**Syllabus: European Union Governance**

***Mandatory Elective for MAIPA students***

***Elective for MAPP, MPA and Mundus students, Governance specialization***

**Course Director**: Florian Weiler

This course develops students’ knowledge of how policy-making takes place and policies are made in the European Union (EU). The course introduces principal theories of EU policy-making such as Multi-level governance and New Institutionalism, and theories relating to the main stages of the policy process: agenda-setting, decision-making and policy implementation. The course discusses the theoretical claims and observable implications of these theories with respect to EU institutions, policy-making processes and policy outputs, and critically evaluates them from the perspective of empirical evidence provided by political science and public policy research. Different theoretical perspectives and most recent empirical research are used throughout the course to analyse a number of substantive policy areas.

Each week, our course will consist of:

1. A short (30 to 45 minutes) lecture, either by Florian or by a student, introducing the topic of the week.
2. An hour seminar, allowing an in-depth discussion and analysis of the week’s topic and assigned readings.

Students are expected to have carefully read the required readings. Throughout the course, each student is expected to make **one short seminar** **presentation** on a specific issue related to a policy area, and to actively and criticallyengage with and participate in seminar discussions and debates.

The course if structure in a way that, after an introduction and repetition of some key aspects of the working of the EU in the first week, we cover theoretical frameworks to analyse EU governance in weeks 2 to 4, and the then apply these theoretical tools in the following eight weeks to a specific policy area. Students should select one of these eight policy areas for their term paper (worth 60% of the final grade).

**Learning outcomes**

Upon the successful completion of this course, students should be able to:

* Describe the main developments in key areas of European Union policy with the help of key concepts and relevant terminology for the study and practice of EU policy-making.
* Explain policy-making processes and outputs in the European Union by applying relevant political science theories and research approaches.
* Critically appraise political science theories and research on European Union policies.
* Develop a set of personal and key transferable skills and knowledge such as delivering effective presentations, actively and critically participating in open discussions, developing rigorous and evidence-based arguments, doing individual research and working in groups.

**Core Readings**

I recommend you to get a hold of a copy of the following core reading:

Helene Wallace H., Mark A. Pollack and Alasdair R. Young (eds.) (2014) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Henceforth Policy-Making in the EU.)

Sections of this book are required reading for several weeks in our course. In addition, the book provides additional policy areas not covered in the lectures, but which may be of interest to you.

A more advanced reading, yet very useful in terms of understanding how to link theories with empirical evidence in the study of the EU policy and decision-making:

Robert Thomson (2011) *Resolving Controversy in the European Union: Legislative Decision-Making before and after Enlargement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Further readings on EU institutions and politics**

For those of you with no background in EU politics and institutions, I strongly recommend the following texts:

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland (2011) *The Political System of the European Union*. 3rd edition. Palgrave Macmillan.

Michelle Cini and N. Pérez-Solórzano Borragan (eds.) (2013) *European Union Politics*. 4th edition. Oxford University Press.

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds.) (2012) *Institutions of the European Union*. 3rd edition. Oxford University Press.

Neil Nugent (2010) *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 7th edition. Palgrave Macmillan.

Svein S. Andersen and Kjell A. Eliassen (eds.) (2001) *Making policy in Europe*. London: Sage.

General book on public policy:

Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh (1995) Studying Public Policy. Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Follow news services that focus on EU affairs, such as:

Euractiv: <http://www.euractiv.com/>

EU Observer: <http://euobserver.com/>

Politico: <http://www.politico.eu>

**Course Assessment**:

Participation: 10%

Seminar presentation: 30%

Essay 60%

**Participation: 10%**

You are expected to come prepared for the seminar discussion by reading in advance the required readings. Seminars will be a mix of student presentations, mini-lectures, short quizzes, etc., **with general discussion of the key concepts and readings as an important foundation**. You are expected to participate by joining the conversation, asking questions and engaging in critique of the readings.

