

National parliaments, international politics

Enhanced democratic control?

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Seminar 15392-S18

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Tuesdays, 12-14, Garystr 55, Room 323

A. OUTLINE

Parliaments are key institutions of representative democracy. As directly elected, collective actors they deliberate and decide on legislation while also selecting and controlling the national executive. Parliaments thus provide a crucial link between voter preferences and domestic political choices. However, the increasing transfer of political powers to the European Union and other international institutions strongly challenges this traditional parliamentary influence on political outcomes. How do national parliaments perform their legislative, control, and legitimating functions in the context of multi-level governance? The seminar exposes the participants to contemporary and empirically rigorous research on the institutional capacities and the partisan incentives of parliamentary actors to engage with international politics.

The *first*, primarily theoretical block discusses and links classical literature on parliamentary functions on the one hand and on the relationships between domestic and international politics on the other. The *second* and largest block focusses on the role of national parliaments in European integration. We will analyse whether and how national parliaments have improved their institutional role in European affairs over time and member states but we will also study varying partisan incentives to exploit this capacity. The *third* and final block applies these insights to selected, particularly internationalized policy fields, most notably trade and security.

The course addresses advanced BA and MA 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 sessions. Besides regular participation and reading, assignments include at least one presentation of a scholarly article and a term paper that applies one of the discussed aspects to a freely chosen empirical issue of supra- or international governance.

B. DETAILED SYLLABUS

The subsequent pages briefly summarize the topics and learning goals for each session and specify the relevant academic literature along the following system:

- (O) Obligatory texts to be read by *all* seminar participants *prior* to each session.
- (P) Advanced reading delving deeper into the topic of the session. These texts are available for *student presentations* that will be distributed in the first two sessions of the seminar (at least one per student, depending on the number of participants). If you want to present other/additional literature that fits into one of the sessions, please don't hesitate to contact me.
- (F) Reviews or classical literature on the session's topic for those who want to dig deeper.

All course materials will be distributed via the FU Blackboard (Course ID: POLSOZ_S_15392_18S) and this will be also my major means of communication in between the sessions. Please enrol there and regularly check the syllabus for updates 3-4 days prior to each session. For further inquiries, you can contact me at christian.rauh@wzb.eu

If you are interested in writing an empirical term paper or thesis in the realm of the seminar's contents, the end of the syllabus contains references to interesting data sources (to be updated further). I am also happy to accept individual appointments regarding possible term papers/theses throughout the semester.

BLOCK 1: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

17.04. – Session 1 – Setting the scene

This initial session presents the seminar organisation and starts our substantial discussions with a very brief refresher on the basic ideas of representative democracy.

- (O) Manin, Bernhard (1997) *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 6 (pages 193-234).
- (O) Lijphart, Arend (1984) *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press: Chapters 1 and 2 (pages 1-36).

24.04. – Session 2 – Functions and functioning of parliaments in democracies

This session discusses various functions and tasks that parliaments are supposed to perform in representative democracies. It then introduces the idea of delegation and accountability chains as a unified model to analyze how well parliaments live up to these ideals.

- (O) Hague, Rod, Martin Harrop, John McCormick (2016) *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*. 10th edition. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave: Chapter 8 (Legislatures, pp. 127-144).
- (O) Kaare Strøm (2003) 'Parliamentary Democracy and Delegation', *In*: Strøm, Müller and Bergmann (2003) *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Bureaucracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp. 55-108.
- (P) Müller, Wolfgang C. (2000) 'Political parties in parliamentary democracies: Making delegation and accountability work', *European Journal of Political Research* 37(3): 309-333.
- (P) Bergman, Torbjörn (2000) 'The European Union as the next step of delegation and accountability', *European Journal of Political Research* 37(3): 415-429.
- (F) Packenham, Robert (1970) 'Legislatures and political development'. *In* : Kornberg, A. & Musolf, L. (eds.). *Legislatures in Developmental Perspective*. Durham : Durham University, pages: 521-582
- (F) Bagehot, Walter (1873) 'The House of Commons', *In*: Bagehot, Walter (1873) *The English Constitution. Second Edition*. (Chapter IV)

01.05. – No session – Labour day

08.05. – Session 3 – How international politics constrains national parliaments

This session discusses whether and how the internationalisation of politics constrains the functions national parliaments are supposed to perform. Key concepts include globalisation, denationalisation, and de-parliamentarisation.

