stronger environmental commitments?" *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 13 (2):127-151.
- Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. 2013. "A complete data set of political regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (12):1523-1554.
- Bokhary, Hamid, Krisna NA Pangesti, Harunor Rashid, Moataz Abd El Ghany, and Grant A Hill-Cawthorne. 2021. "Travel-related antimicrobial resistance: A systematic review." *Tropical Medicine and Infectious Disease* 6 (1):11.
- Bolt, Jutta, and Jan Luiten van Zanden. 2020. *Maddison style estimates of the evolution of the world economy. A new 2020 update*. Maddison Project Working Paper 15.

- Bonotti, Matteo, and Nenad Stojanović. 2022. "Multilingual parties and the ethics of partisanship." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (1):470-482.
- Bostrom, Nick. 2006. "What is a Singleton?" *Linguistic and Philosophical Investigations* 5 (2):48-54.
- Botero, Giovanni. 1584. *Del Dispregio del Mondo Libri Cinque*. Milano: Francesco & Simon Tini.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. 1995. "United Nations and democratization." *African Yearbook of International Law* 3:11-16.
- Bown, Chad P. 2022. "Four years into the trade war, are the US and China decoupling?". <a href="https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/four-years-trade-war-are-us-and-china-decoupling">https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/four-years-trade-war-are-us-and-china-decoupling</a>.
- Bradley, Curtis A, and Judith G Kelley. 2008. "The concept of international delegation." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 71 (1):1-36.
- Brandt, R. 1996. "Quem fata non ducunt, trahunt: Der Staat, die Staaten und der friedliche Handel. W:, Hrsg. K." In *Der Vernunftfrieden: Kants Entwurf im Widerstreit*, edited by Klaus-Michael Kodalle, 61-86. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- Braumoeller, Bear F. 2019. *Only the Dead: The Persistence of War in the Modern Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bremberg, Niklas, and Richard Gillespie. 2022. *Catalonia, Scotland and the EU: Visions of Independence and Integration*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Brennan, Geoffrey, and Nicholas Southwood. 2007. "Feasibility in action and attitude." In *Hommage à Wlodek: Philosophical Papers Dedicated to Wlodek Rabinowicz*, edited by T. Rønnow-Rasmussen, B. Petersson, J. Jonefsson and D. Egonsson, <a href="https://www.fil.lu.se/hommageawlodek/site/papper/Brennan&Southwood.pdf">https://www.fil.lu.se/hommageawlodek/site/papper/Brennan&Southwood.pdf</a>. Lund: Department of Philosophy, Lund University.
- Bressler, R Daniel, Frances C Moore, Kevin Rennert, and David Anthoff. 2021. "Estimates of country level temperature-related mortality damage functions." *Scientific Reports* 11 (1):1-10.
- Bright, Jonathan, Diego Garzia, Joseph Lacey, and Alexander Trechsel. 2016. "Europe's voting space and the problem of second-order elections: A transnational proposal." *European Union Politics* 17 (1):184-198.
- Broda, R. 1920. "Das kommende Weltparlament." Der Völkerbund:347-358.
- Brölmann, Catherine M, Richard Collins, Sufyan Droubi, and Ramses A Wessel. 2018. "Exiting international organizations: A brief introduction." *International Organizations Law Review* 15 (2):243-263.
- Bronfenbrenner, Kate, ed. 2007. *Global Unions: Challenging Transnational Capital through Cross-border Campaigns*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Brown, Chris. 2002. *Sovereignty, Rights, and Justice: International Political Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Brown, Chris. 2010. *Practical Judgement in International Political Theory: Selected Essays*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Brown, Davis, and Patrick James. 2018. "The religious characteristics of states: Classic themes and new evidence for international relations and comparative politics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (6):1340-1376.
- Brown, Garrett Wallace. 2009. *Grounding Cosmopolitanism: From Kant to the Idea of a Cosmopolitan Constitution*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Brown, Garrett Wallace. 2012. "Distributing who gets what and why: Four normative approaches to global health." *Global Policy* 3 (3):292-302.

- Brunkert, Lennart, Stefan Kruse, and Christian Welzel. 2019. "A tale of culture-bound regime evolution: The centennial democratic trend and its recent reversal." *Democratization* 26 (3):422-443.
- Brunkhorst, Hauke. 2014. Critical Theory of Legal Revolutions: Evolutionary Perspectives. London: Bloomsbury.
- Brutus. 1787/1981. "Brutus Essay No. 1." In *The Complete Anti-Federalist, Volume 2*, edited by Herbert J. Storing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Buchanan, Allen. 2004. *Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan, Allen, and Robert O. Keohane. 2006. "The legitimacy of global governance institutions." *Ethics and International Affairs* 20 (4):405-437.
- Buchanan, Allen, and Russell Powell. 2018. *The Evolution of Moral Progress: A Biocultural Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan, William, and Hadley Cantril. 1953. *How Nations See Each Other*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Budge, Ian. 2006. "Direct and representative democracy: Are they necessarily opposed?" *Representation* 42 (1):1-12.
- Budge, Ian, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Eric Tanenbaum, Richard C. Hearl Fording, Derek J., Hee Min McDonald Kim, Michael, and Silvia Mendez. 2001. *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998.* Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bull, Hedley. 1966. "International theory: The case for a classical approach." *World Politics* 18 (3):361-377.
- Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. London: Macmillan.
- Bull, Hedley. 1979. "The state's positive role in world affairs." Daedalus 108 (4):111-123.
- Bummel, Andreas. 2010. *The Composition of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations*. Berlin: Committee for a Democratic UN.
- Bummel, Andreas. 2019. "Three Important Advancements in the Campaign for a UNPA." *The Federalist Debate* (1):56-58.
- Bummel, Andreas. 2021. "Towards a planetary polity: The formation of global identity and state structures." In *Expanding Worldviews: Astrobiology, Big History and Cosmic Perspectives*, edited by Ian Crawford, 325-340. Cham: Springer.
- Bummel, Andreas. 2023. "International poll: public supports a world parliament and world law." *The Federalist Debate* 36 (3).
- Burke, Marshall, Solomon M Hsiang, and Edward Miguel. 2015. "Global non-linear effect of temperature on economic production." *Nature* 527 (7577):235-239.
- Bussani, Mauro, and Anthony J Sebok, eds. 2015. *Comparative Tort Law: Global Perspectives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Butcher, Charles R, and Ryan D Griffiths. 2017. "Between Eurocentrism and Babel: A framework for the analysis of states, state systems, and international orders." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (2):328-336.
- Cable News Network /USA Today. 1995. Gallup/CNN/USA Today Poll: News media. edited by Gallup Organization. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2004. *Political Theory of Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Case for the World State*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2007. "The inconveniences of transnational democracy." *Ethics & International Affairs* 21 (2):219-238.

- Cabrera, Luis. 2010a. *The Practice of Global Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2010b. "World government: Renewed debate, persistent challenges." *European Journal of International Relations* 16 (3):511-530.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2014. "Individual rights and the democratic boundary problem." *International Theory* 6 (2):224-254.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2018. "The case for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly as a means of promoting just security." In *Just Security in an Undergoverned World*, edited by William Durch, Joris Larik and Richard Ponzio, 413–439. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2020. The Humble Cosmopolitan: Rights, Diversity, and Trans-state Democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cabrera, Luis. 2022. "Babel fish democracy? Prospects for addressing democratic language barriers through machine translation and interpretation." *American Journal of Political Science* Published online 18 July
- Caney, Simon. 2005. *Justice Beyond Borders: A Global Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Caney, Simon. 2006. "Cosmopolitan justice and institutional design: An egalitarian liberal conception of global governance." *Social Theory and Practice* 32 (4):725-756.
- Cao, Xun. 2010. "Networks as channels of policy diffusion: Explaining worldwide changes in capital taxation, 1998–2006." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (3):823-854.
- Carey, John M, and Simon Hix. 2011. "The electoral sweet spot: Low-magnitude proportional electoral systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2):383-397.
- Carleton, Tamma A, Amir Jina, Michael T Delgado, Michael Greenstone, Trevor Houser, Solomon M Hsiang, Andrew Hultgren, Robert E Kopp, Kelly E McCusker, and Ishan B Nath. 2020. *Valuing the global mortality consequences of climate change accounting for adaptation costs and benefits*. Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Carpenter, Cari M., ed. 2010. *Selected Writings of Victoria Woodhull*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Carr, Edward Hallett. 1945. Nationalism and after. London: Macmillan.
- Carson, Thomas L. 1988. "Perpetual peace: What Kant should have said." *Social Theory and Practice* 14 (2):173-214.
- Cavallar, Georg. 1999. *Kant and the Theory and Practice of International Right*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Cavallero, Eric. 2009. "Federative global democracy." Metaphilosophy 40 (1):42-64.
- Chaisty, Paul, and Timothy Power. 2022. "Does power always flow to the executive? Interbranch oscillations in legislative authority, 1976–2014." *Government and Opposition* 58 (1):61-83.
- Chancel, Lucas, and Thomas Piketty. 2021. "Global income inequality, 1820–2020: the persistence and mutation of extreme inequality." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 19 (6):3025-3062.
- Charnovitz, Steve. 2002. "Trans-parliamentary associations in global functional agencies." *Transnational Associations* 31 (2):88-91.
- Charny, David. 2000. "Regulatory competition and the global coordination of labor standards." *Journal of International Economic Law* 3 (2):281-302.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Paul Almeida. 2020. *Global Struggles and Social Change: From Prehistory to World Revolution in the Twenty-First Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Ellen Reese. 2007. "The World Social Forum-a global party." In *Global Political Parties*, edited by Katarina Sehm-Patomaki and Marko Ulvila, 53-91. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher, Ellen Reese, Erika Gutierrez, Rebecca Giem, Christine Petit, and Linda Kim. 2006. "Global party formation in world historical perspective." *IROWS Working Paper*.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher, Ellen Reese, Mark Herkenrath, Rebecca Giem, Erika Gutierrez, Linda Kim, and Christine Petit. 2008. "North-South contradictions and bridges at the World Social Forum." In *North and South in the World Political Economy*, edited by Rafael Reuveny and William R. Thompson. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cheibub, José Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and dictatorship revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1):67-101.
- Chernykh, Svitlana, David Doyle, and Timothy J Power. 2017. "Measuring legislative power: An expert reweighting of the Fish-Kroenig parliamentary powers index." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 42 (2):295-320.
- Chicago Council on Global Affairs and WorldPublicOpinion.org. 2007. *Public Opinion on the Future of the UN*: Chicago Council on Global Affairs and WorldPublicOpinion.org.
- Chilton, Adam S, and Mila Versteeg. 2018. "Courts' limited ability to protect constitutional rights." *The University of Chicago Law Review* 85 (2):293-336.
- Chimni, Bhupinder S. 2004. "International institutions today: An imperial global state in the making." *European Journal of International Law* 15 (1):1-37.
- Choi, Seung Mo, Hwagyun Kim, and Xiaohan Ma. 2021. "Trade policies and growth in emerging economies: Policy experiments." *Review of World Economics* 157 (3):603-629.
- Christiano, Thomas. 1990. "Political equality." Nomos 32:151-183.
- Christiano, Thomas. 1996. *The Rule of the Many: Fundamental Issues in Democratic Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Christiano, Thomas. 2006. "A democratic theory of territory and some puzzles about global democracy." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 37 (1):81-107.
- Christiano, Thomas. 2008. *The Constitution of Equality: Democratic Authority and its Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Christiano, Thomas. 2010. "Democratic legitimacy and international institutions." In *The Philosophy of International Law*, edited by Samantha Besson and John Tasioulas. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Christiano, Thomas. 2012. "Is democratic legitimacy possible for international institutions?" In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 69-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Churchill, Winston. 1946/2003. "A 'United States of Europe'." In *Never Give In! The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches*, edited by Winston S. Churchill, 427-30. London: Pimlico.
- Churchill, Winston. 1947/2003. "United Europe." In *Never Give In! The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches*, edited by Winston S. Churchill, 436-444. London: Pimlico.
- Cicero. 44BCE/2001. On Obligations. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cicero. 51BCE/1998. "The Republic." In *The Republic and The Laws*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cingranelli, David L, and David L Richards. 2010. "The Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) human rights data project." *Human Rights Quarterly* 32 (2):401-424.
- Cirillo, Pasquale, and Nassim Nicholas Taleb. 2016. "On the statistical properties and tail risk of violent conflicts." *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and its Applications* 452:29-45.

- Clark, Sherman J. 1998. "A populist critique of direct democracy." *Harvard Law Review* 112:434-82.
- Claude, Inis L. 1956. Swords into Plow Shares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization. New York: Random House.
- Clauset, Aaron. 2018. "Trends and fluctuations in the severity of interstate wars." *Science Advances* 4 (2).
- Clauset, Aaron, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2018. "Trends in conflict: What do we know and what can we know?" In *Oxford Handbook of International Security*, edited by Alexandra Gheciu and William C. Wohlforth. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cloots, Anacharsis. 1792/1979. "La république universelle ou adresse au tyrannicides." In *Écrits révolutionnaires*, 1790-1794, 243-318. Paris: Editions Champ libre.
- Cloots, Anacharsis. 1793/1979. "Bases constitutionnelles de la république du genre humain." In *Écrits révolutionnaires*, *1790-1794*, 473-502. Paris: Editions Champ libre.
- Coe, Andrew J, and Jane Vaynman. 2020. "Why arms control is so rare." *American Political Science Review* 114 (2):342-355.
- Cohen, G. A. 2009. Why Not Socialism? Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cohen, Joshua. 1989. "Deliberation and democratic legitimacy." In *The Good Polity: Normative Analysis of the State*, edited by Alan Hamlin and Philip Pettit, 17–34. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Colaresi, Michael, and William R Thompson. 2003. "The economic development-democratization relationship: Does the outside world matter?" *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (4):381-403.
- Colomer, Josep M. 2014. "What a world assembly could look like." *Research & Politics* 1 (1). Comenius, John Amos. 1990. *Panegersia, or, Universal Awakening*. Shipston-on-Stour: Drinkwater.
- Comenius, John Amos. 1993. *Panorthosia or Universal Reform. Chapters 19 to 26*. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press.
- Comenius, John Amos. 1995. *Panorthosia or Universal Reform. Chapters 1-18 and 27*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- ComRes and Global Challenges Foundation. 2018. *Attitudes to Global Risks and Governance Survey 2018*. Stockholm: Global Challenges Foundation.
- Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat Marquis de. 1793/1976. "Fragment on the New Atlantis, or Combined efforts of the human species for the advancement of science." In *Selected Writings*, 283-300. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat Marquis de. 1811. "Observations on the twenty-ninth book of the Spirit of Laws." In *Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy, A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws*. Philadelphia: William Duane.
- Cooper, Sandi E. 1991. *Patriotic Pacifism: Waging War on War in Europe, 1815-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coppedge, Michael , John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Staffan I. Lindberg, Jan Teorell, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, M. Steven Fish, Adam Glynn, Allen Hicken, Anna Luhrmann, Kyle L. Marquardt, Kelly McMann, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Brigitte Seim, Rachel Sigman, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jeffrey Staton, Steven Wilson, Agnes Cornell, Nazifa Alizada, Lisa Gastaldi, Haakon Gjerløw, Garry Hindle, Nina Ilchenko, Laura Maxwell, Valeriya Mechkova, Juraj Medzihorsky, Johannes von Römer, Aksel Sundström, Eitan Tzelgov, Yi-ting Wang, Tore Wig, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2021. V-Dem [Country—Year/Country—Date] Dataset v11.1. Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemds21.

- Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Staffan I. Lindberg, Jan Teorell, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, M. Steven Fish, Adam Glynn, Allen Hicken, Anna Lührmann, Kyle L. Marquardt, Kelly McMann, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Brigitte Seim, Rachel Sigman, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jeffrey Staton, Agnes Cornell, Lisa Gastaldi, Haakon Gjerløw, Valeriya Mechkova, Johannes von Römer, Aksel Sundtröm, Eitan Tzelgov, Luca Uberti, Yi-ting Wang, Tore Wig, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2019. *V-Dem Codebook v9*: Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project.
- Correlates of War Project. 2017a. Direct Contiguity Data, 1816-2016. Version 3.2. .
- Correlates of War Project. 2017b. State System Membership List, v2016.
- Coser, Lewis A. 1956. The Functions of Social Conflict. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Council on Foreign Relations. 2009. *Public Opinion on Global Issues: A Web-based Digest of Polling from Around the World*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Craig, Campbell. 2008. "The resurgent idea of world government." *Ethics & International Affairs* 22 (2):133-142.
- Cranmer, Skyler J, Elizabeth J Menninga, and Peter J Mucha. 2015. "Kantian fractionalization predicts the conflict propensity of the international system." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112 (38):11812-11816.
- Crescenzi, Mark JC, and Andrew J Enterline. 1999. "Ripples from the waves? A systemic, time-series analysis of democracy, democratization, and interstate war." *Journal of Peace Research* 36 (1):75-94.
- Cronin, Bruce. 1999. *Community under Anarchy: Transnational Identity and the Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2021. *Database of Political Institutions 2020*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department.
- Cunen, Céline, Nils Lid Hjort, and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård. 2020. "Statistical sightings of better angels: Analysing the distribution of battle-deaths in interstate conflict over time." *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (2):221-234.
- Czaika, Mathias, Hein de Haas, and Maria Villares-Varela. 2018. "The global evolution of travel visa regimes." *Population and Development Review* 44 (3):589–622.
- Dahl, Adam. 2020. "Creolizing natural liberty: Transnational obligation in the thought of Ottobah Cugoano." *The Journal of Politics* 82 (3):908-920.
- Dahl, Adam. 2021. "Oppression and racial slavery: Abolitionist challenges to neo-republicanism." *Contemporary Political Theory* 20:272-295.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1970. *After the Revolution? Authority in a Good Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1998. On Democracy. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1999a. "Can international organizations be democratic? A skeptic's view." In *Democracy's Edges*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, 19-36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1999b. "The shifting boundaries of democratic governments." *Social Research* 66 (3):915-31.
- Dahl, Robert A. 2001. "Is post-national democracy possible?" In *Nation, Federalism and Democracy*, edited by Sergio Fabbrini, 35-46. Trento: Editrice Compositori.
- Dahl, Robert A., and Edward R. Tufte. 1973. *Size and Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1959. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Damluji, Hassan. 2019. *The Responsible Globalist: What Citizens of the World Can Learn from Nationalism*. London: Allen Lane.

- Dante Alighieri. c1312/1996. Monarchy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, Ronald B, and Krishna Chaitanya Vadlamannati. 2013. "A race to the bottom in labor standards? An empirical investigation." *Journal of Development Economics* 103:1-14.
- de Kraker, Marlieke EA, Andrew J Stewardson, and Stephan Harbarth. 2016. "Will 10 million people die a year due to antimicrobial resistance by 2050?" *PLoS Medicine* 13 (11):https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002184.
- De Wilde, Pieter, Wiebke Marie Junk, and Tabea Palmtag. 2016. "Accountability and opposition to globalization in international assemblies." *European Journal of International Relations* 22 (4):823-846.
- De Wilde, Pieter, Ruud Koopmans, Wolfgang Merkel, and Michael Zürn, eds. 2019. *The Struggle over Borders: Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Della Porta, Donatella, ed. 2007. *Global Justice Movement: Cross-national and Transnational Perspectives*. Boulder, Col.: Paradigm.
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Martín Portos. 2023. "Rich kids of Europe? Social basis and strategic choices in the climate activism of Fridays for Future." *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 53 (1):24-49.
- Dellink, Rob, Jean Chateau, Elisa Lanzi, and Bertrand Magné. 2017. "Long-term economic growth projections in the Shared Socioeconomic Pathways." *Global Environmental Change* 42:200-214.
- Deudney, Daniel. 2007. Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Dewey, John. 1946. *The Public and its Problems: An Essay in Political Inquiry*. Chicago: Gateway Books.
- Diamond, Larry. 2021. "Democratic regression in comparative perspective: Scope, methods, and causes." *Democratization* 28 (1):22-42.
- Diehl, Paul F, Gary Goertz, and Yahve Gallegos. 2021. "Peace data: Concept, measurement, patterns, and research agenda." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 38 (5):605-624
- Dietsch, Peter, and Thomas Rixen, eds. 2015. *Global Tax Governance: What's Wrong with it and How to Fix it*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Dill, Janina, Scott D Sagan, and Benjamin A Valentino. 2022. "Kettles of hawks: Public opinion on the nuclear taboo and noncombatant immunity in the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Israel." *Security Studies* 31 (1):1-31.
- Dingwerth, Klaus. 2014. "Global democracy and the democratic minimum: Why a procedural account alone is insufficient." *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (4):1124-1147.
- Dingwerth, Klaus, Henning Schmidtke, and Tobias Weise. 2020. "The rise of democratic legitimation: Why international organizations speak the language of democracy." *European Journal of International Relations* 26 (3):714-741.
- Dion, Michelle L, and Vicki Birchfield. 2010. "Economic development, income inequality, and preferences for redistribution." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2):315-334.
- Dogan, Mattei. 1994. "The decline of nationalisms within Western Europe." *Comparative Politics* 26 (3):281-305.
- Donnelly, Jack. 2006. "Sovereign inequalities and hierarchy in anarchy: American power and international society." *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (2):139-170.
- Dooley, Kate, Christian Holz, Sivan Kartha, Sonja Klinsky, J Timmons Roberts, Henry Shue, Harald Winkler, Tom Athanasiou, Simon Caney, and Elizabeth Cripps. 2021. "Ethical choices behind quantifications of fair contributions under the Paris Agreement." *Nature Climate Change* 11 (4):300-305.

- Downing, Brian. 1993. The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Doyle, Michael W. 2000. "A more perfect union? The liberal peace and the challenge of globalization." *Review of International Studies* 26:81-94.
- Dreher, Axel. 2006. "KOF Index of Globalization." Zürich: Konjunkturforschungsstelle ETH Zürich.
- Drury, A Cooper, and Dursun Peksen. 2014. "Women and economic statecraft: The negative impact international economic sanctions visit on women." *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (2):463-490.
- Dryzek, John S. 2011. "Global democratization: Soup, society, or system?" *Ethics & International Affairs* 25 (2):211-234.
- Dryzek, John S, André Bächtiger, and Karolina Milewicz. 2011. "Toward a Deliberative Global Citizens' Assembly." *Global Policy* 2 (1):33-42.
- Dryzek, John S. 2006. *Deliberative Global Politics: Discourse and Democracy in a Divided World*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. 1945. *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company.
- Dubois, Didier, and Henri Prade. 2009. "An overview of the asymmetric bipolar representation of positive and negative information in possibility theory." *Fuzzy sets and Systems* 160 (10):1355-1366.
- DuBois, Ellen Carol, ed. 2022. *The Elizabeth Cady Stanton-Susan B. Anthony Reader. Third edition*. Jefferson: McFarland.
- Dubois, Pierre. c1306/1956. *The Recovery of the Holy Land*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Duchacek, Ivo D. 1986. *The territorial dimension of politics: Within, among, and across nations*. Boulder and London: Westview Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald. 1987. "What is equality-Part 4: Political equality." *University of San Francisco Law Review* 22:1-30.
- Dworkin, Ronald. 1995. "Constitutionalism and democracy 1." European Journal of *Philosophy* 3 (1):2-11.
- Dziobek, Claudia, Carlos Gutierrez Mangas, and Phebby Kufa. 2011. *Measuring Fiscal Decentralization: Exploring the IMF's Databases'*. IMF Working Paper WP/11/126.
- Early, Bryan R, and Dursun Peksen. 2022. "Does misery love company? Analyzing the global suffering inflicted by US economic sanctions." *Global Studies Quarterly* 2 (2):ksac013.
- Ebeling, Martin. 2016. "Epistemic political egalitarianism, political parties, and conciliatory democracy." *Political Theory* 44 (5):629-656.
- Eberl, Oliver, and Peter Niesen. 2011. "Kommentar." In *Immanuel Kant. Zum Ewigen Frieden*, 89-416. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- Ecker-Ehrhardt, Matthias. 2016. "Why do citizens want the UN to decide? Cosmopolitan ideas, particularism and global authority." *International Political Science Review* 37 (1):99-114.
- Ecker-Ehrhardt, Matthias. 2018. "International organizations "going public"? An event history analysis of public communication reforms 1950–2015." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (4):723-736.
- Egel, Naomi, and R Lincoln Hines. 2021. "Chinese views on nuclear weapons: Evidence from an online survey." *Research & Politics* 8 (3):20531680211032840.
- Einstein, Albert. 1946/2007. "Reply to Sumner Welles's article on the atomic bomb and world government." In *Einstein on Politics*, edited by David E. Rowe and Robert Schulmann, 380-81. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Einstein, Albert. 1947. "Atomic war or peace." *The Atlantic* November: 29-32.
- Einstein, Albert. 1948/2007a. "Open letter to the General Assembly of the United Nations." In *Einstein on Politics*, edited by David E. Rowe and Robert Schulmann, 388-392. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Einstein, Albert. 1948/2007b. "A reply to the Soviet scientists." In *Einstein on Politics*, edited by David E. Rowe and Robert Schulmann, 393-97. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Eisentraut, Sophie. 2020. Talking Democracy at the United Nations: Power, Regime Type, and the Democratization of International Rule. Baden-Baden: Nomos
- Elkins, Zachary, and John Sides. 2007. "Can institutions build unity in multiethnic states?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4):693-708.
- Elsässer, Lea, Svenja Hense, and Armin Schäfer. 2021. "Not just money: unequal responsiveness in egalitarian democracies." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (12):1890-1908.
- Elsässer, Lea, and Armin Schäfer. 2023. "Political inequality in rich democracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26:469-487.
- Elster, Jon. 1986. "The market and the forum: Three varieties of political theory." In *Foundations of Social Choice Theory*, edited by Jon Elster and Aanund Hylland, 103–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elster, Jon. 2018. "The political psychology of constitution making." In *Constituent Assemblies*, edited by Jon Elster, Roberto Gargarella, Vatsal Naresh and Bjørn Erik Rasch, 207-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ely, John Hart. 1980. *Democracy and Distrust: A Theory of Judicial Review*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. 1530/2005. "A most useful discussion concerning proposals for war against the Turks, including an exposition of Psalm 28." In *Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 64*, 201-266. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Erman, Eva, and Jonathan W Kuyper. 2020. "Global democracy and feasibility." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 23 (3):311-331.
- Escobar, Gabriela García. 2023. "Norms versus iterpretations: Human rights universality revisited." *Global Jurist* <a href="https://doi.org/10.1515/gj-2023-0001">https://doi.org/10.1515/gj-2023-0001</a>.
- Esipova, Neli, Anita Pugliese, and Julie Ray. 2018. "More Than 750 Million Worldwide Would Migrate If They Could." <a href="https://news.gallup.com/poll/245255/750-million-worldwide-migrate.aspx">https://news.gallup.com/poll/245255/750-million-worldwide-migrate.aspx</a>.
- Esty, Daniel C, and Damien Geradin. 1998. "Environmental protection and international competitiveness." *Journal of World Trade* 32:5-46.
- Ewing, Alfred Cyril. 1947. *The Individual, the State, and World Government*. New York: Macmillan.
- Fader, Marianela, Colleen Cranmer, Richard Lawford, and Jill Engel-Cox. 2018. "Toward an understanding of synergies and trade-offs between water, energy, and food SDG targets." *Frontiers in Environmental Science* 6:112.
- Fagan, Brennen T, Marina I Knight, Niall J MacKay, and A Jamie Wood. 2020. "Change point analysis of historical battle deaths." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society)* 183 (3):909-933.
- Falk, Richard A. 1975. A Study of Future Worlds. New York: Free Press.
- Falk, Richard A, and Andrew L Strauss. 2000. "On the creation of a global peoples assembly: Legitimacy and the power of popular sovereignty." *Stanford Journal of International Law* 36 (2):191-220.
- Falk, Richard A., and Andrew Strauss. 2001. "Toward global parliament." *Foreign Affairs* 80 (1):212-220.

- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2022. "The return of conquest? Why the future of global order hinges on Ukraine." *Foreign Affairs* 101 (3):20-7.
- Fearon, James D. 2018. "Cooperation, conflict, and the costs of anarchy." *International Organization* 72 (3):523-559.
- Fearon, James D. 2003. "Ethnic and cultural diversity by country." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8 (2):195-222.
- Federation of American Scientists. 2022. *Status of World Nuclear Forces*. <a href="https://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/status-world-nuclear-forces/">https://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/status-world-nuclear-forces/</a>.
- Felsenthal, Dan S, and Moshé Machover. 1998. *The Measurement of Voting Power*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Ferejohn, John, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2008. "Warlike democracies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (1):3-38.
- Fick, Carolyn E. 1990. *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Fifth Pan-African Congress. 1947. "The challenge to the colonial powers." In *Colonial and Coloured Unity: A Programme of Action. History of the Pan-African Congress*, edited by George Padmore, 5. Manchester: Pan-African Federation.
- Fish, M Steven, and Matthew Kroenig. 2009. *The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishkin, James. 2009. When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flikschuh, Katrin. 2010. "Kant's sovereignty dilemma: A contemporary analysis." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 18 (4):469-493.
- Follesdal, Andreas. 2012. "Cosmopolitan Democracy: Neither a Category Mistake nor a Categorical Imperative." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 96-114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Follesdal, Andreas. 2017. "Tracking justice democratically." *Social Epistemology* 31 (3):324-339
- Follows, John William. 1951. *Antecedents of the International Labour Organization*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Forsyth, Murray. 1981. *Unions of States: The Theory and Practice of Confederation*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Fraser, Donald M, and John P Salzberg. 1979. "International political parties as a vehicle for human rights." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 442 (1):63-68.
- Freeman, Michael. 2022. Human Rights. Fourth edition. Cambridge: Polity.
- Frey, Bruno S, and Reiner Eichenberger. 1999. *The New Democratic Federalism for Europe: Functional, Overlapping, and Competing Jurisdictions*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Frey, Bruno S., and Alois Stutzer. 2006. "Strengthening the citizens' role in international organizations." *Review of International Organizations* 1 (1):27-43.
- Fricko, Oliver, Petr Havlik, Joeri Rogelj, Zbigniew Klimont, Mykola Gusti, Nils Johnson, Peter Kolp, Manfred Strubegger, Hugo Valin, and Markus Amann. 2017. "The marker quantification of the Shared Socioeconomic Pathway 2: A middle-of-the-road scenario for the 21st century." *Global Environmental Change* 42:251-267.
- Frost, Isabel, Thomas P Van Boeckel, João Pires, Jessica Craig, and Ramanan Laxminarayan. 2019. "Global geographic trends in antimicrobial resistance: the role of international travel." *Journal of Travel Medicine* 26 (8):taz036.
- Fuso Nerini, Francesco, Julia Tomei, Long Seng To, Iwona Bisaga, Priti Parikh, Mairi Black, Aiduan Borrion, Catalina Spataru, Vanesa Castán Broto, and Gabrial Anandarajah.

