

Theorizing the Power of Ideas and Discourse in Governance Beyond the Nation-State

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Theorizing Power and Ideas

- Analytic Framework: Discursive Institutionalism
 - Substantive Content of ideas—diff levels, types, forms
 - Interactive process of discourse—Coordinative/Communicative
 - Institutional Context
- Organization of Talk:
 - Power in Political Science: coercive, instit'l, strux, & ideas
 - Theorizing ideational Power: *through/over/in*
 - Theorizing Legitimacy
 - Theorizing Power and Legitimacy in EU
 - Illustrating Power and Legitimacy in EU and Euro Crisis

Power as Concept in Political Science

- Coercive Power—
 - Direct control (Weber; Dahl—A gets B to do something would otherwise not)
 - not limited to material resources; also symbolic/normative (Barnett/Duvall), Dahl!
- Structural Power—
 - Constitution of subjects' capacities in structural relationship
 - e.g., Marxian view of class/state power. Ideas as 'false consciousness'
- Institutional Power—
 - Control thru formal/informal institutions that mediate bw A and B
 - Mills, Bachrach/Baratz, historical institutionalists

But ideas to be considered analytic category in own right as Ideational Power—

Power of Ideas through Discourse

- Defining Power in terms of all four varieties:
 - Ability of actors (indiv/collective) to have an effect on the context which defines the range of possibilities of others (Hay 2002: 185)
- Ideational Power—
 - Capacity to influence actors' cognitive /normative beliefs through use of ideational elements
 - Can't just assume 'ideas have power' because 'ideas matter'
 - By giving meaning to' experience (Wendt), handle info complexity by interpret what's right/wrong (Blyth), inspire discourse to justify policies (Schmidt)
- Subset of 'ideas matter': when actors seek to influence by promoting own ideas at expense of others
 - Distinguishing features:
 - 1) Exerted thru constitution of intersubjective meaning; 2) top down *and* bottom up; 3) agency-oriented, i.e., how actors influence...

Three Forms of Ideational Power

- ***Power through ideas:***
 - Capacity to persuade via discourse of cognitive validity and normative appropriateness of worldview thru ideational elements
 - Most common to discursive institutionalism
- ***Power over ideas:***
 - Capacity to control/dominate meaning of ideas + resist alternatives
 - Connects to compulsory power via imposition
- ***Power in ideas:***
 - Ideas enjoy authority in structuring thought or institutionalizing certain ideas at expense of others
 - Connects to structural and institutional forms of power

Power *through* Ideas via Persuasion

- **Cognitive arguments** define viable probs/solutions, frame context
 - Persuade of policy prog's relevance, applicability, seeming coherence
 - Ideas as weapons (Blyth)
 - Neo-lib's generality, adaptability, mutability; strategic use by interests
- **Normative arguments** appeal to norms/principles of public life
 - Persuade of appropriateness w old/new values of communit
 - 'common sense'-Schwabian housewife vs neo-Keynesian spending
 - Brexit/Trump: vs 'changing faces' of nation, push to 'take back control'
- **Interactive processes**
 - coordinative discourse of policy construction;
 - 'arguing' via deliberative fora (Risse);' echo chambers of alt-right
 - communicative discourse of pol discussion, contestation, deliberation
 - Neo-liberal rhetoric vs. reality; strength in debate
 - Brexit/Trump: -Post-truth, lying, use of social media & traditional media

Power *Over* Ideas via Imposition

- Actors w trad power resources (coercive, strux, instit)
 - Control over production of meaning, diffusion via mass media
 - E.g., Arendt's totalitarian regimes, Lukes' 'third face of power', today's media moguls—Murdoch, Berlusconi
 - Domination of mass media, education system
- Trad'l 'powerless' agents--shame others into conformity
 - Social movements w strong communicative discourse that compels traditionally powerful to conform, whether believe or not
 - E.g., norm setting powers of INGOs (Sikkink); human rights (Risse)
- Actors w capacity to resist alternative ideas / not to listen
 - Epistemic communities, advocacy coalitions, expert networks disregard alternatives as untenable
 - E.g., role of experts in financial regulation; economists in central banks; elite peer recognition, common interests, etc.