- (O) Dahl, R. (1994). A Democratic Dilemma: System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation. *Political Science Quarterly*, 109(1), 23-34.
- (O) Raunio, Tapio and Simon Hix (2000) 'Backbenchers learn to fight back: European integration and parliamentary government', *West European Politics* 23(4): 142-168.
- (P) Zürn, Michael (2000) 'Democratic Governance Beyond the Nation-State: The EU and Other International Institutions', *European Journal of International Relations* 6(2): 183-221.
- (P) Ezrow, Lawrence, and Timothy Hellwig (2014) 'Responding to Voters or Responding to Markets? Political Parties and Public Opinion in an Era of Globalization', *International Studies Quarterly* 58(4): 816-827.
- (P) Rose, Richard (2014). 'Responsible Party Government in a World of Interdependence', *West European Politics* 37(2): 253-269.
- (P) Gourevitch, P. (1978) 'The second image reversed: The international sources of domestic politics', *International Organization*, 32(4), 881-912.

15.05. – Session 4 – How national parliaments constrain international politics

This session introduces theoretical perspectives on how domestic politics affects international political choices. On this basis, we discuss how national parliaments can influence the behavior and success of 'their' executives on the international level. Key concepts include the 'paradox of weakness', two-level games, and credible commitments.

- (O) Putnam, R. (1988) 'Diplomacy and domestic politics: The logic of two-level games', *International Organization*, 42(3), 427-460.
- (O) Martin, Lisa L. (2000) *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*, Princeton, CA: Princeton University Press: Chapter 2 (pages 21-52).
- (P) Moravcsik, Andrew (1997) 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics', *International Organization* 51(4): 513-553.
- (P) Bailer, Stefanie, and Gerald Schneider (2006) 'Nash versus Schelling? The importance of constraints in legislative bargaining', In: Thomson, Robert, et al (eds.) *The European Union decides*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 153-177.
- (P) Fearon, James D. (1998) 'Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations', *Annual Review of Political Science* 1(1): 289-313.

22.05. – No session – School holidays

BLOCK 2: NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS IN THE EU

29.05. – Session 5 – Institutional capacities of national parliaments in EU affairs

This session discusses recent empirical research that uncovers the institutional capacities of national parliaments in holding 'their' executives accountable in EU affairs. Key concepts include European affairs committees, information rights, and ex-ante vs. ex-post scrutiny.

- (O) Winzen, Thomas (2013) 'European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions', *European Union Politics* 14(2): 297-323.
- (O) Karlas, Jan (2012) 'National Parliamentary Control of EU Affairs: Institutional Design after Enlargement', *West European Politics* 35(5): 1095-1113.
- (P) De Wilde, Pieter (2011). 'Ex ante vs. ex post: the trade-off between partisan conflict and visibility in debating EU policy-formulation in national parliaments', *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(5): 672-689.
- (P) Holzhacker, Ronald (2005) 'The power of opposition parliamentary party groups in European scrutiny', *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 11(3-4): 428-445.
- (P) Beichelt, Timm (2012) 'Recovering Space Lost? The German Bundestag's New Potential in European Politics', *German Politics* 21(2): 143-60.
- (P) Raunio, Tapio (2005) 'Holding governments accountable in European affairs: Explaining cross-national variation', *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 11(3-4): 319-342.
- (P) Karlas, Jan (2011) 'Parliamentary control of EU affairs in Central and Eastern Europe: explaining the variation', *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(2): 258-273.

05.06. – Session 6 – The politicization of EU affairs

This session introduces public EU politicization as an increasingly relevant context to understand the incentives that (partisan actors in) national parliaments face with regard to becoming active in EU affairs.

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

12.06. – Session 7 – Parliamentary scrutiny of EU affairs

This session presents empirical research on how varying partisan incentives affect the actual exercise of parliamentary scrutiny in EU affairs.

