

Course European Union Politics (20 Hours) (2 ECTS)

Instructors: Sabrina Cavatorto (Università di Siena) sabrina.cavatorto@unisi.it & Enrico Calossi (Università di Pisa) enrico.calossi@unipi.it

Lecture Hours: on Tuesday h 16-18 or h 16-19 (E. Calossi); on Wednesday h 14-16 (S. Cavatorto), as from the calendar below. *The course starts on January, 24, 2018 h 14-16.*

Venue: Presidio Mattioli, Università di Siena (Aula Seminario, II Floor)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES AND OUTCOMES

The course introduces students to the main theories of EU public policy making and multilevel governance. Implications for democracy and political representation at the supranational level are explored. The role of recent multiple crises (great recession, migration, security, Brexit... just to mention the hottest issues) is taken into consideration from an empirical point of view.

The course consists of two parts: the first one is devoted to understand EU policy modes and processes depending on EU's institutional features; additionally, crisis-induced policy change is inquired. The second part of the course focuses on implications for democracy and political representation deriving from the complexity of the EU multilevel governance system, particularly under pressure in recent critical times. The role of political parties in the EU is investigated and critically assessed.

At the end of the course students are expected to be more familiar with the dynamics of the multi-layered EU political system and able to identify variations of the institutional patterns observable in specific policy domains. Additionally, students will be prepared to think carefully about the various components of party politics at the European level and the main trends of transnational party cooperation and competition.

CONTENTS

A section of this course (taught by S. Cavatorto) highlights the processes that produce policies in the EU discussing the main significant developments that impacted the European governance and the decision making dynamics in times of multiple crises. The aim of this part of the course (overall 5 meetings) is to offer substantial insights into key features and modes of policy-making in the EU multilevel system, significantly expanded and transformed both across issue areas and over time, and now suffering for lack of democratic accountability and legitimacy. Therefore, we give heed to explore the democracy-politicization *nexus* when dealing with the EU.

Consequently, the course devotes detailed attention to the study of the party political actors that operate at the European level (lectures by Enrico Calossi). Being the EU a densely organized polity, the occasions of cooperation, and even competition, amongst political parties are more frequent and multifaceted in their dynamics than in other supranational organizations. This situation allows the establishment of many party actors, such as the Political Groups in the European Parliament, the European Political Parties, and the European Political Foundations. To what extent these actors and the dynamics of transnational cooperation/competition contribute to the politicization of the EU, and which are the implications for democracy, are specific topics of discussion.

REQUIREMENTS

These topics will be analysed and developed also thanks to students presentations and class discussions. The final assignment consists of an essay which relates one of the topics of the course to a research topic students are interested in. The essay, approximately 3.000 words in length, must be agreed in advance with the instructors. Of course, students' attendance and active participation will be held in high consideration. Absences must be justified.

SYLLABUS

24 January 2018 h 14-16 (Sabrina Cavatorto)

EU policy-making and the crises: something new?

Introduction to the Course. The relationship between (types of) European governance and (modes of) EU policy making. The post-Lisbon scenario, the economic crisis and other multifaceted challenges: can we observe forms of crises-induced policy transformations?

Readings

- Falkner G. (2016) “The EU’s problem-solving capacity and legitimacy in a crisis context: a virtuous or vicious circle?”, *West European Politics*, 39:5, 953-970.
- Kamkhaji J.C. & Radaelli C.M. (2017) “Crisis, learning and policy change in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:5, 714-734.

30 January h 16-18 (Enrico Calossi)

Transnational cooperation of political parties. Role of Political parties in the EU. Normative attempts to increase the politicization of the EU.

Readings

- Extracts from the book by Calossi E. (2016) *Anti-Austerity Left Parties in the European Union. Competition, Coordination, Integration*, Pisa University Press.
- Extracts from the book by Bressanelli E. (2014) *Europarties after enlargement: organization, ideology and competition*, Springer.

6 February 2018 h 16-18 (Enrico Calossi)

Political Groups in the European Parliament. History and policy of cohesion.

Readings

- Attinà F. (1990) “The voting behaviour of the European Parliament members and the problem of the Europarties”, *European Journal of Political Research*, 18:5.
- Hix S. & Noury A. (2009) “After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament”, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 34:2, 159-174.
- Yordanova Nikoleta, Mühlböck, Monika (2015), “Tracing the selection bias in roll call votes: party group cohesion in the European Parliament”, *European Political Science Review*, 7:3, 373-399.
- Extracts from the book by Cicchi L. (2016) *Is Euro-voting truly supranational?*, Pisa University Press.

13 February 2018 h 16-19 (Enrico Calossi)

The other party actors of the EU: the European Political Parties and the European Political Foundations. Party Politics in other European wide organizations. Partisan relations with non-EU countries.

Readings

- Bardi, L. & Calossi E. (2009) “Models of Party Organization and Europarties”, in Cross W., DeBardeleben J., Pammett J. (Eds) *Activating the Citizen: Dilemmas of Citizen Participation in Europe and Canada*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 151-172.
- Gagatek W. & Van Hecke S. (2014) “The development of European political foundations and their role in strengthening Europarties”, *Acta Politica*, 49:1, 86-104.
- Bardi L., Bressanelli E., Calossi E., Gagatek W., Mair P., Pizzimenti E. (2010) “How to create a transnational party system, Brussels: European Parliament”, Free download: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL-AFCO_ET\(2010\)425623](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL-AFCO_ET(2010)425623)

Presentations by students

1. The external relations of European political parties, two case studies: Turkish and Bulgarian parties.

Based on the following readings

- 1.1. Wodka J. (2016) "Transnational cooperation of Turkish political parties as an ineffective tool of Europeanization", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16:2.
- 1.2. Spirova M. (2008) "Europarties and party development in EU-candidate states: The case of Bulgaria", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60:5.

