

Sorbonne 2025

Cours d'administration de l'Union Européenne (ECTS : 4)
Didier Georgakakis/Hussein Kassim and Sara Connolly

Monday 17 March

Lundi 17 mars de 14h à 17h en salle Salle B03 Broca

THE NEW INSTITUTIONALISMS AND OTHER THEORIES

Lecture

What are the new institutionalisms, and how do they differ from the old institutionalism and from each other? How have the new institutionalisms been applied in the study of the EU, and what insights do they offer?

References

- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1984). The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life. *The American Political Science Review*, 78(3), 734–749.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1961840>
- March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P. (1989) *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*, New York: Free Press
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (2009), 'The Logic of Appropriateness', in Robert Goodin, Michael Moran and Martin Rein (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*,
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199548453.003.0034>
- Powell, W. W. and DiMaggio, P.J. (1990) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, University of Chicago Press

New institutionalism(s) applied to the EU

- Olsen, J.P. (2007) *Europe in Search of Political Order*, Oxford University Press
- Pollack, M.A. (1996) 'The New Institutionalism and EC Governance: The Promise and Limits of Institutional Analysis. Governance', 9: 429-458. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.1996.tb00251.x>
- Pollack, M. A. (2019) 'Institutionalism and European Integration' in Antje Wiener, Tanja Börzel, and Thomas Risse, *European Integration Theory*, Oxford University Press, 3rd edition,
- Pierson, P. (1996) 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis' *Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2), 123-163,
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414096029002001>
- Saurugger, S. (2017) Sociological Institutionalism and European Integration. William R. Thompson. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias : Politics*, Oxford University Press,
[10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.179](https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.179) <[halshs-01538941](https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01538941)>

Student-led discussion: Socialisation in the EU system

What is the relationship between the beliefs and values of the individuals who work for EU institutions and the values of those institutions? In assessing this evidence base, how important are the selection of the sample (size of the sample, representativeness of the sample, roles undertaken), and the operationalisation of the dependent variable?

Please read the following in the suggested order:

1. Hooghe, L. (2005) 'Several Roads Lead to International Norms, but Few Via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission', *International Organization*, 59(4), 861–898. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818305050307>
2. Trondal, J. (2007), Is the European Commission a 'Hothouse' for Supranationalism? Exploring Actor-Level Supranationalism. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45: 1111-1133. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00762.x>
3. Connolly, S. and Kassim, H. (2016) 'Supranationalism' in question: beliefs, values, and the socializing power of the European Commission revisited', *Public Administration*, 94: 717-737. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12250>
4. Georgakakis, D. (2017) 'The Making of a Status Group: Reconsidering Socialization to the European Institutions' in Didier Georgakakis (ed) *European Civil Service in (Times of) Crisis*, Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51792-6_3 or en français <https://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/21253> or Georgakakis, D. (2019) *Chapitre 2 : La formation d'un groupe à statut. Reconsidérer la socialisation aux institutions européennes* in Didier Georgakakis, *Au service de l'Europe : Crises et transformations sociopolitiques de la fonction publique européenne*, Éditions de la Sorbonne, <http://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/21253>, DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.psorbonne.21253>

If you have time, you might consider this question: What does the following contribute to the debate about international institutions as socialising environments?

Connolly, S., & Kassim, H. (2024) 'One EU civil service or many? The European Commission and the council secretariat', *European Politics and Society*, 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2024.2420231>

Monday 24 March

Lundi 24 mars de 14h à 17h en salle Salle B03 Broca

THE NATIONAL COORDINATION OF EU POLICY: MEMBER STATES IN THE MULTI-LEVEL ADMINISTRATION

Lecture

How do member states organise and manage their interaction with the EU on the input side, in EU policy making? What expectations can be derived from the new institutionalisms about the machinery put in place by national government, and to what extent are they fulfilled?

References

- Kassim, H. and Heidbreder, E. (2025) 'Introduction: Revisiting National EU Coordination' [available on request from the authors]
- Kassim, H. *et al* (2000, 2001) *The National Coordination of EU Policy*, Oxford University Press, 2 vols
- Kassim, H. (2004) 'Meeting the demands of EU membership: The Europeanization of national administrative systems' in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio Radaelli (eds) *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford University Press
- Kassim, H. and Buth, V. (2020) 'Europeanization and member state institutions' in Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne (eds) *The Member States of the European Union*, Oxford University Press, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hepl>
- Metcalf, L. (1994) 'International Policy Co-ordination and Public Management Reform', *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 60: 271–290.

