
Course Manual

New Forms of Governance: From the EU to the World?

Course Catalogue Number
7324B224ZY

Credits
30 EC

Instruction language
English

Time Period
Academic Year 2016-2017, Blocks 4-6
Tuesdays, 10:00-13:00

Location
REC JK 1.23

Instructor
Professor Jonathan Zeitlin
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Course description

This seminar will bring together students interested in writing their Master's thesis on a topic related to the development of new forms of governance within the EU and/or their extension to the wider world beyond the Union's borders. Over the past 20 years, the EU has become a virtual laboratory for experimentation with innovative forms of governance and regulation, which diverge in varying respects from standard hierarchical or command-and-control models. Examples of these new organizational forms, which include networked agencies, regulatory networks, open methods of coordination, and operational cooperation among front-line officials, can be found across a wide range of EU policy areas, from regulation of energy and financial markets, competition, food safety and environmental sustainability, to employment and social inclusion, justice and security, anti-discrimination and fundamental rights. There are growing signs, moreover, that these new forms of internal governance are extending into the EU's external relations with third countries and international bodies, through a variety of institutional mechanisms and channels, from the enlargement process, neighborhood policy, development aid programmes, and strategic partnerships, to

international organizations, transgovernmental networks, standard-setting bodies, peer review processes, and multilateral agreements.

The seminar will examine the main theoretical, empirical, and normative debates about new forms of governance within and beyond the EU, in order to enable students to define and develop their own thesis research projects. Questions to be addressed include: What are new forms of governance, and how do they work in practice? Where and why did these new forms of governance develop within the EU, and why have they spread into other policy areas, including external relations? Do they work better in some policy areas than others, and if so, why? How do these new organizational forms compare to more conventional governance arrangements, in terms of effectiveness, participation, accountability, and legitimacy? What are their implications for European integration, EU external relations, and global governance?

Students may choose to focus their thesis research on EU internal governance, EU external relations, or the linkages between them, including the reciprocal influence of relationships with international bodies and third countries on the Union's own decision-making processes. Theses on new forms of transnational or global governance beyond the EU are also encouraged. Individual research projects may take a variety of forms, including case studies of new forms of governance in particular policy fields, cross-sectoral and/or cross-national comparisons, and investigations of broader theoretical or thematic issues.

Objectives

This course aims to support students in writing a good Master's thesis. Through seminar discussions, short written response memos on assigned readings, and the core task of preparing the Master's thesis itself, you will be enabled to demonstrate:

- originality in developing and applying ideas within a research context, drawing on knowledge and understanding that is founded upon but extends that of Bachelor's-level studies;
- the ability to apply your knowledge and understanding as well as problem-solving capacities in a specific topic area within the broader fields of European Politics, Public Policy, and/or International Relations;
- the ability to integrate diverse knowledge and master the complexity of a larger research project as well as to formulate careful and well-grounded academic and policy-relevant judgments;
- the ability to communicate your research conclusions, as well as their theoretical, methodological, and evidentiary underpinnings, to a non-specialist academic audience in both speech and writing;
- the learning skills that can allow you to continue study beyond the Master's level in a largely self-directed and autonomous manner.

Prerequisites, eligibility, language of instruction, and recommended prior knowledge

You must have successfully completed your Master's Specialization Module and at least one Master's-level seminar. Ideally you should have finished all other parts of your study before you begin a Master's Research Project.

This course is open to students from all tracks of the Political Science Master. All instruction will be conducted in English, and the Master's Thesis must be written in English.

Basic knowledge about the design of empirical research as well as standards of academic writing is expected. Students who are unfamiliar with EU institutions and policy-making are advised to read a standard introductory text before the seminar begins. Recommended titles include: Herman Lelieveldt and Sebastiaan Princen, *The Politics of the European Union* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Esther Versluis, Mendeltje van Keulen, and Paul Stephenson, *Analyzing the European Union Policy Process* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Laurie Buonnano and Neill Nugent, *Policies and Policy Processes of the European Union* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Ingeborg Tömmel, *The European Union: What It Is and How It Works* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Format and organization

The course will be divided into two parts. During the first seven weeks, we will read and discuss jointly core theoretical and empirical literature on the development of new forms of governance and regulation within the EU and their extension beyond the Union's borders. This will provide you with a common background and frame of reference in the area, as you begin to identify your individual research topics and questions in cooperation with me as your supervisor. We will also discuss a number of issues related to research design and methodology before you embark on the actual research, as well as in real time, as they occur in your work. We will spend the first two hours of each meeting on substantive issues, and the final hour on methods.

