

This PDF includes a chapter from the following book:

# **Learning in Governance**

## **Climate Policy Integration in the European Union**

© 2021 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

### **License Terms:**

Made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Public License

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

### **OA Funding Provided By:**

MIT Libraries

The title-level DOI for this work is:

[doi:10.7551/mitpress/13662.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/13662.001.0001)

## References

- Abbott, Kenneth, and Duncan Snidal. 2000. Hard and Soft Law in International Governance. *International Organization* 54 (3): 421–56.
- Ackrill, Rob, Adrian Kay, and Nicolas Zahariadis. 2013. Ambiguity, Multiple Streams, and EU Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 871–87.
- Adelle, Camilla, and Duncan Russel. 2013. Climate Policy Integration: A Case of Déjà Vu? *Environmental Policy and Governance* 23 (1): 1–12.
- Afionis, Stavros. 2010. The European Union as a Negotiator in the International Climate Change Regime. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 11 (4): 341–60.
- Argyris, Chris. 1976. Single-Loop and Double-Loop Models in Research on Decision Making. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 21 (3): 363–75.
- Argyris, Chris, and Donald Schön. 1978. *Organizational Learning. A Theory of Action Perspective*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Arregui, Javier, and Robert Thomson. 2009. States' Bargaining Success in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (5): 655–76.
- Asare, Bossman, and Donley Studlar. 2009. Lesson-Drawing and Public Policy: Second-hand Smoking Restrictions in Scotland and England. *Policy Studies* 30 (3): 365–82.
- Bauer, Michael W. 2008. Diffuse Anxieties, Deprived Entrepreneurs: Commission Reform and Middle Management. *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (5): 691–707.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. 2007. EU Lobbying: A View from the US. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (3): 482–88.
- Baxter, Jamie, and John Eyles. 1997. Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography: Establishing “Rigour” in Interview Analysis. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (4): 505–25.
- Bell, Stephen. 2011. Do We Really Need a New “Constructivist Institutionalism” to Explain Institutional Change? *British Journal of Political Science* 41 (4): 883–906.

- Bennett, Colin J., and Michael Howlett. 1992. The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning and Policy Change. *Policy Sciences* 25 (3): 275–94.
- Benson, David, and Andrew Jordan. 2011. What Have We Learned from Policy Transfer Research? Dolowitz and Marsh Revisited. *Political Studies Review* 9 (3): 366–78.
- Benson, David, and Andrew Jordan. 2012. Policy Transfer Research: Still Evolving, Not Yet Through? *Political Studies Review* 10 (3): 333–38.
- Berardo, Ramiro, and Mark Lubell. 2016. Understanding What Shapes a Polycentric Governance System. *Public Administration Review* 76 (5): 738–51.
- Bernstein, Steven, and Benjamin Cashore. 2012. Complex Global Governance and Domestic Policies: Four Pathways of Influence. *International Affairs* 3: 585–604.
- Betsill, Michele, and Elizabeth Corell. 2008. *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Non-governmental Organizations in International Environment Negotiations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Betsill, Michele, Tabitha Benney, and Andrea Gerlak. 2020. *Agency in Earth System Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Betsill, Michele, Tabitha Benney, Andrea Gerlak, Calum Brown, Sander Chan, Okechukwu Enechi, et al. 2020. Introduction: Agency in Earth System Governance. In *Agency in Earth System Governance*, eds. Michele M. Betsill, Tabitha M. Benney, and Andrea K. Gerlak, 3–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beyers, Jan. 2005. Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials. *International Organization* 59 (4): 899–936.
- Biermann, Frank. 2002. Institutions for Scientific Advice: Global Environmental Assessments and Their Influence in Developing Countries. *Global Governance* 8: 195–219.
- Biermann, Frank. 2005. Between the USA and the South: Strategic Choices for European Climate Policy. *Climate Policy* 5: 273–90.
- Biermann, Frank. 2014. *Earth System Governance: World Politics in the Anthropocene*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Biermann, Frank, Olwen Davies, and Nicolien Grijp. 2009. Environmental Policy Integration and the Architecture of Global Environmental Governance. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 9 (4): 351–69.
- Blavoukos, Spyros, and Dimitris Bourantonis. 2010. Chairs as Policy Entrepreneurs in Multilateral Negotiations. *Review of International Studies* 37 (2): 653–72.
- Bloomfield, Michael. 2018. *Dirty Gold. How Activism Transformed the Jewelry Industry*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Blühdorn, Ingolfur. 2012. Introduction: International Climate Politics Beyond the Copenhagen Disaster. *European Political Science* 11 (1): 1–6.

- Bomberg, Elizabeth. 2007. Policy Learning in an Enlarged European Union: Environmental NGOs and New Policy Instruments. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (2): 248–68.
- Bouckenooghe, Dave, Karlien Vanderheyden, Steven Mestdagh, and Sarah Van Laetthem. 2007. Cognitive Motivation Correlates of Coping Style in Decisional Conflict. *Journal of Psychology* 141 (6): 605–25.
- Braun, Marcel. 2009. The Evolution of Emissions Trading in the European Union—The Role of Policy Networks, Knowledge and Policy Entrepreneurs. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 34 (3–4): 469–87.
- Broscheid, Andreas, and David Coen. 2007. Lobbying Activity and Fora Creation in the EU: Empirically Exploring the Nature of the Policy Good. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (3): 346–65.
- Brunner, Steffen, Christian Flachsland, and Robert Marschinski. 2012. Credible Commitment in Carbon Policy. *Climate Policy* 12 (2): 255–71.
- Bürgin, Alexander. 2015. National Binding Renewable Energy Targets for 2020, but Not for 2030 Anymore: Why the European Commission Developed from a Supporter to a Brakeman. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22: 690–707.
- Bürgin, Alexander. 2018. The Impact of Juncker’s Reorganization of the European Commission on the Internal Policymaking Process: Evidence from the Energy Union Project. *Public Administration*, DOI: 10.1111/padm.12388.
- Burns, Charlotte. 2019. In the Eye of the Storm? The European Parliament, the Environment and the EU’s Crises. *Journal of European Integration* 41 (3): 311–27.
- Capano, Giliberto. 2009. Understanding Policy Change as an Epistemological and Theoretical Problem. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 11 (1): 7–31.
- Carlisle, Keith, and Rebecca L. Gruby. 2019. Polycentric Systems of Governance: A Theoretical Model for the Commons. *Policy Studies Journal* 47 (4): 927–52.
- Carter, Neil, and Michael Jacobs. 2014. Explaining Radical Policy Change: The Case of Climate Change and Energy Policy under the British Labour Government 2006–10. *Public Administration* 92 (1): 125–41.
- Cashore Benjamin, Berstein Steven, Humphreys David, Visseren-Hamakers Ingrid, and Katharina Rietig. 2019. Designing Stakeholder Learning Dialogues for Effective Global Governance. *Policy & Society* 38 (1): 118–47.
- Chan, Sander, Idil Boran, Harro van Asselt, Gabriela Iacobuta, Navam Niles, Katharina Rietig, et al. 2019. Promises and Risks of Non-State Action in Climate and Sustainability Governance. *WIREs Climate Change* 10 (3): 1–8.
- Clegg, Stewart. 2010. The State, Power, and Agency: Missing in Action in Institutional Theory? *Journal of Management Inquiry* 19 (1): 4–13.

