

Syllabus

The Politicization of the European Union

B.A.-Seminar

Thursday 10.00 – 11.30

online

SS 2020

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FB Politik- und Verwaltungswissenschaft

Overview

Most observers of contemporary EU politics conclude that the present moment represents one of the most unsettled times in the history of the European Union. The unprecedented event of Brexit, the continued success of radical right populists in Europe, the inability of European states to resolve the problems of the Eurozone or the surge in immigration, and growing economic challenges to fundamental European institutions as diverse as the Central Bank, the Schengen Area, and The European Parliament all point to a European Union under stress.

Scholars of comparative politics and European integration are now asking questions that would have seemed far-fetched only years ago: Are we witnessing a turning point in European integration? What has brought us to this point? And what are the likely consequences? This Seminar focus on one crucial aspect of all of these questions; the politicization of the European Union. Politicization describes the process of more publicly visible contestation related to the various dimensions of European integration. In the seminar, we want to systemize our knowledge beyond the “patchwork of politicizing moments” by looking at various key arenas of politicization and its effects in the EU.

The first part of the seminar looks at the theoretical underpinnings or politicization research. Following Hooghe and Mark’s (2009) path-breaking contribution why the permissive consensus on European integration transformed to a constraining dissensus, we will learn how politicization is intensified during predictable institutional and policy-related events at the European level (such as Treaty changes or European summits) and the national level (such as national referendums on European issues). Furthermore, we will conceptually disentangle two types of conflicts over European integration that fed into each other – intergovernmental conflicts at the European and inter-party conflicts at the national level.

In the second part of the seminar, we will analyze how politicization evolves and can be measured in different arenas and events. We therefore look at national elections, referenda on the European Union, national parliaments and the European Commission. We will familiarize with diverse data such as speeches, party manifestos, public opinion polls and event data to pursue our own research questions.

The third part of the seminar investigates if increased politicization has an effect on the European Union: Is the EU responsive toward increased contestation of integration and how does this materialize? The course addresses 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 individual sessions.

Course Goals:

On successful completion of this seminar students will be able to:

- describe the historical course of European integration and its politicization
- identify and understand the different aspects of politicization in the EU
- use the basic concepts, databases and methods of EU politicization research

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES:

Student Responsibilities:

The seminar will meet Thursdays from 10.00 to 11.30 virtually in XXX. The seminar format means that each individual student is responsible for completing the required readings prior to the class meetings, and for contributing to the discussion of the material. Absence from single sessions has to be communicated via mail in advance. Punctuality is crucial and tardiness will not be tolerated, unless specific and justified reasons are presented to the instructor (such as slightly overlapping class, mobility issues).

You have to register in Ilias to get to the course material and in StudIS to get your grade!

Grades:

The grade consists of three parts, the presentation (20%), the development paper (pass/fail), and the research paper (80%). Students can only be graded if they are registered for the course in StudIS. The examination requirements of the department require the weighted mean of all parts to be at least pass (4.0). Additionally, all parts have to be provided. Individual parts cannot be repeated separately.

(Wortlaut FB: „Eine Prüfungsleistung ist bestanden, wenn der gewichtete Durchschnitt aller Teilleistungen mindestens ausreichend ist und alle Teilleistungen erbracht wurden. Einzelne Teilleistungen können nicht gesondert wiederholt werden, sondern nur im Rahmen der Wiederholung der gesamten Prüfungsleistung“)

Presentation:

Every student has to present the topic of one session. In these presentations, we are not looking for complete summaries of the readings, but for thoughtful engagement with the problem under discussion. Try to sketch the development and state of the art of the theoretical and empirical aspect of the phenomenon as brief as possible. Your task is to set the ground for a thoughtful discussion of the required reading in class.

Presentations will be graded on basis of the following criteria:

- Literature incorporated (relevance and precision): 30%
- Theoretical stringency: 30%
- Timing: 10%
- Slides 10 %
- Discussion lead: 20%

Term Paper:

The paper consists of two separate items of work:

First, a short development paper (1 – 2 pages), that takes our readings and discussions as a point of departure and develops a research agenda and/or a preliminary empirical investigation on a topic of your interest (graded pass/fail). This assignment is the first step towards your final paper and is due to June 29th 2020, with a mandatory online consultation with me in the week of June 11th. Topics can thus vary according to individual preferences, but should remain in connection with the class theme, and be chosen in accordance with the instructor.

