

The politicization of supranational governance in the EU and beyond

Hauptseminar 15360

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1. Course Outline

Supranational decisions increasingly permeate national politics but are often taken in rather closed settings which involve executive or technocratic actors only. Yet, as the examples of the failed 2005 referenda on a European Constitution or debates on European policies amid the debt crisis show, this mode of decision-making is increasingly challenged in public. Supranational decisions figure prominently in the news, public opinion is much more aware but also more diversified, and various societal actors ranging from social movements to political parties actively mobilize on European and international questions.

Based on the emerging research agenda, the course provides a systematic overview of this politicization of supranational governance. Based on recent empirical literature, the participants delve into the different arenas in which politicization takes place, carve out the emerging lines of political conflict on European integration, and finally discuss the resulting challenges for decision-making in the EU and other international institutions. On this basis, the course aims to enable participants to assess and to apply the politicization concept to various questions of European and international politics.

We address students who already control some knowledge on European multilevel governance, who are willing to engage in both the substantial and methodological issues of the literature discussed, and who are prepared to actively participate during the individual sessions. Assignments include one presentation of a scholarly article and a term paper which applies one of the discussed aspects to a freely chosen empirical issue of supranational governance.

2. Plan of the course

- (O) Indicates obligatory readings for all participants
- (P) Indicates texts available for individual presentations

A. INTRODUCTION**09.04.2013****Introduction**

Presentation of course outline and assignments, clarify expectations of students, common brainstorming to arrive at a working definition of politicization

B. THE POLITICIZATION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN VARIOUS SOCIETAL ARENAS**16.04.2013****European integration in public media: Rising visibility?**

Session discusses visibility is one component of politicization. Empirically it shows that media visibility of European integration is on the rise while it mainly peaks around specific European events and policies.

(O) Boomgaarden, Hajo, Rens Vliegenthart, Claes De Vreese, and Andreas Schuck (2010) 'News on the move: exogenous events and news coverage of the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(4): 506-526.

(O) Trenz, H.-J. (2004) 'Media Coverage on European Governance: Exploring the European Public Sphere in National Quality Newspapers', *European Journal of Communication*, 19(3): 291-313.

(P) De Vreese, Claes, Susan Banducci, Holli Semetko, and Hajo Boomgaarden (2006) 'The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 Countries', *European Union Politics* 7(4): 477-504.

(P) Michailidou, A. and Trenz, H.-J. (2010) 'Mediati(zi)ng EU Politics: Online News Coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections', *Communications*, 35(3): 327-346.

(P) Meyer, Christoph (2005) 'The Europeanization of Media Discourse: A Study of Quality Press Coverage of Economic Policy Co-ordination since Amsterdam', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(1): 121-148.

23.04.2013**Public opinion I: a declining public consensus?**

Session aims to make students aware of the 'permissive consensus' assumption and its declining validity over time. As a sideline, session should signal how strongly the focus on societal politicization challenges the often detached nature of executive decision-making in Europe.

(O) Lindberg, Leon, and Stuart Scheingold (1970) *Europe's Would-be Polity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall: pp. 249-78 (chapter 8: The permissive consensus)

(O) Eichenberg, Richard C., and Russell J. Dalton (2007) 'Post-Maastricht Blues: The Transformation of Citizen Support for European Integration, 1973-2004', *Acta Politica* 42(2-3): 128-152.

(P) Down, Ian, and Carole Wilson (2008) 'From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus: A Polarizing Union?', *Acta Politica* 43(1): 26-49.

(P) Franklin, Mark, and Christopher Wlezien (1997) 'The Responsive Public: Issue Salience, Policy Change, and Preferences for European Unification', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 9(3): 347-363.

(P) Toshkov, Dimitar (2011) 'Public opinion and policy output in the European Union: A lost relationship', *European Union Politics* 12(2): 169-191.

30.04.2013

Public opinion II: patterns of opposition & support

Session aims to equip students with the individual level explanations of EU support by mainly distinguishing utilitarian and value-based approaches. This prepares latter discussions on the structure of political conflict.

(O) Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks (2004) 'Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?', *PS: Political Science & Politics* 37(03): 415-420.

(O) McLaren, L. (2007) 'Explaining Mass-Level Euroscepticism: Identity, Interests, and Institutional Distrust', *Acta Politica*, 42(2/3): 233-251.

(P) Gabel, Matthew (1998) 'Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories', *Journal of Politics* 60(2): 333-354.

(P) Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks (2005) 'Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration', *European Union Politics* 6(4): 419-443.

(P) Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio (2000) 'The Political Basis of Support for European Integration', *European Union Politics* 1(2): 147-171.

07.05.2013

Social movements: A rising number of 'Europrotests'?