There will a few required readings per week, but as a general rule, you are expected to read **at least 2** of the readings.

Each topic has one or more general questions as a guideline for initial discussion. However, you are encouraged to develop additional questions for discussion, to direct to the student presenters or to the course directors.

Mobile phones should be out of sight / turned off, and laptops closed.

**Seminar presentation: 30%**

Each week, one or two individuals (depending on class size) are required to give a 30-minute presentation that addresses key aspects of the assigned topic. This is to be followed by a student presenter lead discussion for the reminder of the session.

Your presentation should be supported by some kind of product. That is, power point slides and other supporting materials (such as handouts). examples of potential products during the course, e.g. the first reading from Seminar 7.

The presentation will be assessed on the following criteria:

* Content and understanding of key concepts
* Critique and evaluation of the core concepts of the week
* Time management and capacity to generate productive discussion
* Production of supporting materials

**Essays: 60%**

At the end of the course, students have to submit one compulsory essay of 3,000 words (worth 60 per cent of the mark). The deadline for completing this essay is **16th** **April 2021, 5** **pm.**

Details about the format of essay submission will be discussed at the beginning of the course.

Your essay should examine one of the policy areas covered in our course from the following perspectives:

(1) Most relevant policy developments across time marking the evolution/dynamics of the policy.

(2) Main theoretical explanations accounting for these developments and the empirical evidence supporting these explanations. When assessing the explanatory power of different theories of EU policy-making, students should consider the strength of their theoretical claims and how these are supported by empirical evidence and examples that refer to the main EU institutional and private actors involved in the analysed policy-making process, the policy instruments used and the effects of policy developments on the EU political system and EU integration process.

You may choose to analyse developments in one policy area broadly defined (e.g. environmental policy) or more specific aspects of a policy area (e.g. environmental policies aimed at reducing air pollution). The time span covered in your analyses might also differ: you can focus on a large time span (e.g. 1950s to 2000s) or a shorter time period (e.g. last five or ten years), depending on the features of the chosen policy area. In your essay you should justify the choice of the area, the dimension(s) analysed (broader or specific) and the time period covered in your analysis. When assessing which theoretical perspectives provide a more compelling explanation of the analysed policy developments, make sure you support your arguments with empirical evidence taken either from the literature or from concrete examples of EU policy-making.

The students have the freedom to choose the policy area they want to analyse but they must do so in consultation with Florian. The policy area chosen for analysis, as well as the analytical and methodological approach used by the student to analyse it, must be approved.

**Course organization**

The course will run weekly on Thursdays at 9:00 – 10:40am.

Room: TBD/online

**Preparation** – You are expected to check in regularly to the Moodle site for the course to check on any up-dates or additional readings. In other words, this is an evolving course document and changes in the form of additions are to be expected.

**Absences** – Please notify Florian in advance if you will be absent from class. Missed classes must be made up with an assignment, unless the absence occurred for medical reasons (sickness notification needs to be accompanied by a doctor’s note). The make-up assignment for missed classes is a 500-word summary of the seminar readings to be sent within a week of the missed class and sent to Florian.

**Adjustments** – If you require any support or adjustments due to a disability to help you participate in class (e.g. handouts printed in advance, larger text, extra time for reading, scheduled absences) you can chat with Florian. You can also meet with the CEU Disability Services Officer Natalia Nyikes (nyikesn@ceu.edu) or consult the CEU Student Disability Policy (<https://documents.ceu.edu/node/508>).

**LECTURE TOPICS, SEMINAR QUESTIONS AND READINGS**

**Week 1: Introduction, historical background, and main actors** (January 14th)

**Discussion questions**:

* How does EU integration and enlargement work? Who are the main actors?

**Required readings**

Nugent, N. (2017) *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 8th ed., Basingstoke and London: Palgrave Macmillan, chapters 1-5, 9-13.

Pollack, M.A. (2005) ‘Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?’ *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005): 357-98.