- 2018. "Mapping synergies and trade-offs between energy and the Sustainable Development Goals." *Nature Energy* 3 (1):10-15.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. 1986. "The long peace: Elements of stability in the postwar international system." *International Security* 10 (4):99-142.
- Gadinger, Frank, and Jan Aart Scholte, eds. 2023. *Polycentrism: How Governing Works Today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gallagher, Michael, and Paul Mitchell. 2005. "Introduction to electoral systems." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, edited by Michael Paul Mitchell Gallagher, 3-23. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gallup Organization. 1946. Gallup Poll # 1946-0376: Education/Federal Budget. edited by Gallup Organization. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- Gallup Organization. 1947. Gallup Poll # 1947-0409: Universal Military Training Program/Automobile/Political Parties. edited by Gallup Organization. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- Gallup Organization. 1951. Gallup Poll # 1951-0473: Military Draft/1952 Presidential Election/Korea/Communism. edited by Gallup Organization. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- Gallup Organization. 1953. Gallup Poll # 1953-0518: Domestic Issues/Korea/Automobiles. edited by Gallup Organization. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- Gallup Organization. 1955. Gallup Poll # 545. edited by Gallup Organization. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.
- Ganghof, Steffen. 2015. "Four visions of democracy: Powell's Elections as Instruments of Democracy and beyond." *Political Studies Review* 13 (1):69-79.
- Ganghof, Steffen. 2016. "Reconciling representation and accountability: Three visions of democracy compared." *Government and Opposition* 51 (2):209-233.
- Ganghof, Steffen. 2019. "Designing democratic constitutions: The search for optimality." *Politics and Governance* 7 (4):243-253.
- Gardner, Peter, Tiago Carvalho, and Maria Valenstain. 2022. "Spreading rebellion? The rise of extinction rebellion chapters across the world." *Environmental Sociology* 8 (4):424-435.
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe. c1871/1934. "Unione europea." In *Scritti e discorsi politici e militari. Volume III (1868-1882)*, 545-546. Bologna: Cappelli Editore.
- Gebeye, Berihun Adugna. 2021. "Global constitutionalism and cultural diversity: The emergence of jurisgenerative constitutionalism in Africa." *Global Constitutionalism* 10 (1):40-71.
- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic breakdown and regime transitions: A new data set." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (2):313-331.
- Gelman, Andrew, Jonathan N Katz, and Joseph Bafumi. 2004. "Standard voting power indexes do not work: an empirical analysis." *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (4):657-674.
- George, Justin, Dongfang Hou, and Todd Sandler. 2019. "Asia-Pacific demand for military expenditure: Spatial panel and SUR estimates." *Defence and Peace Economics* 30 (4):381-401.
- Gerring, John, Michael Hoffman, and Dominic Zarecki. 2018. "The diverse effects of diversity on democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 48 (2):283-314.
- Gerring, John, Carl Henrik Knutsen, and Jonas Berge. 2022. "Does democracy matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 25:357-375.

- Getachew, Adom. 2019. Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-determination. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gethin, Amory, Clara Martínez-Toledano, and Thomas Piketty. 2021. *Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities: A Study of Fifty Democracies, 1948–2020.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Ghassim, Farsan. 2020. Who on Earth Wants Global Democracy and Why (Not)? A Theoretical and Experimental Study of International Public Opinion. University of Oxford Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (DPhil) in International Relations.
- Ghassim, Farsan, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, and Luis Cabrera. 2022. "Public opinion on institutional designs for the United Nations: An international survey experiment." *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (3):sqac027.
- Ghassim, Farsan, and Markus Pauli. 2023. Who on earth wants a world government and why? An international survey experiment: Paper presented at the Global Studies Seminar, Shanghai University, 25 October.
- Ghébali, Victor Yves, Roberto Ago, and Nicolás Valticos. 1989. *The International Labour Organisation: A Case Study on the Evolution of UN Specialised Agencies*. Vol. 3: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Gilabert, Pablo, and Holly Lawford-Smith. 2012. "Political feasibility: a conceptual exploration." *Political Studies* 60 (4):809-825.
- Gill-Tiney, Patrick. 2022. "A liberal peace?: The growth of liberal norms and the decline of interstate violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66 (3):413-442.
- Ginsburg, Tom. 2009. "International delegation and state disaggregation." *Constitutional Political Economy* 20:323-340.
- Ginsburg, Tom, and Mila Versteeg. 2014. "Why do countries adopt constitutional review?" *The Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 30 (3):587-622.
- Ginsburg, Tom, and Mila Versteeg. 2018. "From Catalonia to California: Secession in constitutional law." *Alabama Law Review* 70:923-986.
- Glasius, Marlies. 2006. *The International Criminal Court: A Global Civil Society Achievement*. London: Routledge.
- Global Challenges Foundation. 2014. *Global Challenges Foundation Risk Survey: The Pulse of International Sentiment* Stockholm: Global Challenges Foundation.
- GlobeScan. 2004. What NGO Leaders Want for the Year 2020: Report of the Second Survey of the 2020 Global Stakeholder Panel. Toronto: GlobeScan.
- Globescan. 2016. Global Citizenship a growing sentiment among citizens of emerging economies: Global Poll: <a href="https://globescan.com/2016/04/27/global-citizenship-a-growing-sentiment-among-citizens-of-emerging-economies-global-poll/">https://globescan.com/2016/04/27/global-citizenship-a-growing-sentiment-among-citizens-of-emerging-economies-global-poll/</a>.
- Goda, Thomas, and Alejandro Torres García. 2017. "The rising tide of absolute global income inequality during 1850–2010: Is it driven by inequality within or between countries?" *Social Indicators Research* 130:1051-1072.
- Goertz, Gary, Paul Francis Diehl, and Alexandru Balas. 2016. *The Puzzle of Peace: The Evolution of Peace in the International System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldberg, Saskia, and André Bächtiger. 2023. "Catching the 'deliberative wave'? How (disaffected) citizens assess deliberative citizen forums." *British Journal of Political Science* 53 (1):239-247.
- Goldman, Ralph Morris, ed. 1983. *Transnational Parties: Organizing the World's Precincts*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Goldsmith, Benjamin E. 2007. "Arms racing in 'space': Spatial modelling of military spending around the world." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 42 (3):419-440.

- Goldsmith, Jack, and Daryl Levinson. 2008. "Law for states: international law, constitutional law, public law." *Harvard Law Review* 122:1791-1868.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. 2011. Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide. London and New York: Penguin.
- Gómez-Reino, Margarita. 2014. "European integration and an alternative party family: Regionalist parties and the European question." In *Europe's Contending Identities: Supranationalism, Ethnoregionalism, Religion, and New Nationalism*, edited by Andrew C. Gould and Anthony M. Messina, 118-138. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gómez León, María, and Herman J De Jong. 2019. "Inequality in turbulent times: income distribution in Germany and Britain, 1900–50." *The Economic History Review* 72 (3):1073-1098.
- González, Francisco E, and Desmond King. 2004. "The state and democratization: The United States in comparative perspective." *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (2):193-210.
- Goodin, Robert E, and Steven R Ratner. 2011. "Democratizing International Law." *Global Policy* 2 (3):241-247.
- Goodin, Robert E. 2007. "Enfranchising all affected interests, and its alternatives." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35 (1):40-68.
- Goodin, Robert E. 2010. "Global democracy: In the beginning." *International Theory* 2 (2):175-209
- Goodin, Robert E. 2012. "World government Is here!" In *Varieties of Sovereignty and Citizenship*, edited by Sigal R Ben-Porath and Rogers M Smith, 149-65. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goodin, Robert E. 2016. "Enfranchising all subjected, worldwide." *International Theory* 8 (3):365-389.
- Goodin, Robert E. 2022. "Proximity principle, adieu." In *Studies on the Democratic Boundary Problem*, edited by Paul Bowman, 11-31. Stockholm: Institute for Futures Studies.
- Gorman, Brandon, and Charles Seguin. 2018. "World citizens on the periphery: Threat and identification with global society." *American Journal of Sociology* 124 (3):705-761.
- Görres, Joseph. 1798/1979. "Der allgemeine Frieden, ein Ideal." In *Friedensutopien*, edited by Zwi Barscha and Richard Saage, 111-172. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- Gould, Carol C. 2009. "Structuring global democracy: Political communities, universal human rights, and transnational representation." *Metaphilosophy* 40 (1):24-41.
- Graham, Benjamin AT, Michael K Miller, and Kaare W Strøm. 2017. "Safeguarding Democracy: Powersharing and Democratic Survival." *American Political Science Review* 111 (4):686-704.
- Graham, Benjamin AT, and Jacob R Tucker. 2019. "The international political economy data resource." *The Review of International Organizations* 14 (1):149-161.
- Green, Jon, Matthew Baum, James Druckman, David Lazer, Katherine Ognyanova, Matthew D Simonson, Roy Perlis, and Mauricio Santillana. 2020. *Identifying and Measuring Conditional Policy Preferences: The Case of Opening Schools During a Pandemic*. Northwestern Institute for Policy Research Working Paper Series.
- Greig, J Michael, and Andrew J Enterline. 2017. *National Material Capabilities (NMC) data documentation version 5.0*: Correlates of War.
- Griffiths, Ryan D. 2010. "Security threats, linguistic homogeneity, and the necessary conditions for political unification." *Nations and Nationalism* 16 (1):169-188.
- Griffiths, Ryan D. 2018. "The Waltzian ordering principle and international change: A two-dimensional model." *European Journal of International Relations* 24 (1):130-152.

- Grigorescu, Alexandru. 2007. "Transparency of intergovernmental organizations: The roles of member states, international bureaucracies and nongovernmental organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (3):625-648.
- Grigorescu, Alexandru. 2015. Democratic Intergovernmental Organizations? Normative Pressures and Decision-Making Rules. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grigorescu, Alexandru. 2023. Restraining Power through Institutions: A Unifying Theme for Domestic and International Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grimm, Dieter. 2015. *Sovereignty: The Origin and Future of a Political and Legal Concept*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Grossmann, Igor, and et al. 2023. "Insights into the accuracy of social scientists' forecasts of societal change." *Nature Human Behaviour* 7 (4):484-501.
- Grotius, Hugo. 1646/1925. *The Law of War and Peace*. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Gruber, Lloyd. 2000. Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Gruffydd-Jones, Jamie. 2017. "Dangerous days: The impact of nationalism on interstate conflict." *Security Studies* 26 (4):698-728.
- Guasti, Alessandro, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. 2022. "Has global trade competition really led to a race to the bottom in labor standards?" *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (4):sqac061.
- Gubler, Joshua R, and Joel Sawat Selway. 2012. "Horizontal inequality, crosscutting cleavages, and civil war." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (2):206-232.
- Guillaud, Elvire. 2013. "Preferences for redistribution: An empirical analysis over 33 countries." *The Journal of Economic Inequality* 11 (1):57-78.
- Guinier, Lani. 1994. The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy. New York: Free Press.
- Gülzau, Fabian, and Steffen Mau. 2021. "Walls, barriers, checkpoints, landmarks, and "noman's-land": A quantitative typology of border control infrastructure." *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 46 (3):23-48.
- Guzman, Andrew T, and Jennifer Landsidle. 2008. "The myth of international delegation." *California Law Review* 96 (6):1693-1723.
- Gygli, Savina, Florian Haelg, Niklas Potrafke, and Jan-Egbert Sturm. 2019. "The KOF globalisation index—revisited." *The Review of International Organizations* 14:543-574.
- Haas, Ernst B. 1962. "System and process in the International Labor Organization: A statistical afterthought." *World Politics* 14 (2):322-352.
- Haber, Stephen, and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse." *American Political Science Review* 105 (1):1-26.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1995. "On the internal relation between the rule of law and democracy." *European Journal of Philosophy* 3 (1):12-20.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1996. Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy. Cambridge: Polity.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1998. "Kant's idea of perpetual peace: At two hundred years' historical remove." In *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, 165-201. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. "Constitutional democracy: A paradoxical union of contradictory principles?" *Political Theory* 29 (6):766-781.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2006. The Divided West. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hackenesch, Christine, and Julia Bader. 2020. "The struggle for minds and influence: The Chinese Communist Party's global outreach." *International Studies Quarterly* 64 (3):723-733.