In weeks 5-7, a series of 2-3 hour courses on "Methods of Data Collection and Data Analysis" will be offered for all Masters students. You are required to attend at least three of these, and attendance will be taken. A schedule and description of the course offerings is available on Blackboard and in the course Dropbox. I recommend in particular that you attend the following courses:

Single and Comparative Case Studies: Types of single-case studies, how to select cases, how to draw conclusions. Types of comparative case studies, how to select the cases, how to draw conclusions. **Franca van Hooren** (*Monday 6 March, 15:00-18:00, P2.27*).

Process-Tracing: How to support a causal argument/ explanation through process-tracing, i.e. collecting evidence for a causal chain of events; how to make this different from historical research or idiographic narrative. **Jonathan Zeitlin** (*Tuesday 7 March, 18:00-21:00, C0.01*).

Interviewing: how to select interviewees and set up interviews, types of interviews, formats of interviews, how to prepare and to process results, do's and don't's. **Robin Pistorius** (*Wednesday 22 March 12:00-15:00, C1.04*).

The second part of the course will consist of individual and group meetings on the progress of students' thesis projects. Group meetings will involve short presentations of students' thesis proposals and findings, followed by constructive feedback and discussion, organized as

a form of peer review. I will provide guidance on how to prepare a successful thesis, and you are expected to meet one-on-one with me on a regular basis (twice per month) to discuss the more specific aspects of your individual thesis project.

Requirements and assessment

Preparation of a Master's thesis of acceptable quality (minimum grade 6.0) by the end of the semester (23 June). For detailed information on the technical requirements of a Master's thesis, please consult the Department of Political Science *Manual for Writing a Thesis*, available on Blackboard and in the course Dropbox. Included in the process-related component of your final grade (20%) are on-time completion of required readings and assignments, as well as regular attendance and active participation in seminar meetings.

For meetings 2-7, students are expected to prepare a short response memo (1-2 single-spaced pages) on the week's readings. These memos are intended to prepare the ground for good class discussions by requiring participants to set out their initial reactions to the readings in written form. Memos should *not* merely summarize the readings, but should comment on specific arguments, compare the positions of different authors, raise questions of evidence or method, draw attention to particular strengths and weaknesses in the texts, and/or explore their implications for your own research project. (Given the short length of these response memos, it will not be necessary – or possible – for you to discuss each reading.) Each memo should also identify at least one question that you would like the class to discuss. (This should not be a purely factual question, though I will be glad to respond to such questions in class.) Memos should be sent to me by email and posted on the course Blackboard site. In order for everyone to have time to read over each other's memos, these should be posted on the course Blackboard site *by 9 pm on the day before the class meets (or as close to that time as possible)*.

For meeting 8, students are expected to submit a thesis proposal of approximately 4 pages. The elements to be included in the proposal are detailed in the *Manual for Writing a Thesis*. Proposals should be submitted to me by email and posted on Blackboard by *9am on Monday 27 March*. You should come to class on Tuesday 28 March prepared to give a short presentation of your proposal (maximum 10 minutes), on which you will receive feedback from other members of the class as well as from me. You are also expected to present the preliminary findings of your thesis research to the class (maximum 20 minutes) on Tuesday 30 May; to accommodate presentations and discussions, this meeting will be double the usual length (five-six hours). On Tuesday 27 June, students will briefly present their completed theses (maximum 15 minutes) to the group, supported if possible by a poster summarizing the main findings.

A first draft of the thesis is due to me by email on *Tuesday 6 June (preferably sooner)*. I will endeavour to get comments back to everyone who meets this deadline by *Tuesday 13 June*, leaving you with ten days to complete any revisions.