Wallace H., Reh C. (2014) ‘An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes.’ In *Policy-making in the EU*: 77-86. (first part of Chapter 4)

**Further readings**

Strøby-Jensen, C. (2016) ‘Neo-functionalism’ in Cini, M. and Perez-Solorzano Borragan, N. (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford University Press. pp. 54-64.

Cini, M. (2016) ‘Intergovernmentalism’ in Cini, M. and Perez-Solorzano Borragan, N. (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford University Press. pp. 66-78.

Rosamond, B. (2000) Theories of European Integration. Palgrave Macmillan.

Börzel, T. (ed.) (2005) ‘The Disparity of European Integration: Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst Haas’, special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(2).

Haas, E. (1958) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-57*, London: Library of World Affairs.

Moravcsik, A. and Schimmelfennig, F. (2009) ‘Liberal Intergovernmentalism’ in A. Wiener & T. Diez (eds), *European Integration Theory.* Oxford University Press. (2nd edition).

Moravcsik, A. (1998) *The Choice for Europe: social purpose and state power from Messina to Maastricht*, London: UCL/Routledge.

Thomson, R. (2015) ‘The distribution of power among the institutions’ in J. Richardson and S. Mazey (eds.). *European Union: Power and Policy-Making.* Routledge. pp. 189-210.

Lelieveldt, H. and Princen, S. (2015) ‘The institutional framework’, in *The Politics of the European Union*. Cambridge University Press pp. 27-46

**Week 2: Theoretical approaches to EU policy-making: Multi-level governance and regulatory state** (January 21st)

**Discussion questions**:

* What are some theories of EU integration?
* What is Multi-level governance?

**Required readings**

Pollack M. (2014) ‘Theorizing EU Policy-Making.’ In *Policy-making in the EU*: 12-45. (Chapter 2)

Scharpf,F.W. (1994) ‘Community and Autonomy: Multilevel Policy-making in the European Union.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 1(2): 219-41.

Majone G. (1996) *Regulating Europe.* London and New York: Routledge. (in particular Part I)

**Further readings**

Marks G., Hooghe L., Blank K. (1996) ‘European integration in the 1980s: State-Centric vs Multi-Level Governance.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34(3): 341-378.

Kohler-Koch B. (1996) ‘Catching Up with Change: The Transformation of Governance in the European Union.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 3(3): 359-80.

Scharpf F.W. (2001) ‘Notes Toward a Theory of Multi-Level Governing in Europe.’ *Scandinavian Political Studies* 24(1): 1-26.

Héritier A. (1996) ‘The Accountability of Diversity in European Policy-making and its Outcomes: Regulatory Policy as a Patchwork.’ *Journal of European Public* *Policy* 3(2): 149-167.

Pollack M. (2000) ‘The end of creeping competence? EU policy-making since Maastricht.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(3): 519-538.

Hooghe L., Marks G. (2011) ‘Types of multi-level governance’, In: Enderlein, Zürn, Wälti (eds.), *Handbook on Multi-level governance.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing: 17-31.

**Week 3: Theoretical approaches to EU policy-making: New institutionalism and rational choice** (January 28th)

**Discussion questions**:

* What are new institutionalism and rational choice?
* How are they related?

**Required readings:**

Hall P.A., Taylor R.C.R. (1996) ‘Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms.’ *Political Studies* 44(5): 936-957.

Aspinwall M., Schneider G. (2000) ‘Same Menu, Separate Tables: The Institutionalist Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration.’ *European* *Journal of Political Research* 38:1-36.

Kerremans B. (1996) ‘Do Institutions Make a Difference? Non-Institutionalism, Neo-Institutionalism, and the Logic of Common Decision-Making in the EU.’ *Governance* 9(2): 216-40.

**Further readings:**

Checkel J., Moravcsik A. (2001) ‘A Constructivist Research Program in EU Studies?’ *European Union Politics* 2(2): 219-49.

