European Public Policy

Europeanisation/German Politics

Outline

Intro
    Recap
    Today: Public Policy

European Union Public Policy
    Concepts
    European Union Policy Making

Summary/Class Questions
    Summary
    Class Questions

Europeanisation/MLG: definitions

- ▶ Multi-level governance
    - ▶ Multi-level: European, national, regional, local actors
    - ▶ Governance: Hierarchical politics partially replaced
    - ▶ Focus on communication, bargaining, deliberation
    - ▶ Formal inclusion of experts, stake holders etc.

Europeanisation/MLG: definitions

- ▶ Multi-level governance
    - ▶ Multi-level: European, national, regional, local actors
    - ▶ Governance: Hierarchical politics partially replaced
    - ▶ Focus on communication, bargaining, deliberation
    - ▶ Formal inclusion of experts, stake holders etc.
- ▶ Europeanisation
    - ▶ Impact of 'Europe' on domestic politics through construction, diffusion, institutionalisation
    - ▶ Norms, beliefs, formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles
    - ▶ More than *adoption* of EU policies, less than EU politics

Europeanisation/MLG: points to remember

- ▶ Contra MLG: Hierarchical politics still important
- ▶ Europeanisation not a new phenomenon, but an important aspect of European integration
- ▶ Difficult to measure/assess
- ▶ Europeanisation: not a simple phenomenon
  - ▶ Unequal degree of Europeanisation across policy domains
  - ▶ Unequal degree of Europeanisation across different states
- ▶ Strategic use of Europeanisation, unequal power of member states to set European agenda

Europeanisation/MLG: points to remember

- Contra MLG: Hierarchical politics still important
- Europeanisation not a new phenomenon, but an important aspect of European integration
- Difficult to measure/assess
- Europeanisation: not a simple phenomenon
  - Unequal degree of Europeanisation across policy domains
  - Unequal degree of Europeanisation across different states
- Strategic use of Europeanisation, unequal power of member states to set European agenda
- European Public Policy one important (but not the only) driver of Europeanisation

European policy analysis in context

- ▶ Two main approaches to EU policy
  1. IR perspective:
     - ▶ system treaties between sovereign states
     - ▶ treat EU like any other international organisation

European policy analysis in context

- ▶ Two main approaches to EU policy
  1. IR perspective:
     - ▶ system treaties between sovereign states
     - ▶ treat EU like any other international organisation
  2. Comparative Politics perspective:
     - ▶ EU has state-like qualities
     - ▶ treat EU like normal polity / quasi-federal system

European policy analysis in context

- ▶ Two main approaches to EU policy
    1. IR perspective:
        - ▶ system treaties between sovereign states
        - ▶ treat EU like any other international organisation
    2. Comparative Politics perspective:
        - ▶ EU has state-like qualities
        - ▶ treat EU like normal polity / quasi-federal system
- ▶ Both perspectives useful, depending on context/domain

What is public policy?

What is public policy?

- "A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve" (Jenkins 1978)

What is public policy?

- "A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve" (Jenkins 1978)

- "Public policy consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals"(Cochran/Malone)

What is public policy?

- "A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve" (Jenkins 1978)
- "Public policy consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals"(Cochran/Malone)
- "Public policy is the outcome of the struggle in government over who gets what" (Cochran et al.)

Policy and politics (1): Lowi (1964)

Type of policy shapes political process

Policy and politics (1): Lowi (1964)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ (Constituent): creation/reform of institutions

Policy and politics (1): Lowi (1964)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ (Constituent): creation/reform of institutions
- ▶ Expenditure

Policy and politics (1): Lowi (1964)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ► (Constituent): creation/reform of institutions
- ► Expenditure
    - ► Distributive
        - ► Costs and benefits spread widely
        - ► Co-operation btwn policy makers/various interestgroups
    - ► Redistributive
        - ► One diffuse group loses, one wins
        - ► Based on class lines

