Europeanisation/German Politics

Introduction

The Rules

Intro: Europeanisation & Germanification

Why is this relevant?

The European Union: A very brief introduction

Europeanisation and multi-level governance

Course outline

Your turn: Class questions

Summary
Your duties

- **All** students: Regular attendance, participation in class
- For those requiring full credits ("Modulleistung"): You must submit an essay
  - Your essay must focus on its title/research question
  - You must pick a title from the list
  - All the usual guidelines/requirements apply (see the departmental website)
  - There is only one (the general) deadline

- **You must be willing and able to read a lot from week to week.** The required readings are on the Reader system.
- Based on the assigned readings, you will participate in class discussions, group work, quizzes, ad-hoc presentations etc.
- And always remember: **Plagiarism is the most deadly academic sin.** If I find you cheating, you will receive a fail mark, and I will consider further action
No state is truly sovereign (N Korea, perhaps?)

- Westphalia: States as independent actors
- Negotiations between sovereign states (e.g. Vienna Congress)
- But: resources (US vs Luxembourg)
- But: many problems require regulation/co-operation beyond the nation state
  - Intergovernmental institutions (every state a veto player)
  - Supranational institutions more efficient?
- W Germany accepted integration (constitution)
- But still works like a sovereign state in many ways
- Supremacy of constitution?

The EU is not truly supranational

- Key institutions (Commission, ECJ, Parliament) follow supranational logic
- But member states still masters of the treaties
- (Compare with federal system)
  - Rights of subnational units protected by constitution
  - Subnational units cannot change constitution/leave union without federal institutions’ consent
- Plus: Council of Ministers/European Council
- Not all member states created equal (Big Three vs small states, New vs Old, South vs North . . .)
**Source:** McCormick, European Union Politics

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**This seminar . . .**

- All German institutions/policies affected by “Europe”
- Germany still a (the?) dominant player in the European Union
- We’ll study both sides of this interaction
What's not in the box?

- Agriculture
- Very technical policies
- Comparative perspectives (e.g. Germany vs the Netherlands/Austria/Whatever)
- Purely German Politics
- Purely European Politics
- “Culture”, soft Europeanisation

The early years

- Attempt at long-term intergovernmental co-operation to solve collective problems largely failed (League of Nations)
- Need to re-build (Western) Europe
- Need to tie-in Germany
- *Supranational* Co-operation
  - Limited to (crucial) sectors of the economy
  - (Neo-)functional approach
- No political/military structures, but successful economic integration
Stagnation

- Attempts to strengthen supranational Commission derailed by France (Empty Chair crisis)
- Principle of national veto established (Luxembourg Compromise)
- Shambolic Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), un-coordinated response to oil price shocks

Revival

- From late 1970s/early 1980s . . .
  - European Council
  - Single European Act – Single European Market & Qualified Majority Voting & Parliament
  - Run-up to Maastricht
- Maastricht
  - Post-Cold War order
  - Political Union (pillars, subsuming European Communities)
  - Economic and Monetary Union
  - Parliament
Crises? What Crises?

- Preparation for Eastern enlargement a failure (Nice Treaty)
- Deepening vs widening
- Failed ratification of Constitutional Treaty
- Problems with Lisbon treaty
- Sovereign debt/Euro crisis
- Failure to deal with the refugee situation & de facto suspension of Schengen system
- What’s next?

The core institutions

- European Court of Justice
- Parliament
- Commission
- Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers)
- European Council (Heads of State & Government)
Multi-level governance

- More an approach than a theory
- First developed by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks
- Core point: Governance, as opposed to Government
  - Involving supranational, national, regional, local state actors
  - Systematically involving non-state actors (interest groups, experts etc.)
- Emphasises importance of complex, de-centalised negotiations that (partially) replace centralised, hierarchical decision-making
- Important yet controversial concept

Europeanisation: Definition(s) (see e.g. Radaelli 2003)

- A ‘background concept' with many related meanings, but definitions do exist
  - Börzel 1999: 'A process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making'
  - Risse, Cowles, and Caporaso (2001): ‘the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance ... specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules'
  - Ladrech 1994: ‘An incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organisational logic of national politics and policy-making'
- Even wider definitions (Olsen 2002): ‘changes in external boundaries' + developing European institutions + ‘penetration of national systems of governance' + exporting institutions and values + a ‘political unification project'
A useful starting point: Radaelli 2003

- **Europeanisation**
  - a process of construction, diffusion and institutionalisation
  - of norms, beliefs, formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles
  - first defined and consolidated in the EU policy processes
  - the incorporated in the logic of domestic discourses, political structures, public policies

