

Communicating international politics

Advanced BA seminar 15263
SS 2020, Freie Universität Berlin, Otto-Suhr Institut
Weekly online sessions

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Since the FU has thus far failed to provide me with digital access, this seminar outline is preliminary. Please check back regularly for updates or contact me directly!

1. SEMINAR OUTLINE

Highly controversial public debates have recently constrained institutionalized political cooperation across national borders. What drives the underlying public attention to international politics and how do supra- and international institutions respond?

This seminar builds on a current research agenda and provides participants with analytical tools to analyze the public communication of and about the European Union and other international organizations, such as the IMF or the World Bank for example. It proceeds in three steps. First, we review key arguments on the public politicization of international institutions from different fields of political science. Second, we read and discuss empirical studies on the frequency, timing, content, and style of political communication about international institutions in domestic media, parliamentary debates, or election campaigns. Third, we will study whether and how the communication efforts of international institutions themselves live up to the increasing public politicization they face.

The seminar addresses advanced B.A. students who want to deepen their knowledge on contemporary European and international multilevel governance (possibly in preparation for a thesis in the above mentioned fields), who are willing to engage in both the substantial and methodological issues of the literature, and who are prepared to engage in mutual learning during the seminar. Assignments include a presentation or summary of a scholarly article and a term paper applying one of the discussed aspects to a freely chosen empirical issue of international politics.

2. PRELIMINARY SEMINAR ORGANISATION (IN TIMES OF COVID-19)

Since we cannot meet physically in this semester, the seminar will be conducted in a digital environment. Nevertheless, the ambition is the same as for my physical seminars: I want to (a) equip you with the state of the art of the contemporary research agenda, ensure (b) that we can learn from each other by giving room for your questions, comments, and critique, while (c) also monitoring your achievements fairly.

Our primary ‘meeting space’ will be the seminar website on the FU Blackboard (<https://lms.fu-berlin.de/>). Until I have Blackboard access, the teaching materials will be provided at www.christian-rauh.eu/teaching. Based on this resource the seminar is organized around

- Your weekly self-study along the *obligatory literature* for each session (see section 3 below)
- A weekly *video lecture* (ppt voiceover, asynchronous, by Thursday at latest) by myself that runs you through key arguments, blind spots, and overall placement of the arguments in this literature
- An *open message board* in which each participant can and should raise questions and comments while also providing input on those of others – please review this board at least weekly
- Two *video conferences* (sessions 5 and 14), presumably organized via WebEx
- *Summary of at least one scholarly article* (see section 3 below) that replaces the presentation. This summary should summarize the main arguments and empirical analysis for the other course participant while also fitting it into the seminar context and providing a critical assessment by yourself. The resource is shared via Blackboard with all participants and I accept the following formats:
 - Self-recorded video presentation (e.g. ppt voiceover)
 - Scientific poster
 - Written summary (pdf) of about 2000-3000 words
- *Individual contacts via* e-mail and/or Skype

I am currently figuring out the available technologies and more details will be provided in the video for the first session and please do get back to me if you have any questions or suggestions.

3. DETAILED SEMINAR PLAN AND LITERATURE

This section provides more detail on the seminar content and, most importantly, provides the literature to be read:

- (O) Marks obligatory literature that all participants should have carefully read by Wednesday of each seminar week
- (P) Marks further reading that is suitable also for presentation/summary of the course participants. You should sign up for at least one of those texts until week 3 of the seminar. If you want to present other scholarly work (including your own) that fits into an individual session, please get into contact with me.
- (F) Mark further reading which, however, is not well-suited for presentation.

Calendar week 17 - Session 1: Introduction

This session should mainly help you in figuring out whether this seminar is for you (I hope it is!). To this end the session will present an overview of the seminar's content and structure, specify the assignments expected from the participants, and lays out the digital organization of our common work.

Block 1: Context – Why should we care about communication of international politics?

