The Process of Europeanization

A Study of the European Effects on Polish Domestic Structures

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Abstract

The countries of the European Union are in an ongoing phase of integration. The influences on individual states domestic structures are unquestionable and the governing prerequisites have changed significantly. Poland, a relatively new member state is in the middle of the process and so this study analyses the effects of Europeanization on polishes domestic structures. The study examines four public authorities through survey questions to the officials. The authorities included in the study are the ministry of foreign affairs, the ministry of health, the ministry of finance and the internal revenue service in an attempt to discern changes and effects of the Europeanization process. A similar examination of Swedish administrations has been done before; however Polish authorities have yet not fallen under much scrutiny which is why further research on the subject is essential. Hence the study attempts to show focal effects of Europeanization on the chosen authorities in Poland. The theories employed present the state on the basis of a rule-following top-down process where both rationalist and sociological institutionalism makes an impression on the European government versus governance discourse.

**Key words:** Europeanization, Poland, policy adaptation, integration, institutional change.

**Length of study:** 65 638 characters
Abbreviations

MFA- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MF- Ministry of Finance
MH- Ministry of Health
IRS- Internal Revenue Service
EEC- Eastern European Country
EDC- European Defense Community
ECSC- European Coal and Steel Community
UN- United Nations
OECD- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
1. Introduction

The member states of the European Union have since 1959, however with previously joint commitments, (1951- Coal and Steel Community ECSC and 1952- Defence Community Treaty EDC) developed a dynamic inner market amongst each other. The coalition allows for people, goods, favours and capital to move freely within the boundaries of the EU. The expansion from the initial six founding states to the present 25 member states makes the European Union the largest trade power in the world. The successful policy development between the first members of the Union concerning among other things, the abandonment of customs and the installation of common agricultural and trade policies, made other states willing to pursue membership. In the 1970- s the Union gained more international influence and subsequently agreements were also signed with other major trade powers in the world.

Nonetheless, the focal point of my thesis is the inevitable escalation of Europeanization, generated by the development of, the above stated, common regulations and political institutions among the European countries. There are many different understandings of the term, hence for this purpose; Europeanization will be referred to as the process of adapting the overall structures of the EU at the domestic level. This approach also allows me to recognize and take into account an integrative perspective. In other words, the adaptive outlook on domestic structures, in my opinion ultimately makes way for an integrated Europe.

The member state constituting the subject matter of my thesis is Poland, which applied for European membership in the middle of the 1990- s. The negotiations on whether the country had fulfilled the membership conditions along with the legal requirements, ended in Copenhagen in 2002. As a result, Polish membership in the European Union, jointly with 9 additional candidate states, was acquired in May 2004. The membership of the new countries put an end to the 1945 division
between the communist bloc and the free world. Moreover, this enlargement of the EU constitutes the fifth and the most extensive one.

Much has been said about the Union's goals of enlargement, its development of common policies and its international relations. But little focus has been placed on the national development of the new states comprising the Union. The process of adaptation to the European Union transpires differently within the many national governments of Europe, and it is these alterations that have originated in the Europeanization field of research. Consequently, it is the national governments interaction between their interests and the ones of the Union that is of essence for this project.

“The model of European communion is founded on a continuous interaction between national and mutual interests, respect for national dissimilarities and a personal profiling of the European Union’s identity”.

(www.europa.eu)

1.1 Aim and Research Question

There is a range of previous research in the field of Europeanization, however surprisingly little of it concerns the new states of the European Union after the acquirement of membership status. The incorporation of new regulations and ways of conduct for a country that has been an outer part for a long time has its difficulties.

Nonetheless, I find it of interest to explore the effects of Europeanization on some of Poland’s state authorities. The aim of this work is to estimate the bearing of 4 Polish authorities in the current EU adaptation process. On the basis of a questionnaire, developed by Bengt Jacobsson and Göran Sundström for their study on the level of Europeanization in the Nordic countries (2006), I will pose some specific questions in order to evaluate the effects of Europeanization on the ministry of foreign affairs, the ministry of health, the ministry of finance and the internal
Thus, the research question posed is; what effects do the officials at the mentioned authorities experience due to the process of Europeanization?

