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Summer Term 2016

Master Seminar WP 2.1 – European Institutions

Time and location: Monday, 12:15-13:45, Oettingenstr. 67, L155
Tuesday, 10:15-11:45, Oettingenstr. 67, 169

Office hours: every Tuesday (during term time), 13:30-14:30, H005-9

Course description: The institutions of the European Union (EU) have been the subject of much debate and criticism in recent years. The Euro-crisis has challenged the EU's institutional status quo and has highlighted its cracks and weaknesses. In this course, we analyse the EU's institutional architecture against the backdrop of different theoretical approaches, rooted in different literatures, such as integration theory, neo-institutionalism and theories of (democratic) legitimacy. We are particularly interested in exploring the factors leading to the transformation of particular institutions as well as the creation of new ones. We will also focus on the design properties of EU institutions as well as their consequences for political outcomes.

Structure of the seminar sessions: In this seminar, you will acquire in-depth knowledge of different theoretical perspectives to account for the formation, design, transformation, as well as the consequences of European institutions. Moreover, you will learn to apply these perspectives to empirical phenomena in your own research projects. The overall objective of the module is to provide you with the knowledge and skills to conduct theory-guided research on key issues of European institutions. To this end, you will be asked to read several texts in preparation of each session (texts marked with an asterisk * = compulsory reading, available in the Intranet course folder). In our seminar sessions we will first reconstruct and discuss the theory/ies based on the compulsory reading. In order to assess the analytical usefulness of the theory/ies we will then apply it/them to specific institutions. Those of you who opt for a written exercise ("Übungsaufgabe") as course requirement (see below) will produce a "mini case study" of European institutions; this will serve as starting points for our in-class discussion of how we can make productive empirical-analytical use of the theory in question.

Module requirements: The module "WP 2" comprises two seminars: "WP 2.1 Europäische Institutionen/ European Institutions" (Rittberger) and "WP 2.2 Internationale Institutionen/ International Institutions" (Hülse or Kruck). The module examination consists of a research paper

(20.000-30.000 keys and one mini case study (“Übungsaufgabe”). You will have to complete one of the two module requirements in WP 2.1, the other one is due in WP 2.2.

In this seminar, the “Übungsaufgabe” will be **one “mini case studies”** of 5-6 standard-formatted pages each (excluding references). The task for this “mini case study” is to apply a theory introduced in one of the compulsory readings to a European institution (or several ones) of your choice. The short paper must be handed in via email by Friday noon prior to the relevant seminar session and will be made available to all course participants. You might also be asked to briefly present the key argument of your paper in class. All participants who choose to write a **research paper** in this seminar will have to present a research paper outline in one of the two research paper workshops (two page-outline to be submitted via email by Friday noon prior to the relevant workshop session). The deadline for the research paper is **12 August 2016 noon**.

Commitment is a two-way street: I expect you to be well prepared when attending my class. You should budget at least half a working day for each week’s readings. If you decide that attending the class is not among your priorities, or if you should decide to appear only sporadically or unprepared, you are, as you are probably aware of, free to do so. Two things you should bear in mind, though. First, research shows that there is a robust relationship between class attendance and study success (i.e. your grades). Check out this meta-analysis in the Review of Educational Research: <<http://rer.sagepub.com/content/80/2/272.abstract>>. Second, a lack of commitment on your behalf will also be of little benefit for if you have to shop for letters of reference or a thesis supervisor. However, if you commit to my class, I will do everything I can to support you in succeeding. Nothing makes a lecturer more proud than seeing his or her students do well. But commitment is not a one-way street. So, it’s your choice.

Staying up to date: The most important discussions and debates that shape research on European institutions and politics take place in peer reviewed academic journals. You should make it a routine to regularly consult and screen the journals mentioned below, especially if you plan to write your seminar paper in this course.

Comparative European Politics
European Journal of Political Research
European Political Science Review
European Union Politics
Governance
Journal of Common Market Studies
Journal of European Integration
Journal of European Public Policy
Regulation & Governance
West European Politics

One of the best academic blogs on current affairs in the EU is the EUROPP blog, administered by colleagues at the LSE (<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/>)

Politico Europe (<http://www.politico.eu>) keeps you up to date on current affairs. Make sure you subscribe to their Newsletter, bringing you fresh information every morning (esp. “Brussels Playbook” and “Morgen Europa”).

Overview of the seminar sessions

1. Introduction: Origins, design, change, and consequences of European Institutions (11./12.4.)

Part I Theories of institutions

2. Rationalist approaches to institutions (18./19.4.)

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

*Pollack, M. A. (2012). "Realist, Intergovernmentalist and Institutional Approaches", in: Jones, E., Menon, A. & Weatherill, S. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-17.

