

1 Introduction: theoretical framework and research design

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1.1 Introduction

Are environmental policies in European countries growing more and more similar? In this era of globalisation it seems likely, but if so, at what level do national environmental policies converge? Are countries generally reaching out to the most stringent and most effective models available, or does increased international competition rather force them to adopt less demanding levels of regulation?

And perhaps even more important: how do processes of environmental policy convergence come about? Some argue that cross-national policy convergence is mainly fuelled by the international trade interests of individual states. Others emphasise formal policy coordination by, for instance, European Union law or international environmental treaties as the predominant convergence mechanism. Yet others argue that the impact of legal harmonisation is overestimated and that much of the mutual adjustment of domestic policies, institutions, and instruments can be explained by increasing information flows and cross-national policy learning. Finally, one always has to keep in mind the possibility that there are no international mechanisms at work at all. In this case policy convergence would simply be a matter of similar, but independent responses to similar problems occurring in different countries.

As will be set out in considerable detail in Section 1.2, existing scholarly literature provides partial, tentative, sometimes even fairly powerful clues to this major puzzle. It has been shown that convergence does take place at a surprisingly high pace and in fact also at surprisingly high levels of regulation. Generally speaking, environmental policies do not systematically fall victim to international economic competition as 'race to the bottom' theories would predict. Instead, there is increasing evidence that legal harmonisation as well as various types of transnational communication lead countries to mutually adjust their policy goals, policy instruments and even their levels of ambition. Moreover, this convergence is not restricted to groups of countries with similar political systems or

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