1.2 Methodological Choices and Material

Methodological individualism stipulates that scientific knowledge stems from the individual and thus the understanding of society calls for the study of separate constituents of it (Gronmo 2006 p. 38). In order to examine macro circumstances such as organizations, institutions and other societal bodies, relationships on the micro level are imperative study objects (Gronmo 2006 p.55).

The methodological choices employed to conduct this essay have been of quantitative sort, in which the collecting of data has been realised through questionnaires directed towards given units. The respondents of the research are, as mentioned above officials at four polish authorities; the ministry of foreign affairs (MFA), the ministry of health (MH), the ministry of finance (MF) and the internal revenue service (IRS).

The respondents that answered the questionnaire are conceivably not representative of the total population at the authorities since not all responded to the questions posed. However the received answers make an interesting input to a yet not investigated field of research and are hereby examined. The number of answered questionnaires received back from the authorities has been 13 from the MF, 7 from the MFA, 8 from the MH and 12 from the IRS. The answers were collected in November of 2007. Given that most international political interactions were previously held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I found it of interest to study three other authorities jointly with the MFA and see if there are considerable differences in working procedures between them.

As mentioned above I have, for the purpose of my thesis, used the questionnaire elaborated by Jacobsson and Sundström in their study on the effects of Europeani-
zation on Sweden. The questions have been posed in exactly the same way to simplify the evaluation and to make possible assorted comparisons with some of their results. However, I have shortened the survey from 42 questions to 18 in order to avoid a low response rate, which is perceived to be a risk when constructing lengthy questionnaires (Eliasson 2006 p.40). Hence the questions were reduced to as few as possible not to deter the purpose of the study. Further reflection behind the choices will be elaborated further down in the text. (For the whole version of the questionnaire see appendix 1).

The questionnaire is prestructured which means that the questions are closed and have predetermined response alternatives (Johannessen and Tufte 2003 p.150). The negative side is that closed questionnaires make it difficult for the researcher to grasp additional information. However, the reason behind this formation is the otherwise quite complex generalization possibilities if questions were open. Moreover, without any beforehand given answering alternatives there is a risk of interpretation errors while analyzing the results in order to find a suitable assembling scheme (Eliasson 2006 p.37).

The outcome of the survey will be presented in percentages to provide a comprehensive and factual overview of the results.

The material employed in this study mainly consists of primary sources such as scientific articles and studies on Europeanization. Some secondary sources have been used but there are only a small number of relevant books written on this topic that are not outdated. The relevant data has mainly been found on the internet, where recent scientific articles have been attained. The EU webpage has been of help throughout the research of which speeches and articles have been examined. The advantage of using the internet is that the range of information is subjected to constant update. Some older articles are also included but these are theoretical ones, not factual and are still contemporary. The book written by Sundström and Jacobsson (2006) in which the results of their survey on how the Europeanization is handled in the Swedish state administrations has had a central role throughout the study.
The facts on critical approach have been drawn from the book *Källkritik* written by Thorsten Thurén in which he sets up the following rules; authenticity, time correlation, independency and freedom of tendencies (Thurén 2005 p.13). The literature is mainly consisting of scientific articles and books, for this reason my estimation is that the validity of the sources is high. According to the rule on time correlation, there should not be an extensive time gap between the occurrence and the event. For the most part I employ relatively recent sources since the Europeanization phenomenon and its effect on domestic structures is a contemporary topic.

1.3 Theory

1.3.1 Government versus Governance

The research surrounding this subject field is revealing a shift from hierarchical, authoritative methods of governing within an increasing part of democratic states, to more cooperation- and network- oriented political processes (Ferry 2007 p. 450). Governance ruling leads to nongovernmental organisations and non state actors having the central role in solving international disagreements (Eberlein 2008 p.27). Furthermore, the earlier “hard laws” are increasingly becoming replaced by “soft laws” which are expressed as guidelines, action plans, goals etc. However, though there are directives that in theory are voluntary, it is hard for a single country to disregard them in practice (Jacobsson and Sundström 2006 p.147). The pressure on adaptation brings about considerable changes to institutional arrangements. These changes are closely linked to the progress of regionalization and a decrease in parliamentary control (Martin Brusis 2002 p.533). The policy networks that constitute the governing process are linked together by their dependency on each other, since different actors have different types of resources at their disposal. Consequently, this is assumed to lead to the formation of mutual interests in the voluntary, equal and reliant surroundings of governance (Jacobsson and Sundström 2006 p.21- 22). Bache writes that there is a focus on voluntary adaptation through learning within, what he calls the “second genera-
tion” of Europeanization studies. In other words, agency is emphasized rather than structure, where interests, beliefs, and ideas, are assigned significant research value (Bache 2002 p. 6).