Session presents social movements and Europrotests as another source of politicization that follows distinct logics although it also peaks around central supranational events and specific European policies.

(O) Imig, Doug (2004) 'Contestation in the streets: European protest and the emerging Euro-polity', in: Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen (eds): *European Integration and Political Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 216-234.

(O) Della Porta, Donatella and Manuela Caiani (2009). *Social Movements and Europeanization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp. 1-36 (Chapter 1)

(P) Uba, Katrin, and Fredrik Ugglå (2011) 'Protest Actions against the European Union, 1992-2007', *West European Politics* 34(2): 384-393.

(P) Della Porta, Donatella and Manuela Caiani (2009). *Social Movements and Europeanization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp. 82-128 (Chapter 3)

14.05.2013

Partisan politics I: National parties and elections

Session highlights that the earlier discussed aspects of politicization unfold mobilising potential for partisan competition and discusses to what extent this potential is actually invoked.

(O) Kriesi, Hanspeter (2007) 'The Role of European Integration in National Election Campaigns', *European Union Politics* 8(1): 83-108.

(O) Marks, G., Wilson, C.J. and Ray, L. (2002) 'National Political Parties and European Integration', *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(3): 586-594.

(P) Van der Eijk, Cees, and Mark N. Franklin (2004) 'Potential for Contestation on European Matters at National Elections in Europe'. In: M. R. Steenbergen and G. Marks (ed.) *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(P) Szczerbiak, A. and Taggart, P. (2008) 'Theorizing Party-Based Euroscepticism: Problems of Definition, Measurement, and Causality', in A. Szczerbiak and P. Taggart (eds) *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism. Volume 2: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 238-262.

(P) Marks, G., Hooghe, L., Nelson, M. and Edwards, E.E. (2006) 'Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality', *Comparative Political Studies*, 39(2): 155-175.

21.05.2013

Partisan politics II: European elections and referendums

Session introduces the 'second-order' assumption of European electoral contests and highlights its declining validity over time, thus corresponding to other arenas of politicization discussed so far.

(O) Koepke, Jason, and Nils Ringe (2006) 'The Second-order Election Model in an Enlarged Europe', *European Union Politics* 7(3): 321-346.

(O) Garry, John, Michael Marsh, and Richard Sinnott (2005) 'Second-order' versus 'Issue-voting' Effects in EU Referendums: Evidence from the Irish Nice Treaty Referendums', *European Union Politics* 6(2): 201-221.

(P) Adam, Silke, and Michaela Maier (2011) 'National parties as politicizers of EU integration? Party campaign communication in the run-up to the 2009 European Parliament election', *European Union Politics* 12(3): 431-453.

(P) Lubbers, Marcel (2008) 'Regarding the Dutch 'Nee' to the European Constitution: A Test of the Identity, Utilitarian and Political Approaches to Voting 'No'', *European Union Politics* 9(1): 59-86.

C. INSTITUTIONS IN THE FACE OF POLITICIZATION

28.05.2013

The European Commission in politicized decision-making

Session discusses the challenges of those supranational actors that have originally been designed to operate in a rather technocratic manner – most notably, the European Commission. We will consider politicization challenges with regard to policy choices, personnel selection, and decision-making efficiency.

(O) Christiansen, T. (1997) 'Tensions of European Governance: Politicized Bureaucracy and Multiple Accountability in the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(1): 73-90.

(O) Wille, A. (2012) 'The Politicization of the EU Commission: Democratic Control and the Dynamics of Executive Selection', *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 78(3): 383-402.

(P) Fouilleux, E., de Maillard, J. and Smith, A. (2005) 'Technical or Political? The Working Groups of the EU Council of Ministers', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(4): 609-23.

(P) Rauh, Christian (2012) 'Pandering to the public interest? Societal politicization of European integration and consumer policy positions of the European Commission', Paper presented at the ECPR SGEU Conference Tampere, 13-15 September 2012

04.06.2013

National Parliaments: Between Controlling Governments and Communicating with Citizens

Session analyses the challenges national parliaments face due to politicization as well as the contribution they make to it. In contrast to the technical institution of the Commission discussed in the previous session, this session thus focuses on a traditional 'political' institution's role.

(O) Raunio, T. and Hix, S. (2001) 'Backbenchers Learn to Fight Back: European Integration and Parliamentary Government', in K.H. Goetz and S. Hix (eds) *Europeanised Politics? European Integration and National Political Systems*, London: Frank Cass, pp. 142-168.

(O) Auel, K. (2007) 'Democratic Accountability and National Parliaments: Redefining the Impact of Parliamentary Scrutiny in EU Affairs', *European Law Journal*, 13(4): 487-504.

(P) Winzen, T. (2012) 'National Parliamentary Control of European Union Affairs: A Cross-national and Longitudinal Comparison', *West European Politics*, 35(3): 657-672.