- Cohen, Michael, James March, and Johan P. Olsen. 1972. A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17 (1): 1–25.
- Collier, David. 2011. Understanding Process Tracing. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44 (4): 823–30.
- Collier, Ute. 1997. *Energy and Environment in the European Union*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Commission of the European Communities. 1985. *Perspectives for the Common Agricultural Policy*. Green paper. COM (85) 333 final, July 15. Brussels.
- Coopey, John. 1995. The Learning Organization, Power, Politics and Ideology. *Management Learning* 26 (2): 193–213.
- Costello, Rory, and Robert Thomson. 2013. The Distribution of Power among EU Institutions: Who Wins under Codecision and Why? *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (7): 1025–39.
- Craig, Paul. 2010. *The Lisbon Treaty. Law, Politics, and Treaty Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cram, Laura. 1994. The European Commission as a Multi-organization: Social Policy and IT Policy in the EU. *Journal of European Public Policy* 1 (2): 195–217.
- Creswell, John. 2009. *Research Design. Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Daugbjerg, Carsten. 1999. Reforming the CAP: Policy Networks and Broader Institutional Structures. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37 (3): 407–28.
- Daugbjerg, Carsten. 2003. Policy Feedback and Paradigm Shift in EU Agricultural Policy: The Effects of the MacSharry Reform on Future Reform. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10 (3): 421–37.
- Daugbjerg, Carsten, and Allan Swinbank. 2007. The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45 (1): 1–22.
- Deters, Henning. 2013. Process Tracing in the Development and Validation of Theoretical Explanations: The Example of Environmental Policy-Making in the EU. *European Political Science* 12 (1): 75–85.
- Dobbin, Frank, Beth Simmons, and Geoffrey Garrett. 2007. The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning? *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (1): 449–72.
- Dolowitz, David, and David Marsh. 1996. Who Learns What from Whom: A Review of the Policy Transfer Literature. *Political Studies* 44: 343–51.
- Dolowitz, David, and David Marsh. 2000. Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making. *Governance* 13 (1): 5–23.

- Dolowitz, David, and David Marsh. 2012. The Future of Policy Transfer Research. *Political Studies Review* 10: 339–45.
- Dunlop, Claire. 2009. Policy Transfer as Learning: Capturing Variation in What Decision-Makers Learn from Epistemic Communities. *Policy Studies* 30 (3): 289–311.
- Dunlop, Claire. 2010. The Temporal Dimension of Knowledge and the Limits of Policy Appraisal: Biofuels Policy in the UK. *Policy Sciences* 43 (4): 343–63.
- Dunlop, Claire, and Claudio Radaelli. 2013. Systematizing Policy Learning: From Monolith to Dimensions. *Political Studies* 61 (3): 599–619.
- Dunlop, Claire, and Claudio Radaelli. 2016. Policy Learning in the Eurozone Crisis: Modes, Power and Functionality. *Policy Sciences* 49 (2): 107–24.
- Dunlop, Claire, and Claudio Radaelli. 2017. Learning in the Bath-tub: The Micro and Macro Dimensions of the Causal Relationship between Learning and Policy Change. *Policy and Society* 36 (2): 304–19.
- Dunlop, Claire, and Claudio Radaelli. 2020. Policy Learning in Comparative Policy Analysis. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*. DOI: 10.1080/13876988.2020.1762077.
- Dunlop, Claire, Claudio Radaelli, and Philipp Trein (eds.). 2018. *Learning in Public Policy: Analysis, Modes and Outcomes*. London: Palgrave.
- Dunlop, Claire, Scott James, and Claudio M. Radaelli. 2020. Can't Get No Learning: The Brexit Fiasco through the Lens of Policy Learning. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27 (5): 703–22.
- Dupont, Claire. 2016. *Climate Policy Integration into EU Energy Policy: Progress and Prospects*. London: Routledge.
- Dupont, Claire, and Radostina Primova. 2011. Combating Complexity: The Integration of EU Climate and Energy Policies. *European Integration Online Papers*. European Community Studies Association Austria (ECSA-A), 15, November.
- Easterby-Smith, Mark. 1997. Disciplines of Organizational Learning: Contributions and Critiques. *Human Relations* 50 (9): 1085–113.
- Easterby-Smith, Mark, and Marjorie Lyles. 2005. *Blackwell Handbook of Organizational Learning and Knowledge Management*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Eberlein, Burkard, and Dieter Kerwer. 2004. New Governance in the European Union: A Theoretical Perspective. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42 (1): 121–42.
- Egan, Michelle. 2009. Governance and Learning in the Post-Maastricht Era? *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1244–53.
- Egeberg, Morten. 2012. Experiments in Supranational Institution-Building: The European Commission as a Laboratory. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 (6): 939–50.

- Egeberg, Morten, Åse Gornitzka, Jarle Trondal, and Mathias Johannessen. 2013. Parliament Staff: Unpacking the Behaviour of Officials in the European Parliament. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (4): 495–514.
- Eising, Rainer. 2002. Policy Learning in Embedded Negotiations: Explaining EU Electricity Liberalization. *International Organization* 56 (1): 85–120.
- Elgström, Ole, and Christer Jönsson. 2000. Negotiation in the European Union: Bargaining or Problem-Solving? *Journal of European Public Policy* 7 (5): 684–704.
- Elgström, Ole, and Jacob Skovgaard. 2014. Previewing Paris 2015: The EU's "Lead-actor" Role in Future Climate Change Negotiations. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs Online*, December 16, <https://www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/previewing-paris-2015-the-eus-lead-actor-role-in-future-climate-change-negotiations>.
- Ellerman, A. Denny, and Barbara K. Buchner. 2007. Symposium: The European Union Emissions Trading Scheme: Origins, Allocation and Early Results. *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* 1 (1): 66–87.
- European Commission (EC). 1996. *Commission Green Paper of 20 November 1996 on Renewable Sources of Energy*. COM (96) 576, September 20. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (EC). 1997. *Energy for the Future: Renewable Sources of Energy. White Paper for a Community Strategy and Action Plan*. COM (97) 599, November 26. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (EC). 2005. *Winning the Battle Against Global Climate Change. Communication from the European Commission to the European Parliament and the European Council*. COM (2005) 35 Final, February 9. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (EC). 2007a. *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the Parliament. Renewable Energy Road Map, Renewable Energies in the 21st Century: Building a More Sustainable Future*. COM (2006) 848 final, January 10. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (EC). 2007b. *Commission Staff Working Document. Accompanying Document to the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Renewable Energy Road Map: Renewable Energies in the 21st Century: Building a More Sustainable Future*. Impact Assessment. SEC (2006)1719, referring to COM (2006) 848 Final/ SEC (2006)1720 / SEC (2007)12, January 10. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (EC). 2008a. *20–20 by 2020. Europe's Climate Change Opportunity*. COM (2008) 30 Final, December 12. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (EC). 2008b. *Proposal for a Directive on the Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sources*. COM (2008) 19 Final, 2008/0016 (COD), January 23. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2009. *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Investing in the Development of Low Carbon Technologies (SET-Plan)*. COM (2009) 519 Final, October 7. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2010. Dacian Cioloş Member of the European Commission Responsible for Agriculture and Rural Development: The Future of European Agricultural Policy—Call for a Public Debate. Speech to the European Parliament's Agriculture Committee, Brussels, 12 April 12. Retrieved on July 15, 2013, from [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_SPEECH-10-150\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-10-150_en.htm).