Pierson P. (1996) ‘The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis.’ *Comparative Political Studies* 29(2): 123-63.

Dowding K. (2000) ‘Institutionalist Research on the European Union: A Critical Review.’ *European Union Politics* 1(1): 125-144.

**Week 4: Theories of policy-making in the European Union: Agenda-setting, Decision-making, and Policy Implementation (**February 4th)

**Seminar question**:

* What are the key defining characteristics of policy-making in the EU?
* What explains the variation in levels of Member States’ compliance with the EU legislation?

**Required readings**

Young A.R. (2014) ‘The European Policy Process in Comparative Perspective.’ In *Policy-making in the EU*: 46-71. (Chapter 3)

Pollack M.A. (1997) ‘Delegation, agency, and agenda-setting in the European Community.’ *International Organization* 51(1): 99-134.

Tallberg J. (2002) ‘Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union.’ *International Organization* 56(3): 609-643.

Börzel T.A., Hofmann T., Panke D., Sprungk C. (2010) ‘Obstinate and Inefficient: Why Member States do not comply with European Law.’ *Comparative Political* *Studies* 43(11): 1363-1390.

**Further readings (Agenda-Setting and Decision-Making)**

Tsebelis G., Garrett G. (1996) ‘Agenda Setting Power, Power Indices, and Decision Making in the EU.’ *International Review of Law and Economics* 16(3): 345-361

Wallace H., Reh C. (2014) ‘An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes.’ In *Policy-making in the EU*: 97-111. (second part of Chapter 4)

Hayes-Renshaw F., Van Aken W., Wallace H. (2006) ‘When and Why the EU Council of Ministers Votes Explicitly.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44: 161-94.

König T, Pöter M. (2001) ‘Examining the EU Legislative Process: The Relative Importance of Agenda and Veto Power.’ *European Union Politics* 2(3): 329-51.

König T., Lindburg B., Lechner S., Pohlmeier W. (2007) ’Bicameral Conflict Resolution in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis of Conciliation Committee Bargains.’ *British Journal of Political Science* 37: 281-312.

Mattila M. (2009) ‘Roll Call Analysis of Voting in the EU Council of Ministers after the 2004 Enlargement.’ *European Journal of Political Research* 48: 840-57.

Prince S., Rhinard M. (2006) ‘Crashing and Creeping: Agenda-Setting Dynamics in the EU.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(7): 1119-1132.

Richardson J. (2012) ‘Supranational State Building in the European Union.’ In J. Richardson (ed.) (2012) *Constructing a Policy-Making state? Policy dynamics* *in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 3-28.

Thomson R., Hosli M. (2006) ‘Who Has Power in the EU?’ *Journal of Common* *Market Studies* 44(2): 391-417.

Tallberg J. (2008) ‘Bargaining Power in the European Council.’ *Journal of Common* *Market Studies* 46(3): 685-708.

Tsebelis G., Kreppel A. (1998) ‘The History of Conditional Agenda-Setting in European Institutions.’ *European Journal of Political Research* 33(1): 41-71

**Further readings (Policy Implementation)**

Thomson R., Torenvlied R., Arregui J. (2007) ‘The Paradox of Compliance: Infringements and Delays in Transposing European Union Directives.’ *British* *Journal of Political Science* 37: 685-709.

Angelova M., Dannwolf T., König, T. (2012) ‘How Robust are Compliance Findings.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(8): 1269-91.

Börzel T.A. (2002) ‘Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 193-214.

Börzel T.A. (2001) ‘Non-compliance in the European Union: pathology or statistical artefact?’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 8(5): 803-824.

Falkner G., Hartlapp M., Treib O. (2007) “Worlds of Compliance: Why Leading Approaches to the Implementation of EU Legislation Are Only ‘Sometimes-True Theories’” *European Journal of Political Research* 46(3): 395-416.

Falkner G., Treib O., Hartlapp M., Leiber S. (2005) *Complying with Europe: EU* *Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States*. Cambridge, New York:Cambridge University Press.

