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**Establishing Causality in
Europeanization**

*Edited by
Theofanis Exadaktylos and
Claudio M. Radaelli*



Research Design in European Studies

Establishing Causality in Europeanization

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Preface

The expansion of academic work on Europeanization is continued evidence of the vibrancy of research on European studies. This timely edited collection brings together scholars interested in understanding causality in European integration, drawing on the fields of international relations and comparative politics. The concept of Europeanization has gone through several 'waves' of research, from the early work on institutional adaptation to membership, to the 'second wave' of research on structural changes to domestic political systems that can be attributed to European integration, to the more recent 'third wave' of research that does not focus on Europeanization only in terms of administrative and institutional adaptation. This final wave also draws on the burgeoning research on civil society, parties and enlargement to processes that link Europeanization with transnationalism, partisan politics and party cleavages, as well as good governance and conditionality. It moves beyond concepts and definitions to more self-reflection on how the language that is used shapes theoretical debates, and to understand how discourse, ideas and socialization shape the process of Europeanization. It has also been more conscious of the political contestation that affects Europeanization as well as the contestation and oppositional responses to Europeanization which constrain the role and actions of the European Union (EU). And it recognizes the politics of non-decision-making, where negotiated outcomes are either deferred or shelved, or where structural barriers or veto points within the institutions themselves shape the dynamics of Europeanization. Preferences and meaning develop when new tasks are taken on board and new participants become involved, leading to the development of new choices which affect causality in Europeanization. Research on Europeanization is thus confronted with ambiguity, temporality, cross-pressures and conflicts that produce a more nuanced view of how to deal with such research problems. The logic of method and methodology are not mutually exclusive, as the editors point out, and the range of methods available – from statistical modelling to ethnographic approaches – are broad.

While different perspectives address causality in European integration, this volume takes stock of the research agenda in this area and tries

to tease out the appropriate research design to understand domestic political and social changes that involve adaptation and resistance to Europeanization. The focus on Europeanization brings to the fore the relationship between the international system and the domestic one, as the authors focus on the characteristics of the 'top down' approach to understanding how the regional level has become a factor in explaining domestic developments and how the international system has become a cause and not a consequence of the way states operate in Europe. Member states – as well as applicant states – more than ever derive some of their domestic organizational operations, their political mobilization and their different institutional configurations from the exigencies of EU governance. Many of the characteristics of the current system, such as economic interdependence and the role of trade, transnational actors' political mobilization and contentious politics, have placed pressure on sovereignty, have been amplified by European integration and have been discussed widely in the international political economy and international relations literature.

The impact of Europeanization goes beyond this, to influencing specific decisions and policies, coalition and ideological patterns, and the processes and procedures of decision-making, which constitute important effects on domestic outcomes. And while structural features are often those that elicit the most visible changes, such as referendums, elections, privatization and constitutional amendments, the authors here look for systematic, diachronic relationships between the domestic and international. While strategic decisions – such as those states accepted into the euro, an applicant state accepted for membership or an agreement on border controls – impact both territoriality and governance, they are often not the beginning or end point of Europeanization, raising questions regarding the measurement, observation and impact of the temporal dimension in studies of Europeanization, which involve developing models in terms of causality, instrumentation and evaluation. Although there is still a great deal that needs to be done in terms of causation, there is an extant body of knowledge about instruments and outcomes.

The contributors grapple with this issue through detailed case studies that allow them to take account of variation in domestic political systems, organizational setting and different instruments which may foster Europeanization. These include both litigation and formal mechanisms of compliance, as well as the provision of information, advocacy and persuasion, economic incentives and disincentives, and regulation. Key considerations are the degree to which incentives or coercion are used

and formal versus informal mechanisms of governance in shaping policy outcomes. In looking at what contextual and policy factors impact Europeanization, the authors are conscious of trying to understand what is attributable to the process of Europeanization and what is the result of other mediating factors. In their efforts to transcend the initial concerns about concept definition, to focus on the differential as well as incidental impacts of Europeanization and to expand spatially to include both the internal and external dynamics of European discourse, identity and policy framing, shaping and promoting to include non-EU member states, the editors have put together a team of researchers who illustrate the complexity and multiple configurations of Europeanization.

Covering a range of topics and theoretical approaches related to European integration, this book is a major contribution to that 'third wave' of work on Europeanization, focusing not just on policy outputs but also on changes in identities in terms of norms and values and of institutions in terms of bureaucratic culture and political organization. This new wave of research is much more attuned to structure and agency, and the question of temporality is also important as the authors do not use a time series where they observe events at different uniform intervals and assume that there is a natural ordering and sequence to events. They are much less mechanistic, using discourse analysis, critical realism, cross-national variation, process tracing and single case studies – in sum, a mixed methods approach.

