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Summer Term 2017

Master Seminar WP 2.1 – European Institutions

Time and location: Monday (in German), 12:15-13:45, Oettingenstr. 67, 169
Tuesday (in English), 10:15-11:45, Oettingenstr. 67, 169

Office hours: every Monday (during term time), 10:00-11:00, H005-9
please make an appointment with Mrs Nutzinger
(sekretariat.rittberger@gsi.uni-muenchen.de) in advance

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.

Module requirements: The module "WP 2" comprises two seminars: "WP 2.1 European Institutions" (Rittberger) and "WP 2.2 International Institutions" (Hülse or van Meegdenburg). The module examination consists of a "Hausarbeit" (20.000-30.000 keys) and "Übungsaufgaben". You will have to complete one of the two module requirements in WP 2.1, the other one is due in WP 2.2.

- *Requirements for "Übungsaufgaben"*: This requirement consists of **two research design papers** of ca. 5 standard-formatted pages each (excluding bibliography). The goal of the research design papers is for you to learn how to go about finding a good research question and developing a proper research strategy. The two research design papers are due for session 7 and for session 11. Each of the two papers must be **submitted to me in class**.
- *Requirements for "Hausarbeit"*: For all participants who choose to write a "Hausarbeit" in this seminar, the deadline is **28 August 2017 noon (E-mailed to me as pdf-file)**. A Hausarbeit" is typically 12-15 pages of length. Please consult the following guidelines when preparing your "Hausarbeit": <<http://www.gsi.uni-muenchen.de/studium/wissarb/>>. For those of you choosing this requirement, you will be required to **submit and present a short research outline** to me during my office hours, which take place during class time in the final week of term (session 12).

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 if you have to shop for letters of reference or a thesis supervisor in the coming terms. 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

(Monday: 24.4.2017; Tuesday: 25.4.2017)

Theories of institutions

2. Rationalist approaches to European institutions

(Monday: 8.5.2017; Tuesday: 2.5.2017)

*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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to distinguish rationalism from rationalist theories about EU politics.
- You should be able to describe different rationalist theories about EU politics.
- You should be able to describe how PA-theory explains institutional choices and the impact of institutions on political processes and outcomes.
- Advanced: You should be able to identify the commonalities and difference between PA-theory and Liberal Intergovernmentalism (LI).

3. Historical institutionalism and European institutions

(Monday: 15.5.2017; Tuesday: 9.5.2017)

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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to distinguish HI from rationalist theories.

- You should be able to explain key HI concepts, such as path dependence and unintended consequences.
- Advanced: You should be able to apply HI theory to explain the trajectory of EU politics in the context of the Euro crisis.

4. Ideational approaches to European institutions

(Monday: 22.5.2017; Tuesday: 16.5.2017)

*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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to distinguish rationalist from ideational approaches.
- You should be able to explain how ideas matter for political behaviour.
- Advanced: You should be able to explain how ideational approaches conceive of the relationship between interests and ideas (note: it's complicated!)

Institutional change in the EU

5. Differentiated integration

(Monday: 29.5.2017; Tuesday: 23.5.2017)

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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to identify and describe different conceptualizations of differentiated integration.
- You should be able to describe the drivers and obstacles behind differentiated integration.
- You should be able to discuss different policy areas with regard to their likelihood for differentiation.
- Advanced: You should be able to apply the theories on differentiated integration to the case of 'Brexit' and tell us something about their usefulness.

Research design, part I

6. Finding a research question

(Monday: 12.6.2017; Tuesday: 13.6.2017)

*Hancké, B. (2009). *Intelligent research design: A guide for beginning researchers in the social sciences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 10-34.

*KKV (1994): *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-19.

*Toshkov, D. (2016). *Research design in political science*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 44-55.

Your task for research paper I:

Introduce your research problem and discuss the literature you found on your topic. This implies that you should demonstrate what previous research has demonstrated about your topic, in what way this literature is useful in addressing your topic, and what your contribution to this existing body of knowledge is. Try and identify the three most important pieces that inform your research problem (focus in particular on the respective text's usefulness for your own research).

Institutional design

7. The expansion of the EP's prerogatives

(Monday: 19.6.2017; Tuesday: 20.6.2017)

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.

Hobolt, S.B. (2014). A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections, *Journal of European Public Policy* 21 (10), 1528-1540.

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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to identify different explanations for the EP's gradual empowerment.
- You should be able to categorize these explanations with regard to the different institutionalist theories we discussed at the beginning of term.
- Advanced: You should be able to provide a theoretically informed speculation about the future of the so-called 'Spitzenkandidaten' process in the context of the next EP elections / selection of the Commission President.

8. Agencies and Networks: The design of regulatory institutions in the EU

(Monday: 26.6.2017; Tuesday: 27.6.2017)

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.

Tarrant, A. & Kelemen, R. D. (2017). Reconceptualizing European Union regulatory networks: A response to Blauberger and Rittberger, *Regulation & Governance*, doi: 10.1111/rego.12136.

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.

*Majone, G. (1997). From the positive to the regulatory state: causes and consequences of changes in the mode of governance, *Journal of Public Policy* 17 (2), 139-167.

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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to explain the rise of the 'regulatory state' in Europe (and in the EU).
- You should be able to describe different kinds of regulatory institutions (e.g. agencies, networks).
- You should be able to distinguish between different explanations for the choice of regulatory institutions in the EU.
- Advanced: You should be able to apply the theories on regulatory institutions to the creation or transformation of regulatory bodies in the EU (e.g. Banking Union).

Institutional consequences

9. The Euro-crisis and its consequences: Caught in the iron cage?

(Monday: 3.7.2017; Tuesday: 4.7.2017)

*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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to conceptualize how ideas can exert power.
- You should be able to describe how ideas matter in the context of the Euro crisis (note: they matter in different ways!).

10. The politicization of the EU: A pathway towards a more legitimate order?

(Monday: 10.7.2017; Tuesday: 11.7.2017)

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.

Test yourself: What you should know after the readings

- You should be able to describe the concept of politicization.
- You should be able to identify and describe the drivers of politicization.
- You should be able to tell us how politicization affects the politics of EU integration.
- You should be able to reflect upon the effects of politicization from a normative perspective: Is it a good or a bad thing, and by what standards?

Research design, part II

11. How to construct a research design and how to select cases

(Monday: 17.7.2017; Tuesday: 18.7.2017)

*Hancké, B. (2009). *Intelligent research design: A guide for beginning researchers in the social sciences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 35-84.

Your task for research paper II:

Based on the task from session 7, develop a theoretical argument and state (falsifiable!) hypotheses that stipulate a relationship between the outcome you are interested in (dependent variable) and the factors causing the outcome (independent variables). Make sure you embed your theoretical argument in the relevant literature on the topic. In a next step, tell us something about your choice of method, e.g. case study or comparison.

12. Final session: Open office hours for “Hausarbeit” counsel

(Monday: 24.7.2017; Tuesday: 25.7.2017)