

Transnational Partisanship and Constituent Power in the European Union

Workshop, University of Amsterdam, 15-16 November 2018

Convenors: Fabio Wolkenstein & Markus Patberg

With its increasing interest in partisanship and constituent power, political theory has recently started to pay attention to previously neglected dimensions of democracy. The nascent partisanship literature focuses on the potential contributions that partisan forms of political organization can make in terms of contestation, representation, deliberation, and public reason (Rosenthal 2008; White/Ypi 2016; Bonotti 2017; Invernizzi-Accetti/Wolkenstein 2017; Efthymiou 2018). Research on constituent power, on the other hand, is concerned with the questions of who holds the right to determine the structure and competences of political systems; what principles of democratic legitimacy should guide constitutional politics; and which procedures and institutions enable the exercise of founding authority (Kalyvas 2008; Colón-Ríos 2012; Arato 2017; Loughlin 2017; Patberg 2017a).

Both debates have significant implications for normative-theoretical scholarship on the European Union. Recent advances in the partisanship literature focus on the potential of cross-border communities of commitment to promote the development of democracy in the European Union (White/Ypi 2016; Wolkenstein 2018), and have also given rise to the idea that partisan agents might transform the EU polity through forms of ‘principled disobedience’ (White 2017). The debate about constituent power is animated by similar concerns, though it prioritizes the more fundamental question of who should be regarded as the EU’s ultimate source of authority entitled to decide issues of constitutional design (Niesen 2017; Patberg 2017b). Its focus is therefore less on questions of mobilization, contestation and disobedience than on the question of what follows from particular allocations of constituent power for the democratic legitimacy of higher as well as ordinary lawmaking in the EU (Crum 2012; von Achenbach 2017).

Despite addressing related phenomena and raising similar questions, the two strands of research have largely developed independently so far. In view of the European elections 2019, the goal of the workshop is to bring them into conversation and to examine possible connections as well as conflicts between transnational partisanship and constituent power in the European Union. Are they complementary or rival categories? What are their potential contributions to EU democracy? To what extent do they enable us to analyze and evaluate empirical developments, for example the origins of European integration, recent movements and initiatives such as DiEM25 and Pulse of Europe, or intra- and extra-institutional resistance against ‘Emergency Europe’? How do they contribute to our understanding of the EU constitutional order, the nature of EU citizenship, or the representative functions of EU institutions?

This workshop is co-organized by the NWO-funded project “Democratizing Europe through Transnational Partisanship” (University of Amsterdam) and the DFG-funded project “Reclaiming Constituent Power? Emerging Counter-Narratives of EU Constitutionalisation” (University of Hamburg).

*Venue for the first day: Room 432 REC-M, Plantage Muidergracht 12, 1018 TV Amsterdam.
More detailed directions will follow.*

Program

Thursday, November 15, 2018

- 13.00 – 13.30 Arrival of participants
- 13.30 – 13.45 Welcome & Introduction
- 13.45 – 15.45 Session 1: European Citizenship: Rights and Parties
“Transnational Partisanship in the EU: Opportunities, Incentives and Obstacles”, Lucy Kinski (University of Düsseldorf)
“Not up for Grabs! How to Robustly Protect the EU’s *Pouvoir Constituant Mixte*”, Dimitrios Efthymiou (University of Frankfurt)
Comment: Jan Pieter Beetz (Utrecht University)
- 15.45 – 16.15 Coffee break
- 16.15 – 18.15 Session 2: European Parliament: Representation and Agency
“The EU’s Constituent Power and Partisanship in the European Parliament”, Jelena von Achenbach (University of Gießen)
“EU Constituent Power and Collective Agency: Lessons from the Experience of the European Parliament”, Ben Crum (VU Amsterdam)
Comment: Antoinette Scherz (University of Oslo)
- 19.30 Dinner

Friday, November 16, 2018

- 09.00 – 11.00 Session 3: European Protest: Disobedience and Popular Sovereignty
“Transnational Partisanship and Principled Disobedience in the European Union”, Jonathan White (LSE)
“Constituent Partisanship: Articulation, Activation, Exercise”, Peter Nielsen (University of Hamburg)
Comment: Natasha Basu (University of Amsterdam)
- 11.00 – 11.30 Coffee break
- 11.30 – 13.30 Session 4: European Transformations: Ordinary and Extraordinary Politics
“Transnational Partisanship and Networked Constituent Power in the EU”, Fabio Wolkenstein (Aarhus University/University of Amsterdam)
“Extraordinary Partisanship in the European Union”, Markus Patberg (University of Hamburg)
Comment: Astrid Seville (LMU Munich)
- 13.30 End of workshop

Literature

- Achenbach, Jelena von (2017): The European Parliament as a Forum of National Interest. A Transnationalist Critique of Jürgen Habermas' Reconstruction of Degressive Proportionality. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (2): 193-202.
- Arato, Andrew (2017): The Adventures of the Constituent Power. Beyond Revolutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonotti, Matteo (2017): Partisanship and Political Liberalism in Diverse Societies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Colón-Ríos, Joel (2012): Weak Constitutionalism. Democratic Legitimacy and the Question of Constituent Power. London/New York: Routledge.
- Crum, Ben (2012): Learning from the EU Constitutional Treaty. Democratic Constitutionalization beyond the Nation-State. New York: Routledge.
- Efthymiou, Dimitrios E. (2018): The Normative Value of Partisanship. When and Why Partisanship Matters. *Political Studies* 66 (1): 192-208.
- Invernizzi-Accetti, Carlo/Wolkenstein, Fabio (2017): The Crisis of Party Democracy, Cognitive Mobilization, and the Case for Making Parties More Deliberative. *American Political Science Review* 111 (1): 97-109.
- Kalyvas, Andreas (2008): Democracy and the Politics of the Extraordinary. Max Weber, Carl Schmitt, and Hannah Arendt. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Loughlin, Martin (2017): On Constituent Power. In: Dowdle, Michael W./Wilkinson, Michael A. (eds.): Constitutionalism beyond Liberalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 151-175.
- Niesen, Peter (2017): The 'Mixed' Constituent Legitimacy of the European Federation. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (2): 183-192.
- Patberg, Markus (2017b): Constituent Power. A Discourse-Theoretical Solution to the Conflict between Openness and Containment. *Constellations* 24 (1): 51-62.
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- Rosenblum, Nancy L. (2008): On the Side of the Angels. An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- White, Jonathan (2017): Principled Disobedience in the EU. *Constellations* 24 (4): 637-649.
- White, Jonathan/Ypi, Lea (2016): The Meaning of Partisanship. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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