Policy and politics (1): Lowi (1964)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ (Constituent): creation/reform of institutions
- ▶ Expenditure
  - ▶ Distributive
    - ▶ Costs and benefits spread widely
    - ▶ Co-operation btwn policy makers/various interestgroups
  - ▶ Redistributive
    - ▶ One diffuse group loses, one wins
    - ▶ Based on class lines
- ▶ Regulation
  - ▶ Concentrated winners/losers (in the economy)
  - ▶ Interest group competition

Policy and politics (1): Lowi (1964)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ (Constituent): creation/reform of institutions
- ▶ Expenditure
    - ▶ Distributive
        - ▶ Costs and benefits spread widely
        - ▶ Co-operation btwn policy makers/various interestgroups
    - ▶ Redistributive
        - ▶ One diffuse group loses, one wins
        - ▶ Based on class lines
- ▶ Regulation
    - ▶ Concentrated winners/losers (in the economy)
    - ▶ Interest group competition

Popular, venerable but not very clear-cut, so: nowadays controversial

Policy and politics (2): Wilson (1980)

Type of policy shapes political process

Policy and politics (2): Wilson (1980)

Type of policy shapes political process

▶ Distribution of costs and benefits broad: Majoritarian politics

Policy and politics (2): Wilson (1980)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ Distribution of costs and benefits broad: Majoritarian politics
- ▶ Benefits diffuse, costs concentrated (consumer and environmental protection)
    - ▶ Vested interests will block policy to preserve status quo
    - ▶ Unless public support can be mobilised by 'political entrepreneur'

Policy and politics (2): Wilson (1980)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ Distribution of costs and benefits broad: Majoritarian politics
- ▶ Benefits diffuse, costs concentrated (consumer and environmental protection)
  - ▶ Vested interests will block policy to preserve status quo
  - ▶ Unless public support can be mobilised by 'political entrepreneur'
- ▶ Costs and benefits both concentrated (economic regulation): interest group competition

Policy and politics (2): Wilson (1980)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ Distribution of costs and benefits broad: Majoritarian politics
- ▶ Benefits diffuse, costs concentrated (consumer and environmental protection)
    - ▶ Vested interests will block policy to preserve status quo
    - ▶ Unless public support can be mobilised by 'political entrepreneur'
- ▶ Costs and benefits both concentrated (economic regulation): interest group competition
- ▶ Concentrated benefits, diffuse costs (e.g. energy, monopolies): clientelistic politics

Policy and politics (2): Wilson (1980)

Type of policy shapes political process

- ▶ Distribution of costs and benefits broad: Majoritarian politics
- ▶ Benefits diffuse, costs concentrated (consumer and environmental protection)
    - ▶ Vested interests will block policy to preserve status quo
    - ▶ Unless public support can be mobilised by 'political entrepreneur'
- ▶ Costs and benefits both concentrated (economic regulation): interest group competition
- ▶ Concentrated benefits, diffuse costs (e.g. energy, monopolies): clientelistic politics

We have to understand what is at stake for whom to predict how process will unfold
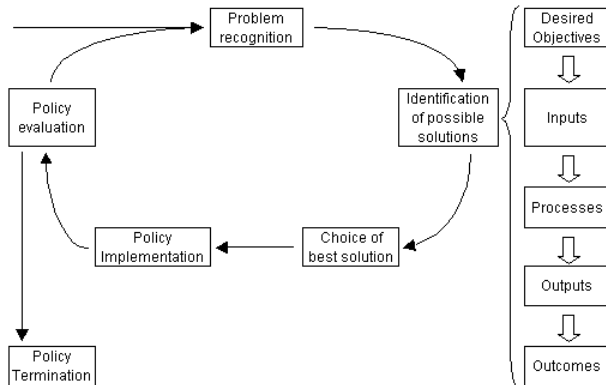
The main characters

1. Policy makers (politicians)
2. Bureaucrats
3. Interest groups

The main characters

1. Policy makers (politicians)
2. Bureaucrats
3. Interest groups
4. The public? – collective action problems

The policy cycle / stages

The policy cycle / stages

1) Preparation   Informal talks → formulation of a proposal
                        → start of formal process

2) Decision making   A legally binding decision is made

3) Implementation   Decision is put into practice through real
                        measures

4) Monitoring   Judicial review, political evaluation
In reality . . .

