

# **Research Project: Europeanization of Domestic Policies in Poland**

Radoslaw Zubek  
European Institute  
London School of Economics

## **1. The Purpose of the Thesis**

### 1.1 The Empirical Question

This dissertation examines the process by which public policy in Poland is being adapted to conform to the principles of the *acquis communautaire* of the European Union. In doing so, it explores the reasons for varying patterns of adaptation in a longitudinal cross-sectoral analysis of regulatory policies.

### 1.2 Historical and Political Relevance

By studying the adaptation of domestic policies in Poland, this dissertation makes a contribution to a growing literature on the interactions between the European dimension and the domestic context, interactions which have come to be researched under the banner of 'Europeanization'. In its western variant, the Europeanization literature has explored the impact of EU membership on the member states' polities, politics and policies. Since the early 1990s, the western literature has been shadowed by a growing preoccupation with the impact of the European Union on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs). What underpins this new body of research is a widespread realization that, while previous EU enlargements have been to a large extent about 'willingness', the forthcoming enlargement is more about 'ability' to fulfil the obligations of the membership (Metcalf 1998).

### 1.3 Theoretical Relevance

The existing research on Europeanization assumes that the patterns of domestic adaptation to EU policies depend on three factors:

- The characteristics of the policy to be implemented – the 'goodness of fit' between EU and domestic policy structures including regulatory styles and regulatory structures; where incompatibility is very high or very low, adaptation is expected to be precarious or smooth respectively; however, where the misfit is of medium intensity, this factor is not able, of its own, to account for patterns of adaptation; (Knill 1998b, Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999b, Knill and Lenschow 1998a, Knill and Lenschow 2001)
- The characteristics of the institutional environment in which it is to be implemented – the process of adapting domestic policies to EU policies depends on two types of institutional variables: (i) rules of interaction (procedural) and (ii) action resources (structural). The rules of interaction denote the rules of the game which may facilitate or inhibit change by, for example, providing a high number of veto points. Action resources are all institutional

resources appurtenant to actors involved and include personnel, finance, equipment, etc. (Caporaso, et al. 2001a, Haverland 2000)

- The preferences of the actors involved in the implementation process – the requirement to implement EU policies entails changes in the opportunity structure for all actors involved who develop preferences and strategies depending on whether they perceive themselves to be winners or losers. The constellation of such preferences and strategies determines the path of domestic adaptation. Actors' preferences are exogenously defined (utility maximisation) or can be influenced by sociological factors such as socialization and collective learning (Heritier 2001).

The foregoing formulations are not without problems. First, the concept of 'fit' tends to be ill-defined. As a result, measurements of the degree of 'fit' are likely to be rather arbitrary. Surprisingly, the literature has not exploited the conceptualizations of the degree of policy change that inform general public policy research such as Hall's model of paradigm change which differentiates between three types of policy change, ranging from adjustment of settings of policy instruments through change of instruments to a change in the hierarchy of objectives behind the policy (Hall 1993).

Second, by linking its hypotheses to the level of adaptational pressure derived from the 'goodness of fit', the existing models would assume smooth implementation patterns always where misfit is negligible. However, empirical studies (e.g. (Haverland 2000)) have shown this not to be the case under all conditions. Third, the concept of 'goodness of fit', having been developed in the study of the existing EU member states, seems to be ill-equipped for use in the study of the current pre-accession process. For one thing, one may expect a prohibitive degree of misfit to obtain in many public policies across the CEECs. And yet, domestic adaptation, erratic as it may be, is currently taking place. Perhaps more importantly, the concept of 'fit' assumes that there exists a domestic policy against which European policies can be compared. But in CEECs there exist areas such as state aids policy or public procurement, where EU policies provide answers to problems that have not yet been identified endogenously.