For some of the authors, values, ideas and options derive from past events, performance or action; hence Europeanization is not built on a *tabula rasa* but reflects the importance of path dependency. For other authors, the outcomes of Europeanization are determined by the nature and constraints being built into the policymaking process or institutional outcome so that a new set of incentives or actions can change behaviours. In all these cases, the process of Europeanization may be incremental and thus the time horizon for identifying substantive change or resistance is one the authors must grapple with. Nor should the process be just 'top down' regulative; it can also be normative and cognitive in effect.

Clearly the editors believe it is important to bring to the table the conceptual, ontological, spatial and sectoral effects of Europeanization and to see the interactive effects between the domestic and international levels. In this way, Europeanization unifies and separates, creating similarities and differences across states, which provides for mechanisms of adjustment and adaptation as well as of circumvention, opposition

and differentiation. The first few chapters provide readers with a statistical overview of research on Europeanization – both a critical realist and discursive view – before turning to case studies in the remainder of the book linked by the ideas of Europeanization as process rather than outcome.

This is an innovative text in that it tries to apply systematic procedures for conducting research on Europeanization, recognizing that different approaches rest on diverse ontological and epistemological assumptions. The authors are rigorous in applying a process tracing methodology but do so using diverse theoretical approaches. The book does not use large-scale quantitative studies but rather frames the process of Europeanization through discourse, relational, power and network approaches. Pushing the boundaries of research on Europeanization requires us to focus on the logic of inquiry – the relationship between theory and method – so that we have much more rigour in the nature of conceptualization and measurement of the phenomena. This new volume, with contributors taking their cues from the editors' first two framing chapters, takes up this challenge.

This edited collection should raise additional questions and debates about the relative contribution of philosophical and methodological considerations for research on European integration. It reflects on current knowledge in the subfield of Europeanization and demonstrates the different ways in which Europeanization can be used as a tool to look at broader issues of implementation and compliance, political conditionality and the external impact of Europeanization on non-member states. Areas that had traditionally been viewed as less subject to EU influence are also considered, such as parties and cities, as well as health care and social service provision. These debates in European studies reflect the increasing conceptual pluralism in the field, and this book reflects concerns about methodology – the logical structure and procedures of understanding causality – which allow for reflexivity in understanding the notion of Europeanization.

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The idea of a volume on causality in Europeanization research originated within a team of researchers at the Centre for European Governance of the University of Exeter, UK, which was involved in different ways in the study of Europeanization. Over the last three years or so, Susan Banducci, Nicole Bolleyer, Dario Castiglione, Samuele Dossi, Claire Dunlop, Theofanis Exadaktylos, Oliver Fritsch, Alison Harcourt, Claudio Radaelli, Duncan Russel, Stephen Wilks, Georgios Xezonakis, Eleni Xiarchogiannopoulou and others have written articles, dissertations and research reports on Europeanization in different sectors and contexts, including public opinion, political theory and public policy. It was therefore almost a natural progression for us to move above our substantive concerns and address broader issues of causality. To do that, we felt we needed a team of scholars from different traditions and generations. This was the motivation behind our first workshop in February 2010, followed by a second workshop on 20 and 21 September 2010, soon after having agreed the contract with the publisher.

The editors are grateful to the participants of the two workshops at the University of Exeter, UK, where we discussed drafts of our chapters. We are particularly grateful to our discussants, Alison Harcourt, Francesco Stolfi and Stephen Wilks, and also to Roberto Di Quirico for his invaluable contributions to both workshops and the historian's insights he kindly offered to our project. Susan Banducci and Georgios Xezonakis contributed a research paper to the first workshop, and they also provided comments on individual chapters.

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Finally, the editors and contributors wish to show their appreciation to the editorial team at Palgrave Macmillan, Amber Stone-Galilee and Liz Holwell, for having encouraged and supported our project throughout.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization
BSS	Black Sea Synergy
CDU/CSU	Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (Germany)
CEECs	Central and Eastern European Countries
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
COREPER	Council of Permanent Representatives
CR	critical realism
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DG	Directorate General
DGB	German Trade Union Federation
EaP	Eastern Partnership
ECA	European Court of Auditors
ECB	European Central Bank
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECT	European Community Treaty
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partners Instrument
EP	European Parliament
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
HI	historical institutionalism
ICBSS	International Centre for Black Sea Studies
IG Bau	Construction Union (Germany)
IGC	intergovernmental conference
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
MEPs	Members of European Parliament
MLG	multi-level governance
MPs	Members of Parliament
NGOs	non-governmental organizations
NHS	National Health System
NPM	new public management

NVZ	Nitrate-Vulnerable Zones
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
PASOK	Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (Greece)
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
QCA	qualitative comparative analysis
RI	rational institutionalism
SGP	Stability and Growth Pact
SI	sociological institutionalism
SIGMA	Support for Improvement in Governance and Management
SMEs	small and medium enterprises
SPD	Social Democratic Party (Germany)
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Notes on Contributors

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