Political science researchers are constantly posing new questions about the changeable role of the state. The EU, the municipalities, the international business enterprises, the organisations, both international as well as inner state ones, and state authorities all have major impacts on the responsibilities of the state. Researchers now ascribe the state a different, though an unfailing central role. In other words, from a governing status of the government stance, the function of the state is now assumed to have taken organisational forms instead. I mean, the state provides the policy networks with information relating to financing, work procedures and problem solving. Sorensen concludes the argument well by saying that, the role of the state is to set boundaries surrounding the political networks in order for them to practise a high level of self-government, though within the set boundaries. However the governance literature is said to have more of a normative character, and that network governing is a form that should be strived for and not one that fully manifests at present (Jacobsson and Sundström 2006 p. 22).

Inasmuch as the governance field differs from the field of Europeanization, I believe that in order to study the latter we have to have knowledge of the surrounding, though constantly changing circumstances. The governance researchers predict a fading of the state, and the field of Europeanization focuses on national administrations adaptation to the EU (Radaelli 2004 p.2). Hence, the shift towards governance is subsequently affecting the Europeanization field of work. As an example of the relationship Eising states that the understandings of governance are changing due to the Europeanization process (2004 p. 222). However, the institutional adaptation to the EU, despite the changing role of the state is claimed to be marked with “national colours” (Bache 2002 p. 15).

1.3.2 The state from a rule following perspective

The aspiration for membership in the European Union is an example of states following rules set by larger international bodies. Poland, as any other country in the
grounding process, was obliged to realize mutual goals before attaining membership in the EU. In addition, all the countries that joined in 2004 had to take on the Unions compound framework of constitutional rules. The ambition to catch up to the already established members, the states that recently joined have a tendency to participate exceedingly in EU activities, such as i.e. networking across borders (Jacobsson et al.2004 p. 108). Complementary to the harmonizing process was undoubtedly the attendance of various controlling organizations. Apart from the European Union, states have responsibilities towards various international organizations such as i.e. the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. In view of this fact, they are engaged in numerous structures of rules, which are constantly in progress. Europeanization is in the same way an ongoing process which continuously produces administrational modifications (Jacobsson and Sundström 2006 p.74, 79). Knill and Lehmkuhl state that “positive integration” is when policies are adopted by domestic structures. Compliance to “community policies” is a total transformation of domestic regulatory structures, since the aim of the policies is to replace the existing (2002 p. 258). However, the institution that issues the rules is legitimated when trust is build up, and thus social trust is an important component in a rule- following relationship (Dimiter Toshkov 2007 p. 935).

Jacobsson and Sundström put forward that the above mentioned system of rules is one of the most important ways of expressing governance. The concept of governance can according to Jacobsson and Sundström be divided into three different types of functions. Firstly, a function of governance is the issuing of rules, including both hard and soft rules where the former stands for laws and directives, and the latter for recommendations and achievement of goals. EU:’s soft regulations present a possibility for the various member countries to adjust the common rules to their own national arrangements. Moreover, the increase of individualization in the society has led to a belief that states are able to make the choices suitable for themselves, while still not neglecting the directives of the Union. Lastly, there is an outspread reliance on scientific expertise in organizations such as the EU, the UN and the OECD. Because of the fact that these “experts” are not elected democratically, the use of soft rules is required since they lack the ability to institute compulsory set of laws (Jacobsson and Sundström p. 82- 86).
The other form of governance is the exertion of scrutiny, where organizations as well as state authorities have the task of controlling others. One example is Amnesty International that is obliged to make sure that states comply with human rights rules issued by the UN. The last function of governance according to Jacobsson and Sundström is the discursive one. The form here is indirect and represents a process of adjustment through recurrent dialogues and discussions. The main focus of the conversations that are held between politicians, experts and officials from different countries, is the setting of “a good example”. This way the examples worth imitating are emphasized without the direct employment of binding legislation. Theoretically, in the shift from government to governance the most important element in the regulatory process is not the issuing of the rules but in fact it is scrutiny and discursive segments (Ibid).

