Introduction

Europeanisation/German Politics
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)
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 . . .)
Close eye on its work), and globalization and policy spillover has helped move the EU into dealing with trade in services and intellectual property, and related fields such as food and product safety, the environment, and labour issues.

On the other hand, authority for the 'common' foreign and security policy is not quite so clear. This is a policy area that was a relatively late addition to the EU agenda, and progress has since been halting. While all the EU states have had approximately similar goals and interests on the trade front, this has not been the case with foreign policy, where – for example – the interests of Britain and France with centuries of imperialism behind them are still quite different from those of smaller states with few political or cultural interests outside Europe, or neutral states such as Austria and Ireland. Meanwhile, progress on the security front has been mixed, partly because of a difference of opinion about priorities and partly because of the lack of a combined European military that would allow words to be backed up by deeds (see Chapter 24).

A final set of clues to the division of policy authority can be found in the body of EU laws, the subjects of which provide insight into areas where the EU is most active and where the member states, by implication, have most thoroughly pooled authority. The data shown in Figure 9.2 reveal the dominance of

![Figure 9.1 The division of policy authority](image-url)

**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
Crisis? 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)
The core institutions

- National Parliaments
- National Governments
- Heads of state / government
- European Central Bank
- European Court of Auditors
- President
- European Parliament
- Council of Ministers
- President
- European Council
- European Commission
- Enfranchised people (according to the electoral laws of each country)

Legislative branch elects / appoints / decides on
Executive branch proposes
Judicial branch

1: Elections are every 5 years. The right to vote may be different depending on the country
2: State chamber. Convenes in varying composition depending on the policy area. Each country is represented by one member per department
3: Each country is represented by one member
4: The European Central Bank is composed of representatives of the national central banks. Its Board is elected by the European Council on the proposal of the Council of Ministers

Source: 111Alleskönner (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de cc](http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en), via Wikimedia Commons
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: Very difficult (and not at all sensible) to enact policies against express wishes of member states / ms governments
- 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28.04</td>
<td>The EU and Public Policy</td>
<td>Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 1-3</td>
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</table>
Outline (2)

Europeanisation: Polity

12.05. Democratic Deficit and Departalmentarisation?  
   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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Reading Material</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23.06</td>
<td>Europeanisation: Policy</td>
<td>Toens, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.06</td>
<td>An Emerging European/Europeanised Domain: Social Policy</td>
<td>Wallace, Pollack and Young, 2015, ch. 11</td>
</tr>
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### New Intergovernmentalism?

<table>
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<th>Readings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07.07.</td>
<td>A European Vocation? /CFSP</td>
<td>Kirchner, 2010; Miskimmon, 2014 <em>and</em> Paterson, 2011; background: Paterson, 2014,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.07.</td>
<td>JHA, Migration, Asylum</td>
<td>Menz, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<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