This first block sets the theoretical cornerstones for the later, more empirical parts of the seminar. By discussing the growth of international authority, its public politicization, and the resulting questions of normative and empirical legitimacy, we together carve out why public communication about international organizations and institutions is highly relevant for contemporary politics.

Calendar week 18 - Session 2: The growing political competences of international organizations and institutions

This session briefly recaps why and how national governments have increasingly delegated or pooled their competences to or in international organizations and institutions over the last decades.

- (O) Simmons, B. A. and Martin, L. (2012) 'International Organisations and Institutions', in *Handbook of International Relations*. Sage Publications, pp. 326–351.

- (O) Zürn, M. (2018) 'The Rise of the Global Governance System: A Historical-Institutionalist Account', in *A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 107–136.
- (P) Lenz, T., Bezuijen, J., Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2015) 'Patterns of International Organization: Task Specific vs. General Purpose', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 49 (Sonderheft Internationale Organisationen): 136–161.
- (P) Abbott, K. W. and Snidal, D. (1998) 'Why States Act through Formal International Organizations', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1): 3–32.

Calendar week 19 - Session 3: Debates about the democratic quality of international institutions

In this session we review the normative debate on the democratic legitimacy of international organizations and institutions, focussing on influential and controversial contributions and selected proposals for potential remedies of 'democratic deficits' in global governance.

- (O) Dahl, R. (1994) 'A Democratic Dilemma: System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation', *Political Science Quarterly* 109(1): 23.
- (O) Keohane, R., Macedo, S. and Moravcsik, A. (2009) 'Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism', *International Organization* 63(01): 1–31.
- (P) Woods, N. and Narlikar, A. (2001) 'Governance and the Limits of Accountability: The WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank', *International Social Science Journal* 53(170): 569–583.
- (P) Nanz, P. and Steffek, J. (2004) 'Global Governance, Participation and the Public Sphere', *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 314–335.
- (F) Gartzke, E. and Naoi, M. (2011) 'Multilateralism and Democracy: A Dissent Regarding Keohane, Macedo, and Moravcsik', *International Organization* 65(03): 589–598.

Calendar week 20 - Session 4: International authority and its politicization

This session establishes the concept of international authority and theoretical expectations on how and why it becomes politicized, i.e. salient in polarized debates among an enlarging set of societal actors.

- (O) Zürn, M., Binder, M. and Ehrhardt, M. (2012) 'International authority and its politicization', *International Theory* 4(01): 69–106.
- (O) De Wilde, P. and Zürn, M. (2012) 'Can the Politicization of European Integration Be Reversed?', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(S1): 137–153.
- (P) Grande, E. and Hutter, S. (2016) 'Introduction: European integration and the challenge of politicisation', in S. Hutter, E. Grande, and H. Kriesi (eds). *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

- (P) De Wilde, P. (2011) 'No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing the Politicization of European Integration', *Journal of European Integration* 33(5): 559–575.
- (P) Zürn, M. (2004) 'Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems', *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 260–287.

Calendar week 21 - Session 5: Possible consequences of politicization for international politics

This session develops contending expectations on what (public) politicisation means for the future political cooperation across national borders

- (O) Zürn, M. (2014) 'The politicization of world politics and its effects: Eight propositions', *European Political Science Review* 6: 47–71.
- (O) Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2009) 'A Postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1–23.
- (P) Hooghe, L., Lenz, T. and Marks, G. (2019) 'The Resistible Rise of International Authority', in *A Theory of International Organization*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 84–103.
- (P) Moravcsik, A. (2006) 'What can we learn from the collapse of the European constitutional project?', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47(2): 219–241.
- (P) Rauh, C. and Zürn, M. (2014) 'Zur Politisierung der EU in der Krise', in M. Heidenreich (ed.). *Krise der europäischen Vergesellschaftung?* Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 121–145.