1.3.3 From the angle of Rationalist and Sociological Institutionalism

Rationalist institutionalism sees the actor as rational and goal-oriented with a purpose to maximize his/her utilities from the provided resources. The actor pursues an instrumental rationality by weighing the profits and the costs of specific tactics and tries to determine the probable behaviour of others (Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier 2002 p.509). In this case the Europeanization process is seen as an opportunity for some to gain more political power. For this to occur, a high degree of misfit has to be prevalent so that new opportunities are brought by Europeanization. Moreover, domestic actors have to be able to take advantage of the new prospects, meaning they have to have the capacities to seize the possibilities. However, it is harder to establish institutional changes (adaptation to EU regulation) in domestic policy when a lot of actors have influence over the political decision-making, also referred to as the “existence of multiple veto points in a country’s institutional structure” (Börzel and Risse 2000 p.6). Furthermore, official institutions of the EU can bestow the actors with what is necessitated to maintain contact with formal EU institutions. But because of scarce resources this becomes an unattainable task for several regions and consequently the opportunities are left to be seized by domestic central institutions (ibid). All in all, the
changes to domestic policy are largely settled on by central administrations, and so actors employed by these have the chance of maximising their utilities.

On the other hand, sociological institutionalism implies “that actors are guided by collectively shared understandings of what constitutes proper, e.g. socially accepted behaviour in a given rule structure” (ibid). The ultimate cause is not to maximize utilities but rational action is seen from the stance of collective understandings and social expectations. Sociological institutionalism viewed from a structuralist perspective suggests that institutions in contact with each other over time develop similar ways of conduct. This approach proposes furthermore that actors will try to adapt the institutions to the changes in the environment (Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier 2002 p.509). However, this form of structural determinism fails to explain differences in adaptation amongst institutions within the same environment. Börzel and Risse suggest another approach which agrees with the insights of this study, and is an agency-centred sociological institutionalism. The actor in this process adapts to new rules and altered administrational arrangements by “social learning” where loyalties and interests become defined yet again. He continues by stating that the more alike European legislature is to domestic settings there will be less changes accomplished in the domestic policies. The process of socialization mentioned above however, will only occur when there is a “misfit” between the European procedures and the domestic ones (2000 p.9) In this setting an internalization of new norms is transpiring for the purpose of becoming members of the international society in a righteous way (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998 p. 895). According to this theory, there are two factors that lead to the above mentioned phenomenon. First, there are “change agents” who have an effect of persuasion on actors and engage them in “processes of social learning”. Moreover, they function in “epistemic communities” where they provide scientific facts about causal relationships, which subsequently result in the legitimating of new ideas and norms. When there is a high insecurity about cause- and effect relationships and agreement among scientists, the change agents have a significant influence on the policy-making procedure. Secondly, the informal political culture has a strong impact on domestic policy-makers and how these adapt to the process of Europeanization. But it has to be a “cooperative decision-making culture” where the “winners” compensate the “losers” concern-
ing adaptation costs originating in the process of European integration. This way, the total part of the state is in consensus rather than having fractions as believed to be the case in “competitive institutional cultures” (Börzel and Risse 2000 p.9).

Börzel has been criticized for her supposedly narrow point of view, and so scholars point to examples where Europeanization has occurred without the sign of any major adaptation pressures. What is more, they suggest that domestic actors can assume the prevailing EU policies without the existence of institutional misfit. The requirements that Börzel poses are claimed to be structural and not focusing enough on agency. There is not a total neglect of actors, but since they only respond to pressure, it is claimed not to be explanatory enough (Radaelli 2004 p.7). Despite of the critique directed towards this theoretical point of view, I still find it having important and valid definitions that contribute to the study on Europeanization.