Student-led discussion: Member states and implementation

Output side, i.e policy implementation: Implementation is a major issue in the EU's multilevel system in key areas, including the single internal market and environmental policy.

Questions for small group discussion:

- 1) Why is implementation such a challenge for the EU?
- 2) To what extent is weak implementation linked to the quality of national administration, size, or territorial structure?
- 3) What explains the creation of EU agencies and the development of European regulatory networks?
- 4) What measures has the European Commission taken to improve implementation a) with respect to the single market and b) in environmental policy, and with what success?

Reading for question 1

Dimitrakopoulos and Richardson (2001) 'Implementing EU policy' in Jeremy Richardson (ed) *European Union: Power and Policy*, Routledge

Dimitrakopoulos, D.G. (2001) 'The transposition of EU law: "Post-decisional politics" and institutional autonomy', *European Law Journal* 7(4): 442-58

Heidbreder, E. G. (2024) 'The federal core of EU multilevel administration'.

in G-J Brandsma (ed) *Handbook on European Union Public Administration* (pp. 11-21). Edward Elgar Publishing,

<https://doi.org/10.4337/9781802209013.00009>

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. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414010376910>

Further reading

[Kassim, H.](#) (2015), "Revisiting the 'Management Deficit': Can the Commission (Still Not) Manage Europe?", *Multi-Level Governance: The Missing Linkages (Critical Perspectives on International Public Sector Management, Vol. 4)*, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Leeds, pp. 41-62. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S2045-794420150000004003>

Reading for question 2

Thomann, E., & Zhelyazkova, A. (2024) 'Member state implementation in the European Union' in G-J Brandsma (ed) *Handbook of Public Policy Implementation* (pp. 345-358). Edward Elgar Publishing, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800885905.00039>

Sager, F., & Gofen, A. (2022). The polity of implementation: Organizational and institutional arrangements in policy implementation. *Governance*, 35(2), 347-364.

Spanou, Calliope (1998) European integration in administrative terms: a framework for analysis and the Greek case, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(3): 467-484, DOI: 10.1080/135017698343929

Thomann, Eva, and Sager, F. (2017) 'Moving beyond legal compliance: Innovative approaches to EU multilevel implementation', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(9): 1253-1268.

European Commission, reports on the Impact and Effectiveness of the Single Market and the Internal Market Scoreboard at <https://single-market->

scoreboard.ec.europa.eu/en#:~:text=The%20Scoreboard%20measures%20performance%20and,all%2027%20EU%20Member%20States

European Commission, Environmental Implementation Review, https://environment.ec.europa.eu/law-and-governance/environmental-implementation-review_en, see especially the interactive scoreboard

Reading for question 3

- Sutherland, Peter. (1992) 'The Internal Market after 1992: Meeting the Challenge. Report presented to the Commission by the High Level Group on the functioning of the Internal Market', ('the Sutherland Report'). [EU Commission - Working Document, https://aei.pitt.edu/1025/1/Market_post_1992_Sutherland_1.pdf or Metcalfe, L. (1992) 'After 1992: Can the Commission Manage Europe?' *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 51, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8500.1992.tb01461.x>
- Dehousse, R. (2008). Delegation of powers in the European union: The need for a multi-principals model. *West European Politics*, 31(4), 789–805. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380801906072>
- Thatcher, M., & Coen, D. (2008) 'Reshaping European regulatory space: an evolutionary analysis', *West European Politics*, 31(4), pp. 806-836.
- Coen, D., & Thatcher, M. (2008) 'Network governance and multi-level delegation: European networks of regulatory agencies', *Journal of Public Policy*, 28 (1), pp. 49-71.
- Schout, A. and Jordan, A. (2005) 'Coordinated European Governance: Self-Organizing or Centrally Steered?' *Public Administration*, 83: 201-220. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-3298.2005.00444.x>
- Van der Heijden M, and Yesilkagit, K (2022) 'Chapter 28: European regulatory networks: foundations and foresights' in Martino Maggetti, Fabrizio Di Mascio, and Alessandro Natalini (eds) *Handbook of Regulatory Authorities*, Edward Elgar, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781839108990>

Reading for question 4

- European Commission (2020) Commission Communication: Long-term action plan for better implementation and enforcement of single market rules [for contextualisation]
- European Commission, reports on the Impact and Effectiveness of the Single Market and the Internal Market Scoreboard at <https://single-market-scoreboard.ec.europa.eu/en#:~:text=The%20Scoreboard%20measures%20performance%20and,all%2027%20EU%20Member%20States>
- European Commission, Environmental Implementation Review, https://environment.ec.europa.eu/law-and-governance/environmental-implementation-review_en, see especially the interactive scoreboard
- Lenschow, A. (2020). 13. Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change. In *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, <https://www.oxfordpoliticstrove.com/view/10.1093/hepl/9780198807605.001.0001/hepl-9780198807605-chapter-13>.