Deadlines and Rewrites

According to the GSSS Political Science Thesis Manual 2016-2017:

“The thesis deadline for the research projects in the academic year 2016-2017 is **23 June 2017**. The right to supervision expires after this deadline. The student must submit a thesis on the above-mentioned deadline, otherwise this will result in a ‘fail’ and losing the right to rewrite the

thesis during the rewrite period. It is not possible to rewrite a thesis that has been passed in order to achieve a higher grade. It is not possible to apply for an extension of the thesis deadline because of work or an internship. In the case of exceptional circumstances, such as a chronic disease or a disability, the student needs to contact the student adviser before the start of the research project to discuss the situation. The student needs to bring an official diagnosis of the chronic disease or disability. In case of exceptional circumstances, such as an illness during the research project, the student also needs to contact the student adviser as soon as possible.

If a thesis fails to meet the minimum criteria for a pass, the supervisor will decide whether the thesis can be sufficiently improved within the rewrite period, i.e. by **31 August** (Political Science and CRG). The opportunity to rewrite is given only once. The tempo in which one has worked is one of the explicit assessment criteria and therefore rewriting will affect the final grade. If by the end of the rewrite period, the thesis is still unsatisfactory, or if the student has been denied the rewrite period, the student will fail the project. The student must then take part in a new research project in the following academic year.”

Plagiarism

Academic dishonesty is considered a serious offence. The definition of fraud/plagiarism is to be found in the *Studiegids*, and may be translated as follows: “To plagiarise is to take the work or an idea of someone else and pass it off as one's own. This means that if you copy, paraphrase or translate materials from websites, books, magazines or any other source in your thesis without giving full and proper credit to the original author(s), you are committing plagiarism.” The fair use of evidence from primary and secondary sources is the basis of academic discourse. The abuse of this fairness undermines the very nature of scholarly research. Plagiarism is a form of theft and fraud and should be avoided at all costs. If you find yourself in doubt about quotation or correct use of a source, it is always a good idea to provide full information. Presenting other people's work from whatever source (including that of other students and the Internet) as your own will be sanctioned in terms of the grade received and by the Examination Commission. You must attribute any work or idea you have made use of in the course of writing to its original author, or you are guilty of plagiarism. All direct citations must also be correctly attributed. Please see the rules on Plagiarism and Fraud on the website <http://student.uva.nl/mpolsc/az/item/plagiarism-and-fraud.html>. You are responsible for understanding regulations in this regard; if you have any questions, please consult me.

The Examination Committee requires all written submitted assignments to run through Ephorus (an anti-plagiarism programme). All written work must therefore be submitted in digital form.

Reading materials

Required readings cover only the first part of the course, because afterwards you will have your own specific readings for your thesis. Readings for this part of the course will be downloadable from a dedicated Dropbox, to which you will receive an invitation.

You should subscribe to free daily EU news digests such as www.euobserver.com and Politico Brussels Playbook, <http://www.politico.eu/newsletter/playbook/>, and peruse them regularly for articles related to the course theme and your research topic. Links to other useful websites will be posted on the course Blackboard site.

As you develop your thesis project, you should consult both practical guides to the key steps in the process (such as writing a research proposal, reviewing literature, preparing an outline, taking notes, using sources, writing chapters, and time management), and more explicitly methodological literature on conceptualization and research design.

Schedule of Meetings and Readings

Meeting 1: Introduction: The Problem of EU Governance/Writing a Thesis (February 7)

Substance

Helen Wallace and Christine Reh, 2015: “An Institutional Analysis and Five Policy Modes”, in Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 72-112.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus, 2006: “The European Union as a Polity (II)”, in Knud Erik Jørgensen, Mark A. Pollack and Ben Rosamond (eds), *Handbook of European Union Politics*, London: Sage, 159-74.

Kohler-Koch, Beate, and Rittberger, Berthold, 2006: “The Governance ‘Turn’ in EU Studies”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, annual review issue, 27-49.