Calendar week 22 - Session 6: Why public communication matters for contemporary international politics

Pulling the arguments about growing international authority, its democratic qualities and its politicisation together, this session focusses on discursive process of de-legitimation and re-legitimation. In this light, the public communication of and about international organizations and institutions will be a decisive factor for the future of institutionalized political cooperation across national borders.

- (O) Tallberg, J. and Zürn, M. (2019) 'The legitimacy and legitimation of international organizations: introduction and framework', *The Review of International Organizations* 14(4): 581–606.
- (O) Steffek, J. (2003) 'The Legitimation of International Governance: A Discourse Approach', *European Journal of International Relations* 9(2): 249–275.

Block 2: When and why do international organizations figure in public discourses?

The different sessions in this second block present and discuss primarily empirical studies that analyze whether, why and when international organizations become an important topic in public debates.

Calendar week 23 - Session 7: Public knowledge, attention and support for international organizations

In this week we discuss selected studies on the public knowledge about international organizations the support they enjoy among the wider citizenry. This gives us important information for how the communication of international politics is received among a key audience of political debates.

- (O) Dellmuth, L. (2016) 'The knowledge gap in world politics: Assessing the sources of citizen awareness of the United Nations Security Council', *Review of International Studies* 42(4): 673–700.
- (O) Hix, S. and Høyland, B. (2011) 'Public Opinion', in Hix/Hoyland *The Political System of the European Union*, 3rd Ed., Red Globe Press., pp. 105-129.
- (P) Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. (2012) 'Cosmopolitan politicization: How perceptions of interdependence foster citizens' expectations in international institutions', *European Journal of International Relations* 18(3): 481–508.
- (P) Karp, J., Banducci, S. and Bowler, S. (2003) 'To Know it is to Love it? Satisfaction with Democracy in the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies* 36(3): 271–292.
- (P) Hurrelmann, A., Gora, A. and Wagner, A. (2015) 'The Politicization of European Integration: More than an Elite Affair?', *Political Studies* 63(1): 43–59.
- (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) Hessami, Z. (2011) *What Determines Trust in International Organizations?: An Empirical Analysis for the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO*, available at <https://kops.uni-konstanz.de/handle/123456789/30239> (accessed March 2020).
- (P) Schlipphak, B. (2015) 'Measuring attitudes toward regional organizations outside Europe', *The Review of International Organizations* 10(3): 351–375.
- (P) Edwards, M. S. (2009) 'Public support for the international economic organizations: Evidence from developing countries', *The Review of International Organizations* 4(2): 185.

Calendar week 24 - Session 8: The visibility of international politics in public media

The communication of and about international politics happens largely in and through public media. Against the background of news value theory, we thus discuss explanations and empirical patterns on why and how individual international organizations become visible in mass media.

- (O) Galtung, J. and Ruge, M. (1965) 'The Structure of Foreign News', *Journal of Peace Research* 2(1): 64–90.
- (O) Bennett, L. et al. (2004) 'Managing the Public Sphere: Journalistic Construction of the Great Globalization Debate', *Journal of Communication* 54(3): 437–455.
- (O) Boomgaarden, H., Vliegenthart, R., De Vreese, C. and Schuck, A. (2010) 'News on the move: exogenous events and news coverage of the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(4): 506–526.
- (P) Rauh, C. and Bödeker, S. (2016) 'Internationale Organisationen in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit - ein Text Mining Ansatz', in Matthias Lemke and Gregor Wiedemann (eds). *Text-Mining in den Sozialwissenschaften. Grundlagen und Anwendungen zwischen qualitativer und quantitativer Diskursanalyse*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- (P) Soroka, S. (2003) 'Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy', *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 8(1): 27–48.
- (P) Carey, S. and Burton, J. (2004) 'Research Note: The Influence of the Press in Shaping Public Opinion towards the European Union in Britain', *Political Studies* 52(3): 623–640.
- (P) Rixen, T. and Zangl, B. (2013) 'The politicization of international economic institutions in US public debates', *The Review of International Organizations* 8(3): 363–387.
- (P) Koopmans, R. and Erbe, J. (2004) 'Towards a European public sphere?', *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 17(2): 97–118.
- (P) De Wilde, Pieter (2019) 'Media logic and grand theories of European integration', *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8): 1193–1212.
- (P) Marks, L. A., Kalaitzandonakes, N. and Konduru, S. (2006) 'Images of Globalisation in the Mass Media', *The World Economy* 29(5): 615–636.
- (P) Nulty, P., Theocharis, Y., Popa, S. A., Parnet, O. and Benoit, K. (2016) 'Social media and political communication in the 2014 elections to the European Parliament', *Electoral Studies* 44: 429–444.
- (F) Gilboa, E. (2005) 'The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations', *Political Communication* 22(1): 27–44.
- (F) Machill, M., Beiler, M. and Fischer, C. (2006) 'Europe-Topics in Europe's Media: The Debate about the European Public Sphere: A Meta-Analysis of Media Content Analyses', *European Journal of Communication* 21(1): 57–88.