Moravcsik, A. & Schimmelfennig, F. (2009): "Liberal Intergovernmentalism", in: Wiener, A. & Diez, T. (eds.): *Theories of European Integration*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 67-87.

3. Historical institutionalism (25./26.4.)

Capocchia, G. & Kelemen, R. D. (2007). The study of critical junctures: Theory, narrative, and counterfactuals in historical institutionalism, *World Politics* 59(3), 341-369.

*Pierson, P. (1996). The Path to European Integration. A Historical Institutional Analysis, *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (2), 123-163.

*Jones, E., Kelemen R. D. & Meunier, S. (2015). Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration, *Comparative Political Studies*, doi: 10.1177/0010414015617966.

Verdun, A. (2015). A historical institutionalist explanation of the EU's responses to the euro area financial crisis, *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (2), 219-237.

4. Ideational approaches to Institutions (2./3.5.)

*Béland, D. (2009). Ideas, institutions, and policy change, *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (5), 701-718.

Béland, D. & Cox, R. H. (2011). "Introduction: ideas and politics", in: Béland, D. & Cox, R. H. (eds.) *Ideas and politics in social science research*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-20.

Carstensen, M. B. & Schmidt, V. A. (2016). Power through, over and in ideas: conceptualizing ideational power in discursive institutionalism, *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (3), 318-337.

*Parsons, C. (2011). "Ideas, position, and supranationality", in: Béland, D. & Cox, R. H. (eds.) *Ideas and politics in social science research*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 127-142.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2001). The community trap: Liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the Eastern enlargement of the European Union, *International Organization* 55 (1), 47-80.

Schmidt, V. A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: Explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth 'new institutionalism', *European Political Science Review* 2 (1), 1-25.

Part II Institutional change in the EU

5. Reforming the Union (9./10.5. 2015)

*Bickerton, C., Hodson, D., & Puetter, U. (2015). The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4), 703-722.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2015). What's the News in 'New Intergovernmentalism'? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4), 723-730.

*Genschel, P. & Jachtenfuchs, M. (2015). More integration, less federation: the European integration of core state powers, *Journal of European Public Policy* 31 (1): 42-59.

Finke, D, König, T., Proksch, S.-O. & Tsebelis, G. (2012). *Reforming the European Union: Realizing the Impossible*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1-27

SUGGESTION FOR MINI CASE STUDY: (a) pick one hypothesis from Bickerton et al. and provide a short empirical illustration of the selected hypothesis; (b) think about empirical cases that fit the typology in the article by Genschel & Jachtenfuchs (Figure 2). Choose a case from one cell and provide an empirical illustration of the integration dynamics of this case.

6. Differentiated integration (23./24.5.)

Kroll, D. & Leuffen, D. (2015) Enhanced cooperation in practice. An analysis of differentiated integration in EU secondary law, *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (3), 353-373.

*Kölliker, A. (2001). Bringing together or driving apart the Union? Towards a theory of differentiated integration, *West European Politics* 24 (4), 125-151.

Leuffen, D., Rittberger, B. & Schimmelfennig, F. (2013). *Differentiated Integration. Explaining Variation in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

*Schimmelfennig, F., Leuffen, D., & Rittberger, B. (2015). The European Union as a system of differentiated integration: Interdependence, politicization and differentiation, *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (6), 764-782.

Schimmelfennig, F., & Winzen, T. (2014). Instrumental and constitutional differentiation in the European Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (2), 354-370.

*Vollaard, H. (2014). Explaining European Disintegration, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (5), 1142–1159.

SUGGESTION FOR MINI CASE STUDY: (a) revisit one of Kölliker's cases against the backdrop of other theories (e.g. Schimmelfennig/Leuffen/Rittberger); (b) why does the UK not pursue further differentiated integration and votes on 'Brexit' instead?; (c) find out about opt-outs, temporary derogations or suspensions, which states have obtained from EU law and confront these with one of the theoretical perspectives.

Part III Institutional design

7. The expansion of the EP's prerogatives (30./31.5.)

Farrell, H. & Héritier, A. (2007). Introduction: contested competences in the European Union. *West European Politics* 30 (2), 227-243.

Goetze, S. & Rittberger, B. (2010). A Matter of Habit? The Sociological Foundations of Empowering the European Parliament, *Comparative European Politics* 8 (1), 37-54.

*Hix, S. (2002). Constitutional agenda-setting through discretion and rule-interpretation: Why the European Parliament won at Amsterdam, *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2), 259-280.

Moury, C. (2007). Explaining the European Parliament's right to appoint and invest the Commission, *West European Politics* 30 (2), 367-391.

Rittberger, B. (2012). Institutionalizing representative democracy in the European Union: The case of the European Parliament, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50.s1, 18-37.