European Commission (EC). 2011a. *A Budget for Europe 2020. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions*. COM (2011) 500 Final, November 30. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2011b. *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing Rules for Direct Payments to Farmers under Support Schemes within the Framework of the Common Agricultural Policy*. COM (2011) 625 Final, October 19. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2011c. *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Support for Rural Development by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)*. COM (2011) 627 Final/2, October 19. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2012. *Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council Amending Directive 98/70/EC Relating to the Quality of Petrol and Diesel Fuels and Amending Directive 2009/28/EC on the Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sources*. COM/2012/0595 final—2012/0288 (COD), October 17. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2013. *Climate Policy Mainstreaming*. Retrieved from [http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/brief/mainstreaming/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/brief/mainstreaming/index_en.htm).

European Commission (EC). 2018. *EU Budget for the Future. Proposal of the Commission for the Multiannual Financial Framework 2021–2027 (COM(2018) 321 final); (COM(2018) 322 final); (COM(2018) 323 final); (COM(2018) 324 final)*. July 6. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (EC). 2019. *Commission Delegated Regulation (EU) of 13.3.2019 Supplementing Directive (EU) 2018/2001 as Regards the Determination of High Indirect Land-Use Change-Risk Feedstock for Which a Significant Expansion of the Production Area into Land with High Carbon Stock Is Observed and the Certification of Low Indirect Land Use Change-Risk Biofuels, Bioliquids and Biomass Fuels*. C(2019) 2055 Final, March 13. Brussels: European Commission.



- European Council. 2005. Presidency Conclusions. 7619/05 CONCL 1. 23.3.2005. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Council. 2006a. Council Regulation (EC) No 318/2006 of 20 February 2006 on the Common Organisation of the Markets in the Sugar Sector. 20.2.2006. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Council. 2006b. Presidency Conclusions. 7775/1/06 REV1/CONCL1. 23/24.3.2006. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Council. 2007. March Council Conclusions Requesting Proposals for 20-20-20 Climate Strategy. 7224/1/07. REV 1, CONCL 1. 8/9.3.2007. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Council. 2008. 20–20 by 2020. Europe's Climate Change Opportunity. COM (2008) 30 Final. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Council. 2009. CAP Health Check: Council Regulation No 72/2009 of 19 January 2009 on Modifications to the Common Agricultural Policy by Amending Regulations (EC) No 247/2006, (EC) No 320/2006, (EC) No 1405/2006, (EC) No 1234/2007, (EC) No 3/2008 and (EC) No 479/2008 and Repealing Regulations (EEC) No 1883/78, (EEC) No 1254/89, (EEC) No 2247/89, (EEC) No 2055/93, (EC) No 1868/94, (EC) No 2596/97, (EC) No 1182/2005 and (EC) No 315/2007. OJ L 30. 31.1.2009. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Council. 2013. Conclusions. Multiannual Financial Framework. EUCO37/13. 8.2.2013. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Parliament. 2006. European Parliament Resolution with Recommendations to the Commission on Heating and Cooling from Renewable Sources of Energy. 2005/2122(INI). 14.02.2006. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 1998. Fuel Quality Directive. 98/70/EC. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 2001. Directive 2001/77/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 September 2001 on the Promotion of Electricity Produced from Renewable Energy Sources in the Internal Electricity market. L283/33. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 2003a. Directive 2003/30/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 8 May 2003 on the promotion of the use of biofuels or other renewable fuels for transport. L123/43. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 2003b. Directive 2003/87/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 October 2003 establishing a scheme for greenhouse gas emission allowance trading within the Community and amending Council Directive 96/61/EC, OJ L 275. *Journal of the European Communities*, October 25. Brussels.