Calendar week 25 - Session 9: Salience of international authority in partisan competition

Political parties are decisive actors for setting the agenda of public debates in national democracies. In this session we thus inquire into how much and why they decide to (competitively) communicate about international organizations.

- (O) Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. (2014) 'Why parties politicise international institutions: On globalisation backlash and authority contestation', *Review of International Political Economy* 21(6): 1275–1312.

- (O) Hutter, S. and Grande, E. (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.
- (O) Rauh, C. and De Wilde, P. (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) Guinaudeau, I. and Palau, A. (2016) 'A matter of conflict: How events and parties shape the news coverage of EU affairs', *European Union Politics* 17(4): 593–615.
- (P) Milner, H. V. and Rosendorff, B. P. (1997) 'Democratic Politics and International Trade Negotiations: Elections and Divided Government As Constraints on Trade Liberalization', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(1): 117–146.
- (P) Kleine, M. and Minaudier, C. (2019) 'Negotiating under Political Uncertainty: National Elections and the Dynamics of International Co-operation', *British Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 315–337.
- (P) Heft, A., Wittwer, S. and Pfetsch, B. (2017) 'Divided They Tweet? A Comparative Analysis of Twitter Networks of Pro- and Anti-EU Parties', in M. Caiani and S. Guerra (eds). *Euroscepticism, Democracy and the Media: Communicating Europe, Contesting Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 195–218, doi:[10.1057/978-1-137-59643-7_9](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59643-7_9).

Block 3: How do political elites communicate about international politics?

In this final block we will focus on empirical studies on the communication of those political elites that shape the international politics directly – i.e. we scrutinize extant knowledge on the communication of national governments (which have the power to delegate political competences to international organizations) and, finally, the communication of the international organizations themselves.

Calendar week 26 - Session 10: Why elite communication about and by IOs matters

To establish the importance of elite communication, this session discusses primarily experimental research on how communicative signals of political elites shape the evaluation of international organizations among citizens.

- (O) Dellmuth, L. M. and Tallberg, J. (2020) 'Elite Communication and the Popular Legitimacy of International Organizations', *British Journal of Political Science*: Online First.
- (O) Maier, M., Adam, S. and Maier, J. (2012) 'The impact of identity and economic cues on citizens' EU support: An experimental study on the effects of party communication in the run-up to the 2009 European Parliament elections', *European Union Politics* 13(4): 580–603.

- (P) Neuner, F. G. (2018) 'Do Elite Frames Trump Institutional Design? Unpacking the Dynamics of Support for Global Governance', Paper prepared for the 2018 APSA meeting
- (P) Gabel, M. and Scheve, K. (2007) 'Estimating the Effect of Elite Communications on Public Opinion Using Instrumental Variables', *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 1013–1028.
- (P) Wilson, T. L. and Hobolt, S. B. (2015) 'Allocating Responsibility in Multilevel Government Systems: Voter and Expert Attributions in the European Union', *The Journal of Politics* 77(1): 102–113.