- Haerpfer, C., R. Inglehart, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, Diez-Medrano J., M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin, and B. Puranen. 2022. World Values Survey: Round Seven Country-Pooled Datafile Version 4.0. Madrid, Spain & Vienna, Austria: JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Daniel J Hopkins, and Teppei Yamamoto. 2014. "Causal inference in conjoint analysis: Understanding multidimensional choices via stated preference experiments." *Political Analysis* 22 (1):1-30.
- Hale, Thomas, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. 2016. "Are Europeans ready for a more democratic European Union? New evidence on preference heterogeneity, polarisation and crosscuttingness." *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (2):225–245.
- Hale, Thomas, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. 2019. "Could global democracy satisfy diverse policy values? An empirical analysis." *The Journal of Politics* 81 (1):112-126.
- Hanschmidt, Alwin. 1977. Republikanisch-demokratischer Internationalismus im 19. Jahrhundert: Ideen, Formen, Organisierungsversuche. Oldenburg: Matthiesen Verlag.
- Haworth, Alida R, Scott D Sagan, and Benjamin A Valentino. 2019. "What do Americans really think about conflict with nuclear North Korea? The answer is both reassuring and disturbing." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 75 (4):179-186.
- Hayo, Bernd, and Stefan Voigt. 2014. "Mapping constitutionally safeguarded judicial independence—A global survey." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 11 (1):159-195.
- Heater, Derek. 1996. World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought. New York: St. Martin's Press
- Heinzel, Mirko, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. 2023. "Soft governance against superbugs: How effective is the international regime on antimicrobial resistance?" *The Review of International Organizations* Published online 30 September.
- Helbling, Marc, Rahsaan Maxwell, and Richard Traunmüller. 2023. "Numbers, Selectivity and Rights: The Conditional Nature of Immigration Policy Preferences." *Comparative Political Studies* Published online May 30.
- Held, David. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Held, David. 2004. "Democratic accountability and political effectiveness from a cosmopolitan perspective." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2):364-391.
- Heldt, Eugénia, and Henning Schmidtke. 2017. "Measuring the empowerment of international organizations: The evolution of financial and staff capabilities." *Global Policy* 8:51-61
- Hellman, Martin. 2008. "Risk analysis of nuclear deterrence." *The Bent of Tau Beta Pi* 99 (2):14-22.
- Henderson, Errol Anthony. 2002. *Democracy and War: the End of an Illusion?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Heritage Foundation. 2022. 2022 Index of Economic Freedom. <a href="https://www.heritage.org/index/">https://www.heritage.org/index/</a>.
- Herman, Lise Esther. 2017. "Democratic partisanship: From theoretical ideal to empirical standard." *American Political Science Review* 111 (4):738-754.
- Herz, John H. 1959. *International Politics in the Atomic Age*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hinich, Melvin J, and Michael C Munger. 1994. *Ideology and the Theory of Political Choice*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hix, Simon, and Abdul Noury. 2009. "After enlargement: Voting patterns in the sixth European Parliament." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34 (2):159-174.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. 2007. *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hobson, J. A. 1934. *Democracy and a Changing Civilisation*. London: John Lane The Bodley Head.
- Höffe, Otfried. 2007. Democracy in an Age of Globalisation. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Höffe, Otfried. 2006. *Kant's Cosmopolitan Theory of Law and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. 2003. "World governance: Beyond utopia." Daedalus 132 (1):27-35.
- Holthaus, Leonie. 2018. *Pluralist Democracy in International Relations: LT Hobhouse, GDH Cole, and David Mitrany*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Tobias Lenz, and Gary Marks. 2019. A Theory of International Organization: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance, Volume IV. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, Besir Ceka, and Svet Derderyan. 2017. *Measuring International Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance, Volume III.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Howes, Dustin Ells. 2003. "When states choose to die: Reassessing assumptions about what states want." *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (4):669-692.
- Hugo, Victor. 1848/1875. "Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté, place des Vosges." In *Actes et Paroles: Avant l'Exil 1841-1851*, 109-111. Paris: Michel Levy Freres.
- Hume, David. 1772/1994. "Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences." In *Political Essays*, 58-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of Global Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ibhawoh, Bonny. 2001. "Cultural relativism and human rights: Reconsidering the Africanist discourse." *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 19 (1):43-62.
- Ikilezi, Gloria, Orvalho J Augusto, Joseph L Dieleman, Kenneth Sherr, and Stephen S Lim. 2020. "Effect of donor funding for immunization from Gavi and other development assistance channels on vaccine coverage: Evidence from 120 low and middle income recipient countries." *Vaccine* 38 (3):588-596.
- IMF. 2021. *Build Forward Better: IMF Annual Report 2021*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and et al., eds. 2014. World Values Survey: All Rounds Country-Pooled Datafile Version. Madrid: JD Systems Institute.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2022. *The Military Balance 2022*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Isensee, Josef. 2003. "Die vielen Staaten in der einen Welt-eine Apologie." Zeitschrift für Staats-und Europawissenschaften/Journal for Comparative Government and European Policy 1 (1):7-31.
- Ishiyama, John. 2022. "Has legislative power declined globally?" *The Journal of Legislative Studies* Published online 25 July.
- ISSP Research Group. 1998. *International Social Survey Programme: National Identity I ISSP 1995*. Cologne: GESIS Data Archive, ZA2880 Data file Version 1.0.0, <a href="https://doi.org/10.4232/1.2880">https://doi.org/10.4232/1.2880</a>.
- ISSP Research Group. 2012. *International Social Survey Programme: National Identity II ISSP 2003*. Cologne: GESIS Data Archive, ZA3910 Data file Version 2.1.0, doi: 10.4232/1.11449.
- Jackson, Robert. 2000. *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in a World of States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jägermeyr, Jonas, Alan Robock, Joshua Elliott, Christoph Müller, Lili Xia, Nikolay Khabarov, Christian Folberth, Erwin Schmid, Wenfeng Liu, and Florian Zabel. 2020. "A regional

- nuclear conflict would compromise global food security." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117 (13):7071-7081.
- James, Patrick, Eric Solberg, and Murray Wolfson. 1999. "An identified systemic model of the democracy-peace nexus." *Defence and Peace Economics* 10 (1):1-37.
- Jenne, Erin K. 2018. "Is nationalism or ethnopopulism on the rise today?" *Ethnopolitics* 17 (5):546-552.
- Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation under the security dilemma." *World Politics* 30 (2):167-214.
- Johnston, Seth, Dan Reiter, John Schuessler, and Richard Ned Lebow. 2011. "Are democracies aggressive? Is the United States aggressive? An exchange." *St Antony's International Review* 7 (1):166-188.
- Jones, Eric. 2003. *The European miracle: environments, economies and geopolitics in the history of Europe and Asia. Third Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jönsson, Christer, and Jonas Tallberg, eds. 2010. *Transnational Actors in Global Governance:* Patterns, Explanations and Implications. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- K'ang, Yu-wei. 1902/1958. *Ta T'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Kahler, Miles. 2005. "Defining accountability up: The global economic multilaterals." In *Global Governance and Public Accountability*, edited by David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, 8-34. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kalm, Sara, and Anna Meeuwisse. 2023. "Transcalar activism contesting the liberal international order: The case of the World Congress of Families." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* Published online 7 February.
- Kamminga, Menno R. 2006. "Why global distributive justice cannot work." *Acta Politica* 41:21-40.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1775-76/2012. "Lecture of the Winter Semester 1775–1776 based on the transcriptions Friedländer 3.3 (Ms 400), Friedländer 2 (Ms 399) and Prieger." In *Lectures on Anthropology*, 43-256. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1784/2007. "Idea for a universal history with a cosmopolitan aim." In *Anthropology, History, and Education*, 107-120. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1793/1996. "On the common saying: That may be correct in theory, but is of no use in practice." In *Practical Philosophy*, 277-309. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1795/1996. "Toward Perpetual Peace." In *Practical Philosophy*, 317-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1797/1996. "The Metaphysics of Morals. Part I: Metaphysical First Principles of the Doctrine of Right." In *Practical Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kant, Immanuel. 2016. "Fragments from notes on natural right." In *Lectures and Drafts on Political Philosophy*, 21-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, Morton A. 1966. "The new great debate: Traditionalism vs. science in international relations." *World Politics* 19 (1):1-20.
- Kasuya, Yuko, and Kota Mori. 2022. "Re-examining thresholds of continuous democracy measures." *Contemporary Politics* 24 (4):365-385.
- Kelemen, R Daniel, and Laurent Pech. 2019. "The uses and abuses of constitutional pluralism: Undermining the rule of law in the name of constitutional identity in Hungary and Poland." *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies* 21:59-74.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1920. Das Problem der Souveränität und die Theorie des Völkerrechts: Beitrag zu einer reinen Rechtslehre. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck).

- Kelsen, Hans. 1929. Vom Wesen und Wert der Demokratie. Zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1942. Law and Peace in International Relations: The Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures, 1940-41. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1944a. Peace Through Law. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1944b. "The strategy of peace." American Journal of Sociology 49 (5):381-389.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1946. "Organization and procedure of the Security Council of the United Nations." *Harvard Law Review* 59 (7):1087-1121.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1955. "Foundations of democracy." Ethics 65:1-67.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1967. Pure Theory of Law. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Keohane, Robert O. 2003. "Global governance and democratic accountability." In *Taming Globalization: Frontiers of Governance*, edited by David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, 130-159. Cambridge: Polity.
- Keohane, Robert O. 2006. "Accountability in world politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 29 (2):75-87.
- Keohane, Robert O. 2015. "Nominal democracy? Prospects for democratic global governance." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 13 (2):343-353.
- King, Gary, Michael Tomz, and Jason Wittenberg. 2000. "Making the most of statistical analyses: Improving interpretation and presentation." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2):347-361.
- King, Gary, and Langche Zeng. 2007. "When can history be our guide? The pitfalls of counterfactual inference." *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (1):183-210.
- King Jr, Martin Luther. 1964/2012. "The greatest hope for world peace." In "In a Single Garment of Destiny": A Global Vision of Justice, 146-149. Boston: Beacon Press.
- King Jr, Martin Luther. 1967. Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community? New York: Harper & Row.
- Kingsbury, Benedict, Nico Krisch, and Richard B Stewart. 2005. "The emergence of global administrative law." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 68 (3/4):15-61.
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2012. "Multilateral trade and militarized conflict: Centrality, openness, and asymmetry in the global trade network." *The Journal of Politics* 74 (1):308-322.
- Kinski, Lucy. 2022. "Transnational partisanship in the EU: opportunities, incentives and obstacles." In *Transforming the Political Union: Reinforcing Europarties ahead of the European Elections*, 21-53. Brussels: FEPS-Foundation for European Progressive Studies.
- Kirikakha, Aleksandra, Gabriel J Felbermayr, Constantinos Syropoulos, Erdal Yalcin, and Yoto V Yotov. 2021. "The Global Sanctions Data Base (GSDB): an update that includes the years of the Trump presidency." In *Research Handbook on Economic Sanctions*, 62-106. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Kirsch, Werner, and Gabor Toth. 2022. "Collective bias models in two-tier voting systems and the democracy deficit." *Mathematical Social Sciences* 119:118-137.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6-7):845-879.
- Kleingeld, Pauline. 2011. *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Richard Hofferbert, Ian Budge, Hans Keman, Ian Keman, Torbjörn Bergman, François Pétry, and Kaare Strom. 1994. *Parties, Policies, and Democracy*. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press.

- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Ian McDonald Budge, and Michael. 2006. *Mapping Policy Preferences II. Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, the European Union and the OECD, 1990-2003*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Klotz, Lynn. 2019. "Human error in high-biocontainment labs: A likely pandemic threat." *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* February 25.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2004a. "Explaining government preferences for institutional change in EU foreign and security policy." *International Organization* 58 (1):137-174.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2004b. "International governance as new Raison d'État? The case of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy." *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (2):147-188.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2004c. "Transnational corporations and public accountability." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2):234-259.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2011a. "Global polio eradication initiative." In *The Handbook of Transnational Governance: Institutions and Innovations*, edited by Thomas Hale and David Held, 166-175. Cambridge: Polity.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2011b. "Is global democracy possible?" European Journal of International Relations 17 (3):519-542.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2012a. "Fuzzy citizenship in global society." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 20 (4):456-480.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2012b. "Global democracy and domestic analogies." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 160-82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2022. "Who are the people? Defining the demos in the measurement of democracy." *Political Studies* 70 (2):402–424.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias, and Kate Macdonald. 2017. "The role of beneficiaries in transnational regulatory processes." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 670 (1):36-57.
- Kohr, Leopold. 1957. The Breakdown of Nations. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kojève, Alexandre. 1943/2000. *Outline of a Phenomenology of Right*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kokaz, Nancy. 2005. "Institutions for global justice." *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* Supplementary Volume 31:65-107.
- Koremenos, Barbara. 2016. *The Continent of International Law: Explaining Agreement Design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koriyama, Yukio, Antonin Macé, Rafael Treibich, and Jean-François Laslier. 2013. "Optimal apportionment." *Journal of Political Economy* 121 (3):584-608.
- Kosinski, Leszek A. 1969. "Changes in the ethnic structure in east-central Europe, 1930-1960." *Geographical Review* 59 (3):388-402.
- Koubi, Vally. 2019. "Climate change and conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22:343-360.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1988. "Sovereignty: An institutional perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 21 (1):66-94.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Krehbiel, Jay N. 2021. "Do voters punish noncompliance with high courts? A cross-national analysis." *Politics* 41 (2):156-172.

- Kreppel, Amie. 2014. "Typologies and classifications." In *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, edited by Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare W. Strøm. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1998. "The transformation of cleavage politics: The 1997 Stein Rokkan lecture." *European Journal of Political Research* 33 (2):165-185.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, and Timotheos Frey. 2008. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Krisch, Nico. 2010. *Beyond Constitutionalism: The Pluralist Structure of Postnational Law*. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kroenig, Matthew. 2020. "Rejoinder: A nuclear exchange on survivable normative biases." *New Perspectives* 28 (1):123-127.
- Kroll, Christian, Anne Warchold, and Prajal Pradhan. 2019. "Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Are we successful in turning trade-offs into synergies?" *Palgrave Communications* 5 (1):1-11.
- Krotoszynski, Ronald J. 2011. "The separation of legislative and executive powers." In *Comparative Constitutional Law*, edited by Tom Ginsburg and Rosalind Dixon. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Kucera, David. 2002. "Core labour standards and foreign direct investment." *International Labour Review* 141:31-69.
- Kuhn, Theresa, and Francesco Nicoli. 2020. "Collective identities and the integration of core state powers: Introduction to the special issue." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (1):3-20.
- Kukathas, Chandran. 2006. "The mirage of global justice." *Social Philosophy and Policy* 23 (1):1-28.
- Kumm, Mattias. 2013. "The Cosmopolitan Turn in Constitutionalism: An Integrated Conception of Public Law." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 20 (2).
- Kuper, Andrew. 2004. Democracy Beyond Borders: Justice and Representation in Global Institutions. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kurz, Sascha, Nicola Maaser, and Stefan Napel. 2017. "On the democratic weights of nations." *Journal of Political Economy* 125 (5):1599-1634.
- Kushi, Sidita, and Monica Duffy Toft. 2023. "Introducing the Military Intervention Project: A new dataset on US Military interventions, 1776–2019." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 67 (4):752–779.
- Kuyper, Jonathan W. 2014. "Global democratization and international regime complexity." *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (3):620-646.
- Kuyper, Jonathan W, and Theresa Squatrito. 2017. "International courts and global democratic values: Participation, accountability, and justification." *Review of International Studies* 43 (1):152-176.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1999. "Citizenship in an Era of Globalization: Commentary on Held." In *Democracy's Edges*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, 112-126. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kymlicka, Will. 2001. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- L'Aurora, Enrico Michele. 1796/1956. "All'Italia nelle tenebre l'Aurora porta la luce." In *Giacobini italiani. Vol. 1*, edited by Delio Cantimori. Bari: Laterza.
- L'Ouverture, Toussaint. 1797/2019. "Address to Soldiers for the Universal Destruction of Slavery." In *The Haitian Revolution*. London: Verso.
- L'Ouverture, Toussaint. 2019. The Haitian Revolution. London and New York: Verso.