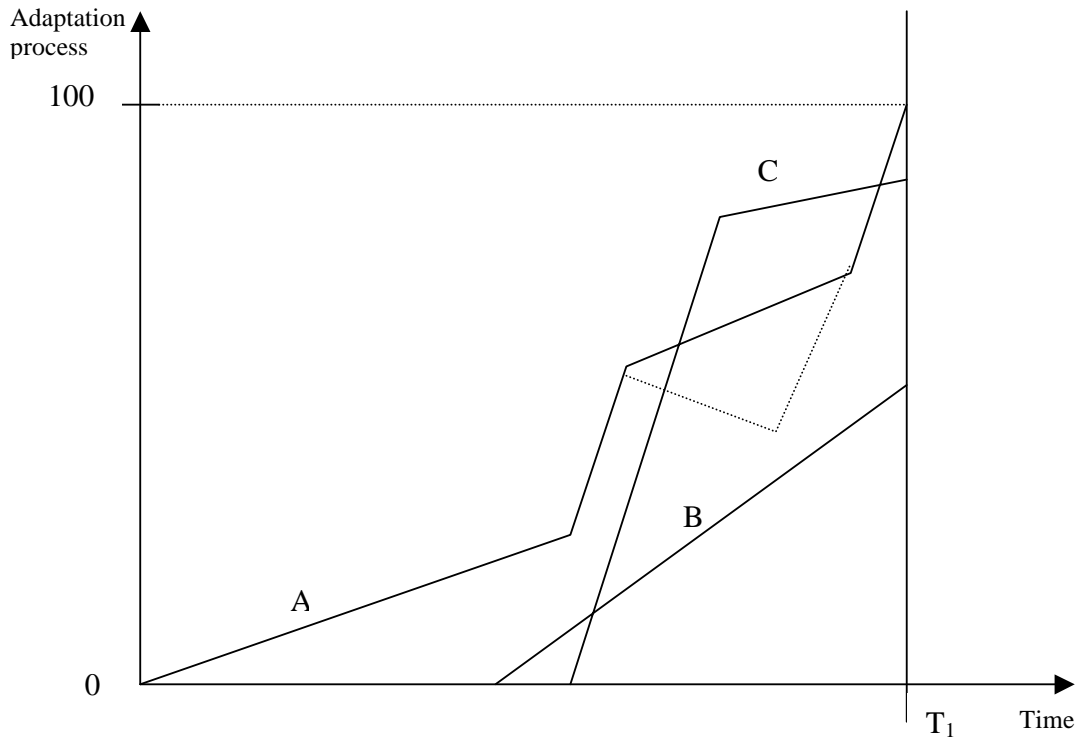
Finally and more generally, research on Europeanization seems to be conducted in isolation from the mainstream of comparative government and comparative public policy. Consequently it does not seem to be informed by a systematic understanding of domestic political systems. For example, the state's capacity for reform is invariably linked to procedural factors (veto points) while organizational resources tend to be neglected. As Radaelli remarks 'one does not see the point of starting theoretical research on Europeanization from *tabula rasa*, and perhaps re-inventing propositions already well-known (...)' (Radaelli 2000a, p. 27).

#### 1.4 Proposed Alternative Theoretical Solution

##### *Dependent Variable*

Europeanization is treated as a dependent variable. Accordingly, the causal relationship between change and the involvement in Europe is taken for granted, while the main thrust of the research

is to account for varying patterns of such Europeanization. The diagram below shows how the dependent variable is defined.



The vertical axis represents the adaptation process which can take values from 0 to 100 depending on the stage of implementation of EU legislation. While naturally zero denotes no action taken, the value of 100 represents both the transposition (the incorporation of EU rules into national law) and application (establishment of administrative procedures and infrastructure). Enforcement and compliance by target groups are not systematically considered here. It is recognized, however, that enforcement and compliance deficiencies are important for understanding any feed-back loops in the policy processes. Thus, such data will also be considered where necessary.

The lines in the diagram represent the dependent variable, i.e. the patterns of adaptation over time (the horizontal axis) in policy areas A, B and C. Point T<sub>1</sub> denotes a cut-off point in time adopted in the dissertation (e.g. end of 2001). The dependent variable takes different values which correspond to *the slope of the trajectory of adaptation at any point in time*. Thus, the variable normally can take any value between 0 (blocked adaptation) and 90 degrees (instantaneous adaptation). However, it is also possible for the dependent variable to take negative values from 0 to -90 degree because it is assumed that the process of adaptation can be reversed in time (for example, when a law is adopted but never implemented and must be revised and adopted again). For illustration purposes, this latter case is marked with a dotted line in policy area A.