Calendar week 27 - Session 11: How domestic political elites communicate about international organizations

In this week we look into how especially national heads of state and government communicate on international organizations and thereby contribute to their (de)legitimation in public debates.

- (O) Schmidtke, H. (2019) 'Elite legitimation and delegitimation of international organizations in the media: Patterns and explanations', *The Review of International Organizations* 14(4): 633–659.
- (O) Rauh, C., Bes, B. J. and Schoonvelde, M. (2019) 'Undermining, defusing, or defending European integration? Assessing public communication of European executives in times of EU politicization', *European Journal of Political Research*: Online First.
- (P) Heinkelmann-Wild, T. and Zangl, B. (2019) 'Multilevel blame games: Blame-shifting in the European Union', *Governance*: Online First (doi:[10.1111/gove.12459](https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12459).)
- (P) Traber, D., Schoonvelde, M. and Schumacher, G. (2020) 'Errors have been made, others will be blamed: Issue engagement and blame shifting in prime minister speeches during the economic crisis in Europe', *European Journal of Political Research* 59(1): 45–67.
- (P) Gerhards, J., Offerhaus, A. and Roose, J. (2009) 'Wer ist verantwortlich? Die Europäische Union, ihre Nationalstaaten und die massenmediale Attribution von Verantwortung für Erfolge und Misserfolge', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderhefte* Band 42 'Politik in der Mediendemokratie': 529–558.

Calendar week 28 - Session 12: The self-legitimation of international organizations

Here we focus on international organizations themselves by discussing studies that analyse the organization and content of their communication. Put differently, we investigate the efforts and the language of IO self-legitimation in front of a public audience in this final substantial session.

- (O) Gronau, J. and Schmidtke, H. (2016) 'The quest for legitimacy in world politics – international institutions' legitimation strategies', *Review of International Studies* 42(3): 535–557.
- (O) Franco Moretti and Dominique Pestre (2015) 'Bankspeak: The Language of World Bank Reports', *The New Left Review* 92(MAR APR 2015): 75–99.

- (O) Ecker-Ehrhardt, Matthias (2018) 'Self-legitimation in the face of politicization: Why international organizations centralized public communication', *The Review of International Organizations* 13(4): 519-546.
- (P) Dingwerth, Klaus, Henning Schmidtke, and Tobias Weise (2019) 'The rise of democratic legitimation: why international organizations speak the language of democracy', *European Journal of International Relations*. Online First.
- (P) Rauh, C. and Zürn, M. (2019) 'Authority, politicization, and alternative justifications: endogenous legitimation dynamics in global economic governance', *Review of International Political Economy*. Online first.
- (P) Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. (2018a) 'IO public communication and discursive inclusion: how the UN reported the Arms Trade Treaty process to a global audience', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, doi:[10.1057/s41268-018-0143-3](https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-018-0143-3).
- (P) De Bruycker, I. (2017) 'Politicization and the public interest: When do the elites in Brussels address public interests in EU policy debates?', *European Union Politics* 18(4): 603–619.
- (P) Michailidou, A. (2008) 'Democracy and New Media in the European Union: Communication or Participation Deficit?', *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 4(4): 346–368.
- (P) Meyer, C. (1999) 'Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics: Exploring the European Union's Communication Deficit', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(4): 617–639.
- (P) Thrall, T., Stecula, D. and Sweet, D. (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.
- (F) Orwell, George (1946) 'Politics and the English Language', *Horizon* 13(76): 252-265.

Calendar week 29 - Session 12: Wrap-up and outlook

In this final session, we pull some of the key findings of the seminar together, focussing especially on the how the patterns of public communication about international politics mitigate or amplify the expected effects of public politicization on future global governance. In this light, we also carve out important gaps in the empirical research on the public communication of and about IOs. Beyond these substantial conclusions, we will discuss the term paper. If things work out, this session will be held as a WebEx video conference.