König T., Mäder L. (2014) ‘The Strategic Nature of Compliance: An Empirical Evaluation of Law Implementation in the Central Monitoring System of the European Union.’ *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 246–263.

Knill C., Lenschow A. (2005) ‘Compliance, Competition and Communication: Different Approaches of European Governance and their Impact on National Institutions.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(3): 583-606.

Thomson R. (2010) ‘Opposition through the Back Door in the Transposition of EU Directives.’ *European Union Politics* 11(4): 577-596.

Toshkov D. (2007) ‘In search of the worlds of compliance: culture and transposition performance in the European Union.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(6): 933-59

**Week 5**: **The Single market, Competition and Regulation in the European Union** (February 11th)

**Seminar questions:**

* What explains the variation in the regulatory regimes employed across different sectors of the EU single market?
* Compare and contrast the single market principles and the competition policy in the context of EU policy-making.

**Required readings**

Young A. (2014) ‘The Single Market: From Stagnation to Renewal?’ in *Policy-Making in the EU.*: 115–140.(Chapter 5)

Howarth D., Sadeh T. (2010) ‘The ever-incomplete single market: Differentiation and the evolving frontier of integration.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(7): 922-935.

Menz G. (2010) ‘Are you being served? Europeanizing and re-regulating the single market in services.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(7): 971-987.

Wilks S. (2014) ‘Competition Policy: Defending the Economic Constitution.’ In *Policy-Making in the EU.*: 142-164. (Chapter 6)

**Further readings**

Akman P., Menon A. (2010) ‘Myths and Myth-Making in the European Union: The Institutionalization and Interpretation of EU Competition Policy.’ *Journal of* *Common Market Studies* 48(1): 111-132.

Blauberger M. (2012) ‘Competition Policy: The Evolution of Commission Control.’ In J. Richardson (ed.) (2012) *Constructing a Policy-Making state? Policy* *dynamics in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 49-68.

Eberlein B., Grande E. (2005) ‘Beyond delegation: transnational regulatory regimes and the EU regulatory state.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(1): 89-112.

Fligstein N., Stone Sweet A. (2002) ‘Constructing Politics and Markets: An Institutionalist Account of European Integration.’ *American Journal of* *Sociology* 107: 1206-43.

Grossman E., Leblond P. (2012) ‘Financial Regulation in Europe: From the Battle of the Systems to a Jacobinist EU.’ In J. Richardson (ed.) (2012) *Constructing a* *Policy-Making state? Policy dynamics in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford UniversityPress: 189-209.

Moravcsik A. (1991) ‘Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community.’ *International* *Organization* 45(1): 19-56.

**Week 6**: **Economic and monetary union** (February 18th)

**Seminar question:**

* Critically assess the economic and political costs and benefits of adopting a single European currency.

**Required readings**

Hodson, D. (2014) ‘Policy-making under Economic and Monetary Union: Crisis, Change, and Continuity.’ *Policy-Making in the EU.*: 166-195. (Chapter 7)

Jabko N. (2010) ‘The hidden face of the Euro.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(3): 318-334.

Enderlein H., Verdun A. (2009) ‘EMU’s teenage challenge: What have we learned and can we predict from political science?’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(4): 490-507.

Hodson D. (2013) ‘The Eurozone in 2012: ‘Whatever It Takes to Preserve the Euro’?’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 51 Annual Review: 183-200.

**Further readings**

Risse T., Engelmann Martin D., Knopf H.J. (1999) ‘To Euro or not to Euro? The EMU and identity politics in the European Union.’ *European Journal of* *International Relations* 5(2): 147-187.

Binzer Hobolt S., Leblond P. (2009) ‘Is My Crown Better Than Your Euro?: Exchange Rates and Public Opinion on the European Single Currency.’ *European Union Politics* 10(2): 202-225.

