

Introduction

Europeanisation/German Politics

Outline

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

There is more . . .

- ▶ *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)

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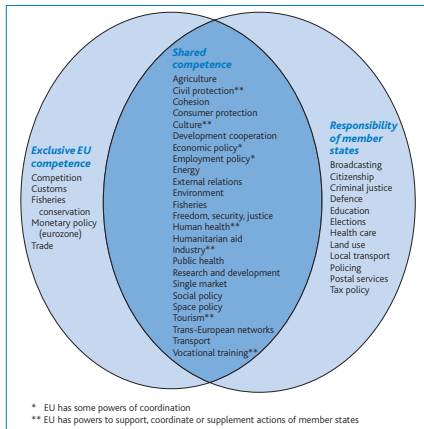
- ▶ Westphalia: States as independent actors
- ▶ Negotiations between sovereign states (e.g. Vienna Congress)
- ▶ But: resources (US vs Luxembourg)
- ▶ But: many problems require regulation/co-operation beyond the nation state
 - ▶ Intergovernmental institutions (every state a veto player)
 - ▶ Supranational 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 . . .)

Nation State/EU Powers

Figure 9.1 The division of policy authority



Source: McCormick, European Union Politics

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-centralised 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'

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- ▶ 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)

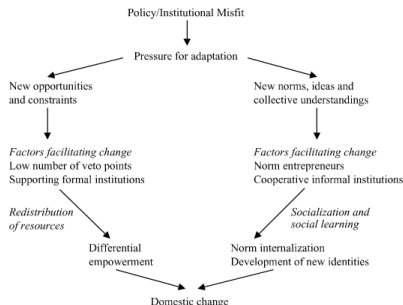
- ▶ Attempt to model europeanisation closely linked to two (three) flavours of 'New Institutionalism':
- ▶ Rational Choice Institutionalism
 - ▶ Institutions are rules and provide opportunities/veto points
 - ▶ Actors have stable preferences for rules and outcomes
 - ▶ Europeanisation provides new opportunities/veto 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*

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

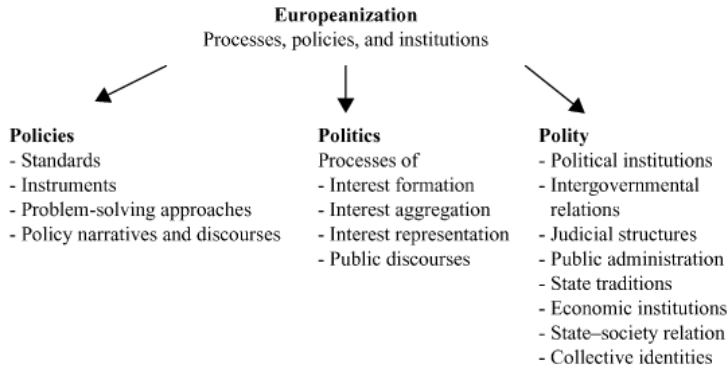
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- ▶ Plus: European templates often shaped by powerful member states

Assessing impact: dimensions



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

Europeanisation: Börzel and Risse, 2003; Radaelli, 2003; Germany: Anderson, 2005 ; background: McCormick, 2014; Bulmer and Lequesne, 2005, ch. 1-3

28.04. The EU and Public Policy

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

Outline (2)

Europeanisation: Polity

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| 12.05. | Democratic Deficit and
Deparliamentarisation? | 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)

	Europeanisation: Politics	
16.06.	Parties	Carter and Poguntke, 2010; Wimmel and Edwards, 2011
	Europeanisation: Policy	
23.06.	(Higher) Education	Toens, 2009
30.06.	An Emerging European/Europeanised Domain: Social Policy	Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 11

Outline (4)

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

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?

Summary

- ▶ 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