The policy cycle / stages

1) Preparation   Informal talks $\rightarrow$ formulation of a proposal
                        $\rightarrow$ start of formal process

2) Decision making   A legally binding decision is made

3) Implementation   Decision is put into practice through real
                        measures

4) Monitoring   Judicial review, political evaluation
In reality . . .

Networks and communities

- Policy networks: sets of formal and informal linkages between governmental and other actors containing:

  Producers those whose behaviours has to be changed

Networks and communities

▶ Policy networks: sets of formal and informal linkages between governmental and other actors containing:

Producers those whose behaviours has to be changed

Epistemic communities experts providing descriptions of problems and alleged solutions

Networks and communities

► Policy networks: sets of formal and informal linkages between governmental and other actors containing:

Producers those whose behaviours has to be changed

Epistemic communities experts providing descriptions of problems and alleged solutions

Advocacy coalitions subnetworks trying to promote a specific solution

Networks and communities

- ▶ Policy networks: sets of formal and informal linkages between governmental and other actors containing:

    Producers those whose behaviours has to be changed

    Epistemic communities experts providing descriptions of problems and alleged solutions

    Advocacy coalitions subnetworks trying to promote a specific solution

- ▶ Two idealtypes of networks

    Policy communities stable, exclusive membership, shared norms/beliefs, promote continuity

Networks and communities

- Policy networks: sets of formal and informal linkages between governmental and other actors containing:

  Producers those whose behaviours has to be changed

  Epistemic communities experts providing descriptions of problems and alleged solutions

  Advocacy coalitions subnetworks trying to promote a specific solution

- Two idealtypes of networks

  Policy communities stable, exclusive membership, shared norms/beliefs, promote continuity

  Issue networks large, fluent, internal competition

Networks and communities

▶ Policy networks: sets of formal and informal linkages between
governmental and other actors containing:

Producers those whose behaviours has to be changed

Epistemic communities experts providing descriptions of
problems and alleged solutions

Advocacy coalitions subnetworks trying to promote a specific
solution

▶ Two idealtypes of networks

Policy communities stable, exclusive membership, shared
norms/beliefs, promote continuity

Issue networks large, fluent, internal competition

Again, more an approach than a theory, number of criticism

Delegation as a principal – agent problem

- Many important policies incomplete – details delegated to independent agencies
  - High Authority/Commission
  - European Central Bank
  - Various regulators
  - European Court of Justice?

Delegation as a principal – agent problem

- Many important policies incomplete – details delegated to independent agencies
    - High Authority/Commission
    - European Central Bank
    - Various regulators
    - European Court of Justice?
- Government(s): "principal(s)", agencies: "agents"
    - Saves transaction costs
    - Agents specialised and better informed
    - Insulates micro-management from political influence (credible commitment)

Delegation as a principal – agent problem

- Many important policies incomplete – details delegated to independent agencies
  - High Authority/Commission
  - European Central Bank
  - Various regulators
  - European Court of Justice?
- Government(s): "principal(s)", agencies: "agents"
  - Saves transaction costs
  - Agents specialised and better informed
  - Insulates micro-management from political influence (credible commitment)
- But: principal has no *complete* control over agent: to costly, would lose all benefits of delegation
- Degree of overlap between interests of principals and agents?

