

**PO 8044 - European Union Policy Making**  
**Raj Chari, Professor in Political Science, TCD**  
**Term 2, 2018/2019**

**Course Objective:** The main aim of this course is to develop students' knowledge of 'how policies are made in the EU' and 'what EU public policy is,' with a main focus on economic and regulatory policy. The course starts with a brief examination of the main EU institutions and theoretical perspectives of policymaking. It then considers the importance of interest groups and their regulation as they seek to influence policy. The conceptual insights gained will be used to analyse developments in a number of substantive policy areas. These include single market, economic and monetary union, competition policy, and freedom security and justice.

After the successful completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Describe the evolution of and main developments in key areas of EU policy.
- Explain policymaking processes and outcomes in the EU by applying relevant political science approaches and theories.
- Critically appraise research on EU policies.

**Course structure:** This module is of 5 weeks duration and is worth 5 ECTS. It starts in Calendar Week 22 (i.e. January 21, 2019), subsequently meeting in CW 23, 24, 25, 26 (see below themes and reading for each week). There is one two-hour seminar each week, on Mondays at 10AM of each week. The seminar will consist of a short introduction by the Professor, followed by in-depth class discussion on the main themes found in the readings. It is expected that every student will attend every seminar and have read the required readings before class. Equally important, this class will only work if everyone fully participates in class discussion.

**Required Readings:** Beyond the readings noted in each section below, students should read a good European newspaper on a daily basis. **Students should also consult relevant electronic resources found in the TCD library.** Please note that for all policy areas discussed in the class, you may want to supplement your reading of books and articles with current overviews of these policy areas on the EU's website: [http://europa.eu/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/index_en.htm)

**Assessment:** This course will be assessed as follows:

- Essay 1 – 50%
- Essay 2 – 50%

*Please see the last page of the document for details of essay topics/due dates/etc.*

**Overview of Topics:** The topics for each week the class is taught are:

- *Week 1* (Corresponds to CW 22, January 21 2019): The main EU institutions and theoretical approaches
- *Week 2* (CW 23): The Role of Interest Groups in the EU Policy Making Process and their Regulation.
- *Week 3* (CW 24): Single Market and Economic and Monetary Union
- *Week 4* (CW 25): Competition Policy
- *Week 5* (CW 26): Freedom, Security and Justice

## Detailed list of Readings for Each Seminar

### **Week 1 (21/01/19): Overview of main EU institutions and theoretical approaches**

This seminar will overview the main EU institutions involved in EU policy making (1<sup>st</sup> hour of the class) and then evaluate the different theoretical approaches to understanding how policy is made, taking from both the comparative politics literature and EU specific literature (2<sup>nd</sup> hour of the class).

For students unfamiliar with the main EU institutions, please see an overview of the institutions from the Europa website at: [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies_en)

In terms of readings, for a general overview of the EU's institutions students must read two of the following:

- Chari and Kritzinger, *Understanding Policy Making*, Chapter 2 (p.19-29)
- Cini and Perez-Solorzano Borrigan (eds), *European Union Politics*, Chs. 9 (Commission), 10 (Council), 11 (EP), 12 (ECJ)
- Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the EU*, Chapters 2, 3, 4.

Other recommended readings on EU institutions (which may be useful also for essay preparation) include:

- V Schmidt, 2016. 'Reinterpreting the rules 'by stealth' in times of crisis: a discursive institutionalist analysis of the European Central Bank and the European Commission, *West European Politics*, Vol 39, 1032-52
- G. McElroy and K Benoit, 2012. Policy Positioning in the European Parliament, *European Union Politics*, 13, (1), p150 - 167

Works to consider on the different theoretical perspectives include:

- Intergovernmentalism and Supranational Governance (approaches which have their roots in the study of EU politics) and please read at least two of these:
  - Chari and Kritzinger, Ch. 3 (on supranational governance and intergovernmentalism)
  - W. Phelan, 2018. 'European Legal Integration: Towards a More Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, early view version available on JCMS webpage at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/14685965>
  - Schimmelfennig F, 2015. 'Liberal intergovernmentalism and the euro area crisis,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol 22/2, 177-95
  - Stone Sweet, A. and Sandholtz, W. 1997 'European integration and supranational governance', *Journal of European Public Policy* 4.3, 297-317.
  - Schimmelfennig F and B Rittberger, 2006. 'Theories of European Integration: assumptions and hypothesis' in Jeremy Richardson (ed.), *European Union: power and policy making* (Routledge)
  - Bickerton, C.J., Hodson, D. and Puetter, U., 2015. The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(4), pp.703-722.