### *Explanatory Variable*

This dissertation assigns explanatory power to the quality of executive leadership. In line with new institutionalist theories, executive leadership is analyzed in institutionalist terms. As shown above, the current state of research on executives offers only very tenuous indications as to what institutional factors affect executive leadership. At a very general level scholars have stressed the existence of a strong centre of government furnished with adequate authority and expertise (Evans and Manning 2000) (Nunberg 1999) and executive embeddedness (Stark and Bruszt 1998) or nodality (Goetz and Margetts 1999). Building on the insights offered by such formulations this dissertation hypothesizes that *the pattern of adaptation of public policies is linked to the degree of centralization of the governance capacities within the executive.*

The governance capacities are defined in institutionalist terms and denote institutions that support the following processes within the executive:

- steering – to initiate and formulate a policy programme; to assign responsibilities for implementation; to structure the formulation and implementation process by laying down the sequence and time of individual stages; to allocate resources necessary for implementation;
- coordination – to ensure that policy is consistent and compatible with other policy environments; to eliminate any inconsistencies through arbitration and mediation;
- control – to monitor progress; to detect non-compliance and shirking; to impose sanctions;

Institutions are operationalized in this dissertation as (i) procedural resources and (ii) organizational resources. Procedural resources denote the rules that govern the interaction of individual and collective actors within the executive. Organizational resources denote resources appurtenant to collective and individual actors and include:

- personnel – the stock of people available to collective actors, together with their skills, knowledge and availability.
- structure – the institutional ‘hardware’ such as buildings, equipment, technology, office space, materials.
- finance – the financial resources available to collective and individual actor for the purposes of implementation

Governance capacities adopt different configurations along the centralization/decentralization continuum across policies and across the stages of the adaptation (policy) process. This assumption is informed by an appreciation that some institutional configurations may be more appropriate for certain types of policies (Scharpf 1978) or stages of the policy process (Wright 1996). Furthermore, configurations of governance capacities may change at any point in time as a result of reorganizations of the executive.

## 1.5 Theoretical and Policy Significance of the Research

This dissertation seeks to make a threefold contribution to the existing academic literature. First, by focusing on the process, rather than substance, of national adaptation, it explores the modes and processes by which European designs are fed into the domestic arena. In doing so, it departs from the reliance on the 'goodness of fit' as the main explanatory variable, considering it as inadequate for explaining adaptation under pre-accession conditions. Rather, it draws on insights offered by the study of national executives to offer an alternative approach.

Second, by exploring the different configurations of the institutionally defined governance capacities within the executive in Poland, it contributes to a better understanding of how the Polish executive works in practice. The state of knowledge in this area is rather limited (Dimitrov and Goetz 2000). While the executive organizations in the West have received a close attention, relatively little is known of the internal life of the Central and Eastern European executives.

Third, the dissertation makes a contribution to the on-going interest in the impact of institutional designs on policy outcomes and performance. This interest has been recently stimulated by the perception of governance as a key element affecting the quality of life and economic performance (WORLD BANK 2000).