Schimmelfennig, Frank, Dirk Leuffen, and Berthold Rittberger (2015): ‘The EU as a System of Differentiated Integration: Interdependence, Politicization and Differentiation’, *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(6): 764-82.

Methods

Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam, “Manual for Writing a Thesis, 2016-2017”.

Meeting 2: Theoretical Approaches – I: New Forms of Governance in the EU: Soft or Flexible?/Case Studies and Comparative Analysis (February 14)

Substance:

Craig, Paul, and de Búrca, Grainne, 2011: “New Forms of Governance”, *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*, 5th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 6, pp. 158-79.

Bartolini, Stefano, 2011: “New Modes of European Governance: An Introduction”, in Adrienne Héritier and Martin Rhodes (eds.), *New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-15.

Héritier, Adrienne, and Lehmkuhl, Dirk, 2008: “The Shadow of Hierarchy and New Modes of Governance”, *Journal of Public Policy* 28(1): 1-17.

Methods:

della Porta, Donatella, 2008: “Comparative Analysis: Case-Oriented versus Variable Oriented Research”, in Michael Keating and Donatella della Porta (eds), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 198-222.

Flyvberg, Bent, 2011: “Case Study”, in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th ed., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 301-16.

Meeting 3: Theoretical Approaches – II: Experimentalist Governance/Concepts and Concept Formation (February 21)

Substance

Sabel, Charles F., and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2008: “Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the European Union”, *European Law Journal* 14(3): 271-327.

Börzel, Tanja, 2012: “Experimentalist Governance: The Emperor’s New Clothes?”, *Regulation and Governance* 6(3): 378-84.

Sabel, Charles F., and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2012b: “Experimentalism in the EU: Common Ground and Persistent Differences”, *Regulation and Governance* 6(3): 410-26.

Additional Reading:

Sabel, Charles F., and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2012a: “Experimentalist Governance”, in David Levi-Faur (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 169-83.

Methods

Mair, Peter, 2008: “Concepts and Concept Formation”, in Keating and Porta (eds), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences*, 177-97.

Goertz, Gary, 2006: *Social Science Concepts: A User’s Guide*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 27-38, 69-88.

Additional Reading:

Bevir, Mark, and Kedar, Asaf, 2008: “Concept Formation in Political Science: An Anti-Naturalist Critique of Qualitative Methodology”, *Perspectives on Politics* 6(3): 503-17.

Meeting 4: New Forms of Internal Governance: Networked Regulation/ Researching the EU (February 28)

Substance

Review Sabel, Charles F., and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2008: “Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the EU”, *European Law Journal* 14(3): 278-89, 293-303, 309-12.

Thatcher, Mark, and David Coen, 2008: “Reshaping European Regulatory Space: An Evolutionary Analysis”, *West European Politics* 31(4): 806-36.

Thatcher, Mark, 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.

Zeitlin, Jonathan (2016): ‘EU Experimentalist Governance in Times of Crisis’, *West European Politics* 39(5): 1073-94.

Additional reading

Sectoral chapters from Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds), *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union: Towards a New Architecture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010: (data privacy, energy, financial regulation, competition policy, food safety, GMOs, environmental protection, anti-discrimination rights, justice and home affairs, fundamental rights).

Methods

Nyikos, Stacy A., and Pollack, Mark. A., 2003: “Researching the European Union: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches”, in Tanja A. Börzel and Rachel A. Cichowski (eds), *The State of the European Union*, vol. 6: Law, Politics, and Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 313-33.

Tansey, Oisín, 2007: “Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling”, *PS: Political Science* 8(2): 765-772.

Bryman, Alan, 2008: “Interviewing in Qualitative Research”, in his *Qualitative Research Methods*, 3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meeting 5: New Forms of External Governance – I: Enlargement, Neighbourhood Policy, and Beyond/Process Tracing (March 7)

Review Sabel and Zeitlin, 2008: 319-23.

Lavenex, Sandra, and Schimmelfennig, Frank, 2009: “EU Rules beyond EU Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(6): 791-812.

Tulmets, Elsa, 2010: “Experimentalist Governance in the EU’s External Relations: The Cases of Enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy”, in Sabel and Zeitlin (eds), *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union*, 297-324.

