

Impact case study (REF3)

Institution: Keele University		
Unit of Assessment: UoA19 Politics and International Studies		
Title of case study: Informing European debates on party politics and climate change		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2011-2020		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Professor Robert Ladrech	Professor of European Politics	1995-present
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2014-2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)		
<p>Brussels-based think-tank Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) works with European parties and policy-makers to shape EU policy. Ladrech shaped FEPS's efforts to develop and influence the climate policy of the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the EU itself. Ladrech was responsible for expanding FEPS's energy and climate policy to include the role of parties, as well as influencing the PES's understanding of the party-policy nexus through his participation in the PES's Climate Change and Environment Network. This contributed to PES's positions on European Parliament elections and lead candidates (Spitzenkandidaten) through the Next Left Working Group (NLWG).</p>		
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)		
<u>Context</u>		
<p>Ladrech's work on European party politics has led to two strands of research that underpin the impacts described below: developing the concept of Europeanization as applied to political party change; and combining party analysis with national climate policy development. Ladrech pioneered the concept of Europeanization of party politics at both national and European level (3.1, 3.2) in a foundational article published in 1994. As a significant Co-Investigator on an ESRC project on the Europeanization of National Party Politics (2003-2007) and co-author of related published outputs (3.3), Ladrech was instrumental in establishing the impact of a process of Europeanization on parties as a significant area of research. Within the Europeanization party agenda there is also a focus on the development of transnational parties. This focus is reflected in several articles throughout the 1990s and 2000s. His monograph, <i>Social Democracy and the Challenge of European Union</i> (2000), focused specifically on the transnational Party of European Socialists (PES) and led to his engagement with the Next Left Working Group (NLWG) (3.2).</p> <p>Ladrech extended his conceptual and empirical contributions to research and political practice through an original analysis of how climate change operates as an issue in European and domestic party politics. In 2010, he secured a British Academy grant to pursue a ground-breaking study on centre-left political parties' influence on climate change policy. This was followed in 2013 by an ESRC grant for a larger comparative study of the impact of centre-left and centre-right parties on climate change policy in Europe (3.4, 3.5). The systematic analysis of the connection between climate policy and internal political party dynamics on climate policy development – both centre-left and centre-right – was an innovation in the literature, which had hitherto considered simply the public position of an individual party (3.4). The project generated a strong evidence base about how parties react to climate change and how they develop policy. The collaborative research with FEPS, emanating from the project dissemination event in 2015, and the resulting co-authored</p>		

report (3.6) form the basis of Ladrech's influence on the organisation's core activities and position on climate change, as described below.

Key Insights

- Developed a framework to analyse Europeanization, the responses of political parties to the impact of the EU on the national political system (3.1) as well as at the EU-level. This analytical framework informed the contribution toward transnational party lists and the Spitzenkandidaten process.
- Developed an innovative approach to measuring political parties' climate policy preferences, enhancing understandings of the political obstacles to and opportunities for effective policy (3.2).
- Demonstrated the important role played by party competition in climate policy development in Europe, especially in terms of national leadership (3.4, 3.5).
- Progressive parties occupy a critical position in national party systems for steering economy and society towards a low carbon future, with clear partisan distinction between social democratic policy regarding climate change and that of centre-right parties. (3.6).

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

- 3.1. Ladrech, 'Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a Framework for Analysis', Party Politics, 2002, 8/4. (42/165 SSCI 2016 rankings); Google Scholar citations: 535.
- 3.2. Ladrech, Europeanization and National Politics (Palgrave, 2010); Google Scholar citations: 361.
- 3.3. Thomas Poguntke, Nicholas Aylott, Elisabeth Carter, Ladrech and Kurt Richard Luther, eds, The Europeanization of National Political Parties: Power and Organizational Adaptation (3 of 9 chapters by Ladrech), (Routledge, 2007); Google Scholar citations: 188.
- 3.4. Ladrech, Neil Carter, Conor Little, Vasiliki Tsagkroni, 'Political parties and climate policy: A new approach to measuring parties' climate policy preferences', Party Politics, 2017, 24/6 [Party Politics is a highly-ranked peer-reviewed journal. 42/165 SSCI 2016 ranking]
- 3.5. Ladrech, 'The politics of climate change in small European states: the case of party politics in Denmark and Ireland', co-authored, Article accepted 9/2018 in Environmental Politics [Environmental Politics is 41/165 SSCI 2016 ranking]
- 3.6. Ladrech (FEPS Commissioned report) 'The Role of Progressive European Parties in the Implementation of the Climate Agenda Post COP21', January 2017.

The novelty and quality of this research is indicated by the substantial funding that has supported it, including:

- British Academy Grant: Social Democratic Parties and Climate Change, 2010, 3 months, £3193.
- ESRC Research Grant: Climate Policy and Political Parties, 2013-2015, £244,000, Principal Investigator.
- FEPs (80% - €8000) and Keele University (20% - €2000) funding of seminar in Copenhagen, October 2016.

The BA project served as a pilot project for the subsequent ESRC grant. The contacts established with national parties and the transnational Party of European Socialists as well as the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, laid the basis for the ESRC project's Pathways to Impact. The ESRC project cemented the relationship with FEPS. The high number of citations of 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 contributed to the invitation for Ladrech to join a four-person advisory committee that drafted 'Scenarios for the Future of Europe' as part of the final event of the EU Horizon 2020 project EUENGAGE (other panel members included internationally prominent academics Stefano Bartolini, Jürg Steiner and Jan Zielonka). 3.6 was cited in the PES 'Just Transition' report for the 2019 European Parliament elections and was supported by the joint FEPS/Keele funded seminar. 3.1 served to influence the development of ESRC grant R000239793 (rated 'Outstanding') and 3.2 and 3.3 are outputs arising from The Europeanization of National Political Parties grant.