Monday 31 March

Lundi 31 mars de 14h à 17h en salle Salle B03 Centre Broca

THE EU ADMINISTRATION AND THE PEOPLE WHO WORK FOR IT

Lecture

What kind of civil service is the EU administration? How does career progression work in theory and in practice? Who are the people who work for EU institutions and bodies? What are their educational and professional backgrounds? How similar is the profile of staff across and between the different parts of the EU administration?

References

The EU administration

- Kassim, H., Connolly, S., Alayrac, P. and Uzunalioglu, M. (2024) 'The administration of the European Commission' in Gils Jan Brandsma (ed) *Handbook on European Union public administration*, Edward Elgar
- Kassim, H. and Connolly, S. (2024) 'The Council Secretariat' in Gils Jan Brandsma (ed) *Handbook on European Union public administration*, Edward Elgar
- Kassim, H. (2014). 'L'administration européenne' in R. Dehousse (ed), *L' Union européenne*, Collection Les Notices, 3rd edn La Documentation Française.
- Kassim, H., Peterson, J., Connolly, S., Dehousse, R., Hooghe, L. and Thompson, A. (2013) *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford University Press
- Schon-Quinlivan, E. (2011) *Reforming the European Commission*, Palgrave
- Hallstein W. (1965) 'The EEC Commission: A New Factor in International Life', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 14(3):727-741.
doi:10.1093/iclqaj/14.3.727

EU civil servants

- Connolly, S. and Kassim, H. (2019) 'The European Commission: What now? What next? Research Briefing 2: An administration of lawyers?',
https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/projects/wherenowwherenext/the_junker_commission_briefing_2_an_administration_of_lawyers_final.pdf
- Kassim, H., Peterson, J., Connolly, S., Dehousse, R., Hooghe, L. and Thompson, A. (2013) *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford University Press
- Georgakakis, D. (2017) *European Civil Service in (Times of) Crisis. A Political Sociology of the Changing Power of Eurocrats*, Palgrave
- Georgakakis, D. (ed) (2012) *Le champ de l'Eurocratie : Une sociologie politique du personnel de l'UE*, Economica
- Page, Edward C. (1997) *People Who Run Europe*, Clarendon Press,
- Rowell, J. and Mangenot, M. (eds) (2016) *A political sociology of the European Union : reassessing constructivism*, Manchester University Press
- Weisbein, J. and Georgakakis, D. (2010) *From above and from below : A Political Sociology of European Actors. Comparative European Politics*, 8 (1). pp. 93-109.
- Eymeri-Douzans, J., & Georgakakis, D. (2008) 'Les hauts fonctionnaires de l'Union européenne' in Belot, C., Magnette, P., and Saurugger, S. (eds) *Science politique de l'Europe*, Economica, pp. 285-312, <https://graspe.eu/kad27.pdf>
- Georgakakis, D. and de Lassalle, M. (2007). 'Genèse et structure d'un capital institutionnel européen. *Actes De La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, 38-53.

Student-led discussion: Perspectives on people who work for the Commission

Questions:

1. In what respects is the EU administration a representative bureaucracy?

2. If the EU administration should be a representative bureaucracy, what should it be representative of?
3. Is the EU civil service really populated by 'zealous federalists'?