- La Hovary, Claire. 2015. "A challenging ménage à trois? Tripartism in the International Labour Organization." *International Organizations Law Review* 12 (1):204-236.
- Laborde, Cécile, and Miriam Ronzoni. 2016. "What is a free state? Republican internationalism and globalisation." *Political Studies* 64 (2):279-296.
- Lacy, Dean. 2001. "A theory of nonseparable preferences in survey responses." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (2):239-258.
- Lacy, Dean, and Emerson Niou. 2013. "Nonseparable preferences and issue packaging in elections." In *Advances in Political Economy*, edited by Norman Schofield, Gonzalo Caballero and Daniel Kselman, 203-215. Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer.
- Lacy, Dean, and Emerson MS Niou. 2000. "A problem with referendums." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12 (1):5-31.
- Lagerspetz, Eerik. 2016. Social Choice and Democratic Values. Cham: Springer.
- Lauterpacht, Hersch. 1950. International Law and Human Rights. London: Stevens and Sons.
- Law, David S, and Mila Versteeg. 2011. "The evolution and ideology of global constitutionalism." *California Law Review* 99:1163-1257.
- Leach, Stefan, Andrew Kitchin, and Robbie Sutton. 2023. "Word embeddings indicate historical growth in moral concern for people, animals, and the environment." *British Journal of Social Psychology* Published online 5 July.
- Lebow, Richard Ned. 2011. "Aggressive democracies." *St Antony's International Review* 6 (2):120-133.
- Lee, Hyo Won, and Sijeong Lim. 2022. "Making sense of citizen desire for IO democracy: An analysis of public opinion across 44 countries." *European Journal of International Relations* 28 (2):471-494.
- Lee, Jong-Wha, and Hanol Lee. 2016. "Human capital in the long run." *Journal of Development Economics* 122:147-169.
- Leebron, David W. 2002. "Linkages." American Journal of International Law 96 (1):5-27.
- Lefkofridi, Zoe, and Alexia Katsanidou. 2018. "A step closer to a transnational party system? Competition and coherence in the 2009 and 2014 European Parliament." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (6):1462-1482.
- Lefkofridi, Zoe, Markus Wagner, and Johanna E Willmann. 2014. "Left-authoritarians and policy representation in Western Europe: Electoral choice across ideological dimensions." *West European Politics* 37 (1):65-90.
- Lehmann, Pola, Simon Franzmann, Tobias Burst, Sven Regel, Felicia Riethmüller, Andrea Volkens, Bernhard Weßels, and Lisa Zehnter. 2023. *The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/ CMP/ MARPOR). Version 2023a*. Berlin and Göttingen: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB); Institut für Demokratieforschung (IfDem), <a href="https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpds.2023a">https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpds.2023a</a>.
- Leinen, Jo, and Andreas Bummel. 2018. A World Parliament: Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century. Berlin: Democracy Without Borders.
- Lencucha, Raphael, and Shashika Bandara. 2021. "Trust, risk, and the challenge of information sharing during a health emergency." *Globalization and Health* 17 (1):1-7.
- Lever, Annabelle. 2009. "Democracy and judicial review: Are they really incompatible?" *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (4):805-822.
- Lewis, Gregory, Piers Millett, Anders Sandberg, Andrew Snyder-Beattie, and Gigi Gronvall. 2019. "Information hazards in biotechnology." *Risk Analysis* 39 (5):975-981.
- Li Donni, Paolo, Maria Marino, and Christian Welzel. 2021. "How important is culture to understand political protest?" *World Development* 148:105661.
- Li, Ruisi, Kaiping Peng, Linjia Jiang, Jingjin Li, and Wang Fei. 2022. "Is the need for autonomy universal? Investigations with three large-scale global datasets." *Psyarxiv.com* January 18:doi:10.31234/osf.io/rwqbx.

- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-six Countries. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lim, Adelyn. 2016. "Transnational organising and feminist politics of difference and solidarity: The mobilisation of domestic workers in Hong Kong." *Asian Studies Review* 40 (1):70-88.
- Lindqvist, Erik, and Robert Östling. 2010. "Political polarization and the size of government." *American Political Science Review* 104 (3):543-565.
- Linz, Juan J, and Alfred Stepan. 1996. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Liou, Ryan Yu-Lin, Amanda Murdie, and Dursun Peksen. 2021. "Revisiting the causal links between economic sanctions and human rights violations." *Political Research Quarterly* 74 (4):808-821.
- Lipset, Seymour M. 1960. *Political Man: The Social Basis of Modern Politics*. New York: Doubleday.
- List, Christian. 2006. "Republican freedom and the rule of law." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 5 (2):201-220.
- List, Christian, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. 2010. "Can there be a global demos? An agency-based approach." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 38 (1):76-110.
- List, Christian, and Philip Pettit. 2002. "Aggregating sets of judgments: An impossibility result." *Economics & Philosophy* 18 (1):89-110.
- List, Christian, and Philip Pettit. 2011. *Group Agency: The Possibility, Design, and Status of Corporate Agents*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- List, Christian, and Laura Valentini. 2016. "Freedom as independence." *Ethics* 126 (4):1043-1074.
- Little, Adrian, and Kate Macdonald. 2013. "Pathways to global democracy? Escaping the statist imaginary." *Review of International Studies* 39 (4):789-813.
- Lloyd, Lola Maverick, and Roskia Schwimmer. 1942. *Chaos, War, or a New World Order. Enlarged edition*. Chicago: Campaign for World Government.
- Lovett, Adam, and Jake Zuehl. 2022. "The possibility of democratic autonomy." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 50 (4):467-498.
- Lovett, Frank. 2016. "Should republicans be cosmopolitans?" *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* 9 (1).
- Lu, Catherine. 2018. "Cosmopolitan justice, democracy and the world state." In *Institutional Cosmopolitanism*, edited by Luis Cabrera. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lucena Carneiro, Cristiane, and Laerte Apolinário Jr. 2016. "Targeted versus conventional economic sanctions: what is at stake for human rights?" *International Interactions* 42 (4):565-589.
- Luhmann, Sybille. 2017. "A multi-level approach to European identity: Does integration foster identity?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (6):1360-1379.
- Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I Lindberg. 2019. "A third wave of autocratization is here: What is new about it?" *Democratization* 26 (7):1095-1113.
- Lührmann, Anna, Marcus Tannenberg, and Staffan I Lindberg. 2018. "Regimes of the World (RoW): Opening new avenues for the comparative study of political regimes." *Politics and Governance* 6 (1):60-77.
- Lundgren, Carl. 2013. "What are the odds? Assessing the probability of a nuclear war." *The Nonproliferation Review* 20 (2):361-374.
- Lusseau, David, and Francesca Mancini. 2019. "Income-based variation in Sustainable Development Goal interaction networks." *Nature Sustainability* 2 (3):242-247.

- Ma, Debin, and Jared Rubin. 2019. "The Paradox of Power: Principal-agent problems and administrative capacity in Imperial China (and other absolutist regimes)." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 47 (2):277-294.
- MacAskill, William. 2022. What We Owe the Future. London: Oneworld.
- Macdonald, Kate. 2012a. "Global democracy for a partially joined-up world: Toward a multi-level system of public power and democratic governance?" In *Global Democracy:* Normative and Empirical Perspectives, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 183-209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macdonald, Kate, and Terry Macdonald. 2010. "Democracy in a pluralist global order: Corporate power and stakeholder representation." *Ethics & International Affairs* 24 (1):19-43.
- Macdonald, Terry. 2008. *Global Stakeholder Democracy: Power and Representation beyond Liberal States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Macdonald, Terry. 2012b. "Citizens or Stakeholders? Exclusion, Equality and Legitimacy in Global Stakeholder Democracy." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 47-68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macdonald, Terry, and Kate Macdonald. 2006. "Non-electoral accountability in global politics: Strengthening democratic control within the global garment industry." *European Journal of International Law* 17 (1):89-119.
- Macdonald, Terry, and Kate Macdonald. 2020. "Towards a 'pluralist' world order: Creative agency and legitimacy in global institutions." *European Journal of International Relations* 26 (2):518-544.
- Mackie, Gerry. 2018. "Deliberation and voting entwined." In *The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy*, edited by Andre Bächtiger, John S. Dryzek, Jane Mansbridge and Mark Warren, 218–236. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maerz, Seraphine F., Amanda B. Edgell, Matthew C. Wilson, Sebastian Hellmeier, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2021. *A Framework for Understanding Regime Transformation: Introducing the ERT Dataset. V-Dem Working Paper 113*. Gothenburg, Sweden: V-Dem Institute.
- Mangone, Gerard J. 1951. *The Idea and Practice of World Government*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Manheim, David, and Gregory Lewis. 2022. "High-risk human-caused pathogen exposure events from 1975-2016 [version 2; peer review: 2 approved]." *F1000Research* 10 (752):752.
- Marchetti, Raffaele. 2008. *Global Democracy--For and Against: Ethical Theory, Institutional Design and Social Struggles*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Marchetti, Raffaele. 2012. "Models of global democracy: In defence of Cosmo-federalism." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 22-46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Markandya, Anil, Alessandro Antimiani, Valeria Costantini, C Martini, Alessandro Palma, and MC Tommasino. 2015. "Analyzing trade-offs in international climate policy options: The case of the green climate fund." *World Development* 74:93-107.
- Markkanen, Sanna, and Annela Anger-Kraavi. 2019. "Social impacts of climate change mitigation policies and their implications for inequality." *Climate Policy* 19 (7):827-844.
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank. 1996. "European integration from the 1980s: State-centric v. multi-level governance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (3):341-378.

- Marsiglio of Padua. c1339/1993. "Defensor Minor." In *Writings on the Empire: Defensor Minor and De Translatione Imperii*, edited by Cary J. Nederman, 1-64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martens, Wil, Bastiaan van der Linden, and Manuel Wörsdörfer. 2019. "How to assess the democratic qualities of a multi-stakeholder initiative from a Habermasian perspective? Deliberative democracy and the Equator Principles framework." *Journal of Business Ethics* 155:1115-1133.
- Martí, José Luis. 2010. "A global republic to prevent global domination." *Diacritica* 24:31–72.
- Marx, Karl. 1875/1989. "Critique of the Gotha Program." In *Marx & Engels Collected Works*. *Volume 24*, 75-99. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Mastanduno, Michael. 2014. "Realism and Asia." In *The Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*, edited by Saadia M. Pekkanen, John Ravenhill and Rosemary Foot, 25-44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mattoo, Aaditya, and Arvind Subramanian. 2012. "Equity in climate change: An analytical review." *World Development* 40 (6):1083-1097.
- Maxmen, Amy. 2022. "Scientists struggle to probe COVID's origins amid sparse data from China." *Nature* 603 (7903):773-775.
- May, Kenneth O. 1952. "A set of independent necessary and sufficient conditions for simple majority decision." *Econometrica* 20 (4):680-684.
- Mayne, Richard, and John Pinder. 1990. Federal Union: The Pioneers. A History of Federal Union. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- McConaughey, Meghan, Paul Musgrave, and Daniel H Nexon. 2018. "Beyond anarchy: logics of political organization, hierarchy, and international structure." *International Theory* 10 (2):181-218.
- McGann, Anthony J. 2004. "The tyranny of the supermajority: How majority rule protects minorities." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 16 (1):53-77.
- McGann, Anthony J. 2006. *The Logic of Democracy: Reconciling Equality, Deliberation, and Minority Protection*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- McGann, Anthony J. 2013. "Fairness and bias in electoral systems." In *Representation: Elections and Beyond*, edited by Jack H. Nagel and Rogers M. Smith, 90-113. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2018. *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Melton, James, and Tom Ginsburg. 2014. "Does de jure judicial independence really matter? A reevaluation of explanations for judicial independence." *Journal of Law and Courts* 2 (2):187-217.
- Merler, Stefano, Marco Ajelli, Laura Fumanelli, and Alessandro Vespignani. 2013. "Containing the accidental laboratory escape of potential pandemic influenza viruses." *BMC Medicine* 11 (1):1-11.
- Midlarsky, Manus I. 1995. "Environmental influences on democracy: Aridity, warfare, and a reversal of the causal arrow." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39 (2):224-262.
- Milanovic, Branko. 2012. "Global inequality: From class to location, from proletarians to migrants." *Global Policy* 3 (2):125-134.
- Milanovic, Branko. 2016. *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Milanovic, Branko. 2021. *Notes on global income inequality: A non-technical summary*. <a href="https://glineq.blogspot.com/2021/05/notes-on-global-income-inequality-non.html">https://glineq.blogspot.com/2021/05/notes-on-global-income-inequality-non.html</a> (accessed 27/07/2021).