- European Union (EU). 2009a. Directive 2009/28/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 23 April 2009 on the Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sourcing and Subsequently Repealing Directives 2001/77/EC and 2003/30/EC. L140/16. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 2009b. Fuel Quality Directive. Directive 2009/30/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23.4.2009 Amending Directive 98/70/EC as Regards the Specification of Petrol, Diesel and Gas-Oil and Introducing a Mechanism to Monitor and Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions and Amending Council Directive 1999/32/EC as Regards the Specification of Fuel Used by Inland Waterway Vessels and Repealing Directive 93/12/EEC. L 140/88. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 2015. Directive (EU) 2015/1513 of the European Parliament and Council of 9 September 2015 Amending Directive 98/70/EC Relating to the Quality of Petrol and Diesel Fuels and Amending Directive 2009/28/EC on the Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sources. L 239/1. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- European Union (EU). 2018. Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2018 on the Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sources (Recast). L 328/82. *Journal of the European Communities*. Brussels.
- Evans, Mark. 2004. *Policy Transfer in a Global Perspective*. Ashgate, UK: Aldershot.
- Evans, Mark. 2006. At the Interface between Theory and Practice—Policy Transfer and Lesson Drawing. *Public Administration* 84 (2): 479–89.
- Falkner, Robert. 2016. The Paris Agreement and the New Logic of International Climate Politics. *International Affairs* 92 (5): 1107–25.
- Fargione, Joseph, Jason Hill, David Tilman, Stephen Polasky, and Peter Hawthorne. 2008. Land Clearing and the Biofuel Carbon Debt. *Science* 319: 1235–38.
- Farrell, Mary. 2009. EU Policy towards Other Regions: Policy Learning in the External Promotion of Regional Integration. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1165–84.
- Feindt, Peter. 2010. Policy-Learning and Environmental Policy Integration in the Common Agricultural Policy, 1973–2003. *Public Administration* 88 (2): 296–314.
- Fouquet, Dörte. 2012. Policy Instruments for Renewable Energy—From a European Perspective. *Renewable Energy* 49 (1): 15–18.
- Gallemore, Caleb. 2017. Transaction Costs in the Evolution of Transnational Polycentric Governance. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law, Economics* 17: 639–54.
- Garben, S. 2019. The Collective and Individual Capacity to Learn in the Polycentric European Union. In *Polycentricity in the EU*, edited by Josephine van Zeben and Ana Bobic, 276–305. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- George, Alexander, and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Gerlak, Andrea, and Tanya Heikkila. 2011. Building a Theory of Learning in Collaboratives: Evidence from the Everglades Restoration Programme. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21: 619–44.
- Gibbert, Michael, Winfried Ruigrok, and Barbara Wicki. 2008. What Passes as a Rigorous Case Study? *Strategic Management Journal* 29: 1465–74.
- Gilardi, Fabrizio. 2010. Who Learns from What in Policy Diffusion Processes? *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 650–66.
- Graves, Laura. 1993. Sources of Individual Differences in Interviewer Effectiveness: A Model and Implications for Future Research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 14 (4): 349–70.
- Gross Stein, Janice. 1994. Political Learning by Doing: Gorbachev as Uncommitted Thinker and Motivated Learner. *International Organization* 48 (2): 155–83.
- Guggenheim, Davis (dir.). 2006. *An Inconvenient Truth*. Beverly Hills, CA: Lawrence Bender Productions. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0497116/>.
- Haas, Peter. 1992. Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination. *International Organization* 46 (1): 1–35.
- Haas, Peter. 2000. International Institutions and Social Learning in the Management of Global Environmental Risks. *Policy Studies Journal* 28 (3): 558–75.
- Haas, Peter. 2004. When Does Power Listen to Truth? A Constructivist Approach to the Policy Process. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11 (4): 569–92.
- Haas, Peter, and Ernst Haas. 1995. Learning to Learn: Improving International Governance. *Global Governance* 1: 255–85.
- Häge, Frank M., and Daniel Naurin. 2013. The Effect of Codecision on Council Decision-Making: Informalization, Politicization and Power. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (7): 953–71.
- Hall, Peter. 1993. Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics* 25 (3): 275–96.
- Hall, Peter. 2013. Tracing the Progress of Process Tracing. *European Political Science* 12 (1): 20–30.
- Hall, Peter, and Kathy Pain. 2006. *The Polycentric Metropolis. Learning from Mega-City Regions in Europe*. London: Earthscan.
- Hamdouch, Abdellah, and Marc-Hubert Depret. 2010. Policy Integration Strategy and the Development of the “Green Economy”: Foundations and Implementation Patterns. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 53 (4): 473–90.

- Hay, David. B. 2007. Using Concept Maps to Measure Deep, Surface and Non-learning Outcomes. *Studies in Higher Education* 32 (1): 39–57.
- Hecló, Hugh. 1974. *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Heikkilä, Tanya, and Andrea Gerlak. 2013. Building a Conceptual Approach to Collective Learning: Lessons for Public Policy Scholars. *Policy Studies Journal* 41 (3): 484–512.
- Held, Anne, Mario Ragwitz, and Reinhard Haas. 2006. On the Success of Policy Strategies for the Promotion of Electricity from Renewable Energy Sources in the EU. *Energy and Environment* 17 (6): 849–68.
- Hendriġan, Cole. 2020. *A Future of Polycentric Cities. How Urban Life, Land Supply, Smart Technologies and Sustainable Transport are Reshaping Cities*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Héritier, Adrienne, and Dirk Lehmkuhl. 2008. The Shadow of Hierarchy and New Modes of Governance. *Journal of Public Policy* 28 (1): 1–17.
- Hildingsson, Roger, Johannes Stripple, and Andrew Jordan. 2012. Governing Renewable Energy in the EU: Confronting a Governance Dilemma. *European Political Science* 11 (1): 18–30.
- Hix, Simon. 2005. *The Political System of the European Union*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holbrook, Thomas. 2007. Cognitive Style and Political Learning in the 2000 U.S. Presidential Campaign. *Political Research Quarterly* 59 (3): 343–52.
- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2001. *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe. Images of Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2012. Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (1): 87–111.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Michael Keating. 1994. The Politics of European Union Regional Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 1 (3): 367–93.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2003. Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance. *American Political Science Review* 97 (2): 233–43.
- Howard, Cosmo. 2001. Bureaucrats in the Social Policy Process: Administrative Policy Entrepreneurs and the Case of *Working Nation*. *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 60 (3): 56–65.
- Huber, George. 1991. Organizational Learning: The Contributing Processes and the Literatures. *Organization Science* 2 (1): 88–115.
- Huber, Katrin, and Michael Shackleton. 2013. Codécision: A Practitioner's View from Inside the Parliament. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (7): 1040–55.

- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). 2007. *4th Assessment Report*. Geneva, Switzerland: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). 2014. *5th Assessment Report*. Geneva, Switzerland: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). 2018. *Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the Impacts of Global Warming of 1.5°C above Pre-industrial levels and Related Global Greenhouse Gas Emission Pathways, in the Context of Strengthening the Global Response to the Threat of Climate Change, Sustainable Development, and Efforts to Eradicate Poverty*. Geneva, Switzerland: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.
- Jachtenfuchs, Markus. 1996. *International Policy-Making as a Learning Process? The European Union and the Greenhouse Effect*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- James, Oliver, and Martin Lodge. 2003. The Limitations of “Policy Transfer” and “Lesson Drawing” for Public Policy Research. *Political Studies Review* 1 (2): 179–93.
- Janis, Irving. 1972. *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Janis, Irving, and Leon Mann. 1977. *Decision Making. A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice and Commitment*. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- Jasanoff, Sheila. 1990. *The Fifth Branch. Science Advisers as Policymakers*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jasanoff, Sheila. 2004. *States of Knowledge: The Co-production of Science and Social Order*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, Bryan D., and Frank Baumgartner. 2012. From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government. *Policy Studies Journal* 40 (1): 1–20.
- Jones, Michael D., Holly L. Peterson, Jonathan J. Pierce, Nicole Herweg, Amiel Bernal, Holly Lamberta Raney, and Nikolaos Zahariadis. 2016. A River Runs Through It: A Multiple Streams Meta-Review. *Policy Studies Journal* 44 (1): 13–36.
- Jordan, Andrew. 2001. The European Union: An Evolving System of Multi-level Governance . . . or Government? *Policy & Politics* 29 (2): 193–208.
- Jordan, Andrew. 2008. The Governance of Sustainable Development: Taking Stock and Looking Forwards. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 26 (1): 17–33.
- Jordan, Andrew, and Andrea Lenschow. 2010. Environmental Policy Integration: a State of the Art Review. *Environmental Policy and Governance* 20 (3): 147–58.
- Jordan, Andrew, Dave Huitema, Harro Van Asselt, Tim Rayner, and Frans Berkhout. 2010. *Climate Change Policy in the European Union. Confronting the Dilemmas of Mitigation and Adaptation?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Jordan, Andrew, Harro Van Asselt, Frans Berkhout, and Tim Rayner. 2012. Understanding the Paradoxes of Multi-level Governing: Climate Change Policy in the European Union. *Global Environmental Politics* 12 (2): 43–66.
- Keohane, Robert, and Joseph Nye. 1987. Power and Interdependence Revisited. *International Organization* 41(4): 725–53.
- Kerber, Wolfgang, and Martina Eckardt. 2007. Policy Learning in Europe: The Open Method of Co-ordination and Laboratory Federalism. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (2): 227–47.
- Kettner, Claudia, Daniela Kletzan-Slamanig, and Angela Köppl. 2012. *Climate Policy Integration—Evidence on Coherence in EU Policies*. June. Vienna: Austrian Institute of Economic Research. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267641990\\_Climate\\_Policy\\_Integration\\_-\\_Evidence\\_on\\_Coherence\\_in\\_EU\\_Policies](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267641990_Climate_Policy_Integration_-_Evidence_on_Coherence_in_EU_Policies).
- Keyzer, Michiel, Max Merbis, and Roelf Voortman. 2008. The Biofuel Controversy. *De Economist* 156 (4): 507–27.
- Kim, Daniel H. 1993. The Link between Individual and Organizational Learning. *Sloan Management Review* 35 (1): 37–50.
- King, Gary, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry. Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kingdon, John W. 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. New York: Longman.
- Kittel, Bernhard, and Daniel Kuehn. 2013. Introduction: Reassessing the Methodology of Process Tracing. *European Political Science* 12 (1): 1–9.
- Klüver, Heike. 2013. Lobbying as a Collective Enterprise: Winners and Losers of Policy Formulation in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (1): 59–76.
- Koch, Martin, and Alexandra Lindenthal. 2011. Learning within the European Commission: The Case of Environmental Integration. *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (7): 980–98.
- Krause, Alexandra. 2003. The European Union's Africa Policy: The Commission as Policy Entrepreneur in the CFSP. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 8: 221–37.
- Kullander, Sven. 2010. Food Security: Crops for People Not for Cars. *Ambio* 39 (3): 249–56.
- Kulovesi, Kati, Elisa Morgera, and Miquel Muñoz. 2011. Environmental Integration and Multi-faceted International Dimensions of EU-Law: Unpacking the EU's 2009 Climate and Energy Package. *Common Market Law Review* 48: 829–91.
- Laffan, Brigid. 1997. From Policy Entrepreneur to Policy Manager: The Challenge Facing the European Commission. *Journal of European Public Policy* 4 (3): 422–38.

- Lafferty, William, and Eivind Hovden. 2003. Environmental Policy Integration: Towards an Analytical Framework. *Environmental Politics* 12 (3): 37–41.
- Lenschow, Andrea. 2002. *Environmental Policy Integration. Greening Sectoral Policies in Europe*. London: Earthscan.
- Levin, Kelly, Benjamin Cashore, Steven Bernstein, and Graeme Auld. 2012. Overcoming the Tragedy of Super Wicked Problems: Constraining out Future Selves to Ameliorate Global Climate Change. *Policy Sciences* 45: 123–52.
- Levy, Jack. S. 1994. Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield. *International Organization* 48 (2): 279–12.
- Lubell, Mark, Jack Mewhirter, and Ramiro Berardo. 2020. The Origins of Conflict in Polycentric Governance Systems. *Public Administration Review* 80 (2): 222–33.
- Lyles, Marjorie. 1985. Organizational Learning. *Academy of Management Review* 10 (4): 803–13.
- March, James, and Johan P. Olsen. 1975. The Uncertainty of the Past: Organizational Learning under Ambiguity. *European Journal of Political Research* 3: 147–71.
- March, James, and Johan P. Olsen. 1984. The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life. *American Political Science Review* 78 (3): 734–49.
- Marks, Gary, and Liesbet Hooghe. 2001. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Marshall, David. 2012. Do Rapporteurs Receive Independent Expert Policy Advice? Indirect Lobbying via the European Parliament's Committee Secretariat. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 (9): 1377–95.
- May, Peter. 1992. Policy Learning and Failure. *Journal of Public Policy* 12 (4): 331–54.
- Meckling, Jonas. 2017. The Developmental State in Global Regulation: Economic Change and Climate Policy. *European Journal of International Relations* 24 (1): 58–81.
- Melillo, Jerry M., John M. Reilly, David W. Kicklighter, Angelo C. Gurgel, Timothy W. Cronin, Sergey Paltsev, et al. 2009. Indirect Emissions from Biofuels: How Important? *Science* 326: 1397–99.
- Mintrom, Michael. 2013. Policy Entrepreneurs and Controversial Science: Governing Human Embryonic Stem Cell Research. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (3): 442–57.
- Mintrom, Michael, and Philippa Norman. 2009. Policy Entrepreneurship and Policy Change. *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (4): 649–67.
- Modelski, George. 1990. Is World Politics Evolutionary Learning? *International Organization* 44 (1): 1–24.

- Moehler, Rolf. 2008. The Internal and External Forces Driving CAP Reforms. In *The Perfect Storm: The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy*, edited by Johan Swinnen, 76–83. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies.
- Monheim, Kai. 2014. *How Effective Negotiation Management Promotes Multilateral Cooperation: The Power of Process in Climate, Trade, and Biosafety Negotiations*. London: Routledge.
- Montpetit, Eric. 2009. Governance and Policy Learning in the European Union: A Comparison with North America. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1185–1203.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (4): 473–525.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1999. A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation. *International Organization* 53 (2): 267–306.
- Nadeau, Richard, Richard Niemi, and Timothy Amato. 1995. Issue Importance, Emotions, and Political Learning. *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (3): 558–74.
- Nedergaard, Peter. 2006a. Policy Learning in the European Union: The Case of the European Employment Strategy. *Policy Studies* 27 (4): 311–23.
- Nedergaard, Peter. 2006b. Which Countries Learn from Which? A Comparative Analysis of the Direction of Mutual Learning Processes within the Open Method of Coordination Committees of the European Union and among the Nordic Countries. *Cooperation and Conflict* 41 (4): 422–42.
- Nedergaard, Peter. 2006c. The 2003 Reform of the Common Agricultural Policy: Against All Odds or Rational Explanations? *Journal of European Integration* 28 (3): 203–23.
- Nedergaard, Peter. 2007. Maximizing Policy Learning in International Committees: An Analysis of the European Open Method of Coordination (OMC) Committees. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30 (4): 521–46.
- Nedergaard, Peter. 2008. The Reform of the 2003 Common Agricultural Policy: An Advocacy Coalition Explanation. *Policy Studies* 29 (2): 179–95.
- Nicholson, Simon, and Sikina Jinnah. 2016. *New Earth Politics. Essays from the Anthropocene*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Nilsson, Måns. 2005. Learning, Frames, and Environmental Policy Integration: The Case of Swedish Energy Policy. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 23 (2): 207–26.
- Nilsson, Måns. 2006. The Role of Assessments and Institutions for Policy Learning: A Study on Swedish Climate and Nuclear Policy Formation. *Policy Sciences* 38 (4): 225–49.