- (O) Finke, Daniel and Annika Herbel (2015) 'Beyond rules and resources: Parliamentary scrutiny of EU policy proposals'. *European Union Politics* 16(4): 490-513.
- (O) Holzhaacker, Ronald (2002) 'National Parliamentary Scrutiny Over EU Issues'. *European Union Politics* 3(4): 459-479.
- (P) Senninger, Roman (2017) 'Issue expansion and selective scrutiny - how opposition parties used parliamentary questions about the European Union in the national arena from 1973 to 2013.' *European Union Politics* 18 (2): 283-306
- (P) Wessels, Bernhard (2005). 'Roles and orientations of members of parliament in the EU context: Congruence or difference? Europeanisation or not?', *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 11(3-4): 446-465.
- (P) Finke Daniel, and Tanja Dannwolf (2015). 'Who let the dogs out? The effect of parliamentary scrutiny on compliance with EU law'. *Journal of European Public Policy* pp. 1-21.
- (P) Finke Daniel, and Tanja Dannwolf (2013). 'Domestic scrutiny of European Union politics: Between whistle blowing and opposition control'. *European Journal of Political Research* 52(6):715-746.
- (P) Jančić, Davor (2017) 'TTIP and legislative–executive relations in EU trade policy', *West European Politics* 40(1):202-221.

19.06. – Session 8 – Debating the EU in parliament

This session highlights that the accountability of EU politics can be enhanced by public debates in national parliaments. It then moves on to empirical studies analysing whether this potential is actually fulfilled.

- (O) Auel, Katrin (2007) Democratic Accountability and National Parliaments: Redefining the Impact of Parliamentary Scrutiny in EU Affairs, *European Law Journal* 13(4): 487-504
- (O) Rauh, Christian, and Pieter De Wilde (2018) 'The Opposition Deficit in EU Accountability: Evidence from over 20 years of plenary debate in four member states', *European Journal of Political Research* 57(1): 194–216.
- (P) Auel, Katrin and Tapio Raunio (2014). 'Debating the State of the Union? Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom'. *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 20(1):13-28.

- (P) Winzen, Thomas, Rik de Ruiter, and Jofre Rocabert (2018) 'Is parliamentary attention to the EU strongest when it is needed the most? National parliaments and the selective debate of EU policies', *European Union Politics*: Online First.
- (P) Wendler, Frank (2014) 'Justification and political polarization in national parliamentary debates on EU treaty reform', *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(4):549-567.
- (P) Miklin, Eric (2014) 'EU Politicisation and National Parliaments: Visibility of Choices and Better Aligned Ministers?', *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 20(1): 78-92.
- (P) Auel, K., Eisele, O., and Kinski, L. (2017) What Happens in Parliament Stays in Parliament? Newspaper Coverage of National Parliaments in EU Affairs. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*: Online First (doi: 10.1111/jcms.12685).

26.06. – Session 9 – National parliaments after Lisbon: European institutions?

This session introduces the revisions in the EU Lisbon Treaty 2008 that aim at turning national parliaments into European institutions in their own right – both as individual and collective actors. On this basis we discuss recent research studying especially the Early Warning Mechanism and cross-parliamentary cooperation in Europe.

- (O) Auel, Katrin and Christine Neuhold (2016) 'Multi-arena players in the making? Conceptualizing the role of national parliaments since the Lisbon Treaty', *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(10): 1547-1561.
- (O) Sprungk, Carina (2013). 'A New Type of Representative Democracy? Reconsidering the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union'. *Journal of European Integration* 35(5):547-563.
- (P) Christiansen, Thomas, Anna-Lena Högenauer, and Christine Neuhold (2014) 'National parliaments in the post-Lisbon European Union: Bureaucratization rather than democratization?', *Comparative European Politics* 12(2): 121–140.
- (P) Malang, T., Brandenberger, L. and Leifeld, P. (2017) 'Networks and Social Influence in European Legislative Politics,' *British Journal of Political Science*. Online first. (doi: 10.1017/S0007123417000217).
- (P) Miklin, Eric (2016) 'Beyond subsidiarity: the indirect effect of the Early Warning System on national parliamentary scrutiny in European Union affairs'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(3): 366-85.
- (P) Wonka, Arndt and Berthold Rittberger (2013) 'The Ties that Bind? Intra-party Information Exchanges of German MPs in EU Multi-level Politics', *West European Politics* 37(3):624-643.
- (P) Senninger, Roman and Daniel Bischof (2017) 'Working in unison: Political parties and policy issue transfer in the multilevel space', *European Union Politics*: Online First.
- (P) Williams, Christopher J (2016) 'Issuing reasoned opinions: The effect of public attitudes towards the European Union on the usage of the 'Early Warning System'', *European Union Politics* 17(3): 504-521.