- Milanović, Branko. 2021. "Towards global progressiveness." *International Politics and Society* 17 August.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1861/1991. "Considerations on representative government." In *On Liberty and Other Essays*, edited by John Gray. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, David. 2007. *National Responsibility and Global Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, David. 2009. "Democracy's domain." Philosophy and Public Affairs 37 (3):201-228.
- Miller, David. 2010. "Against global democracy." In *After the Nation: Critical Reflections on Post-Nationalism*, edited by Keith Breen and Shane O'Neill, 141-160. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Miller, Michael K. 2015. "Democratic pieces: Autocratic elections and democratic development since 1815." *British Journal of Political Science* 45 (3):501-530.
- Miller, Nicholas R. 1983. "Pluralism and social choice." *American Political Science Review* 77 (3):734-747.
- Mills, Charles W. 1997. The Racial Contract. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mills, Michael J, Owen B Toon, Julia Lee-Taylor, and Alan Robock. 2014. "Multidecadal global cooling and unprecedented ozone loss following a regional nuclear conflict." *Earth's Future* 2 (4):161-176.
- Milner, Helen. 1991. "The assumption of anarchy in international relations theory: A critique." *Review of International Studies* 17:67-85.
- Mitrany, David. 1975. "A political theory for the new society." In *Functionalism*, edited by A. J. R. Groom and Paul Taylor, 25–52. London: University
- of London Press.
- Monbiot, George. 2003. *The Age of Consent: Manifesto for a New World Order*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Montanaro, Laura. 2012. "The democratic legitimacy of self-appointed representatives." *The Journal of Politics* 74 (4):1094-1107.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat. 1748/1989. *The Spirit of the Laws*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat. 2012. My Thoughts. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Monteux, Camille A. 2006. "Decentralisation: The new delusion of ethnic conflict regulation." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 8 (2):162-182.
- Moon, Suerie, Devi Sridhar, Muhammad A Pate, Ashish K Jha, Chelsea Clinton, Sophie Delaunay, Valnora Edwin, Mosoka Fallah, David P Fidler, and Laurie Garrett. 2015. "Will Ebola change the game? Ten essential reforms before the next pandemic. The report of the Harvard-LSHTM Independent Panel on the Global Response to Ebola." *The Lancet* 386 (10009):2204-2221.
- Moore, Margaret. 2006. "Globalization and democratization: Institutional design for global institutions." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 37 (1):21-43.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. "Preferences and power in the European Community: A liberal intergovernmentalist approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (4):473-524.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1994. Why the European Community strengthens the state: Domestic politics and international cooperation. Cambridge, Mass.: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University.
- Morgan, T. Clifton, Navin A. Bapat, and Yoshiharu Kobayashi. 2021. "The threat and imposition of economic sanctions data project: A retrospective." In *Research Handbook on Economic Sanctions*, edited by Peter A.G. van Bergeijk. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1954. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. Second edition.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

- Mori, Massimo. 2008. *La pace e la ragione. Kant e le relazioni internazionali: diritto, politica, storia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Mortier, Roland. 1995. Anacharsis Cloots ou l'utopie foudroyée. Paris: Stock.
- Mosley, Layna. 2011. *Labor Rights and Multinational Production*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mosley, Layna, and Saika Uno. 2007. "Racing to the bottom or climbing to the top? Economic globalization and collective labor rights." *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (8):923-948.
- Mousseau, Michael, and Yuhang Shi. 1999. "A test for reverse causality in the democratic peace relationship." *Journal of Peace Research* 36 (6):639-663.
- Mueller, John. 2013. The Remnants of War. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Munck, Gerardo L. 2015. "Democratic transitions." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. Second Edition. Vol.* 6, edited by James D. Wright. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Munger, Michael, and Georg Vanberg. 2023. "Contractarianism, constitutionalism, and the status quo." *Public Choice* 195:323–339.
- Murithi, Tim. 2012. "Towards the metamorphosis of the United Nations: a proposal for establishing global democracy." In *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, 132-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Murray, Christopher JL, Kevin Shunji Ikuta, Fablina Sharara, Lucien Swetschinski, Gisela Robles Aguilar, Authia Gray, Chieh Han, Catherine Bisignano, Puja Rao, and Eve Wool. 2022. "Global burden of bacterial antimicrobial resistance in 2019: a systematic analysis." *The Lancet* 399 (10325):629-655.
- Musunuri, Sriharshita, Jonas B Sandbrink, Joshua Teperowski Monrad, Megan J Palmer, and Gregory D Koblentz. 2021. "Rapid proliferation of pandemic research: Implications for dual-use risks." *mBio* 12 (5):e01864-21.
- Nafafé, José Lingna. 2022. Lourenço da Silva Mendonça and the Black Atlantic Abolitionist Movement in the Seventeenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nanz, Patrizia. 2006. Europolis: Constitutional Patriotism Beyond the Nation State. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Nanz, Patrizia, and Jens Steffek. 2005. "Global governance, participation and the public sphere." In *Global Governance and Public Accountability*, edited by David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, 190-211. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Nardulli, Peter F, Cara J Wong, Ajay Singh, Buddy Peyton, and Joseph Bajjalieh. 2012. *The Composition of Religious and Ethnic Groups (CREG) Project*. Champaign and Urbana: Cline Center for Democracy, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Neuenkirch, Matthias, and Florian Neumeier. 2015. "The impact of UN and US economic sanctions on GDP growth." *European Journal of Political Economy* 40:110-125.
- Neuenkirch, Matthias, and Florian Neumeier. 2016. "The impact of US sanctions on poverty." Journal of Development Economics 121:110-119.
- Newcombe, Hanna. 1983. *Design for a Better World*. Lanham: University Press of America. Nicolaïdis, Kalypso. 2012. "The idea of European demoicracy." In *Philosophical Foundations of European Union Law*, edited by Julie Dickson and Pavlos Eleftheriadis, 247–274. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Noel, Hans. 2014. *Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norkus, Zenonas, and Jurgita Markevičiūtė. 2021. "New estimation of the gross domestic product in Baltic countries in 1913–1938." *Cliometrica* 15:565–674

- Norman, Ludvig, and Wouter Wolfs. 2022. "Is the governance of Europe's transnational party system contributing to EU democracy?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 60 (2):463-479.
- Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Novicow, Jacques. 1901. *Die Föderation Europas*. Berlin and Bern: Akademischer Verlag für sociale Wissenschaften Dr. John Edelheim.
- Novus and Global Challenges Foundation. 2020. *Global Catastrophic Risks and International Collaboration: Opinion poll 2020.* Stockholm: Global Challenges Foundation.
- Nozick, Robert. 1974. Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic Books.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. 2006. Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. 2019. *The Cosmopolitan Tradition: A Noble but Flawed Ideal*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Nye, Joseph S. 2002. "Parliament of Dreams." WorldLink March/April:15-17.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the state, democratization and some conceptual problems: A Latin American view with glances at some postcommunist countries." *World Development* 21 (8):1355-1369.
- O'Neill, Onora. 2001. "Agents of justice." Metaphilosophy 32 (1-2):180-195.
- O'Connor, Kelsey J, Luisa R Blanco, and Jeffrey B Nugent. 2018. "Does oil really curse democracy? A long-run time-series analysis of 127 countries." *Resources Policy* 57:264-277.
- OECD. 2021. *Managing Climate Risks, Facing up to Losses and Damages*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- Olney, William W. 2013. "A race to the bottom? Employment protection and foreign direct investment." *Journal of International Economics* 91 (2):191-203.
- Onderco, Michal, Michal Smetana, and Tom W. Etienne. 2023. "Hawks in the making? European public views on nuclear weapons post-Ukraine." *Global Policy* Published online 13 February. doi: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13179">https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13179</a>.
- Oneal, John R, and Bruce Russett. 2000. "Comment: Why "an identified systemic model of the democracy-peace nexus" does not persuade." *Defence and Peace Economics* 11 (1):197-214.
- Ooms, Gorik, Rachel Hammonds, Attiya Waris, Bart Criel, Wim Van Damme, and Alan Whiteside. 2014. "Beyond health aid: Would an international equalization scheme for universal health coverage serve the international collective interest?" *Globalization and Health* 10 (1):1-15.
- Oppenheim, Lassa. 1921. The Future of International Law. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ord, Toby. 2020. *The Precipice: Existential Risk and the Future of Humanity*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Orwin, Alexander I. 2014. "Can Humankind Deliberate on a Global Scale? Alfarabi and the Politics of the Inhabited World." *American Political Science Review* 108 (4):830-839.
- Overesch, Michael, and Johannes Rincke. 2011. "What drives corporate tax rates down? A reassessment of globalization, tax competition, and dynamic adjustment to shocks." *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 113 (3):579-602.
- Padmore, George, ed. 1947. Colonial and Coloured Unity: A Programme of Action. History of the Pan-African Congress. Manchester: Pan-African Federation.
- Page, Scott E. 2010. Diversity and Complexity. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Paine, Thomas. 1791/1995. "Rights of Man." In *Rights of Man, Common Sense, and Other Political Writings* 83-197. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Paine, Thomas. 1792/1995. "Rights of Man, Part the Second." In *Rights of Man, Common Sense, and Other Political Writings* 199-331. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pan, Jennifer, and Yiqing Xu. 2018. "China's ideological spectrum." *The Journal of Politics* 80 (1):254-273.
- Panda, Smita Mishra, and Annapurna Devi Pandey. 2022. "Rural Women's Self-Determination and Grassroots Resistance Movement." In *Gender, Power, and Non-Governance: Is Female to Male as NGO Is to State?*, edited by Andria D. Timmer and Elizabeth Wirtz, 124-149. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.
- Parent, Joseph. 2011. *Uniting States: Voluntary Union in World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Parizek, Michal, and Matthew D Stephen. 2021. "The increasing representativeness of international organizations' secretariats: Evidence from the United Nations system, 1997–2015." *International Studies Quarterly* 65 (1):197-209.
- Partington, John S. 2003. "H.G. Wells and the world state: A liberal cosmopolitan in a totalitarian age." *International Relations* 17 (2):233-246.
- Pasternak, Avia. 2012. "Cosmopolitan justice and the league of democracies." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 15 (5):649-666.
- Patomäki, Heikki. 2011. "Towards global political parties." *Ethics & Global Politics* 4 (2):81-102.
- Patomäki, Heikki. 2012. "The problems of legitimation and potential conflicts in a world political community." *Cooperation and Conflict* 47 (2):239-259.
- Paul, Darel E. 1999. "Sovereignty, survival and the Westphalian blind alley in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 25 (2):217-232.
- Pavel, Carmen. 2015. *Divided Sovereignty: International Institutions and the Limits of State Authority*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Payne, Rodger A., and Nayef H. Samhat. 2004. *Democratizing Global Politics: Discourse Norms, International Regimes, and Political Community*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Pecqueur, Constantin. 1842. *De la Paix, de son principe, et de sa réalisation*. Paris: Capelle. Peksen, Dursun. 2011. "Economic sanctions and human security: The public health effect of
- economic sanctions." Foreign Policy Analysis 7 (3):237-251.
- Pemstein, Daniel, Kyle L. Marquardt, Eitan Tzelgov, Yi-ting Wang, Juraj Medzihorsky, Joshua Krusell, Farhad Miri, and Johannes von Römer. 2021. *The V-Dem Measurement Model: Latent Variable Analysis for Cross-National and Cross-Temporal Expert-Coded Data. V-Dem Working Paper No. 21. 6th edition.* University of Gothenburg: Varieties of Democracy Institute.
- Penrose, Lionel S. 1946. "The elementary statistics of majority voting." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 109 (1):53-57.
- Peters, Margaret E. 2015. "Open trade, closed borders immigration in the era of globalization." *World Politics* 67 (1):114-154.
- Pettit, Philip. 1997. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pettit, Philip. 2010a. "Legitimate international institutions: A neorepublican perspective." In *The Philosophy of International Law*, edited by Samantha Besson and John Tasioulas, 139-62. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pettit, Philip. 2010b. "A republican law of peoples." European journal of political theory 9 (1):70-94.
- Pettit, Philip. 2012. *On the People's Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pettit, Philip. 2013. "Two republican traditions." In *Republican Democracy: Liberty, Law and Politics*, edited by Andreas Niederberger and Phillip Schink, 169-204. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Pettit, Philip. 2022. "Statehood and Justice." Society 59 (2):140-148.
- Pevehouse, Jon CW, Timothy Nordstrom, Roseanne W McManus, and Anne Spencer Jamison. 2020. "Tracking organizations in the world: The Correlates of War IGO Version 3.0 datasets." *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (3):492-503.
- Pew Research Center. 2007. Survey Methods in Detail: About the 2007 Pew Global Attitudes Survey. <a href="http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/05/28/spring-2007-survey-data/">http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/05/28/spring-2007-survey-data/</a> (accessed May 23, 2017).
- Philo. 1993. "On the Unchangeableness of God." In *The Works of Philo: New Updated Edition*, 158-173. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Pinker, Steven. 2012. *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*. London: Penguin Books.
- Pinker, Steven. n.d. Fooled by Belligerence: Comments on Nassim Taleb's "The Long Peace is a Statistical Illusion". https://stevenpinker.com/files/pinker/files/comments\_on\_taleb\_by\_s\_pinker\_1.pdf.
- Pogge, Thomas W. 1992. "Cosmopolitanism and sovereignty." Ethics 103 (1):48-75.
- Posner, Eric A. 2006. "International law: A welfarist approach." *The University of Chicago Law Review* 73 (2):487-543.
- Posner, Eric A. 2009. The Perils of Global Legalism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pradhan, Prajal, Luís Costa, Diego Rybski, Wolfgang Lucht, and Jürgen P Kropp. 2017. "A systematic study of sustainable development goal (SDG) interactions." *Earth's Future* 5 (11):1169-1179.
- Press, Daryl G, Scott D Sagan, and Benjamin A Valentino. 2013. "Atomic aversion: Experimental evidence on taboos, traditions, and the non-use of nuclear weapons." *American Political Science Review* 107 (1):188-206.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Conquered or granted? A history of suffrage extensions." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (2):291-321.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rabkin, Jeremy A. 2005. Law without Nations? Why Constitutional Government Requires Sovereign States. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rae, Douglas W. 1975. "The limits of consensual decision." *American Political Science Review* 69 (4):1270-1294.
- Ramos, Miguel R, Matthew R Bennett, Douglas S Massey, and Miles Hewstone. 2019. "Humans adapt to social diversity over time." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116 (25):12244-12249.
- Rasler, Karen, and William R Thompson. 2004. "The democratic peace and a sequential, reciprocal, causal arrow hypothesis." *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (8):879-908.
- Ravlo, Hilde, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Han Dorussen. 2003. "Colonial war and the democratic peace." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47 (4):520-548.
- Rawls, John. 1996. Political Liberalism. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rawls, John. 1999a. *The Law of Peoples: with, The Idea of Public Reason Revisited*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Rawls, John. 1999b. *A Theory of Justice. Revised edition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Raz, Joseph. 1986. The Morality of Freedom. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Razum, Oliver, Devi Sridhar, Albrecht Jahn, Shehla Zaidi, Gorik Ooms, and Olaf Müller. 2019. "Polio: From eradication to systematic, sustained control." *BMJ Global Health* 4 (4):e001633.
- Reagan, Ronald. 1987. Address to the 42nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. <a href="https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/address-42d-session-united-nations-general-assembly-new-york-new-york">https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/address-42d-session-united-nations-general-assembly-new-york-new-york.</a>
- Rector, Chad. 2009. *Federations: The Political Dynamics of Cooperation*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Reiter, Dan. 2001. "Does peace nature democracy?" Journal of Politics 63 (3):935-948.
- Renan, Ernest. 1882/2018. "What is a nation?" In *What Is a Nation? And Other Political Writings*, 247-263. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Reves, Emery. 1945. The Anatomy of Peace. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Review on Antimicrobial Resistance. 2016. *Tackling Drug-Resistant Infections Globally: Final Report and Recommendations*. London: Wellcome Trust.
- Reysen, Stephen. 2022. "Globalization and all-inclusive global identities." In *Globalized Identities: The Impact of Globalization on Self and Identity*, edited by Iva Katzarska-Miller and Stephen Reysen, 219-243. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reysen, Stephen, and Iva Katzarska-Miller. 2018. *The Psychology of Global Citizenship: A Review of Theory and Research*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Riahi, Keywan, Detlef P Van Vuuren, Elmar Kriegler, Jae Edmonds, Brian C O'neill, Shinichiro Fujimori, Nico Bauer, Katherine Calvin, Rob Dellink, and Oliver Fricko. 2017. "The Shared Socioeconomic Pathways and their energy, land use, and greenhouse gas emissions implications: An overview." *Global Environmental Change* 42:153-168.
- Rice, Stuart A. 1925. "The behavior of legislative groups: a method of measurement." *Political Science Quarterly* 40 (1):60-72.
- Riker, William. 1975. "Federalism." In *The Handbook of Political Science, Volume V: Government Institutions and Processes* edited by Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, 93-172. Reading Addison Wesley.
- Riker, William. 1995. "Federalism." In *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, edited by Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit, 508-514. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Roberts, Louisa L. 2019. "Changing worldwide attitudes toward homosexuality: The influence of global and region-specific cultures, 1981–2012." *Social Science Research* 80:114-131.
- Robespierre, Maximilien de. 1793/1979. "Discours à la Société des Jacobins, séance extraordinaire du 22 frimaire an II (12 December 1793)." In *Anacharisis Cloots. Écrits révolutionnaires*, 1790-1794. Paris: Champ libre.
- Rodrik, Dani. 2000. "How far will international economic integration go?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14 (1):177-186.
- Rodrik, Dani. 2011. The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Roeder, Philip G. 2009. "Ethnofederalism and the mismanagement of conflicting nationalisms." *Regional & Federal Studies* 19 (2):203-219.
- Romanello, Marina, Alice McGushin, Claudia Di Napoli, Paul Drummond, Nick Hughes, Louis Jamart, Harry Kennard, Pete Lampard, Baltazar Solano Rodriguez, and Nigel Arnell. 2021. "The 2021 report of the Lancet Countdown on health and climate change: code red for a healthy future." *The Lancet* 398 (10311):1619-1662.
- Ronzoni, Miriam. 2017. "Republicanism and global institutions: Three desiderata in tension." *Social Philosophy and Policy* 34 (1):186-208.
- Roope, Laurence SJ, Richard D Smith, Koen B Pouwels, James Buchanan, Lucy Abel, Peter Eibich, Christopher C Butler, Pui San Tan, A Sarah Walker, Julie V Robotham, and