- Nilsson, Måns, and Katarina Eckerberg (eds.). 2007. *Environmental Policy Integration in Practice. Shaping Institutions for Learning*. London: Earthscan.
- Nilsson, Måns, and Lars J. Nilsson. 2005. Towards Climate Policy Integration in the EU: Evolving Dilemmas and Opportunities. *Climate Policy* 5 (3): 363–76.
- Nilsson, Måns, and Asa Persson. 2003. Framework for Analysing Environmental Policy Integration. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 5 (4): 333–59.
- Nugent, Neill. 2001. *The European Commission*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.
- Nye, Joseph. 1987. Nuclear Learning and U.S–Soviet Security Regimes. *International Organization* 41 (3): 371–402.
- Nylander, Johan. 2001. The Construction of a Market: A Frame Analysis of the Liberalisation of the Electricity Market in the European Union. *European Societies* 3: 289–314.
- Olper, Alessandro. 2008. Constraints and Causes of the 2003 EU Agricultural Policy Reforms. In *The Perfect Storm: The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy*, edited by Johan Swinnen, 83–101. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2010a. Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems. *American Economic Review* 100 (3): 641–72.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2010b. Polycentric Systems for Coping with Collective Action and Global Environmental Change. *Global Environmental Change* 20: 550–57.
- Ostrom, Vincent, Charles M. Tiebout, and Robert Warren. 1961. The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas—a Theoretical Inquiry. *American Political Science Review* 55 (4): 831–42.
- Owens, Susan. 2010. Learning across Levels of Governance: Expert Advice and the Adoption of Carbon Dioxide Emissions Reduction Targets in the UK. *Global Environmental Change* 20: 394–401.
- Owens, Susan. 2012. Experts and the Environment: The UK Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution 1970–2011. *Journal of Environmental Law* 24 (1): 1–22.
- Page, Edward C. 1997. *People Who Run Europe*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Page, Edward C. 2000. Future Governance and the Literature on Policy Transfer and Lesson Drawing. In *ESRC Future Governance Programme Workshop on Policy Transfer*, 1–15. London.
- Page, Edward C. 2003. The Civil Servant as Legislator: Law Making in British Administration. *Public Administration* 81 (4): 651–79.

Page, Edward C., and Linda Wouters. 1994. Bureaucratic Politics and Political Leadership in Brussels. *Public Administration* 72 (3): 445–59.

Palmer, James. 2010. Stopping the Unstoppable? A Discursive-Institutionalist Analysis of Renewable Transport Fuel Policy. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 28 (6): 992–1010.

Panke, Diana. 2012. Lobbying Institutional Key Players: How States Seek to Influence the European Commission, the Council Presidency and the European Parliament. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (1): 129–50.

Park, Susan, and Teresa Kramarz. 2019. *Global Environmental Governance and the Accountability Trap*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Partzsch, Lena. 2020. *Alternatives to Multilateralism. New Forms of Social and Environmental Governance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Perkins, Richard, and Eric Neumayer. 2004. Europeanisation and the Uneven Convergence of Environmental Policy: Explaining the Geography of EMAS. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 22: 881–97.

Perkmann, Markus. 2007. Policy Entrepreneurship and Multilevel Governance: A Comparative Study of European Cross-Border Regions. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 25 (6): 861–79.

Persson, Asa. 2009. Environmental Policy Integration and Bilateral Development Assistance: Challenges and Opportunities with an Evolving Governance Framework. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 9 (4): 409–29.

Piattoni, Simona. 2010. *The Theory of Multi-level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pirzio-Biroli, Corrado. 2008. An Inside Perspective on the Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms. In *The Perfect Storm: The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy*, edited by Johan Swinnen, 102–14. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies.

Radaelli, Claudio M. 1995. The Role of Knowledge in the Policy Process. *Journal of European Public Policy* 2 (2): 159–83.

Radaelli, Claudio M. 2004. The Diffusion of Regulatory Impact Analysis—Best Practice or Lesson-Drawing? *European Journal of Political Research* 43: 723–47.

Radaelli, Claudio M. 2009. Measuring Policy Learning: Regulatory Impact Assessment in Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1145–64.

Radaelli, Claudio, and Claire Dunlop. 2013. Learning in the European Union: Theoretical Lenses and Meta-Theory. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 923–40.

- Rajamani, Lavanya. 2012. The Durban Platform for Enhanced Action and the Future of the Climate Regime. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 61 (2): 501–18.
- Rasmussen, Anne, and Christine Reh. 2013. The Consequences of Concluding Codecision Early: Trilogues and Intra-institutional Bargaining Success. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (7): 1006–24.
- Ravenal, Earl C. 1978. *Never Again: Learning from America's Foreign Policy Failures*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Riddervold, Marianne. 2011. From Reason-Giving to Collective Action: Argument-Based Learning and European Integration. *Cooperation and Conflict* 46 (4): 563–80.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2013. Sustainable Climate Policy Integration in the European Union. *Environmental Policy and Governance* 23 (5): 297–310.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2014. Reinforcement of Multilevel Governance Dynamics: Creating Momentum for Increasing Ambitions in International Climate Negotiations. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 14: 371–89.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2018a. Learning in the European Commission's Renewable Energy Policy-Making and Climate Governance. In *Learning in Public Policy: Analysis, Modes and Outcomes*, edited by Claire Dunlop, Claudio M. Radaelli, and Philipp Trein, 51–74. London: Palgrave.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2018b. The Link between Contested Knowledge, Beliefs and Learning in European Climate Governance: From Consensus to Conflict in Reforming Biofuels Policy. *Policy Studies Journal* 46 (1): 137–59.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2019a. The Importance of Compatible Beliefs and Uncontested Science for Effective Climate Policy Integration. *Environmental Politics* 28 (2): 228–47.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2019b. Leveraging the Power of Learning to Overcome Negotiation Deadlocks in Global Climate Governance and Low Carbon Transitions. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 21 (3): 228–41.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2020. The Role of Multilevel Reinforcing Dynamics in Negotiating European Renewable Energy Policy. *Public Administration*. DOI: 10.1111/padm.12674.
- Rietig, Katharina. 2021. Climate Governance in Times of Crisis: Accelerating Low Carbon Transitions via the EU Budget. *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming.
- Rietig, Katharina, and Timothy Laing. 2017. Policy Stability in Climate Governance: The Case of the United Kingdom. *Environmental Policy and Governance* 27 (6): 575–87.
- Rietig, Katharina, and Richard Perkins. 2018. Does Learning Matter for Policy Outcomes? The Case of Integrating Climate Finance into the EU Budget. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (4): 487–505.