BLOCK 3: NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS IN OTHER INTERNATIONALIZED POLICY AREAS

03.07. – Session 10 – Foreign policies beyond the EU

This session compares the capacities and activity of parliaments in EU affairs to other areas of internationalized politics – in this session most notably trade and other economic policy.

- (O) Raunio, Tapio (2014) Legislatures and Foreign Policy, In: Martin, Shane; Saalfeld, Thomas and Kaare W. Strøm (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 553-558.
- (O) Milner, Helen V., and B. Peter Rosendorff (2016) 'Democratic Politics and International Trade Negotiations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(1): 117-146.
- (P) Jäger, Thomas, Kai Oppermann, Alexander Höse, Henrike Viehrig (2009) 'The Salience of Foreign Affairs Issues in the German Bundestag', *Parliamentary Affairs* 62(3): 418-437.
- (P) Broz, J. L. and Hawes, M. B. (2006) 'Congressional Politics of Financing the International Monetary Fund', *International Organization* 60(2), pp. 367–399.
- (P) Broz, J. Lawrence (2005) 'Congressional Politics of International Financial Rescues', *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 479-496.
- (F) Aldrich, John H., Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thompson Sharp (2006) 'Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection', *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 477-502.

10.07. – Session 11 – Security and defence policy

This session discusses recent empirical research on parliamentary involvement in security and defense policy – an area that is often decidedly international while providing national executives with several advantages over domestic legislatures.

- (O) Peters, Dirk, and Wolfgang Wagner (2011) 'Between Military Efficiency and Democratic Legitimacy: Mapping Parliamentary War Powers in Contemporary Democracies, 1989–2004', *Parliamentary Affairs* 64(1): 175-192.
- (O) Mello, Patrick A., and Dirk J. Peters (2018) 'Parliaments in security policy: Involvement, politicisation, and influence', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20(1): 3-18.
- (O) Owens, John E. and Riccardo Pelizzo (2010) Introduction: The Impact of the 'War on Terror' on Executive–Legislative Relations: A Global Perspective, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 15:2-3, 119-146.

- (P) Wagner, Wolfgang Anna Herranz-Surrallés, Juliet Kaarbo & Falk Ostermann (2017) 'The party politics of legislative–executive relations in security and defence policy'. *West European Politics* 40(1):20-41.
- (P) Howell, William G. Rogowski, Jon C., (2013) 'War, the Presidency, and Legislative Voting Behavior', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 57, no. 1, 150-166 (2013).
- (P) Wagner, Wolfgang (2018) Is there a parliamentary peace? Parliamentary veto power and military interventions from Kosovo to Daesh', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20(1): 121-134.
- (P) Mello, Patrick A. (2012) 'Parliamentary peace or partisan politics? Democracies & participation in the Iraq War', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15(3): 420-453.

17.07. – Session 12 – Conclusion and outlook

This session concludes by summarising the key insights of the seminar against the delegation/accountability model developed in session 2. This clarifies extant gaps in empirical research that may be picked up in individual term papers or theses.

C. RELEVANT EMPIRICAL DATASETS

To be updated further - suggestions welcome!

Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies

Various indicators of parliamentary and MP capacities as well as government composition for 17 European countries: <http://www.erdda.se/index.php/projects/cpd/data-archive>

Parliamentary capacities in EU affairs

Institutional parliamentary powers from 1984-2006 for 22 European countries are described in:

Winzen, Thomas (2013) 'European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions', *European Union Politics* 14(2): 297-323.

The author shares these data upon request only.

Parliamentary speech data

ParlSpeech contains full-text vectors of more than 3.9 million plenary speeches in the key legislative chambers of the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, covering periods between 22 and 28 years:

Rauh, Christian, Pieter De Wilde, and Jan Schwalbach (2017) 'The ParlSpeech data set: Annotated full-text vectors of 3.9 million plenary speeches in the key legislative chambers of seven European states' *Harvard Dataverse*.

Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/E4RSP9>

Speech data on U.S. Congress is, for example, available in:

Gentzkow, Matthew, and Jesse Shapiro (2015) Congressional Record for 104th-110th Congresses: Text and Phrase Counts. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research

Available from: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9458265>

Party position data

From coded manifestos: <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>

From expert surveys: <https://www.chesdata.eu/our-surveys/>

Other party and government indicators: <http://www.parlgov.org/>