Delegation as a principal – agent problem

- Many important policies incomplete – details delegated to independent agencies
  - High Authority/Commission
  - European Central Bank
  - Various regulators
  - European Court of Justice?
- Government(s): "principal(s)", agencies: "agents"
  - Saves transaction costs
  - Agents specialised and better informed
  - Insulates micro-management from political influence (credible commitment)
- But: principal has no *complete* control over agent: to costly, would lose all benefits of delegation
- Degree of overlap between interests of principals and agents?

Approaches to EU policy making

- ▶ Rational choice perspective:
  - ▶ Actors basically rational (well-informed, clearly defined & stable preferences, able to identify best course of actions)
  - ▶ Focus on formal rules, voting power etc.
  - ▶ Problem(s): Iterated games, decisions often taken by consensus, ignores socialisation and locking in

Approaches to EU policy making

- Rational choice perspective:
  - Actors basically rational (well-informed, clearly defined & stable preferences, able to identify best course of actions)
  - Focus on formal rules, voting power etc.
  - Problem(s): Iterated games, decisions often taken by consensus, ignores socialisation and locking in
- Sociological/historical perspectives
  - Actors basically role-playing, socialised, sanctioned; "logic of appropriateness"
  - Preferences not stable, but shaped by interactions
  - Problem(s): Highly plausible, but little evidence to back up claims

Players and rules

▶ Interest Groups

Players and rules

- ▶ Interest Groups
- ▶ EP
  - ▸ Somewhat surprising: coherent voting, RC like behaviour
  - ▸ Voting largely structured by two dimensions:
    - ▸ Left-right ideology (party families)
    - ▸ Pro/anti integration dimension

Players and rules

- ► Interest Groups
- ► EP
  - ► Somewhat surprising: coherent voting, RC like behaviour
  - ► Voting largely structured by two dimensions:
    - ► Left-right ideology (party families)
    - ► Pro/anti integration dimension
- ► Council
  - ► The object of very clever formal voting models, which do not perform well
  - ► Bargaining models work better (who has best alternative to negotiated outcome)

Players and rules

- ▶ Interest Groups
- ▶ EP
  - ▶ Somewhat surprising: coherent voting, RC like behaviour
  - ▶ Voting largely structured by two dimensions:
    - ▶ Left-right ideology (party families)
    - ▶ Pro/anti integration dimension
- ▶ Council
  - ▶ The object of very clever formal voting models, which do not perform well
  - ▶ Bargaining models work better (who has best alternative to negotiated outcome)
- ▶ Often, bargains across issues and levels

Players and rules

- Interest Groups
- EP
    - Somewhat surprising: coherent voting, RC like behaviour
    - Voting largely structured by two dimensions:
        - Left-right ideology (party families)
        - Pro/anti integration dimension
- Council
    - The object of very clever formal voting models, which do not perform well
    - Bargaining models work better (who has best alternative to negotiated outcome)
- Often, bargains across issues and levels
- Implementation & monitoring are tricky – degree of europeanisation?
    - Decisions
    - Regulations
    - Directives

Modes of policy making

1. "Traditional Community Method"
2. "EU Regulatory Mode"
3. "EU Distributional Mode"
4. "Policy Co-ordination"
5. "Trans-/Intergovernmentalism"

Policy making

- Policy making: what political systems do
- Different types of policies:
    - Who wins, who loses
    - How concentrated are the gains/losses
- Circular process that is difficult to control in democracies

EU policy making

- ▶ Very many players
- ▶ Different modes
- ▶ So far, dominance of regulation (and de-regulation)
- ▶ Focus on economy including labour markets, with far-reaching consequences (spill-over)
- ▶ One important source of europeanisation: Impact of European public policy on German politics

Your turn

- Work in two groups (A and B)
- Read Barroso's speech. What is the Commission after? Which policies is it trying to implement in which way? And did the Commission achieve its aims?
- Break into A-B pairs.
- One student defends the Commission's decision to increase the use of new modes of governance; the other accuses the Commission of pursuing 'integration by stealth'.