- Risse, Thomas. 2000. "Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics. *International Organization* 54 (1): 1–39.
- Risse, Thomas. 2005. Neofunctionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration. *Journal of European Public Policy* 12 (2): 291–309.
- Risse, Thomas, and Mareike Kleine. 2010. Deliberation in Negotiations. *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (5): 708–26.
- Roberts, Nancy, and Paula King. 1991. Policy Entrepreneurs: Their Activity Structure and Function in the Policy Process. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 1 (2): 147–75.
- Roederer-Rynning, Christilla, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2012. Bringing Codecision to Agriculture: A Hard Case of Parliamentarization. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 (7): 951–68.
- Rohlfing, Ingo. 2012. Varieties of Process Tracing and Ways to Answer Why-Questions. *European Political Science* 12 (1): 31–39.
- Rose, Richard. 1991. What Is Lesson-Drawing? *Journal of Public Policy* 11 (1): 3–30.
- Rose, Richard. 1993. *Lesson-Drawing in Public Policy*. Chatham, UK: Chatham House.
- Rowlands, Ian. 2005. The European Directive on Renewable Electricity: Conflicts and Compromises. *Energy Policy* 33 (8): 965–74.
- Rozbicka, Patrycja. 2013. Advocacy Coalitions: Influencing the Policy Process in the EU. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 838–53.
- Runge, C. Ford, and Benjamin Senauer. 2007. How Biofuels Could Starve the Poor. *Foreign Affairs* May/June.
- Sabathil, Gerhard, Klemens Joos, and Bernd Kessler (eds.). 2008. *The European Commission. An Essential Guide to the Institution, the Procedures and the Policies*. London: Kogan Page.
- Sabatier, Paul. 1987. Knowledge, Policy-Oriented Learning and Policy Change. *Knowledge* 8: 649–92.
- Sabatier, Paul. 1988. An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-Oriented Learning Therein. *Policy Sciences* 21 (2–3): 129–68.
- Sabatier, Paul. 1998. The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Revisions and Relevance for Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 5 (1): 98–130.
- Sabatier, Paul, and H. Jenkins-Smith (eds.). 1993. *Policy Change and Learning*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Sarewitz, Daniel. 2004. How Science Makes Environmental Controversies Worse. *Environmental Science and Policy* 7: 385–403.

- Saurugger, Sabine. 2013. Constructivism and Public Policy Approaches in the EU: From Ideas to Power Games. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 888–906.
- Schout, Adriaan. 2009. Organizational Learning in the EU's Multi-level Governance System. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1124–44.
- Schout, Adriaan, Andrew Jordan, and Michelle Twena. 2010. From “Old” to “New” Governance in the EU: Explaining a Diagnostic Deficit. *West European Politics* 33 (1): 154–70.
- Schreuers, Miranda, and Yves Tiberghien. 2007. Multi-level Reinforcement: Explaining European Union Leadership in Climate Change Mitigation. *Global Environmental Politics* 7 (4): 19–46.
- Schröder, Nadine Jenny Shirin. 2018. The Lens of Polycentricity: Identifying Polycentric Governance Systems Illustrated through Examples from the Field of Water Governance. *Environmental Politics and Governance* 28: 236–51.
- Searchinger, T., R. Heimlich, R. Houghton, F. Dong, A. Elobeid, J. Fabiosa, et al. 2008. Use of U.S. Croplands for Biofuels Increases Greenhouse Gases through Emissions from Land Use Change. *Science* 319 (5867): 1238–40.
- Sharman, Amelia, and John Holmes. 2010. Evidence-Based Policy or Policy-Based Evidence Gathering? Biofuels, the EU and the 10% Target. *Environmental Policy and Governance* 20 (5): 309–21.
- Skjærseth, Jon Birger. 2017. The European Commission's Shifting Climate Leadership. *Global Environmental Politics* 17 (2): 84–104.
- Skjærseth, Jon Birger, and Jørgen Wettestad. 2009. The Origin, Evolution and Consequences of the EU Emissions Trading System. *Global Environmental Politics* 9 (2): 101–22.
- Skjærseth, Jon Birger, and Jørgen Wettestad. 2010. Making the EU Emissions Trading System: The European Commission as an Entrepreneurial Epistemic Leader. *Global Environmental Change* 20 (2): 314–21.
- Skovgaard, Jacob. 2014. EU Climate Policy after the Crisis. *Environmental Politics* 23 (1): 1–17.
- Slapin, Jonathan. 2008. Bargaining Power at Europe's Intergovernmental Conferences: Testing Institutional and Intergovernmental Theories. *International Organization* 62: 131–62.
- Söderberg, Charlotta. 2011. Institutional Conditions for Multi-sector Environmental Policy Integration in Swedish Bioenergy Policy *Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 528–46.
- Sommerer, Thomas. 2011. *Können Staaten Voneinander Lernen? Eine Vergleichende Analyse Der Umweltpolitik in 24 Ländern*. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