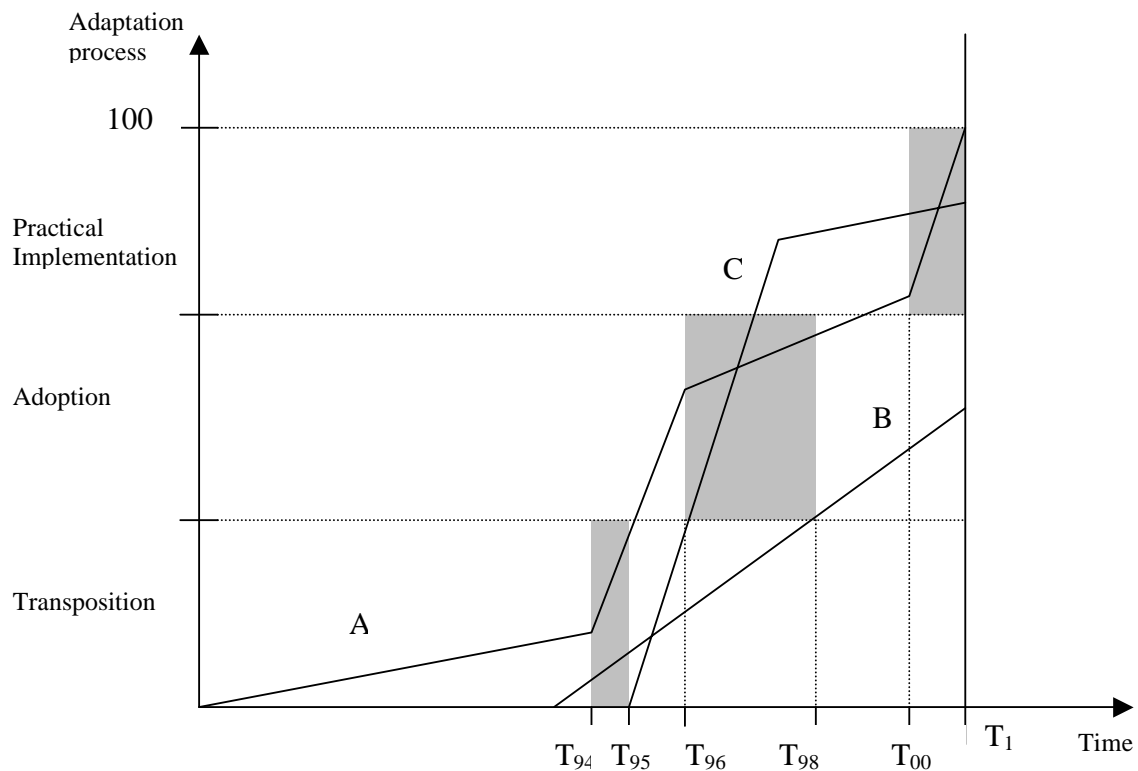
Finally, with regard to the practical applicability of the research, it is posited that the findings of this research will help 'unpack' the concept of administrative capacity which, although greatly under-conceptualized, constitutes a key element guiding the accession of Central and Eastern European countries to the European Union.

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Research design

#### *Comparison Across Policy Areas and Adaptation Stages*

This dissertation links different adaptation trajectories to differential configurations in governance capacities of the executive. This is done (i) across policies and (ii) across stages of the adaptation process. The diagram below presents the basics of the research design.



The adaptation process is divided into three stages: transposition, adoption and practical implementation. Measurements of the configuration of the governance capacity are made for each policy A, B, C in three periods, each corresponding to a different stage of the adaptation process. It is assumed that different configurations of the governance capacity occur at different stages of the policy process and in different policy areas. Thus, the following matrix of results is established:

Stage of Adaptation Process	Time Period	Dependent Variable	Governance Capacities
Transposition	T <sub>94</sub> -T <sub>95</sub>	PA fast	X <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>1</sub> Z <sub>1</sub>
		PB slow	X <sub>2</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> Z <sub>2</sub>
Adoption	T <sub>96</sub> - T <sub>98</sub>	PA slow	X <sub>3</sub> Y <sub>3</sub> Z <sub>3</sub>
		PC fast	X <sub>4</sub> Y <sub>4</sub> Z <sub>4</sub>
Practical Implementation	T <sub>00</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>	PA fast	X <sub>5</sub> Y <sub>5</sub> Z <sub>5</sub>
		PC slow	X <sub>6</sub> Y <sub>6</sub> Z <sub>6</sub>

### *Case Studies Approach*

This dissertation follows a comparative research design based on the qualitative method for data collection. The principal empirical material for testing the key hypothesis regarding the independent variable is drawn from case studies of regulatory policies. Four policy areas will be analyzed to ensure that variation in the explanatory variable can be measured consistently both across policies and across stages of the adaptation process. Each will be analyzed for the patterns of adaptation in both the institutional framework and the substance of regulatory legislation.

### 2.2 Data and Sources

The information will be obtained through analysis of primary materials (government documents, framework policy documents, alignment timetables, etc), secondary sources and during interviews with domestic actors.