- Sarah C Wordsworth. 2019. "The challenge of antimicrobial resistance: what economics can contribute." *Science* 364 (6435).
- Rosenblum, Nancy L. 2010. On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rosselli, Carlo. 1930/1994. Liberal Socialism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rosset, Jan, and Christian Stecker. 2019. "How well are citizens represented by their governments? Issue congruence and inequality in Europe." *European Political Science Review* 11 (2):145-160.
- Roth, David F. 1977. "The global village: Who will represent the villagers, who will run the village?" *International Interactions* 3 (1):27-32.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1755/1997. "Discourse on political economy." In *The Social Contract and other later political writings*, 3-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1762/1997. "Of the social contract." In *The Social Contract and other later political writings*, 39-152. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1782/2005. "Judgement of the plan for perpetual peace." In *The Plan for Perpetual Peace, On the Government of Poland, and other writings on history and politics*, 53-60. Hanover: Darthmouth College press.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. c1760/1994. "Geneva manuscript." In *Social Contract, Discourse on the Virtue Most Necessary for a Hero, Political Fragments, and Geneva Manuscript*, 153-161. Hanover: Dartmouth College Press.
- Rovny, Jan, and Gary Marks. 2011. *Issues and Dimensions in Public Opinion*. Unpublished manuscript. <a href="http://garymarks.web.unc.edu/files/2016/09/rovny-and-marks.-issues-and-dimensions.pdf">http://garymarks.web.unc.edu/files/2016/09/rovny-and-marks.-issues-and-dimensions.pdf</a>.
- Rozo, Michelle, and Gigi Kwik Gronvall. 2015. "The reemergent 1977 H1N1 strain and the gain-of-function debate." *mBio* 6 (4):e01013-15.
- Ruck, Damian J, R Alexander Bentley, and Daniel J Lawson. 2020. "Cultural prerequisites of socioeconomic development." *Royal Society Open Science* 7 (2).
- Ruck, Damian J, Luke J Matthews, Thanos Kyritsis, Quentin D Atkinson, and R Alexander Bentley. 2020. "The cultural foundations of modern democracies." *Nature Human Behaviour* 4 (3):265-269.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1991. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Russell, Bertrand. 1959. Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Sagan, Scott, and Kenneth Waltz. 1995. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*. New York: WW Norton.
- Samir, KC, and Wolfgang Lutz. 2017. "The human core of the shared socioeconomic pathways: Population scenarios by age, sex and level of education for all countries to 2100." *Global Environmental Change* 42:181-192.
- Sandberg, Anders, and Cassidy Nelson. 2020. "Who should we fear more: Biohackers, disgruntled postdocs, or bad governments? A simple risk chain model of biorisk." *Health Security* 18 (3):155-163.
- Sartorius, Johann Baptist. 1837. Organon des vollkommenen Friedens. Zürich: Höhr.
- Sathyamala, C, Onkar Mittal, Rajib Dasgupta, and Ritu Priya. 2005. "Polio eradication initiative in India: Deconstructing the GPEI." *International Journal of Health Services* 35 (2):361-383.
- Saunders, Ben. 2010. "Democracy, Political Equality, and Majority Rule." *Ethics* 121 (1):148-177.
- Schaffer, Johan Karlsson. 2015. "The co-originality of human rights and democracy in an international order." *International Theory* 7 (1):96-124.

- Schakel, Wouter, and Daphne Van Der Pas. 2021. "Degrees of influence: Educational inequality in policy representation." *European Journal of Political Research* 60 (2):418-437.
- Scheidel, Walter. 2019. *Escape from Rome: The Failure of Empire and the Road to Prosperity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schelling, Thomas. 1992. "The Global Dimension." In *Rethinking America's Security*, edited by Graham Allison and Gregory F. Treverton. New York: Norton.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 2009. "A world without nuclear weapons?" Daedalus 138 (4):124-129.
- Scherer, Laura, Paul Behrens, Arjan de Koning, Reinout Heijungs, Benjamin Sprecher, and Arnold Tukker. 2018. "Trade-offs between social and environmental Sustainable Development Goals." *Environmental Science & Policy* 90:65-72.
- Scheuerman, William E. 2011. The Realist Case for Global Reform. Cambridge: Polity.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank, Thomas Winzen, Tobias Lenz, Jofre Rocabert, Loriana Crasnic, Cristina Gherasimov, Jana Lipps, and Densua Mumford. 2020. *The Rise of International Parliaments: Strategic Legitimation in International Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmitt, Carina, Hanna Lierse, Herbert Obinger, and Laura Seelkopf. 2015. "The global emergence of social protection: Explaining social security legislation 1820–2013." *Politics & Society* 43 (4):503-524.
- Schmitt, Carl. 1932/1996. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Schmitter, Philippe C. 1999. "The future of democracy: Could it be a matter of scale?" *Social Research* 66 (3): 933-58.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2005. "Civil society and democratically accountable global governance." In *Global Governance and Public Accountability*, edited by David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, 87-109. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Scholte, Jan Aart, ed. 2011. Building Global Democracy? Civil Society and Accountable Global Governance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2014. "Reinventing global democracy." *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (1):3-28.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2020. "After liberal global democracy: New methodology for new praxis." *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 13:67-92.
- Schrock-Jacobson, Gretchen. 2012. "The violent consequences of the nation: Nationalism and the initiation of interstate war." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (5):825-852.
- Schuman, Frederick Lewis. 1952. *The Commonwealth of Man: An Inquiry into Power Politics and World Government*. New York: Knopf.
- Schvitz, Guy, Luc Girardin, Seraina Rüegger, Nils B Weidmann, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2022. "Mapping the International System, 1886-2019: The CShapes 2.0 Dataset." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66 (1):144–161.
- Schwartzberg, Joseph. 2012. Creating a World Parliamentary Assembly: An Evolutionary Journey. Berlin: Committee for a Democratic U.N.
- Schwartzberg, Joseph E. 2013. *Transforming the United Nations System: Designs for a Workable World*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Schwarzenberger, Georg. 1951. *Power Politics: A Study of International Society*. New York: Praeger.
- Segall, Jeffrey J. 1990. "Building World Democracy Through the UN." *Medicine and War* 6 (4): 275-285.
- Segall, Jeffrey J. 1991. "A UN Second Assembly." In *Building a More Democratic United Nations*, edited by Frank Barnaby, 93-109. London Frank Cass.
- Sehm-Patomaki, Katarina, and Marko Ulvila, eds. 2007. *Global political parties*. London and New York: Zed Books.

- Sen, Amartya. 1999. Development as Freedom. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, Amartya. 2009. The Idea of Justice. London: Allen Lane.
- Senninger, Roman, Daniel Bischof, and Lawrence Ezrow. 2022. "How transnational party alliances influence national parties' policies." *Political Science Research and Methods* 10 (3):651-658.
- Shaffer, Gregory. 2004. "Parliamentary Oversight of WTO Rule-Making." *Journal of International Economic Law* 7 (3):629-654.
- Shapiro, Ian. 2003. The State of Democratic Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Shapiro, Ian. 2016. Politics against Domination. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Shaw, Martin. 2000. *Theory of the Global State: Globality as an Unfinished Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shmueli, Galit. 2010. "To Explain or to Predict?" Statistical Science 25 (3):289-310.
- Simmons, Beth A, and Michael R Kenwick. 2022. "Border orientation in a globalizing world." *American Journal of Political Science* 66 (4):853-870.
- Simmons, Beth A., Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett. 2008. "Introduction: the diffusion of liberalization." In *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*, edited by Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin and Geoffrey Garrett, 1-63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Singer, J David. 1969. "The incompleat theorist: Insight without evidence." In *Contending Approaches to International Politics*, edited by Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau, 62-86. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Singer, J. David, Stuart Bremer, and John Stuckey. 1972. "Capability distribution, uncertainty, and major power war, 1820-1965." In *Peace, War, and Numbers*, edited by Bruce Russett, 19-48. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Skinner, Quentin. 1998. *Liberty before Liberalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Skogstad, Karl. 2016. "Defence budgets in the post-Cold War era: a spatial econometrics approach." *Defence and Peace Economics* 27 (3):323-352.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2004. *A New World Order*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Smetana, Michal, and Michal Onderco. 2022. "From Moscow with a mushroom cloud? Russian public attitudes to the use of nuclear weapons in a conflict with NATO." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 67 (2-3):183-209.
- Smith, Craig. 2006. *Adam Smith's Political Philosophy: The Invisible Hand and Spontaneous Order*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Smith, James Andrew, and Jonas B Sandbrink. 2022. "Biosecurity in an age of open science." *PLoS Biology* 20 (4):e3001600.
- Sokolov, Boris. 2018. "The index of emancipative values: Measurement model misspecifications." *American Political Science Review* 112 (2):395-408.
- Solt, Frederick. 2020. "Measuring income inequality across countries and over time: The standardized world income inequality database." *Social Science Quarterly* 101 (3):1183-1199.
- Sommerer, Thomas, Hans Agné, Fariborz Zelli, and Bart Bes. 2022. *Global Legitimacy Crises: Decline and Revival in Multilateral Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sørensen, Georg. 2013. "Book Review: The Realist Case for Global Reform, by William E. Scheuerman." *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (3):895-897.
- Southwood, Nicholas. 2015. "Democracy as a modally demanding value." *Noûs* 49 (3):504-521.
- Southwood, Nicholas. 2016. "Does "ought" imply "feasible"?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 44 (1):7-45.
- Southwood, Nicholas. 2018. "The feasibility issue." *Philosophy Compass* 13 (8):e12509.

- Southwood, Nicholas. 2022. "Feasibility as Deliberation-Worthiness." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 50 (1):121-162.
- Southwood, Nicholas, and Robert E Goodin. 2021. "Infeasibility as a normative argument-stopper: The case of open borders." *European Journal of Philosophy* 29 (4):965-987.
- Spagat, Michael, and Stijn van Weezel. 2020. "The decline of war since 1950: New evidence." In *Lewis Fry Richardson: His Intellectual Legacy and Influence in the Social Sciences*, edited by Nils Petter Gleditsch, 129-142. Cham: Springer.
- Squatrito, Theresa. 2018. "The democratizing effects of transnational actors' access to international courts." *Global Governance* 24 (4):595-613.
- Starr, Harvey, and Benjamin A Most. 1978. "A return journey: Richardson, "frontiers" and wars in the 1946–1965 era." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22 (3):441-467.
- StataCorp. 2023. Stata Lasso Reference Manual. Release 18. College Station, Texas: Stata Press
- Steffek, Jens. 2010. "Public accountability and the public sphere of international governance." *Ethics & International Affairs* 24 (1):45-68.
- Steffek, Jens. 2015. "The cosmopolitanism of David Mitrany: Equality, devolution and functional democracy beyond the state." *International Relations* 29 (1):23-44.
- Steffek, Jens, and Kristina Hahn, eds. 2010. Evaluating Transnational NGOs Legitimacy, Accountability, Representation. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Steffek, Jens, Claudia Kissling, and Patrizia Nanz, eds. 2007. *Civil society participation in European and global governance: A cure for the democratic deficit?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stein, Rachel M. 2015. "War and revenge: Explaining conflict initiation by democracies." *American Political Science Review* 109 (3):556-573.
- Steinebach, Yves, Xavier Fernández-i-Marín, and Christian Aschenbrenner. 2021. "Who puts a price on carbon, why and how? A global empirical analysis of carbon pricing policies." *Climate Policy* 21 (3):277-289.
- Stemplowska, Zofia. 2016. "Feasibility: Individual and collective." *Social Philosophy and Policy* 33 (1-2):273-291.
- Stephenson, Matthew C. 2003. ""When the devil turns...": The political foundations of independent judicial review." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 32 (1):59-89.
- Stevens, Jacqueline. 2009. *States without Nations: Citizenship for Mortals*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stevenson, Hayley. 2016. "The wisdom of the many in global governance: An epistemic-democratic defense of diversity and inclusion." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (3):400-412.
- Stevenson, Hayley, and John S Dryzek. 2014. *Democratizing Global Climate Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stewart, Blake. 2020. "The rise of far-right civilizationism." *Critical Sociology* 46 (7-8):1207-1220.
- Stinnett, Douglas M, Jaroslav Tir, Paul F Diehl, Philip Schafer, and Charles Gochman. 2002. "The Correlates of War (COW) project direct contiguity data, version 3.0." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 19 (2):59-67.
- Stoetzer, Lukas F, and Steffen Zittlau. 2015. "Multidimensional spatial voting with non-separable preferences." *Political Analysis* 23 (3):415-428.
- Stoetzer, Lukas F, and Steffen Zittlau. 2020. "Vote choice and the nonseparability of economic and social issues." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 84 (1):158-170.
- Streeck, Wolfgang. 2018. "Taking back control? The future of western democratic capitalism." *Efil Journal of Economic Research* 1 (3):30-47.