Enderlein H. (2006) ‘The Euro and Political Union: do economic spillovers from monetary integration affect the legitimacy of EMU?’ *Journal of European* *Public Policy* 13(7): 1133-1146.

Featherstone K. (2011) ‘The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(2): 193-217.

Hodson D. (2009) ‘EMU and political union: what, if anything, have we learned from the euro’s first decade?’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(4): 508-526.

Hosli M.O. (2000) ‘The Creation of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU): Intergovernmental Negotiations and Two-level Games.’ *Journal of* *European Public Policy* 7(5): 744-66

**Week 7: The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the Budget** (February 25th)

**Seminar questions:**

* What challenges and opportunities mark the CAP reform attempts?
* What common aspects characterize these two policy areas in the EU?

**Required readings**

Roederer-Rynning C. (2014) ‘The Common Agricultural Policy: The Fortress Challenged.’ *Policy-Making in the EU.*: 196-218. (Chapter 8)

Daugbjerg C., Swinbank A. (2007) ‘The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(1): 565-587

Aksoy D. (2010) ‘Who gets what, when and how revisited: Voting and proposal powers in the allocation of the EU budget.’ *European Union Politics* 11(2): 171-194.

Schild J. (2008) ‘How to shift the EU’s spending priorities? The multi-annual financial framework 2007-2013 in perspective.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(4): 531-549.

**Further readings**

König T., Brauninger T. (2004) ‘Accession and Reform of the European Union.’ *European Union Politics* 5(4): 419-439.

Daugbjerg C. (2009) ‘Sequencing in Public Policy: The Evolution of the CAP over a Decade.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(3): 395-411.

Daugbjerg C. (1999) ‘Reforming the CAP: Policy Networks and Broader Institutional Structures.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(3): 407-428.

Van der Vleuten A., Alons G. (2012) ‘La Grande Nation and Agriculture: The Power of French Farmers Demystified.’ *West European Politics* 35(2): 266-285.

Matthews A. (2008) ‘The European Union’s Common Agricultural Policy and Developing Countries: the Struggle for Coherence.’ *Journal of European* *Integration* 30(3): 381-399.

Burrell A. (2009) ‘The CAP: Looking Back, Looking Ahead.’ *Journal of European Integration* 31(3): 271-289.

Kay A. (2003) ‘Path dependency and the CAP.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(3): 405-420.

Paterson L.A. (1997) ‘Agricultural Policy Reform in the European Community: a Three-Level Game Analysis.’ *International Organization* 51(1): 135-65.

**Week 8: Cohesion policy and structural funds** (March 4th)

**Seminar question:**

* Evaluate the success of the EU cohesion policy in achieving its policy goals.

**Required readings**

Bache I. (2014) ‘Cohesion Policy: A New Direction for New Times?’ *Policy-Making in the EU.*: 244-262. (Chapter 10)

Bouvet F., Dall’Erba S. (2010) ‘European Regional Structural Funds: How Large is the Influence of Politics on the Allocation Process?’ *Journal of Common Market* *Studies* 48(3): 501-528.

Bachtler J., Mendez, C. (2007) ‘Who Governs EU Cohesion Policy? Deconstructing the Reforms of the Structural Funds.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(3): 535-564.

Huges J., Sasse G., Gordon C. (2004) ‘Conditionality and Compliance in the EU’s Eastward Enlargement: Regional Policy and the reform of Sub-national Government.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42(3): 533-551.

**Further readings**

Chistiansen T. (1999) ‘Territorial Politics in the European Union.’ *Journal of* *European Public Policy* 6(2): 349-357.

Farole T., Rodríguez-Pose A., Storper M. (2011) ‘Cohesion Policy in the European Union: Growth, Geography, and Institutions.’ *Journal of Common Market* *Studies* 49(5): 1089-1111.

Hooghe L. (1996) (ed.) *European Integration, Cohesion policy and subnational* *Mobilisation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hooghe L., Keating M. (1994) ‘The Politics of European Union Regional Policy.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 1(3): 367-393.