### REFERENCES

- Caporaso, J. A., M.G. Cowles, and Th. Risse. "Europeanization and Domestic Change: Introduction." In *Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2001a.
- . *Transforming Europe (Europeanization and Domestic Change)*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2001b.
- Dimitrov, V.T., and K.H. Goetz. "Executive Capacity and Executive Performance in Post-Communist Europe: Towards an Analytical Framework." Paper presented at the paper prepared for the ECPR 28th Joint Sessions of Workshops,, Copenhagen, 14-19 April 2000 2000.
- Evans, G., and N. Manning. "A Practical Approach to Assessing Central Government Policy-Making Institutions in Cabinet Government: Learning Lessons from Recent World Bank Institutional Analyses." In *unpublished manuscript*. World Bank, 2000.
- Goetz, K.H. "European Integration and National Executives: A Cause in Search of an Effect?" *West European Politics* 23, no. 4 (2000): pp. 211-31.
- Goetz, K.H., and H. Margetts. "The Solitary Center: The Core Executive in Central and Eastern Europe." *Governance* 12, no. 4 (1999): pp. 425-53.
- Hall, P.A. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policy Making in Britain." *Comparative Politics* 25, no. 3 (1993): pp. 275-96.
- Haverland, M. "National Adaptation to European Integration: The Importance of Institutional Veto Points." *Journal of Public Policy* 20, no. 1 (2000): pp. 83-103.
- Heritier, A. "Differential Europe: National Administrative Responses to Community Policy." In *Europeanization and Domestic Change*, edited by J. Caporaso, M.G. Cowles and Th. Risse. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Hix, S., and K.H. Goetz. "Introduction: European Integration and National Political Systems." *West European Politics* 23, no. 4 (2000): pp. 1-26.
- Knill, C. "European Policies: The Impact of National Administrative Traditions." *Journal of Public Policy* 18, no. 1 (1998b): pp. 1-28.

- Knill, Ch., and D. Lehmkuhl. "How Europe Matters. Different Mechanims of Europeanization." *European Integration Online Papers* 3, no. 7 (1999b): (<http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1998-007a.htm>).
- Knill, Ch., and A. Lenschow. "Coping with Europe: The Impact of British and German Administrations on the Implementation of Eu Environmental Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 5, no. 4 (1998a): pp. 595-614.
- . "Adjusting to Eu Regulatory Policy: Change and Persistence of Domestic Administrations." In *Europeanization and Domestic Change*, edited by J. Caporaso, M.G. Cowles and Th. Risse. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Metcalfe, L. "Meeting the Challenges of Accession." In *Preparing Public Administrations for the European Administrative Space*, edited by OECD-SIGMA. Paris: SIGMA Papers No. 23, 1998.
- Nunberg, B. et al. "Public Administration Development in the Eu Accession Context.". internal document: The World Bank, 1999.
- OECD-SIGMA. "Preparing Public Administrations for the European Administrative Space.". Paris: SIGMA Papers No. 23, 1998.
- Radaelli, C.M. "Whither Europeanization? Concept Stretching and Substantive Change." *European Integration Online Papers* 4, no. 8 (2000a): (<http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2000-008a.htm>).
- Rupp, M.A. "The Pre-Accession Strategy and the Governmental Structure of the Visegrad Countries." In *Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the European Union*, edited by K. Henderson. London: UCL Press, 1999.
- Saganek, P., and T. Skoczny. *Wybrane Problemy I Obszary Dostosowania Prawa Polskiego Do Prawa Ue [Selected Aspects and Areas of Harmonization of Polish Law with That of the Ue]*. Warsaw: Warsaw University Centre for Europe, 1999.
- Scharpf, F.W. "Interorganizational Policy Studies: Issues, Concepts and Perspectives." In *Interorganizational Policy Making: Limits of Coordination and Control*, edited by K. Hanf and F.W. Scharpf. London and Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, 1978.
- Stark, D., and L. Bruszt. *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East-Central Europe*. Cambridge: CUP, 1998.
- Stawarska, R. "Eu Enlargement from the Polish Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 5 (1999): 822-38.
- WORLD BANK. *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance*. Washington: World Bank, 2000.
- Wright, V. "The National Co-Ordination of European Policy Making: Nagotiating the Quagmire." In *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, edited by J. Richardson, pp. 148-69. London: Routledge, 1996.