- Basically: domestic impact of ‘Europe’, but . . .
  - More than the *adoption* of EU policies (there is Europeanisation w/o European laws)
  - Less than everything that goes on in Brussels

More warnings

- **Horizontal europeanisation**
- Decline of Community Method and Open Method of Co-ordination
- Top-down vs bottom-up
- Domestic actors often use EU and its resources
# Beyond definitions: models & mechanisms (1)

- Attempt to model Europeanisation closely linked to two (three) flavours of ‘New Institutionalism’:
  - **Rational Choice Institutionalism**
    - Institutions are rules and provide opportunities/veto points
    - Actors have stable preferences for rules and outcomes
    - Europeanisation provides new opportunities/veto points to domestic actors
    - **Logic: Rational Choice**
  - **Sociological Institutionalism**
    - Institutions imply norms, values, ideas, organisational culture, ‘psychology’
    - Preferences can be changed by socialisation (learning new norms/values)
    - Europeanisation changes institutions/actors
    - **Logic: appropriateness**

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# Beyond definitions: models & mechanisms (2)

- **Historical Institutionalism**
  - Institutions are shaped by their history
  - Institutions and policies are normally ‘sticky’, change is very incremental
  - Europeanisation may be more or less compatible with existing institutional patterns
  - **Logic: Path dependency & (few) critical junctures**

- Varieties of institutionalism not necessary competing paradigms, often rather: complementary perspectives

- How do they translate into attempts to sketch causal mechanisms?
The most prominent mechanism: misfit

- ‘Misfit’ between European regulations and domestic conditions
- creates ‘adaptational pressure’ on domestic actors
- rational choice and/or sociological explanations follow

Source: Börzel/Risse 2003

Criticism (cf Bulmer 2007)

- Often, the EU leaves scope for national discretion → no misfit
- No single EU template for policy under Open Method of Co-ordination
- Alternative mechanisms
  - Learning
  - Policy competition
  - Negative regulation and mutual recognition
  - Framing
- Less prominent and not always well developed
- Plus: Very difficult (and not at all sensible) to enact policies against express wishes of member states / ms governnments
- Plus: European templates often shaped by powerful member states
Assessing impact: dimensions

**Europeaization**
Processes, policies, and institutions

- Policies
  - Standards
  - Instruments
  - Problem-solving approaches
  - Policy narratives and discourses

- Politics
  - Processes of
    - Interest formation
    - Interest aggregation
    - Interest representation
    - Public discourses

- Polity
  - Political institutions
  - Intergovernmental relations
  - Judicial structures
  - Public administration
  - State traditions
  - Economic institutions
  - State-society relation
  - Collective identities

Source: Börzel/Risse 2003

Assessing impact: outcomes

Börzel/Risse 2003: three degrees of domestic change

1. Absorption (low): MS incorporate European policies/ideas w/o substantially modifying existing processes, policies, and institutions

2. Accommodation (medium): MS modify existing processes/policies/institutions w/o changing ‘essential’ features and ‘collective understandings’

3. Transformation (high): MS replace/fundamentally change existing stuff and understandings

► Problem: your absorption might be my accommodation
Outline (1)

21.04. Introduction


28.04. The EU and Public Policy

Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 1-3

Outline (2)

Europeanisation: Polity

12.05. Democratic Deficit and Departamentalisation?

Follesdal and Hix, 2006; Auel, 2006

19.05. Parliament

Kropp, 2010

02.06. Federalism

Moore and Eppler, 2008

09.06. Justice

Panke, 2007, Doukas, 2009
### Outline (3)

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
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<td>23.06</td>
<td>Europeanisation: Policy</td>
<td>Toens, 2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.06</td>
<td>(Higher) Education</td>
<td>Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 11</td>
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<td>An Emerging European/Europeanised Domain: Social Policy</td>
<td>Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 11</td>
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### Outline (4)

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<td>07.07</td>
<td>New Intergovernmentalism?</td>
<td>Kirchner, 2010; Miskimmon, 2014 and Paterson, 2011; background: Paterson, 2014,</td>
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<td>A European Vocation? /CFSP</td>
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<td>14.07</td>
<td>JHA, Migration, Asylum</td>
<td>Menz, 2011</td>
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<td>21.07</td>
<td>Economic and Monetary Union</td>
<td>Busch, 2014; Featherstone, 2011; Van Esch, 2012; background: Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 7</td>
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Class questions

▶ Work in pairs
▶ Discuss the reasons why Europeanisation across the EU has been differential as opposed to uniform
▶ How and why are countries outside the EU affected by Europeanisation?

You must read, or else something horrible will happen. I will make it look like an accident.

▶ The European Union is a complex and unique quasi-polity
▶ It affects all aspects of German Politics
▶ But Germany is a very important player within this system