“The differences between rationalist and sociological theories of institutions are multi-dimensional and often a matter of degree rather than principle. It is therefore more useful to regard the two institutionalisms as partially competing and partially complementary sources of theoretical inspiration for the study of enlargement”

(Börzel and Risse 2000 p.11)

1.4 Limitations

The study is restricted to the above mentioned research question, where officials of four polish authorities are requested to fill in the questionnaire in order to examine effects of Europeanization. There is no further examination of the organizational structure of these authorities, due to limited time and space. However, further research on internal structural circumstances can provide information that adds to the topic. Furthermore, the study is not a comparative one, since the findings on Poland cannot be put next to the findings by Jacobsson and Sundström on Sweden. This is due to the fact that the two countries constitute actors on different playing fields in the stage of European integration

Other interesting factors that can be included in further studies of the subject are e.g. qualitative interviews, which are harder to arrange but perhaps can provide significant observations in the study on the effects of Europeanization. In my view
it is the smaller entities that constitute the European phenomenon and personal interviews with officials at the macro level can make available indispensable information that is inaccessible otherwise.
2 What is Europeanization?

2.1 Concept Operationalization

The concept of Europeanization is theoretically applied in diverse ways by various scholars in the field of political science. In view of this account and a further understanding of the theoretical choices and methodological estimations made in this study, hence follows an operationalization of the concept.

Many researchers of the field mean that Europeanization refers to the process, where the European integration is more significantly becoming an influencing factor on changes, and ways of conduct in the political agendas of domestic actors (Jacobsson 1954 p.3). The comparisons drawn to globalization state that Europeanization is a regional variety of the former. The high market integration brings about an economic pressure on state administrations, and eventually makes way for a rivalry between domestic regulatory structures (Schneider & Häge 2008 p.5). Rieker divides the concept and its advocates into five different categories. Initially, it is perceived to be a cultural norm exporter from Europe to other parts of the world. Second, it is viewed as an integrative process towards a more unified Europe. Another group of scholars see Europeanization as a development of a supranational system of governance. Next, she continues, some political scientists mean that the concept implies a process towards a united European identity, and lastly there is a vast group of scholars which perceive that Europeanization entails a pressure on domestic political structures, inducing adaptation (2004 p.384). As mentioned before, for the purpose of this study, I will be applying the last theoretical framework, since it is the influence of Europeanization on national institutions and public administrations that will be assessed.

The works of Olsen are often reference marks in empirical research, and he continuously develops the significance of Europeanization on domestic structures. However, he claims that different definitions of the concept “complement, rather
than exclude, each other” (Olsen 2002 p.923). He also, divides the term into different mechanism, though with somewhat different meanings. In order to understand the ongoing process, he makes a distinction between the changes that Europeanization brings about. First, he claims, there is a change in the external boundaries of Europe, which alters the system of governance. The politics of the EU take on a different dimension with the territorial enlargement. Second, there is a development of institutions on a European level with a power to sanction practices and decisions made by single countries. Furthermore, a method of adaptation has to be developed in order to balance the “multilevel system of governance”. Lastly, Olsen also mentions the stronger influence that Europeanization induces internationally. While many scholars often focus on one aspect of the concept, Olsen means that in order to understand how the process of Europeanization is occurring, there needs to be a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of change. “For analytical purposes models can be kept separate. In the real world, however, there will be complex mixes of processes” (Olsen 2002 p.924).

When I refer to the concept of Europeanization I mean the way that the EU has had an impact on the changes in national administrations, however other standpoints can be complementary. The European Union, and its dynamics, becomes a part of the “organizational logic of national politics and policymaking” (Ladrech in Börzel and Risse 2000 p. 2).

“Europeanization means after all that factors that are normally considered national (Strategies, policies, organizations) become inextricably bound up with what is considered European. What is presented as a national strategy in any area has often been formulated through exchanges with European organizations and regulations. National strategies evolve in the EU, but these are at the same time the product of European exchanges.