- On Pluralism, Corporatism, Elitism, Instrumental Marxism, and Structural Functionalism (approaches having their roots in the larger study of comparative politics of industrialized states) read the Chari and Kritzinger Reading and at least one of the others below
  - Chari and Kritzinger, *Understanding EU Policy Making* (London: Pluto, 2006), Chapter 3
  - C. Wright Mills. 1956. *The Power Elite* (OUP)
  - Robert Dahl, 1961. *Who Governs?* London: Yale UP.
  - Ralph Miliband, 1969. *The State in Capitalist Society* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson)
  - Poulantzas, N. 1976. "The capitalist state: A reply to Miliband and Laclau." *New Left Review*, Vol 95, January.
  - N. Hardiman, "From Conflict to Coordination: Economic Governance and Political Innovation in Ireland," *WEP* (Oct. 2002)

### **Week 2 (28/01/19): Interest Groups and Regulating Lobbyists in the EU**

This seminar will focus on interest groups/lobbies: beyond the main EU Institutions examined in Week 1 of this course, interest groups throughout Europe are playing an increasing role in the formulation of public policy in the political system of the EU. Their study is thus essential in order to better grasp policy-making dynamics in Brussels as interest groups target the main EU institutions. This seminar will be divided into two parts. The first considers the main aspects of interest group activity in the EU, while the second assess the regulation of interest groups in the EU from a comparative perspective.

Readings on Interest Groups in the EU (Read at least three of the following):

- Chari and Kritzinger, Ch 2., 30-36
- Klüver, H. 2013. *Lobbying in the EU: interest groups, lobbying coalitions, and policy change* (OUP), Intro and Conclusions
- Mahoney, Christine. 2007. "Lobbying Success in the US and the EU," *Journal of Public Policy*, Vol, 27, No. 1, pp. 44-45.
- Eising, R. 2007. Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices Explaining Interest Group Access in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 329-362
- Mahoney Christine. 2004. 'The Power of Institutions: State and Interest Group Activity in the EU,' *European Union Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 441-466.
- Silke M. Trommer and Raj Chari. 2006. 'The Council of Europe: Interest Groups and Ideological Missions?' *West European Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 4, 665 – 686, September 2006.
- Students should also familiarize themselves with the Joint Transparency Register, of value when we go over key interest groups that lobby Brussels:  
<http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/homePage.do>

Readings on Regulating Interest Groups (Read at least two of the following):

- Chari, Hogan and Murphy, 2012. *Regulating Lobbying: A Global Comparison*, Manchester University Press, Chapters 1, 2, 4
  - *Please note*, we also intend to give drafts of sections of Chari, Hogan, Murphy, Crepaz, 2019. *Regulating Lobbying 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (in press, forthcoming 2019)
- Holman C and Luneberg W. 2012. Lobbying Transparency: A comparative analysis of regulatory reform. *Interest Group and Advocacy*, Vol 1, 75-104.
- Crepaz and Chari, 2018. 'Assessing the validity and reliability of measurements when evaluating public policy,' *Journal of Public Policy*, Volume 38/3, 275-304
- Greenwood, J., and Dreger, J. 2013. The Transparency Register: A European Vanguard of Strong Lobby Regulation? *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 139-162.

Please note: additional valuable readings (for essays) include:

- Nolan Committee. 1995. *Standards in Public Life*, Vol. I, Cm 2850-I HMSO, London, available at: [www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm28/2850/2850.htm](http://www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm28/2850/2850.htm)
- Woll C. 2009. "Trade Policy Lobbying in the EU: Who Captured Whom?", in Coen and Richardson, *Lobbying the EU* (OUP)
- Frank Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech. 2001. "Interest Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." *The Journal of Politics* 63(4): 1191-1212.
- David Coen. 2009. Business Lobbying in the European Union in Coen and Richardson, *Lobbying the EU* (OUP)
- Justin Greenwood. 2011. *Interest Representation in the EU* 3rd ed. (Palgrave); Intro and conclusions
- Burson-Marsteller, 2005. *The Definitive Guide to Lobbying in European Institutions* – Based on a survey of the EP, the Council and the Commission. Available on the web at <http://burson-marsteller.eu/2006/10/burson-marsteller-report-the-definitive-guide-to-lobbying-the-european-institutions/>
- Chari, Murphy, and Hogan. 2007. "Regulating Lobbyists: A Comparative Analysis of the USA, Canada, Germany and the European Union." *The Political Quarterly* 78 (3): 422-438 (paper available on my webpage)
- Crepaz, M. 2017. 'Why Do We Have Lobbying Rules? Investigating the Introduction of Lobbying Laws in EU and OECD Member States.' *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 231-251.
- Kanol Direnc. 2012. Should the European Commission Enact a Mandatory Lobby Register? *Journal of Contemporary European Research*. Vol 8(4)
- Crepaz and Chari, 2014. 'The EU's initiatives to regulate lobbyists', at [https://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/assets/pdfs/eu\\_lobbyist\\_regulation\\_crepaz\\_chari\\_2014.pdf](https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/assets/pdfs/eu_lobbyist_regulation_crepaz_chari_2014.pdf)

