Politicizing governance beyond the nation state

Hauptseminar 15396

SS 2016, Freie Universität Berlin, Otto-Suhr Institut

Wednesdays 10-12 am, Seminarraum 121, Garystr. 55

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1. Outline

Supra- and international 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, the debates on European policies amid the debt crisis, as well as the history of the ACTA and TTIP agreements show, this mode of decision-making is increasingly challenged in public. Decisions taken on levels beyond the nation state figure prominently in the news, the respective 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 current research agenda, the seminar provides a systematic overview of this politicization of supra- and international governance. By reading recent empirical literature, the participants delve into the different arenas in which politicization takes place, carve out the emerging lines of political conflict on governance beyond the nation state, 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.

The course addresses students who already control some knowledge on European and international multilevel governance, who are willing to engage in both the substantial and methodological issues of the literature to be read, and who are prepared to actively participate during the individual sessions. Besides regular participation, assignments include at least 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.

Participation, provision of course materials and all course-related communication will be managed via the FU's eLearning tools. Please go the FU blackboard (lms.fu-berlin.de) and search for the course 'POLSOZ_S_15396_16S'. The password needed for enrollment will behanded out in the first session!

2. Detailed plan of the course

The course is split into three blocks. The first block introduces the basic concepts and presents the most prominent arguments on the drivers and consequences of the politicization of supranational governance. The second block then looks into the actual dynamics of politicization in different societal arenas, mainly by discussing the recent empirical (and often quantitative) research literature. The third and final block then pulls the strings together and aims at an aggregate perspective which enables us to discuss the normative and pragmatic consequences that politicization has for decision-making on levels beyond the nation state.

(O)   Indicates *obligatory* readings for all participants

(P)   Indicates texts available for individual *presentations*
          (other suggestions welcome but please check back with the instructor)

A. THE POLITICIZATION OF GOVERNANCE BEYOND THE NATION STATE: WHAT TO EXPECT?

20.04.2016   Introduction
          This kick-off meeting will present the course outline and assignments, clarify the expectations of students and the lecturer, and will involve a little brainstorming on key concepts of the course.

27.04.2016   Theoretical perspectives
          By discussing recent large-scale arguments on the politicization of supra- and international governance, this session sets the scene for the subsequent and more empirically oriented sessions – not the least as we derive a working definition of politicization.

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

          (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) Moravcsik, Andrew (2006) 'What can we learn from the collapse of the European constitutional project?', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47(2): 219-241

          (P) Rauh, Christian, and Michael Zürn (2014) 'Zur Politisierung der EU in der Krise'. In: M. Heidenreich (ed.) *Krise der europäischen Vergesellschaftung? Soziologische Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

<u>B. How Supranational Governance Is politicized in various Societal Arenas</u>

04.05.2016   **Supranational governance in the media: Rising visibility?**
The session presents public visibility as one key component of politicization. We thus discuss studies that empirically capture and explain the media presence of the EU and other international organisations.

(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) Rixen, Thomas, and Zangl, Bernhard (2013) 'The politicization of international economic institutions in US public debates', *The Review of International Organizations* 8(3): 363-387.

(P) Koopmans, Ruud (2007) 'Who inhabits the European public sphere? Winners and losers, supporters and opponents in Europeanised political debates', *European Journal of Political Research 46(2)*: 183-210.

(P) Gattermann, Katjana (2013) 'News about the European Parliament: Patterns and external drivers of broadsheet coverage', *European Union Politics* 14(3): 436-457.

(P) Rauh, Christian, and Bödeker, Sebastian (2016) 'Internationale Organisationen in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit - ein Text Mining Ansatz'. In: M. Lemke and G. Wiedemann (ed.) *Text-Mining in den Sozialwissenschaften. Grundlagen und Anwendungen zwischen qualitativer und quantitativer Diskursanalyse.* Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

(P) Thrall, Trevor, Dominik Stecula, and Diana Sweet (2014) 'May We Have Your Attention Please? Human-Rights NGOs and the Problem of Global Communication', *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 19(2): 135-159.

11.05.2016   **Public opinion I: European Union**
Session aims to make students aware of the 'permissive consensus' assumption with regard to the EU and its declining validity over time. Furthermore, we tap into the different explanations for individual level support of supranational governance.