*Roederer-Rynning, C., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2012). Bringing codecision to agriculture: A hard case of parliamentarization, *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 (7), 951-968.

Rosén, G. (2015). EU Confidential: The European Parliament's Involvement in EU Security and Defence Policy, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (2), 383–398.

SUGGESTION FOR MINI CASE STUDY: (a) why did the EP succeed with its proposal to nominate 'Spitzenkandidaten' for the Commission Presidency?; (b) find a case where the EP obtained new prerogatives and confront this instance of empowerment with one of the various theoretical perspectives; (c) what is the EP's role in the EU's reformed economic governance regime? How can its involvement (or lack thereof) be explained?

8. Agencies and Networks: The design of regulatory institutions in the EU (6.6./7.6.)

Bach, T., De Francesco, F., Maggetti, M & Ruffing, E (2016). Transnational Bureaucratic Politics: An Institutional Rivalry Perspective on EU Network Governance, *Public Administration* 94 (1), 9-24.

Blauberger, M., & Rittberger, B. (2015). Conceptualizing and theorizing EU regulatory networks, *Regulation & Governance* 9 (4), 367-376.

Dehousse, R. (1997). Regulation by Networks in the European Community: The Role of European Agencies, *Journal of European Public Policy* 4 (2), 246-261.

*Kelemen, R. D. & Tarrant, A. D. (2011). The Political Foundations of the Eurocracy, *West European Politics* 34 (5), 922-947.

Levi-Faur, D. (2011). Regulatory Networks and Regulatory Agencification: Towards a Single European Regulatory Space, *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (6), 810-829.

Roederer-Rynning, C. & Daugbjerg, C. (2010). Power Learning or Path Dependency? Investigating the Roots of the European Food Safety Authority, *Public Administration* 88 (2), 315-330.

*Thatcher, M. (2011). The Creation of European Regulatory Agencies and its Limits: A Comparative Analysis of European Delegation, *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (6), 790-809.

SUGGESTION FOR MINI CASE STUDY: (a) explain the creation of 'Banking Union'; (b) explain the institutional design of the SSM or the SRM; (c) explain the creation of Europol, Frontex, or the EASO – what institutional changes can be expected in the context of the "refugee crisis"?

Part IV Institutional consequences

9. The Euro-crisis and its consequences: Caught in the iron cage? (13.6./14.6.)

*Helgadóttir, O. (2016). The Bocconi boys go to Brussels: Italian economic ideas, professional networks and European austerity, *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (3), 392-409.

Jacoby, W. (2015). "Europe's New German Problem. The Timing of Politics and the Politics of Timing", in: M. Matthijs & M. Blyth (eds.) *The Future of the Euro*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 187-209.

Matthijs, M. (2016). Powerful rules governing the Euro: The Perverse Logic of German Ideas, *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (3), 375-391.

*Matthijs M. & McNamara, K. (2015). The Euro Crisis' Theory Effect: Northern Saints, Southern Sinners, and the Demise of the Eurobond', *Journal of European Integration* 37 (2), 229-245.

SUGGESTIONS FOR MINI CASE STUDIES: think about instances of policy or institutional change in the EU and how you could go about assessing the 'power of ideas'.

10. The politicization of the EU: A pathway towards a more legitimate order? (20./21.6.)

Grande, E. & Hutter, S. (2016). Beyond authority transfer: Explaining the politicisation of Europe, *West European Politics* 39 (1), 23-43.

*Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2009). A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus, *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1), 1–23.

Hutter, S. & Grande, E. (2014). Politicizing Europe in the National Electoral Arena: A Comparative Analysis of Five West European Countries, 1970–2010, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (5), 1002-1018.

Statham, P. & Trez H.-J. (2015). Understanding the mechanisms of EU politicization: Lessons from the Eurozone crisis, *Comparative European Politics* 13 (3), 287-306.

*White, J. (2013). Emergency Europe, *Political Studies* 63 (2), 300-318.

SUGGESTION FOR A MINI CASE STUDY: draft a short research design for a project analysing politicization during the Euro-crisis.

Part V Preparing your seminar paper

11. Planning your research paper (27./28.6.)

*Hancké, B. (2009). *Intelligent research design: A guide for beginning researchers in the social sciences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-83.

Beach, D. & Pedersen, R. B. (2013). *Process-Tracing Methods. Foundations and Guidelines*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2015). "Efficient Process-Tracing: Analyzing the Causal Mechanisms of European Integration." in: Bennett, A. and Checkel, J. T. (eds.), *Process Tracing in the Social Sciences: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 98-125.

12. Research paper workshop I (4./5.7.)

13. Research paper workshop II (11./12.7.)