Lavenex, Sandra, 2015: “Experimentalist Governance in EU Neighbourhood Policies: Functionalist versus Political Logics”, in Jonathan Zeitlin (ed), *Extending Experimentalist Governance? The European Union and Transnational Regulation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23-47.

Monar, Jörg, 2015: “The External Dimension of Experimentalist Governance: The Case of the EU’s ‘Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice’”, in Zeitlin, *Extending Experimentalist Governance?*, 247-66.

Methods (Note: We will not discuss these readings in our RP, but students should read them in preparation for the Process-Tracing Methods class the same evening. We can also discuss any remaining questions you may have about them at our next class meeting.)

Vennesson, Patrick, 2008: “Case Studies and Process Tracing: Theories and Practices”, in Keating and della Porta, *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences*, 223-29.

Checkel, Jeffrey, 2006: “Tracing Causal Mechanisms”, *International Studies Review* 8(2): 362-70.

Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen, 2013: *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, ch. 2, pp. 9-22.

Additional Reading

Bennett, Andrew, and Jeffrey T. Checkel (eds), 2015: *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytical Tool*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meeting 6: New Forms of External Governance – II: The EU and Transnational Regulation/ Writing Your Proposal and Planning Your Thesis (March 14)

Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman, 2007: “The European Regulatory State and Global Public Policy: Micro-Institutions, Macro-Influence”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(6): 827-46.

Damro, Chad, 2012: “Market Power Europe”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(5): 682-99.

Lavenex, Sandra, 2014: “The Power of Functionalist Extension: How EU Rules Travel”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(6): 885-903 .

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2015: “The EU and Transnational Regulation: Extending Experimentalist Governance?”, *GR:EEN European Policy Brief* No. 40; cf. Zeitlin, *Extending Experimentalist Governance? The EU and Transnational Regulation*, introduction and conclusion, pp. 1-19, 324-54.

Additional Reading

Sectoral chapters from Zeitlin, *Extending Experimentalist Governance?* (food safety, chemicals, GMOs, forestry, competition, finance, data privacy, crisis management, disability rights).

Methods

Schmitter, Philippe C., 2002: “The ‘Ideal’ Thesis Proposal”, available in the Dropbox.

Freyberg-Inan, Annette, n.d.: “Thesis Preparation Guidelines and Design Preparation Guidelines”, available in the Dropbox.

Review a recent UvA Politicologie MA Thesis, either from those previously submitted in this RP, available in the Dropbox.

Meeting 7: Experimentalism in Transnational Governance beyond the EU/Using Theory in Case Study Analysis (March 21)

de Búrca, Gráinne, Keohane, Robert O., and Sabel, Charles, 2014: “Global Experimentalist Governance”, *British Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 477-86; cf. idem, 2013: “New Modes of Pluralist Global Governance”, *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics* 45(3): 723-86.

Plus any two of the following, depending on your interests:

de Búrca, Gráinne, 2015. “Human Rights Experimentalism”, *MaxWeber Lecture Series 2015/02*, MaxWeber Programme for Doctoral Studies, European University Institute, Florence, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/38110/MWP_LS_DeBurca_2015_02.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Nance, Mark T., and Cottrell, M. Patrick, 2013: “A Turn toward Experimentalism? Rethinking Security and Governance in the 21st Century”, *Review of International Studies* 40(2): 277-301.

Brassett, James, Richardson, Ben, and Smith, William, 2012: “Private Experiments in Global Governance: Primary Commodity Roundtables and the Politics of Deliberation”, *International Theory* 4: 367-99.

Overdevest, Christine, and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2014: “Assembling an Experimentalist Regime: Transnational Governance Interactions in the Forest Sector Revisited”, in Lászlo Brúszt and Gerald McDermott (eds.), *Leveling the Playing Field: Transnational Regulatory Integration and Development*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 235-70.

Thesis proposal presentations (March 28)

Individual meetings (April-May)

Group problem-solving clinic (April 25)

Thesis findings presentations (May 30)

Final thesis presentations and celebration (June 27)