- Stephenson, Paul. 2013. Twenty Years of Multi-level Governance. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 817–37.
- Stern, Nicholas. 2006. *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stone, Diane. 2000. Non-Governmental Policy Transfer: The Strategies of Independent Policy Institutes. *Governance* 13 (1): 45–62.
- Stone, Diane. 2001. Think Tanks, Global Lesson-Drawing and Networking Social Policy Ideas. *Global Social Policy* 1 (3): 338–60.
- Stone, Diane. 2004. Transfer Agents and Global Networks in the “Transnationalization” of Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11 (3): 545–66.
- Swart, Rob, and Frank Raes. 2007. Making Integration of Adaptation and Mitigation Work: Mainstreaming into Sustainable Development Policies? *Climate Policy* 7 (4): 288–303.
- Swinbank, Alan, and Carolyn Tanner. 1996. *Farm Policy and Trade Conflict: The Uruguay Round and CAP Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Swinnen, Johan (ed.). 2008a. *The Perfect Storm: The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Swinnen, Johan. 2008b. The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy: The Perfect Storm? In *The Perfect Storm: The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy*, edited by Johan Swinnen, 135–66. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies.
- Swinnen, Johan (ed.). 2015. *The Political Economy of the 2014–2020 Common Agricultural Policy: An Imperfect Storm*. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies.
- Syrakos, Barbara. 2008. An Uncommon Policy: Theoretical and Empirical Notes on Elite Decision-Making during the 2003 CAP Reforms. In *The Perfect Storm: The Political Economy of the Fischler Reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy*, edited by Johan Swinnen, 115–34. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2004. The Power of the Presidency: Brokerage, Efficiency and Distribution in EU Negotiations. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42 (5): 999–1022.
- Tansey, Oisín. 2007. Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-probability Sampling. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40 (4): 765–72.
- Thiel, Andreas, William A. Blomquist, and Dustin E. Garrick (eds.). 2019. *Governing Complexity: Analyzing and Applying Polycentricity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Torney, Diarmuid. 2015. *European Climate Leadership in Question. Policies toward China and India*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Trubek, David, and James Mosher. 2003. New Governance, Employment Policy, and the European Social Model. In *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments*, edited by Jonathan Zeitlin and David Trubek, 33–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Underdal, Arild. 1980. Integrated Marine Policy—What? Why? How? *Marine Policy* 4 (3): 159–69.
- Urwin, Kate, and Andrew Jordan. 2008. Does Public Policy Support or Undermine Climate Change Adaptation? Exploring Policy Interplay across Different Scales of Governance. *Global Environmental Change* 18 (1): 180–91.
- Vagionaki, Thenia, and Philipp Trein. (2019). Learning in Political Analysis. *Political Studies Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1478929919834863>.
- Van Zeven, Josephine. 2019. *Polycentricity in the EU*, edited by Josephine Van Zeven and Ana Bobic. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Zeven, Josphine, and Ana Bobic (eds.). 2019. *Polycentricity in the EU*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verdini Trejo, Bruno. 2017. *Winning Together. The Natural Resources Negotiation Playbook*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Verhaegen, Karolien, Leonardo Meeus, Bram Delvaux, and Ronnie Belmans. 2007. Electricity Produced from Renewable Energy Sources—What Target Are We Aiming For? *Energy Policy* 35 (11): 5576–84.
- Volden, Craig, Michael Ting, and Daniel Carpenter. 2008. A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion. *American Political Science Review* 102 (3): 319–32.
- Warntjen, Andreas. 2008. The Council Presidency: Power Broker or Burden? An Empirical Analysis. *European Union Politics* 9 (3): 315–38.
- Warntjen, Andreas. 2010. Between Bargaining and Deliberation: Decision-Making in the Council of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (5): 665–79.
- Watson, Matthew, Harriet Bulkeley, and Ray Hudson. 2008. Unpicking Environmental Policy Integration with Tales from Waste Management. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 26 (3): 481–98.
- Weber, Miriam, and Peter Driessen. 2010. Environmental Policy Integration: The Role of Policy Windows in the Integration of Noise and Spatial Planning. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 28 (6): 1120–34.
- Weible, Christopher. 2008. Expert-Based Information and Policy Subsystems: A Review and Synthesis. *Policy Studies Journal* 36 (4): 615–35.
- Weible, Christopher, and Paul Sabatier. 2009. Coalitions, Science, and Belief Change: Comparing Adversarial and Collaborative Policy Subsystems. *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (2): 195–212.

- Weible, Christopher M., Tanya Heikkila, Peter deLeon, and Paul Sabatier. 2011a. Understanding and Influencing the Policy Process. *Policy Sciences* 45 (1): 1–21.
- Weible, Christopher M., Paul Sabatier, Hank Jenkins-Smith, Daniel Nohrstedt, Adam Douglas Henry, and Peter DeLeon. 2011b. A Quarter Century of the Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Introduction to the Special Issue. *Policy Studies Journal* 39 (3): 349–60.
- Weible, Christopher, Paul Sabatier, and Kelly McQueen. 2009. Themes and Variations: Taking Stock of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (1): 121–40.
- Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.). 2006. *Europa-Handbuch. Die Europäische Union—Politisches System und Politikbereiche. Part 1*. Gütersloh, Germany: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- Wendon, Bryan. 1998. The Commission as Image-Venue Entrepreneur in EU Social Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 5 (2): 339–53.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization* 46 (2): 391–425.
- Wettestad, Jørgen. 2005. The Making of the 2003 EU Emissions Trading Directive: An Ultra-Quick Process Due to Entrepreneurial Proficiency? *Global Environmental Politics* 5 (1): 1–23.
- Wettestad, Jørgen. 2009. Interaction between EU Carbon Trading and the International Climate Regime: Synergies and Learning. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 9 (4): 393–408.
- Wijen, Frank, and Shahzad Ansari. 2007. Overcoming Inaction through Collective Institutional Entrepreneurship: Insights from Regime Theory. *Organization Studies* 28 (7): 1079–1100.
- Wonka, Arndt. 2008. Decision-Making Dynamics in the European Commission: Partisan, National or Sectoral? *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (8): 1145–63.
- Wurzel, Rüdiger K. W., and James Connelly. 2011. *The European Union as a Leader in International Climate Change Politics*. Edited by R. Wurzel and S. Connelly. London: Routledge.
- Wurzel, Rüdiger K. W., Duncan Liefferink, and Diarmuid Torney. 2019. Pioneers, Leaders and Followers in Multilevel and Polycentric Climate Governance. *Environmental Politics* 28 (1): 1–21.
- Yin, Robert. K. 2009. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. In *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*, Vol. 5, edited by L. Bickman and D. J. Rog. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Young, Oran. 2008. The Architecture of Global Environmental Governance: Bringing Science to Bear on Policy. *Global Environmental Politics* 8 (1): 14–32.



- Young, Oran. 2010. Institutional Dynamics: Resilience, Vulnerability and Adaptation in Environmental and Resource Regimes. *Global Environmental Change* 20: 378–85.
- Young, Oran. 2017. *Governing Complex Systems. Social Capital for the Anthropocene*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Zahariadis, Nikolaos. 2007. The Multiple Streams Framework: Structure, Limitations, Prospects. In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Paul Sabatier, 65–92. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Zahariadis, Nikolaos. 2013. Building Better Theoretical Frameworks of the European Union's Policy Process. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 807–16.
- Zahariadis, Nikolaos, and Christopher S. Allen. 1995. Ideas, Networks, and Policy Streams: Privatization in Britain and Germany. *Policy Studies Review* 14 (1): 71–98.
- Zito, Anthony. 2001. Epistemic Communities, Collective Entrepreneurship and European Integration. *Journal of European Public Policy* 8 (4): 585–603.
- Zito, Anthony. 2009. European Agencies as Agents of Governance and EU Learning. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1224–43.
- Zito, Anthony, and Adriaan Schout. 2009. Learning Theory Reconsidered: EU Integration Theories and Learning. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (8): 1103–23.