Power *in* Ideas via Embedding

- **Structures thought (post-structuralism)**
 - Hegemony (Gramsci), *référentiel* school
 - Discourse (Foucault)—power bound up w knowledge, individuals dominated in what do, say and think, e.g., German ordo-lib
 - Bourdieu *doxa* (vision of world) elites dominate state create *habitus*--conditions people to see world as elites choose
 - Irony--all use 'power through ideas' to show re-structuring ideas—esp social movements, e.g., Epstein's 'Moby Dick' to Moby Doll'
- **Institutionalizes ideas to constrain thought/ action (HI/SI)**
 - HI crystallization in established rules/frames, path dependency
 - e.g., governance of Euro via reinforcement of pacts, packs, compacts
 - SI embedding thru norms, cognitive frames, meaning systems

Theorizing Democratic Legitimacy (EU Studies)

- **Output** policies *for* the people: (for common good)
 - Performance, effectiveness
- **Input** politics *by* the people (will of people)
 - Citizen representation/participation, gov responsiveness
 - Trade-offs: more of one makes up for less of other
- **Throughput** processes *with* the people:
 - Quality of processes = Efficacy, accountability, transparency, accessibility, inclusiveness
 - No trade-off w input/output—
 - If bad bc oppressive, biased, corrupt, may skew input, taint output

Theorizing Ideational power & legitimacy in EU

	Power through Ideas	Power over Ideas	Power in Ideas
<p>Input legitimacy EU responsiveness to citizen concerns as a result of participation <i>by</i> and <i>of</i> the people</p>	<p>Persuading actors about EU pol responsiveness to citizen needs and demands</p>	<p>Imposing certain EU /national ideas o pol interests, values, agendas, institutions at expense of others</p>	<p>Institutionalization & hegemony of certain EU/nat'l ideas o pol interests, values, agendas, instits at expense of others</p>
<p>Output legitimacy The effectiveness of the EU's policy outcomes <i>for</i> the people</p>	<p>Persuading actors about the superiority of certain policies and their beneficial outcomes for the people</p>	<p>Imposing certain policy ideas, programs, and philosophies while disregarding and disallowing alternatives; insisting on TINA</p>	<p>Institutionalization & hegemony of certain policy approaches, programs, philosophies at expense of others</p>
<p>Throughput legitimacy Efficacy, accountability and transparency of the EU's governance processes along with inclusiveness/ openness to consultation <i>with</i> the people</p>	<p>Persuading actors that procedural rules of accountability, transparency and inclusiveness and openness have been followed with efficacy</p>	<p>Imposing certain conceptions of efficacy, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness while keeping alternatives off the agenda</p>	<p>Institutionalization & hegemony of certain approaches to efficacy, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness</p>

Power & legitimacy in the euro crisis

- Power in the euro crisis – who's in the driver's seat?
 - Each EU studies school has its own answer emphasizing coercive, institutional or structural power, esp 'traditional' approaches
 - More recently, ideational power has come to the fore ('new' approaches to EU governance viz consensus-seeking deliberation)
 - My own argument: all approaches lend insight, but one-sided—see all actors in new political dynamics of interaction (politicization)
- Ideational power links with another key issue: Legitimacy
 - How have actors exercised ideational power to make their claim for legitimacy?

Ideational Power/Legitimacy EU/Euro crisis

	Power thru Ideas	Power over Ideas	Power in Ideas
Input legitimacy: The EU's responsiveness to citizen concerns as a result of participation <i>by</i> and <i>of</i> the people	<i>Persuade o responsive</i> Ombudsman/Press confs Eurozone: Council pro intergov as most dem	<i>Impose ideas o values</i> CEECS Accession, Ger Unification Eurozone: Reinforce SGP as rule of law	<i>Hegemony o values</i> Human rights/Dem Eurozone: Autonomy of ECB/Council intergov crisis mgt
Output legitimacy: The effectiveness of the EU's policy outcomes <i>for</i> the people	<i>Persuade o policy benefits</i> Bus dereg/fin mkt lib Eurozone: Ger/ECB claims o austerity strux reform	<i>Impose policy ideas</i> Telecoms/electric lib Eurozone: ECB/Coun pro austerity, strux reform/no eurobond	<i>Hegemony on policy ideas</i> Competition vs ind pol Eurozone: Ordo-lib ideas o stability
Throughput legitimacy: Efficacy, accountability transparency of EU's gov processes + inclusiveness & openness to consult <i>with</i> the people	<i>Persuade o procedural ideas</i> Comm-civil society/info/delib comitology Eurozone: ECB on reinterp mandate/ Comm on flexibility	<i>Impose procedural ideas</i> ESM vs Juncker Fund Eurozone: Comm w Eur Semester/ strux reform	<i>Hegemony o procedural ideas</i> Comm culture of int group cooperation Eurozone: ECB/Brxls-Frankfurt consensus ordo stability

Why is Ideational Power Important?

- Ideas don't just 'matter,' they confer 'power'
- Helps to understand concrete empirical cases of ideational/discursive power
- Helps show how different kinds of power—compulsory, structural, institutional and ideational—are connected
- Demonstrates that 'weapons of the weak' and 'weapons of the strong' not only about interests, institutions, or culture—also about ideas/discourse that constitute interests, are embedded in institutions, make culture
- In the end, a plea for methodological pluralism