(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.

(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.

(P) Hobolt, Sara, and James Tilley (2013) 'Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies* 47(6): 795-819

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

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

(P) Braun, D., and Tausendpfund, M. (2014) 'The Impact of the Euro Crisis on Citizens' Support for the European Union', *Journal of European Integration* 36(3): 231-245.

(P) Bechtel, Michael, Jens Hainmueller, and Yotam Margalit (2014) 'Preferences for International Redistribution: The Divide over the Eurozone Bailouts', *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 835-856.

18.05.2016   **Public opinion II: International institutions**
This session focusses on citizen knowledge about international organizations beyond the EU and discusses how far the explanations for individual travel beyond the European Union.

(O) Dellmuth, Lisa (2016) 'The knowledge gap in world politics: Assessing the sources of citizen awareness of the United Nations Security Council', *Review of International Studies* Online First: 1-28.

(O) 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.

(O) Gray, Julia, and Raymond Hicks (2014) 'Reputations, Perceptions, and International Economic Agreements', *International Interactions* 40(3): 325-349.

(P) Schlipphak, B. (2015) 'Measuring attitudes toward regional organizations outside Europe', *The Review of International Organizations* 10(3): 351-375.

(P) Dellmuth, Lisa, and Tallberg, Jonas (2015) 'The social legitimacy of international organisations: Interest representation, institutional performance, and confidence extrapolation in the United Nations', *Review of International Studies* 41: 451-475.

(P) Tingley, Dustin, and Michael Tomz (2014) 'Conditional Cooperation and Climate Change', *Comparative Political Studies* 47(3): 344-368.

(P) Bechtel, Michael M. and Genovese, Federica and Scheve, Kenneth, Interests, Norms, and Mass Support for International Climate Policy (January 4, 2016). Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=2528466

(P) Hainmueller, J., and Hiscox, M. (2006) 'Learning to Love Globalization: Education and Individual Attitudes Toward International Trade', *International Organization* 60(02): 469-498.

(P) Dür, Andreas (2016) 'Interest group influence on public opinion:
A survey experiment on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership',
Unpublished Manuscript

25.05.2016   **Social movements: consistent protests activity?**
This session presents social movements and public protests as another source of politicization that follows distinct logics although it clusters around central supranational events and specific policies as well.

(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)

(O) Tarrow, S. (2001) 'Transnational politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics', *Annual Review of Political Science* 4(1): 1-20.

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

(P) Smith, J. (2001) 'Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 6(1): 1-19.

(P) Fisher, D., Stanley, K., Berman, D., and Neff, G. (2005) 'How Do Organizations Matter? Mobilization and Support for Participants at Five Globalization Protests', *Social Problems* 52(1): 102-121.

(P) Daphi, Priska; Haunss, Sebastian; Sommer, Moritz; Stuppert, Wolfgang; Teune, Simon und Zajak, Sabrina (2015). *Für Demokratie und gegen die Macht der Konzerne. Motive und Merkmale der Teilnehmenden der Demonstration „TTIP & CETA stoppen. Für einen gerechten Welthandel!" am 10. Oktober in Berlin.* IPB-Discussion Paper.

01.06.2016   **Partisan politics I: National 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) 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.

(O) Hutter, Swen, and Grande, Edgar (2014) 'Politicizing Europe in the national electoral arena: A comparative analysis of five West European countries, 1970–2010', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(5): 1002-1018.

(P) De Vries, C. (2007) 'Sleeping Giant: Fact or Fairytale?', *European Union Politics* 8(3): 363-385.

(P) Steenbergen, M. R., Edwards, E. E., and de Vries, C. E. (2007) 'Who's Cueing Whom?: Mass-Elite Linkages and the Future of European Integration', *European Union Politics* 8(1): 13-35.

(P) 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) Green-Pedersen, Christoffer (2012) 'A Giant Fast Asleep? Party Incentives and the Politicisation of European Integration', *Political Studies* 60(1): 115-130.

(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.

08.06.2016   **Partisan Politics II: National parliaments as politicizers?**

This session analyses how supranational governance challenges parliamentary democracy and discusses how parliaments contribute to its politicization.

(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.