Key Journals to read for finding a research question:

European Journal of Political Research
International Organization
Journal of Common Market Studies,
Journal of European Public Policy,
European Union Politics,
West European Politics,
Journal of European Integration

The final paper (~4000 words) that should include a theoretical argument and an empirical observation related to it has to be handed in no later than 15.10.2020. The final paper is individual, original, fair, and should demonstrate aptitude to both synthetic and critical reasoning. “Original” means that the paper does not exist prior to its writing by the student and reflects the ideas of its author. This requirement excludes plagiarism, and authorized reproduction of already existing papers. “Fair” means that if you borrow from other people’s work (to a limited extent), you should quote it and acknowledge it appropriately (by the use of quotation marks and in a bibliography). “Critical reasoning” means that you are able to use different sources and put them in perspective in order not to simply repeat what other people say, but are able of highlighting or questioning underlying problems, context and crucial conditions, etc.

Term Papers will be graded on basis of the following criteria:

- Research question (relevance and precision): 10%
- Structure (logical consistency): 10%
- State of the art: 10%
- Argument and analysis: 60%
- Scientific standard: 10%

Deadline for Term Papers: 15.10.2020

Course Plan

I Theories and Preliminaries

30.04. Session 1: Welcome

07.05. Session 2: Theorizing Politicization

Zürn, M. (2019). Politicization compared: at national, European, and global levels. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(7), 977-995.

Zürn, M. (2016). Opening up Europe: next steps in politicisation research. *West European Politics*, 39(1), 164-182.

14.05. Session 3: Politicization of European Integration

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British journal of political science*, 39(1), 1-23.

Schneider, C. (2018). The Politicization of European Cooperation. In *The Responsive Union: National Elections and European Governance* (pp. 17-41). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108589413.002

21.05. Bank holiday: Video Presentation: How to find a research question

Reading: Kellstedt/ Witten (2015): Chapter 1,2,3: The Scientific Study of Politics

II Arenas of Politicization

28.05. Session 4 : Public Opinion

Bechtel, M. M., Hainmueller, J., & Margalit, Y. (2014). Preferences for international redistribution: The divide over the Eurozone bailouts. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4), 835-856.

Hobolt, S. B., & De Vries, C. E. (2016). Public support for European integration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 413-432.

Additional Material:

How to read a scientific paper

04.06. Session 5: National Elections

Hutter, S., & Kriesi, H. (2019). Politicizing Europe in times of crisis. *Journal of European public policy*, 26(7), 996-1017.

Hutter, Swen, and Grande, Edgar (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

11.06. Bank holiday: Individual Meetings during the week, exchange about research ideas

18.06 Session 6: Referenda

Goodwin, M., Hix, S., & Pickup, M. (2018). For and against brexit: A survey experiment of the impact of campaign effects on public attitudes toward eu membership. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-15.

Walter, S., Dinas, E., Jurado, I., & Konstantinidis, N. (2018). Noncooperation by popular vote: Expectations, foreign intervention, and the vote in the 2015 Greek bailout referendum. *International Organization*, 72(4), 969-994.

25.06. Session 7: National Parliaments

Rauh, C. (2015). Communicating supranational governance? The salience of EU affairs in the German Bundestag, 1991–2013. *European Union Politics*, 16(1), 116-138.

Data

Rauh, C., & Schwalbach, J. (2020). The ParlSpeech V2 data set: Full-text corpora of 6.3 million parliamentary speeches in the key legislative chambers of nine representative democracies.

02.07 Session 8: The Commission

Bauer, M. W., & Ege, J. (2012). Politicization within the European Commission's bureaucracy. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 78(3), 403-424.

Bressanelli, E., Koop, C., & Reh, C. (2020). EU Actors under pressure: politicisation and depoliticisation as strategic responses.

III Implications

09.07. Session 9: Responsiveness

Wrátil, C. (2018). Modes of government responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence from Council negotiation positions. *European Union Politics*, 19(1), 52-74.

Schneider, C. J. (2020). Public commitments as signals of responsiveness in the European Union. *The Journal of Politics*, 82(1), 000-000.

16.07. Session 10: Differentiated Integration

Winzen, T. (2020). Government Euroscepticism and differentiated integration. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-19.

Schimmelfennig, F., Leuffen, D., & Rittberger, B. (2015). The European Union as a system of differentiated integration: interdependence, politicization and differentiation. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(6), 764-782.