Marks G., Hooghe L., Blank K. (1996) ‘European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v Multi-level governance.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34(3): 341-378.

**Week 9: Environmental policy** (March 11th)

**Seminar question:**

* Assess regulatory developments in the EU environmental policy across time in relation to the dynamics of the single market in the EU.

**Required readings**

Lenshow A. (2014) ‘Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change.’ *Policy-Making in the EU.*: 319-343. (Chapter 13)

Holzinger K., Sommerer T. (2011) ‘‘Race to the Bottom’ or ‘Race to Brussels’? Environmental Competition in Europe.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(2): 315-339.

Knill C., Tosun J. (2009) ‘Hierarchy, networks, or markets: how does the EU shape environmental policy adoptions within and beyond its borders?’ *Journal of European* *Public Policy* 16(6): 873-894.

Skodvin T., Gullberg A.T., Aakre S. (2010) ‘Target-group influence and political feasibility: the case of climate policy design in Europe.’ *Journal of European Public* *Policy* 17(6): 854-873.

**Further readings**

Jordan A., Benson D., Wurzel R., Zito A. (2012) Environmental Policy: Governing by Multiple Policy Instruments?’ In J. Richardson (ed.) (2012) *Constructing a* *Policy-Making state? Policy dynamics in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford UniversityPress: 104-124.

Kelemen R.D., Vogel D. (2010) ‘Trading Places: The Role of the United States and the European Union in International Environmental Politics.’ *Comparative* *Political Studies* 43(4): 427-456.

Kelemen R.D. (2010) ‘Globalizing European Union environmental policy.’ *Journal of* *European Public Policy* 17(3): 335-349.

Liefferink D., Arts B., Kamstra J., Ooijevaar J. (2009) ‘Leaders and laggards in environmental policy: a quantitative analysis of domestic policy outputs.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(5): 677-700.

Lenschow A. (1997) ‘Variation in the EC Environmental Policy Integration: Agency Push with Complex Institutional Structures.’ *Journal of European Public* *Policy* 4(1): 109-127.

McCormick J. (2001) *Environmental Policy in the European Union.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weale A., Pridham G., Cini M., Konstadakopulos D., Porter M., Flynn B. (2000) *Environmental Governance in Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zito A. (2000) *Creating Environmental Policy in the European Union.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

**Week 10: Immigration and asylum policy** (March 18th)

**Seminar question**

* Discuss the costs and benefits of a common EU immigration and asylum policy.

**Required readings**

Lavenex S. (2014) ‘Justice and Home Affairs: Institutional Change and Policy Continuity.’ in *Policy-Making in the EU*: 367- 386. (Chapter 15)

Stetter S. (2000) ‘Regulating Migration: Authority Delegation in Justice and Home Affairs.’ *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(1): 80-102.

Niemann A. (2012) ‘The Dynamics of EU Migration Policy: from Maastricht to Lisbon.’ In J. Richardson (ed.) (2012) *Constructing a Policy-Making state? Policy* *dynamics in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 209-233.

Toshkov D., Haan L. (2013) ‘The Europeanization of asylum policy: an assessment of the EU impact on asylum applications and recognition rates.’ *Journal of European* *Public Policy* 20(5): 661-683.

**Further readings**

Adler-Nissen R. (2009)‘Behind the scenes of differentiated integration: circumventing national opt-outs in Justice and Home Affairs.’ *Journal of European Public* *Policy* 16(1): 62-87.

Guiraudon V. (2000) ‘European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-Making as Venue Shopping.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(2): 251-271.

Kostakopoulou D. (2001) *Citizenship, identity, and immigration in the European* *Union between past and future.* New York: Manchester University Press.

Menz G. (2011) ‘Stopping, Shaping and Molding Europe: Two-Level Games, Non-state Actors and the Europeanization of Migration Policies.’ *Journal of* *Common Market Studies* 49(2): 437-462.