### **Week 3 (4/02/19): Single Market and Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)**

This seminar will focus on two key economic policy areas, single market policy and EMU. Questions to be considered in this session include: what is the objective of single market policy and which actors were involved in the formulation of 1992 Programme? What were the objectives of the EMU and why was it deemed necessary for single market? How successful has the EMU been? How did Europe escape its financial and economic crisis and how much of this crisis can be explained by the EMU?

Read at least three of the following

- Chari and Kritizinger, Chapters 4 (on Single Market) and 6 (EMU)
- Hodson D. 2009. 'EMU and political union: what, if anything, have we learned from the euro's first decade?' *JEPP*, Vol 16(4), 508-526
- Segers, M. and F. Van Esch. 2007. 'Behind the Veil of Budgetary Discipline: The Political Logic of the Budgetary Rules in EMU and the SGP,' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(5): 1089-1109
- Chari and Bernhagen, Financial and Economic Crisis: Explaining the Sunset over the Celtic Tiger, *Irish Political Studies*, Dec 2011, Vol 26/4
- Connor G., T. Flavin and B O'Kelley (2010) 'Irish Economy Note No. 10 - The US and Irish Credit Crisis: Their Distinctive Differences and Common Features.' available at: <http://www.irisheconomy.ie/Notes/IrishEconomyNote10.pdf>

#### **Additional Readings include:**

- Kenneth Armstrong and Simon Bulmer. 1998. *The Governance of the Single Market* (MUP)
- The Special Issue of *JEPP* (2009, volume 16, issue 4), edited by Henrik Enderlein and Amy Verdun, entitled *Ten Years of EMU: What Have We Learned in Political Science?*
- Alasdair Young, 'The Single Market' in Wallace, Wallace and Pollack
- Honohan, P (2009) 'Policy Paper: Resolving Ireland's Banking Crisis,' *The Social and Economic Review*, Vol 40, No 2. Summer, 207-31

### **Week 4 (11/02/19): Competition Policy**

This seminar will examine what is considered by many to be the most significant policy in the EU, Competition Policy. This is a multi-faceted policy that deals with State Aid control, Merger Control Regulation, Anti-Trust policies, and Liberalization. In the first hour of the class we consider the overall goals of a policy whose main objective is to create a level playing field in the single market. The second hour of the class will also pay detailed analysis to recent cases relating to state aid control, abuse of dominant position and M&A of recently privatized firms in the airline sector.

Read at least three of the following

- Chari and Kritizinger, Chapter 5
- Chapters by Hofmann as well as Chari, in Hofmann and Micheau (eds.) *State Aid Law of the European Union* (OUP, 2016).
- Thatcher, Mark. 2014. European Commission merger control: combining competition and the creation of larger European firms *European Journal of Political Research*, 53 (3). 443-464.

- E. Morgan, S. McGuire, "Transatlantic divergence: GE-Honeywell and the EU's Merger policy", *JEPP*, Vol 11, No. 1, February 2004.
- R. S. Chari and F. Cavatorta, "Economic Actors' Political Activity in 'Overlap Issues'" *West European Politics*, Vol. 25/4.
- Special Issue on EU State Aid Policy, *Journal of Industry, Competition and Trade* (Vol 13/1, march 2013)
- Please note that for research/essays - to search for DG COMP's cases, go to <http://ec.europa.eu/competition/elojade/isef/>

For Case Studies on State Aid (Ireland and illegal aid to Apple worth €13 billion, 2016) and Abuse of Dominant Position (Google, 2017), please also see

- [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-16-2923\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-2923_en.htm) (press release)
- [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-17-1784\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1784_en.htm)

And for the Case Study on Major Privatized Firms in the EU, Mergers and Acquisitions (M&A), with a focus on the airline industry, see:

- Chari, 2015. *Life After Privatization* (Oxford University Press), Chs 1-3 & 6
- Please note that Zephyr is an excellent M&A database covering major deals: <http://www.tcd.ie/Library/collections/databases.php#az-z>