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

Ladrech's research on the relationship between party politics and EU-level political/policy developments (3.1, 3.2) led to him being one of only three experts to testify to the European Parliament (EP) Committee on Constitutional Affairs (2008) regarding EU-level think-tanks affiliated to transnational parties. He has collaborated with two EU-level partisan organisations: Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) and the Party of European Socialists (PES). FEPS is affiliated to PES, the extra-parliamentary body of the Socialist and Democrat Group in the EP; membership consists of all national centre-left parties in EU member states. By invitation, Ladrech has been active in the PES Climate Change and Environment Network (CCEN), comprising representatives from national parties, the EP, Commission, and NGOs. Ladrech made two key advisory contributions to FEPS and PES's efforts: to electoral reform within EU-level politics regarding the 2019 EP elections and selection of a European Commission presidential candidate; and the importance of broadening the range of actors involved in decision-making on climate policy.

Electoral reform

Ladrech influenced FEPS's initiative, the Next Left Working Group (NLWG). NLWG brings together academics and policymakers to develop policy responses for FEPS and the PES with regard to transnational parties and European elections. Ladrech's paper (5.7) was submitted for the December 2016 PES Council meeting. Ladrech participated in a 2016 debate, co-chaired by Jo Leinen MEP and Marije Laffeber, Deputy Secretary-General of PES, where he outlined his reform proposal. Recommendations from these exchanges, along with Ladrech's proposal, were included in the initiative's final report and in the organisation's associated magazine *Progressive Post* (October 2016) (5.1). FEPS's General Secretary reported: '*Ladrech's involvement and support has provided much added value in contributing to FEPS' work as the progressive European think-tank and helping achieve our aims of leading reflective policy and debates*' (5.2).

Climate Change Politics

Ladrech's research has influenced FEPS's engagement with climate policy by broadening its focus to include the role party competition plays in national and EU climate policy. Collaborative research with FEPS on the role of progressive European parties in climate change resulted in a co-produced report (3.6). In the foreword, FEPS's General Secretary emphasised that Ladrech's '*research has illustrated how progressive, European mainstream parties are more likely to propose stronger efforts...consequently they hold enormous impact potential in the development of climate policy*' (3.6). Since publication in January 2017, this report has set FEPS's position and shaped activity in this area (5.3). It has '*helped analyse policy action so far and pushed for further ambition and framing how the Paris agreement can be implemented*' (S2). Ahead of the UN Climate Summit in September 2019, FEPS established the project 'UNited for Climate Justice'. The steering committee, chaired by Spain's Minister for Ecological Transition, of which Ladrech is a member, will '*reflect on and test ideas of guiding proposals*' put forward by the organisation (5.4). FEPS cites Ladrech in outlining the rationale for this project (3.6), drawing on this research to emphasise that progressives "*need to do more if they are to ensure that they are the most credible and well-placed movement*" (5.4).

Ladrech's work with FEPS shaped wider debates on climate policy in Europe. FEPS's General Secretary reports that Ladrech's work '*has led to [it] directly influencing debates within the progressive movement, notably amongst the PES and MEPs within the Socialists and Democrats Group in the European Parliament*'. He adds that Ladrech's outputs (3.6) have '*added a significant dimension that otherwise would not have been considered*' (5.2). An example of the reach on this issue was a seminar of stakeholders, policy experts and representatives to discuss progressive parties and climate change at the PES/Danish Social Democratic party conference 'Leading change – European progressives for green growth and climate action' (October 2016). At this conference, a joint seminar by Keele and FEPS (5.3) was attended by the former Danish environment minister, Denmark's FEPS affiliate (Cevea), the VP of the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, the Director of IDDRI (Institute for Sustainable Development – now Spanish

minister for ecological transition), and the Danish Director for Climate and Energy of Danish Industry.

Ladrech's findings on the role of progressive European parties and climate policy (3.6) were cited in preparation for the PES Environment and Climate Change Network meeting November 2017 (5.5), a meeting attended by the European Commission's VP for Energy Union and VP of the EP Socialist and Democrats Group. The final PES report, 'Just Transition' (November 2018), cited Ladrech's FEPS commissioned paper (3.6) to assert that *'it is the task of progressive parties to take political leadership and ownership and to shape this change'* (5.6).

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

5.1. FEPS, Annual Activity Report 2016 (Published June 2017) <https://www.fepseurope.eu/attachments/content/2016-fepsactivityreport.pdf>; Leinen, 'European Democracy needs 'Spitzenkandidaten' in the 2019 European Elections, Progressive Post, October 2016.

5.2. Testimony from Ernst Stetter, FEPS General Secretary.

5.3. FEPS, Annual Activity Report 2017 (Published June 2018) <https://www.fepseurope.eu/attachments/content/point%25203-1%2520-%2520feps%2520bm%252029062018%2520-%25202017%2520activity%2520report.pdf>

5.4. FEPS, UNited for Climate Justice Project webpage <https://www.feps-europe.eu/articles/36project/63-united-for-climate-justice.html>

5.5. A Just Transition Strategy for Europe's Industrial Regions: For a Modernised European industrial base and decent green jobs – paper finalised at PES Environment and Climate Change Network, Brussels, 7 November 2017.

5.6. Just Transition: Decent Green Jobs, Modernised Economy, Citizens' Wellbeing, Report prepared by the PES Environment and Climate Change Network, Brussels, November 2018.

5.7. FEPS Seminar 'On the Future of the Transnational Parties, Discussion Materials, PES Council Fringe Meeting, Prague, Czech Republic, Saturday 3rd December 2016; Future of Transnational Parties, by Robert Ladrech.