- Streit, Clarence K. 1938. *Union Now: A Proposal for a Federal Union of the Democracies of the North Atlantic*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Stuurman, Siep. 2017. *The Invention of Humanity: Equality and Cultural Difference in World History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Suganami, Hidemi. 1989. *The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sugden, Robert. 1989. "Spontaneous order." Journal of Economic perspectives 3 (4):85-97.
- Sukin, Lauren. 2020. "Experimental evidence on determinants of support for nuclear use in response to threats of nuclear retaliation." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 26 (3):336.
- Sustainable Development Solutions Network. 2014. *Health in the Framework of Sustainable Development: Technical Report for the Post-2015 Development Agenda*. <a href="https://irpcdn.multiscreensite.com/be6d1d56/files/uploaded/Health-For-All-Report.pdf">https://irpcdn.multiscreensite.com/be6d1d56/files/uploaded/Health-For-All-Report.pdf</a>.
- Synovate. 2007. *IN:FACT* (*BBC*) *DEMOCRACY*. <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/08\_10\_07\_democracy.pdf">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/08\_10\_07\_democracy.pdf</a> (accessed 20/07/2022).
- Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer, and Theresa Squatrito. 2016. "Democratic memberships in international organizations: Sources of institutional design." *The Review of International Organizations* 11 (1):59-87.
- Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito, and Christer Jönsson. 2013. *The Opening Up of International Organizations: Transnational Access in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito, and Christer Jönsson. 2014. "Explaining the transnational design of international organizations." *International Organization* 68 (4):741-774.
- Tallberg, Jonas, and Anders Uhlin. 2012. "Civil society and global democracy: An assessment." In *Global democracy: Normative and empirical perspectives*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmon, Stefan. 2005. "The Security Council as world legislature." *American Journal of International Law* 99 (1):175-193.
- Tamir, Yael. 2000. "Who's afraid of a global state?" In *Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era*, edited by Kjell Goldmann, Ulf Hannerz and Charles Westin, 254-277. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tanasoca, Ana, and John S Dryzek. 2022. "Determining Vaccine Justice in the Time of COVID-19: A Democratic Perspective." *Ethics & International Affairs* 36 (3):333-351.
- Tannenwald, Nina. 2007. *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tannenwald, Nina. 2018. "How strong is the nuclear taboo today?" *The Washington Quarterly* 41 (3):89-109.
- Tay, Louis, and Ed Diener. 2011. "Needs and subjective well-being around the world." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 101 (2):354-65.
- Taylor, Peter J. 1986. "An exploration into world-systems analysis of political parties." *Political Geography Quarterly* 5 (4):S5-S20.
- Thacker, Strom C. 1999. "The high politics of IMF lending." World Politics 52 (01):38-75.
- Theiler, Tobias. 2022. "International functionalism and democracy." European Journal of International Relations 28 (2):312-336.

- Thérien, Jean-Philippe, and Madeleine Bélanger Dumontier. 2009. "The United Nations and global democracy: From discourse to deeds." *Cooperation and Conflict* 44 (4):355-377.
- Thompson, Kenneth W. 1987. Winston Churchill's World View: Statesmanship and Power. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Thompson, Kimberly M. 2017. "Modeling and managing the risks of measles and rubella: A global perspective, part II." *Risk Analysis* 37 (6):1041-1051.
- Thompson, Kimberly M, and Stephen L Cochi. 2016. "Modeling and managing the risks of measles and rubella: A global perspective, Part I." *Risk Analysis* 36 (7):1288-1296.
- Thompson, William R. 1996. "Democracy and peace: Putting the cart before the horse?" *International Organization* 50 (1):141-174.
- Threlkeld, Megan. 2022. *Citizens of the World: US Women and Global Government*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Tibshirani, Robert. 1996. "Regression shrinkage and selection via the lasso." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series B: Statistical Methodology* 58 (1):267-288.
- Tilly, Charles. 2000. "Processes and Mechanisms of Democratization." *Sociological Theory* 18 (1):1-16.
- Tinbergen, Jan, and Dietrich Fischer. 1987. Warfare and Welfare: Integrating Security Policy into Socio-Economic Policy. Brighton, UK, and New York: Wheathseaf Books and St. Martin's Press.
- Tinnevelt, Ronald. 2011. "Does a world state really lead to a graveyard of freedom?" In *Cosmopolitan Justice and its Discontents*, edited by Cecilia M. Bailliet and Katja Franko Aas, 29-49. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tobin, Brendan. 2014. *Indigenous Peoples, Customary Law and Human Rights: Why Living Law Matters*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Traber, Denise, Miriam Hänni, Nathalie Giger, and Christian Breunig. 2022. "Social status, political priorities and unequal representation." *European Journal of Political Research* 61 (2):351-373.
- Truman, David. 1951. The Governmental Process. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Tschakert, Petra, Jon Barnett, Neville Ellis, Carmen Lawrence, Nancy Tuana, Mark New, Carmen Elrick-Barr, Ram Pandit, and David Pannell. 2017. "Climate change and loss, as if people mattered: values, places, and experiences." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 8 (5):e476.
- Tullock, Gordon. 2006. "Comment to strengthening the citizens' role in international organizations by Bruno S. Frey and Alois Stutzer." *The Review of International Organizations* 1 (1):45.
- Tusalem, Rollin F. 2021. "Bringing the legislature back in: Examining the structural effects of national legislatures on effective democratic governance." *Government and Opposition* 58 (2):291-315.
- Tuttle, Florence Guertin. 1919. Women and World Federation. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co.
- Ulaş, Luke. 2013. *Realising Cosmopolitanism: The Role of a World State*. A thesis submitted to the Department of Government of the London School of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
- Ulaş, Luke. 2016. "Doing things by halves: On intermediary global institutional proposals." *Ethics & Global Politics* 9 (1):30223.
- Ulaş, Luke. 2021. "Institutionalising Kant's political philosophy: Foregrounding cosmopolitan right." *European Journal of Political Theory* 20 (3):421-442.
- Underdal, Arild, and Taoyuan Wei. 2015. "Distributive fairness: A mutual recognition approach." *Environmental Science & Policy* 51:35-44.

- Unger, Roberto Mangabeira. 2022. *Governing the World without World Government*. London: Verso.
- United Nations. 2019. 2019 Revision of World Population Prospects. <a href="https://population.un.org/wpp/">https://population.un.org/wpp/</a>.
- Valdez, Inés. 2019. *Transnational Cosmopolitanism: Kant, Du Bois, and Justice as a Political Craft*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Valentini, Laura. 2011. *Justice in a Globalized World: A Normative Framework*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Valentini, Laura. 2012. "Assessing the global order: Justice, legitimacy, or political justice?" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 15 (5):593-612.
- Valentini, Laura. 2013. "Justice, disagreement and democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 43 (1):177-199.
- Valentini, Laura. 2014. "No global demos, no global democracy? A systematization and critique." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (4):789-807.
- Vallinoto, Nicola. 2014. "Civil society movements and campaigns for international democracy." In *The Democratization of International Institutions*, edited by Lucio Levi, Giovanni Finizio and Nicola Vallinoto, 463-75. London and New York: Routledge.
- Van der Hout, Eliora, and Anthony J McGann. 2009. "Proportional representation within the limits of liberalism alone." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (4):735-754.
- Van Doren, Carl. 1948. The Great Rehearsal: The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States. New York: Viking Press.
- Van Zanden, Jan Luiten, Joerg Baten, Peter Foldvari, and Bas Van Leeuwen. 2014. "The changing shape of global inequality 1820–2000; exploring a new dataset." *Review of Income and Wealth* 60 (2):279-297.
- Vanberg, Georg. 2015. "Constitutional courts in comparative perspective: A theoretical assessment." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (1):167-185.
- Vaubel, Roland. 2008. "A history of thought on institutional competition." In *Institutional Competition*, edited by Bergh. A. and R. Höijer, 29-66. Cheltenham: Elgar.
- Voeten, Erik. 2000. "Clashes in the Assembly." International Organization 54 (2):185-216.
- von Arnauld, Andreas, Kerstin von der Decken, and Mart Susi, eds. 2020. *The Cambridge Handbook of New Human Rights: Recognition, Novelty, Rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Von Borzyskowski, Inken, and Felicity Vabulas. 2019. "Hello, goodbye: When do states withdraw from international organizations?" *The Review of International Organizations* 14 (2):335-366.
- Waldron, Jeremy. 2006. "The core of the case against judicial review." *The Yale Law Journal* 115:1346-1406.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1986. "Reflections on 'Theory Of International Politics': A Reply to My Critics." In *Neorealism And Its Critics*, edited by Robert O. Keohane, 322-45. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Walzer, Michael. 2000. "Governing the Globe: What is the Best We Can Do?" *Dissent* 47 (4):44-52.
- Wang, Zhiyuan. 2017. "Democracy, policy interdependence, and labor rights." *Political Research Quarterly* 70 (3):549-563.
- Wang, Zhiyuan. 2018. "Economic competition, policy interdependence, and labour rights." *New Political Economy* 23 (6):656-673.

- Ward, Hugh, and Albert Weale. 2010. "Is rule by majorities special?" *Political Studies* 58 (1):26-46.
- Watkins, David, and Scott Lemieux. 2015. "Compared to what? Judicial review and other veto points in contemporary democratic theory." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (2):312-326.
- Waytz, Adam, Ravi Iyer, Liane Young, Jonathan Haidt, and Jesse Graham. 2019. "Ideological differences in the expanse of the moral circle." *Nature Communications* 10 (1):1-12.
- Weale, Albert. 2007. Democracy. Second Edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Webb, Adam K. 2016. "Can the global South take over the baton? What cosmopolitanism in 'unlikely' places means for future world order." *Third World Quarterly* 37 (6):1016-1034.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press.
- Weber, Matthias. 2020. "Choosing the rules: Preferences over voting systems for assemblies of representatives." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 174:420-434.
- Weiler, J. H. H. 2003. "In defence of the status quo: Europe's constitutional Sonderweg." In *European Constitutionalism Beyond the State*, edited by J. H. H. Weiler and Marlene Wind, 7-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weinstock, Daniel. 2006. "The real world of (global) democracy." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 37 (1):6-20.
- Weinstock, Daniel. 2015. "Integrating intermediate goods to theories of distributive justice: The importance of platforms." *Res Publica* 21 (2):171-183.
- Weiss, Thomas G. 2009. "What happened to the idea of world government." *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (2):253-271.
- Weitzman, Martin L. 2017a. "On a world climate assembly and the social cost of carbon." *Economica* 84 (336):559-586.
- Weitzman, Martin L. 2017b. "Voting on prices vs. voting on quantities in a world climate assembly." *Research in Economics* 71 (2):199-211.
- Wells, H.G. 1933. "The Open Conspiracy." In *The Open Conspiracy and Other Writings*. London: [no pub.].
- Wells, H.G. 1942. *Phoenix: A Summary of the Inescapable Conditions of World Reorganization*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Welzel, Christian. 2013. Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Welzel, Christian. 2021. "Democratic horizons: What value change reveals about the future of democracy." *Democratization* 28 (5):992-1016.
- Wendt, Alexander. 2003. "Why a world state is inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (4):491-542.
- Wendt, Alexander, and Daniel Friedheim. 1995. "Hierarchy under anarchy: Informal empire and the East German state." *International Organization* 49 (4):689-721.
- Wesson, Robert G. 1978. *State Systems: International Pluralism, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Free Press.
- White, Aaronette, and Shagun Rastogi. 2009. "Justice by any means necessary: Vigilantism among Indian women." *Feminism & Psychology* 19 (3):313-327.
- White, Jonathan, and Lea Ypi. 2016. *The Meaning of Partisanship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wight, Martin. 1959/2022. "On the abolition of war: Observations on a memorandum by Walter Millis." In *International Relations and Political Philosophy*, 175–181. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wight, Martin. 1991. *International Theory: The Three Traditions*. Leicester and London: Leicester University Press.

- Wilson, James Lindley. 2019. *Democratic Equality*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Wilson, Matthew Charles, and Josef Woldense. 2019. "Contested or established? A comparison of legislative powers across regimes." *Democratization* 26 (4):585-605.
- Wimmer, Andreas, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min. 2009. "Ethnic politics and armed conflict: A configurational analysis of a new global data set." *American Sociological Review* 74 (2):316-337.
- Wintein, Stefan, and Conrad Heilmann. 2022. "Liberal political equality does not imply proportional representation." *Social Choice and Welfare* 59:63–91
- Wolf, Klaus Dieter. 1999. "The new Raison d'État as a problem for democracy in world society." European Journal of International Relations 5 (3): 333-363.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. 1792/1995. "A vindication of the rights of woman." In *A Vindication of the Rights of Men and a Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 65-294. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woodhull, Victoria C. 1871. *The Origin, Tendencies, and Principles of Government*. New York: Woodhull, Claflin, & Co.
- Woodhull, Victoria C. 1872/2010. "A page of American history: Constitution of the United States of the World." In *Selected Writings of Victoria Woodhull*, edited by Cari M. Carpenter, 7-20. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Wootton, Barbara. 1943. "Socialism and federation." In *Studies in Federal Planning*, edited by Patrick Ransome, 269-298. London: Macmillan.
- World Bank. 2021. World Development Indicators (WDI). <a href="http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators">http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators</a>.
- World Food Programme. 2022. Annual Review 2021. Rome: World Food programme.
- World Health Organization. 2019. Thematic Paper on the Status of Country Preparedness Capacities: Background report commissioned by the Global Preparedness Monitoring Board (GPMB). Geneva: WHO.
- World Health Organization. 2021. *International Health Regulations* (2005): State Party Selfassessment annual reporting tool. Second edition. Geneva: WHO.
- Wright, Erik Olin. 2010. Envisioning Real Utopias. London: Verso
- Yesilyurt, M Ensar, and J Paul Elhorst. 2017. "Impacts of neighboring countries on military expenditures: A dynamic spatial panel approach." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (6):777-790.
- Ypi, Lea. 2012. Global Justice and Avant-garde Political Agency. Oxford: Oxford University
- Yu, Shi, Chantal Levesque-Bristol, and Yukiko Maeda. 2018. "General need for autonomy and subjective well-being: A meta-analysis of studies in the US and East Asia." *Journal of Happiness Studies* 19:1863-1882.
- Yunker, James A. 2011. *The Idea of World Government: From ancient times to the twenty-first century*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Zadeh, Lotfi Asker. 1978. "Fuzzy sets as a basis for a theory of possibility." *Fuzzy Sets and Systems* 1 (1):3-28.
- Zimmern, Alfred E. 1953. The American Road to World Peace. New York: Dutton.
- Zolo, Danilo. 1997. Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Zürn, Michael. 2000. "Democratic governance beyond the nation-state: The EU and other international institutions." *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (2):183-221.
- Zürn, Michael. 2005. "Global governance and legitimacy problems." In *Global Governance and Public Accountability*, edited by David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, 136-63. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Zürn, Michael. 2016. "Four models of a global order with cosmopolitan intent: An empirical assessment." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24 (1):88-119.
- Zürn, Michael. 2018. A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zürn, Michael, and Christian Joerges, eds. 2005. *Law and Governance in Postnational Europe: Compliance beyond the Nation-state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zürn, Michael, Alexandros Tokhi, and Martin Binder. 2021. "The International Authority Database." *Global Policy* 12 (4):430-442.