#### *Additional Readings include*

- Michelle Cini and Lee McGowan. 2008. *Competition Policy in the EU* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Palgrave (probably one of the best books on EU competition policy and a must buy if you plan on doing further work in the area).
- Clift, B. 2009. The Second Time as Farce? The EU Takeover Directive, the Clash of Capitalisms and the Hamstrung Harmonization of European (and French) Corporate Governance, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(1): 55-79.
- Featherstone K. and D. Papadimitriou, 2007. 'Manipulating Rules, Contesting Solutions: Europeanization and the Politics of Restructuring Olympic Airways,' *Government and Opposition*, 41(1), 46-72.
- Chari and F. Cavatorta, 2002. 'Economic Actors' Political Activity on 'Overlap Issues': Privatisation and EU State Aid Control', *West European Politics* Vol. 25, No.4, October, 119-142.
- Shea E. and R Chari, 'Policy Formulation, Implementation and Feedback in EU Merger Control,' IIS Discussion Paper No 147, 2006, available on: <http://www.tcd.ie/iis/pages/publications/discussionpapers/IISDP147.php>
- McGowan and Cini, "Discretion and Politicization in EU Competition Policy: The Case of Merger Control" *Governance*, 12, 2, 175-200.
- E. Morgan, S. McGuire, 2004. "Transatlantic divergence: GE-Honeywell and the EU's Merger policy", *JEPP*, Vol 11, No. 1, February.

### **Week 5 (18/02/19): Freedom, Security and Justice**

What are the overall main objectives of this policy area? How have EU policies towards immigration, asylum and citizenship evolved over time? Why have national actors been cautious about replacing national rules with EU ones? Which actors have been involved in formulating initiatives in this area and how can this be theoretically characterized? And what do dynamics in the Syrian Refugee crisis tell us about European policy making in this area?

Chapters (read at least three of these):

- Chari and Kritzing, Chapter 9
- Akgündüz, Yusuf Emre et al. 2015. IZA Discussion Papers 8841, available at: <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/108723/1/dp8841.pdf>
- Fargues, P and Frandrich, C., 2012. "The European Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis: What next?" EUI Migration Policy Centre Research Report Available at: [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/24836/MPC\\_RR2012-14.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/24836/MPC_RR2012-14.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)
- Fargues, P. Europe must take on its share of the Syrian refugee burden, but how? EUI Migration Policy Centre; Policy Briefs; 2014/01, Available at: [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/29919/MPC\\_PB\\_2014\\_01.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/29919/MPC_PB_2014_01.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y)
- Joppke, C. 2002. "European Immigration Policies at the Crossroads" in Heywood, Jones and Rhodes, *Developments in West European Politics 2* (Palgrave).

Articles (read at least two):

- Niemann, A. 2008. 'Dynamics and Countervailing Pressures of Visa, Asylum and Immigration Policy Treaty Revision: Explaining Change and Stagnation from the Amsterdam IGC to the IGC of 2003–04,' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 559-591.
- Guiraudon, V and G Lahav, 2000. "A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol 33, No. 2 (March 2000)
- M. Baldwin-Edwards, 1997. "The Emerging European Immigration Regime: Some Reflections on Implications for Southern Europe" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 35, no 4, 1997.

**Essays:** Each of the two essays should be no more than 2500 words in length. Each essay must be typed using a 12 point font, be double spaced, have ample margins and indicate the total word count on the title page. Essays must be submitted in hardcopy in my mailbox on the due date (see below) and by using turnitin.com, which is an online system that enables us to manage the course efficiently. Note that there is also a plagiarism detector on turnitin.com.

Please note that plagiarism will lead to automatic failure and will be reported with the probability of severe penalties likely to ensue. All late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by medical certificate, will be penalised at a rate of 5 marks per working day.

**The topics of to chose from for each of the essays are as follows:**

**Essay 1:**

1. "All theoretical approaches used to better understand policy-making are flawed and none is more correct than the other." Evaluate this statement through analysis of at least two different theoretical approaches discussed in class.

**OR**

2. Rules regulating lobbyists in the EU (with the Joint Transparency Register) are less robust than regulations found in other countries in Europe.' Evaluate this statement and explain why or why not this is the case.

*Essay 1 Due Date: Monday February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019*

**Essay 2**

1. Referring to at least two competition cases of your choice (such as the state aid ruling by the European Commission on Apple, the Commission's approval of IAG's takeover of Aer Lingus, or the Commission's recent fining of Google for its abuse of dominant position), demonstrate whether or not the EU is 'objective' in its investigations of cases related to competition policy.

**OR**

2. Has Europe (at both the domestic and supranational levels) contributed significantly in dealing with the Syrian refugee crisis? Why or why not?

*Essay 2 Due Date: Friday February 22, 2019*