Reading for question 1

- Murdoch, Z., Connolly, S. & Kassim, H. (2018) 'Administrative legitimacy and the democratic deficit of the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:3, 389-408, DOI: [10.1080/13501763.2016.1268193](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2016.1268193)
- European Commission (2018) Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council pursuant to Article 27 of the Staff Regulations of Officials and to Article 12 of the conditions of employment of other servants of the European Union (Geographical balance), COM(2018) 377 final, Brussels, 15.6.2018, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0377&rid=3>
- Connolly, S. and Kassim, H. (2024) 'Greek nationals in the European Commission: national, southern or simply European?' in Dionyssis G. Dimitrakopoulos, Neda Ath. Kanellopoulou-Malouchou, Theodore N. Tsekos and Dimitris N. Chrysoschoo (eds) *Essays in European Discourse, Polity and Governance in Praise for Prof. Argyris G. Passas*. Athens: Papazissis, pp. 123-49 – please read pp. 125-132, and pay particular attention to Figure 1, [available from the authors]
- Connolly, S., Kassim, H., Lynggaard, J., Thompson, A. and Alayrac, P. (2025) 'The long march to gender balance in the European Commission: the von der Leyen Commission in historical perspective' in Gabriele Abels and Henriette Müller (eds) *Towards a "Union of Equality": Assessing the von der Leyen Commission*, [draft available from authors]
- Islam, Shada (2022) 'Working at EU institutions not easy for ethnic minority staff', 4 May, <https://euobserver.com/opinion/154864> or Heath, Ryan (2017). 'POLITICO Brussels Playbook, presented by EPP Group: Blockbuster foreign affairs – Brussels so white – Macron lands at Parliament'. *Politico*, 11 December, <https://www.politico.eu/newsletter/brussels-playbook/politico-brussels-playbook-presented-by-epp-group-blockbuster-foreign-affairs-brussels-so-white-macron-lands-at-parliament/>

Further reading

- Hartlapp, Miriam, and Blome, Agnes (2022) 'Women's Positional Leadership in the European Commission: When, Where, and How?', in Henriette Müller, and Ingeborg Tömmel (eds), *Women and Leadership in the European Union*, Oxford, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192896216.003.0004>
- Alayrac, P., Connolly, S., Hartlapp, M., and Kassim, H. (2024) 'Still struggling to reach the top? Women officeholders and gendered career pathways in the European commission', *European Union Politics*, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/14651165241300650>

Reading for question 2

- Meier, Kenneth John (1975) 'Representative Bureaucracy: An Empirical Analysis', *The American Political Science Review*, 69(2): pp. 526–42, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1959084>. Accessed 10 Feb. 2024.
- Kassim, Hussein, Peterson, John, Bauer, Michael W., Connolly, Sara, Dehousse, Renaud, Hooghe, Liesbet and Thompson, Andrew (2013) *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford, ch. 2.

Campbell R, Childs S, Lovenduski J. (2010) 'Do Women Need Women Representatives?', *British Journal of Political Science*. 2010;40(1):171-194.
doi:10.1017/S0007123409990408

European Commission (2023) 'Action Plan 2023-2024 - Fact Sheet on the Diversity and inclusion in the workplace', https://commission.europa.eu/about-european-commission/organisational-structure/people-first-modernising-european-commission/people-first-diversity-and-inclusion_en#fact-sheet-on-the-diversity-and-inclusion-in-the-workplace---action-plan-2023-2024

Reading for question 3

Shore, C. (2013) *Building Europe: The cultural politics of European integration*, Routledge, chapters 5 and 7

Hooghe, L. (1999) 'Consociationalists or Weberians? Top Commission Officials on Nationality', *Governance*, 12: 397-424. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0952-1895.00111>

Hooghe, L. (2000) 'Euro-Socialists or Euro-Marketeers? EU Top Officials on Capitalism', *Journal of Politics*, 62: 430-454. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-3816.00020>

Connolly, S. and Kassim, H. (2019) 'The European Commission Where now? Where next? Research Briefing 1: 'Federalists' and 'neoliberals'? The beliefs and values of European Commission staff',
https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/projects/wherenowwherenext/the_juncker_commission_briefing_1_federalists_and_neoliberals_final.pdf.

Further reading

Kassim, H., Peterson, J., Connolly, S., Dehousse, R., Hooghe, L. and Thompson, A. (2013) *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford University Press, chapter 4

Friday 11 April

Vendredi 11 avril de 13h à 16h en salle G606 Sorbonne

PRESENTATIONS - AGENCIES AND NETWORKS IN THE EU ADMINISTRATION

Questions

1. 'EU agencies are so vastly diverse that generalisations about them are rarely meaningful or instructive'. Do you agree?
2. 'EU agencies have improved policy implementation and enforcement, but at the cost of transparency and accountability'. Have they?
3. How are EU agencies best conceptualised: intergovernmental, supranational or something else again?
4. Are EU agencies best considered as friends, rivals or partners of the European Commission?
5. What efforts have been made to standardize EU agencies, and with what success?
6. What insights do the new institutionalisms offer in understanding the creation, operation or development of EU agencies?