2. Office seeking in the EU.

Based on the following readings

- 2.1. Deckarm R. (2017) "Assessing the effect of the European elections' Spitzenkandidaten procedure on the constitution of the European Commission", *European Politics and Society*, 18:2.
- 2.2. Bardi L. & Pizzimenti E. (2013) "Old logics for new games: the appointment of the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy", *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 5:1.

14 February 2018 h 14-16 (Sabrina Cavatorto)

EU Policies make Politics. How actors' power varies among policy domains in the EU.

The complexity of EU policy process and hybridization of policy modes. Inter-institutional power dynamics. The role of consensus and informality. The impact of differentiation.

Readings

- 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.
- Ackrill R., Kay A. & Zahariadis N. (2013) "Ambiguity, multiple streams, and EU policy", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:6, 871-887.

21 & 28 February 2018 h 14-16 (Sabrina Cavatorto)

The development of multiple EU policy modes.

Does regulation remain the dominant mode for many EU policy areas? Is the traditional Community method dead? Policy coordination and intensive transgovernmentalism as forms of experimental governance in the post-Lisbon scenario.

Presentations by students *on a selection of case studies, to be discussed also on the basis of students' research interests. Here some suggestions to start with:*

- Chang, M. (2013) "Fiscal policy coordination and the future of the community method", *Journal of European Integration*, 35: 3, 255-269.
- Schoeller M., Guidi M. & Karagiannis Y. (2017) "Explaining Informal Policy-Making Patterns in the Eurozone Crisis: Decentralized Bargaining and the Theory of EU Institutions", *International Journal of Public Administration*, 40:14, 1211-1222.
- Jonathan Zeitlin J. & Bart Vanhercke B. (2018) "Socializing the European Semester: EU social and economic policy co-ordination in crisis and beyond", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25: 1, 149-174.
- Trauner F. (2016), "Asylum policy: the EU's 'crises' and the looming policy regime failure", *Journal of European Integration*, 38: 3, 311-325.
- Börzel, T. & Risse, T. (2017) "From the euro to the Schengen crisis: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:1, 83-108.

- Patrick Müller (2016) “EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises”, *Journal of European Integration*, 38:3, 359-374.
- Tapio Raunio T. & Wagner W. (2017) “Towards parliamentarisation of foreign and security policy?”, *West European Politics*, 40: 1, 1-19.
- Radaelli C.M. & Dunlop C.A. (2013) “Learning in the European Union: theoretical lenses and meta-theory”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:6, 923-940.

6 March 2018 h 16-19 (Enrico Calossi)

Euroscepticism and the rise of non-mainstream political families and their attempts to international cooperation.

Readings

- Taggart P. & Szczerbiak A. (2004) “Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe”, *European Journal of Political Research*, 43:1, 1–27.
- Bardi L. (2014) “Political parties, responsiveness, and responsibility in multi-level democracy: the challenge of horizontal euroscepticism”, *European Political Science*, 13:4, 352-364

Presentations by students

1. Coordinating the Eurosceptical actors.

Based on the following readings

- 1.1. Carlotti B. (2017) “The odd couple: analyzing United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and Italian Five Stars Movement’s (FSM’s) European Union (EU)-opposition in the European Parliament (EP)”, *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*, 1-24. doi:10.1017/ipo.2017.24 .
- 1.2. Gómez-Reino, Margarita (2018) “Transnational Party Coordination Among Populist Nationalist Parties, in “Nationalisms in the European Arena”. Palgrave Studies in European Political Sociology. Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, pp 147-177.

2. Anti-Immigration, right-wing, nationalist Parties?

Based on the following readings:

- 2.1. Matthes J. & Schmuck D. (2015) “The Effects of Anti-Immigrant Right-Wing Populist Ads on Implicit and Explicit Attitudes: A Moderated Mediation Model”, *Communication Research*, Vol 44, Issue 4.
- 2.2. Allen, Trevor J. (2017) “All in the party family? Comparing far right voters in Western and Post-Communist Europe”, *Party Politics*, Vol 23, Issue 3.

3. Radical Left, Communist, or Movement Parties?

Based on the following readings:

- 3.1. Extract of the book Della Porta D., Fernandez, Joseba, Kouki Hara, and Mosca L., (2017) “Movement Parties Against Austerity”, Polity Press.
- 3.2. Ramiro L. & Gomez R. (2017) “Radical-Left Populism during the Great Recession: Podemos and Its Competition with the Established Radical Left”, *Political Studies*, Vol 65, Issue 1, suppl, 2017.

14 March 2018 h 14-16 (Sabrina Cavatorto)

The democracy-politicization *nexus*. Theoretical and methodological challenges.

Conclusion of the course. Students will also discuss with the instructors their projects for the final assignment.

References:

- Innerarity D. (2015) The Inter-Democratic Deficit of the EU, in Dawson M., Enderlein H. & Joerges C. (Eds.) *Beyond the Crisis*, OUP, pp. 173-184.
- West European Politics (2016) Special issue: "The differentiated politicization of European governance", 39:1.