(P) Wendler, F. (2013) 'Challenging Domestic Politics? European Debates of National Parliaments in France, Germany and the UK', *Journal of European Integration*. (OnlineFirst)

D. THE AGGREGATE PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICIZATION ACROSS ARENAS

11.06.2013

Politicization of supranational governance: Integrative perspectives

This session pulls the findings from the different arenas together and presents politicization as one encompassing process. The resulting challenges for supranational governance and the logical consequence of a sociological turn in EU studies are outlined.

(O) De Wilde, Pieter (2011) 'No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing the Politicization of European Integration', *Journal of European Integration* 33(5): 559-575.

(O) Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks (2009) 'A Postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1-23.

(P) Rauh, Christian (2013) 'A widening audience, ever more interested and active? The public politicization of European integration in the EU6, 1990-2011',

(P) Zürn, Michael (2006) 'Zur Politisierung der Europäischen Union', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47(2): 242-251.

18.06.2013

Politicization and Democratic Legitimacy

This session discusses the potential benefits and pitfalls of politicization for the democratic legitimacy of the EU. Several normative theoretical perspectives are discussed that assess the empirical trends observed in the previous sessions.

(O) Moravcsik, A. (2006) 'What Can We Learn from the Collapse of the European Constitutional Project?', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 47(2): 219-241.

(O) Føllesdal, A. and Hix, S. (2006) 'Why There Is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(3): 533-562.

(P) Chrysoschoou, D.N. (1994) 'Democracy and Symbiosis in the European Union: Towards a Confederal Consociation?', *West European Politics*, 17(4): 1-14.

(P) Trenz, H.-J. and Eder, K. (2004) 'The Democratizing Dynamics of a European Public Sphere: Towards a Theory of Democratic Functionalism', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7(1): 5-25.

25.06.2013

Politicization of supranational governance: Structuring political conflict on European Integration

Drawing on the findings in earlier sessions, we discuss approaches that try to uncover the structure of political conflict on European integration and the underlying cleavages. While there remains disagreement in the scholarly literature on the exact shape of the political space, both, traditional conflict dimensions along class and utilitarian assessments but also newly emerging cleavages on the basis of political values structure the contents of politicization.

(O) Steenbergen, Marco R., and Garry Marks (2004) 'Introduction: Models of political conflict in the European Union'. In: G. Marks and M. R. Steenbergen (ed.) *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(O) Grande, Edgar, and Hanspeter Kriesi (2012) 'The transformative power of globalization and the structure of political conflict in Western Europe', in: Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest (eds) *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press: pp. 3-35.

(P) Hooghe, Liesbet, and Garry Marks (1999) 'The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration'. In: H. Kitschelt, P. Lange, G. Marks and J. D. Stephens (ed.) *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(P) Wessels, Bernhard (2004) 'Contestation potential of interest groups in the EU: emergence, structure, and political alliances'. In: M. R. Steenbergen and G. Marks (ed.) *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(P) Beyers, Jan, and Bart Kerremans (2004) 'Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Societal Interests: How Is European Policy Making Politicized?', *Comparative Political Studies* 37(10): 1119-1150.

02.07.2013

Politicization of international governance beyond the EU

This session discusses the generalisability of politicization in the EU context to other forms and institutions of supra- and international governance. The basic aim is to outline a causal link between the authority of supranational governance and the extent of societal politicization. Based on this link, both variation of EU politicization over time and differences to less authoritative international institutions can be explained.

(O) Zürn, Michael, Martin Binder, and Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt (2012) 'International authority and its politicization', *International Theory* 4(01): 69-106.

(O) Zürn, Michael (2013) 'The Politicization of World Politics and its Effects: Eight Propositions', forthcoming in: *European Political Science Review*

(P) Ecker-Ehrhardt, Matthias (2012) 'Cosmopolitan politicization: How perceptions of interdependence foster citizens' expectations in international institutions', *European Journal of International Relations* 18(3): 481-508.

(P) Rixen, Thomas, and Bernhard Zangl (2012) 'Die Politisierung internationaler Institutionen: Legitimation durch Konstitutionalisierung oder durch Souveränität?', *Leviathan* Sonderband 27.

09.07.2013

Conclusion and feedback

In discussion with students, this final session carves out the blind spots and the future needs for a research agenda on the politicization of supranational governance. In addition, it leaves room for students' feedback and final questions on the term assignments.

(O) De Wilde, Pieter, and Michael Zürn (2012) 'Can the Politicization of European Integration Be Reversed?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(S1): 137-153.

(O) De Wilde, Pieter, and Hans-Jörg Trenz (2012) 'Denouncing European integration: Euroscepticism as polity contestation', *European Journal of Social Theory* 15(4): 537-554.