Neumayer E. (2004) ‘Asylum Destination Choice: What Makes Some West European Countries More Attractive Than Others?’ *European Union Politics* 5(2): 155-180.

Niemann A. (2008) ‘Dynamics and Countervailing Pressures of Visa, Asylum and Immigration Policy Treaty Revision: Explaining Change and Stagnation from the Amsterdam IGC to the IGC of 2003-04.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 559-91.

Thielemann E. (2004) ‘Why European Policy Harmonization Undermines Refugee Burden-Sharing.’ *European Journal of Migration and Law* 6(1): 43-61.

**Week 11: External policies: foreign relations, trade and security** (March 25th)

**Seminar question:**

* What explains the variation in the extent to which the European Union is able to adopt common positions across different aspects of its external policies?

**Required readings**

Dür A. (2012) ‘The EU’s Foreign Economic Policies: Limits to Delegation.’ In J. Richardson (ed.) (2012) *Constructing a Policy-Making state? Policy dynamics in the* *EU*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 234-252.

Thomas D. (2012) ‘Still Punching below Its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(3): 457-474.

Sbragia A. (2010) “The EU, the US and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(3): 368-382.

Bickerton C.J., Irondelle B., Menon A. (2011) ‘Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy.’ *Journal of Common* *Market Studies* 49(1): 1-21.

**Further readings**

Edwards G. (2011) ‘The Pattern of the EU’s Global Activity.’ In Hill, C. and Smith M., (eds.) *International Relations and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 44-72.

Ginsberg R. (1999) ‘Conceptualizing the EU as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(3): 429-454.

Krotz U. (2009) ‘Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won’t Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(3): 555-578.

Manners I. (2010) ‘Global Europa: Mythology of the European Union in World Politics.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(1): 67-87.

Moravcsik A. (2010) ‘Europe: Rising superpower in a bipolar world.’ In A.S Alexandroff and A.F. Cooper (eds.) *Rising States, Rising Institutions.* Brookings.

Posner E. (2009) ‘Making Rules for Global Finance: Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation at the Turn of the Millennium.’ *International Organization* 63(4): 665-99.

Young A.R. (2007) ‘Trade Politics Ain’t What It Used to Be: The European Union in the Doha Round.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(4): 789-811.

**Week 12: Accountability and legitimacy in the EU policy-making** (April 1st)

**Seminar question**

* To what extent is there a trade-off between policy efficiency and political accountability in the EU policy-making?

**Required readings**

Deirdre C., Mair P., Papadopoulos Y. (2010) ‘Positioning Accountability in European Governance: An Introduction.’ *West European Politics* 33(5): 929-945.

Majone G. (2010) ‘Transaction-Cost Efficiency and the Democratic Deficit.’ *Journal* *of European Public Policy* 17(2): 150-175.

Majone G. (2000) ‘The Credibility Crisis of Community Regulation.’ *Journal of* *Common Market Studies* 38(2): 273-302

Follesdal A., Hix S. (2006) ‘Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3) 533-562.

**Further readings**

Carey J. (2008) *Legislative Voting and Accountability.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Chapters 1 and 7.

Hobolt Binzer S., Tilley J. (2014) “Who’s in Charge? Voter Attribution of Responsibility in the European Union.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 47(6): 795-819.

Hix S. (2008) *What’s Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It*. London: Polity.

Majone G. (1999) “The Regulatory State and Its Legitimacy Problems.”, *West* *European Politics* 22(1): 1-24.

Majone, G. (2002a) ‘The European Commission: The Limits of Centralization and the Perils of Parliamentarization.’ *Governance* 15(3): 375-92.

Moravcsik, A. (2002) ‘In Defence of the “Democratic Deficit”: Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union.’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4):60-34.

Majone, G. (2002b) ‘Delegation of Regulatory Powers in a Mixed Polity’. *European* *Law Journal* 8(3): 319-39.

Strøm K. (2000) ‘Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies.’ *European Journal of Political Research* 37(3): 261-289.