(O) Rauh, C. (2015) 'Communicating supranational governance? The salience of EU affairs in the German Bundestag, 1991-2013', *European Union Politics* 16(1): 116-138.

(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* 35(7): 801-817.

15.06.2016   **Partisan politics III: Politicization in EP elections and referendums?**
The session introduces the assumption that European and other electoral contests about supranational governance are of a 'second-order' nature only and discusses whether and where this claim still holds.

(O) Reif, K., and Schmitt, H. (1980) 'Nine Second-Order National Elections - A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results', *European Journal of Political Research* 8(1): 3-44.

(O) Meijers, Maurits, and Rauh, Christian (2016) 'Has Eurosceptic mobilization become more contagious? Comparing the 2009 and 2014 EP election campaigns in The Netherlands and France', *Politics and Governance* 4(1): 83-103.

(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) 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) 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.

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

22.06.2016   **NO SESSION / KEINE SITZUNG**
If there is sufficient demand, I can offer an alternative meeting at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center in which students can present and discuss their term paper of thesis plans if they are related to the content of the seminar.

C. THE IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICIZED SUPRANATIONAL GOVERNANCE

29.06.2016   **Aggregate perspectives on politicized supranational governance**
The session focusses on recent contributions that aim to pull the extant empirical findings on the politicization of supranational governance together and assess aggregate trends and explanations.

(O) Rauh, Christian (2016) '*A responsive technocracy? EU politicisation and the consumer policies of the European Commission,* Colchester, UK: ECPR Press: 'Chapter Two - The Public Politicisation of European Integration' pp. 7-26 & 243-246.

(O) Grande, Edgar, and Hanspeter Kriesi (2016) 'Conclusions: the postfunctionalists were (almost) right'. In: S. Hutter, E. Grande and H. Kriesi (eds) *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics.* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press: pp. 279-300.

(O) Zürn, Michael (2016) 'Opening up Europe: next steps in politicisation research', *West European Politics* 39(1): 164-182.

(P) Hurrelmann, Achim, Anna Gora, and Andrea Wagner (2015) 'The Politicization of European Integration: More than an Elite Affair?', *Political Studies* 63(1): 43-59.

(P) Hoeglinger, Dominic (2016) 'The politicisation of European integration in domestic election campaigns', *West European Politics* 39(1): 44-63.

06.07.2016   **Politicization and the legitimacy of supranational governance**
This session discusses the potential benefits and pitfalls of politicization for the democratic legitimacy of governance beyond the nation state. Different normative perspectives are discussed and evaluated in the light of the empirical trends observed in earlier sessions.

(O) Zürn, Michael (2004) 'Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems', *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 260-287.

(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) Keohane, Robert, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik (2009) 'Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism', *International Organization* 63(01): 1-31.

(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.

(P) De Wilde, Pieter, and Christopher Lord (2016) 'Assessing actually-existing trajectories of EU politicisation', *West European Politics* 39(1): 145-163.

(P) Rauh, Christian, and Michael Zürn (2016) 'Die Politisierung der Europäischen Union als Chance nutzen ', *integration* 39(1): 3-14.

13.07.2016   **Effects: Does politicization actually change supranational governance?**
Against the normative expectations on politicization effects outlined in the preceding meeting, this sessions discusses the scant literature on actually observable impacts that public contestation has on contents and conducts of decision-making on levels beyond the nation state.

(O) Zürn, Michael (2014) 'The Politicization of World Politics and its Effects: Eight Propositions', *European Political Science Review* 6(1): 47-71.

(O) Rauh, Christian (2016) *A responsive technocracy? EU politicisation and the consumer policies of the European Commission,* Colchester, UK: ECPR Press: 'Introduction' pp. 1-6.

(O) Rauh, Christian and Zürn, Michael (2016) 'Legitimation Dynamics in Global Governance: Civil society evaluations of the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO in the international business press', *Unpublished manuscript.*

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

(P) Dür, Andreas, and Gemma Mateo (2014) 'Public opinion and interest group influence: how citizen groups derailed the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement', *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(8): 1199-1217.

(P) Kono, Daniel (2008) 'Does Public Opinion Affect Trade Policy?', *Business and Politics* 10(2).

20.07.2016   **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.