(Jacobsson et al. 2004 p. 17-18)

Although states are to a great extent routed by European policies, the existence of latitude is to some extent always prevalent. However the room for manoeuvre has been relatively restricted for the new member states. Due to the fact that an “acquis communautaire” (EUs binding regulation) already exists, adaptation to it was
necessary to attain membership in the EU (Jacobsson et al. 2004 p. 18-20). On the contrary, states have different interpretations of the binding regulations which make the system open to some kind of translation. To illustrate, authorities can translate regulations in order to suit their own ways of conduct. Besides, it is easier to adopt activities that already have a significant part of the national administration in question (ibid). Radaelli means that Europeanization should not be perceived as convergence. Countries with similar structures are thought to respond in the same way to the prospects and obstacles provided by Europeanization. However, he continues, each country has different political actors and resources and, will most likely as a result; react in very different ways (2004 p.12). Furthermore, Jacobsson and Sundström assign yet a different meaning to the term, namely that it is the exchanges between national administrations in different member states, and the effects of these exchanges that constitute Europeanization (2006 p. 11).

2.2 The Transnational State

The empirical research on Europeanization does not confirm that the EU has had as big of an impact as was expected on national agencies. However, to disregard from the fact that states are European entities and to study their political organizations solely from a national perspective is perceived theoretically insufficient. Nonetheless, what makes the European states transnational is their interdependency, which leads political scientists to the discussion on transnational decision-making processes (Jacobsson and Sundström p. 36). That is, the political decisions agreed upon nationally in every single European state have their share of influence on the all embracing EU policies that consequently affect all actors of the union (Jacobsson et al. 2004 p. 6). It should however be noted that “democratic participation” in the public sphere is not changing in the same way as in national administrations and so public involvement on the main part does not go outside the own nation-state (Brüggemann et al. 2005 p. 155). By stating that the EU states are, to a greater extent than ever, becoming transnational, researchers also mean that national political organizations are increasingly in contact with similar establishments in other countries (Jacobsson et al. 2004 p.7). Research studies support the thesis that developments in EU structures, to a high degree, effect the
political organizations nationally. The European integration, followed by transnationalization has altered the mechanisms of political administering in the member states (Jacobsson and Sundström 2006 p. 41). However, in the same way that the process of Europeanization is influencing states in Europe, the process of globalization has led to the rising of transnational organizations in the whole world, where state administrations are increasingly interlinked with each other (Jacobsson 1954 p. 29). The “external explanations” such as i.e. the EU, are seen as a driving force outside of the single state, causing national change. Consequently, measures are taken by political actors to adapt to the changes. Coercive, normative or mimetic processes can cause adaptation (DiMaggio and Powell 1983 p. 150). Employing the explanatory approach requires the exploration of the formal system of affiliation. In other words, exploring the attitude towards the EU in single countries and the extent of the union’s integration into state arrangements (Trondal 1999 p. 3).

As mentioned earlier the length of membership is also important since later members had to carry out fundamental changes to their national organizations. “In an effort to catch up with established EU members, new members tended to engage in a high level of activity in the areas of contacts, participation, coordination and expertise” (Jacobsson et al. 2004 p.115). Goertz means that the field of Europeanization has to be viewed from many different perspectives and not only considered from an external approach (Goertz in Jacobsson et al.) Admittedly, dynamics such as political history and national strategies have to be taken into account in the European integration context. Since there is a different level of nonconformity in every state, adaptation pressures are varying. Ultimately, the length of membership, traditions, culture and institutional formations has an influencing role on the relationship towards the EU (Jupille and Caporaso 1999 p. 439, 440).

Hence the process of European integration is interlinked with the specific national preconditions of each member state. Moreover, while national assimilation restrictions exist, countries in the EU tend to borrow and learn from each other (Jacobsson 1954 p. 118).
2.3 Top down Processes

A top down course of impact means that the European member states are experiencing pressure from Europe (the EU), which through “intervening variables” leads to domestic institutional changes. The top-down process of the European expansion is a standpoint held by both functionalist and realist scholars (Della Porta and Caiani, 2006 p. 87). The theoretical focus lies on the impact brought about by European policies. Radaelli puts forward that there has been a shift in the Europeanization field of work, from the study of European integration to the many contributions on European impact on domestic policies (2004 p.3, 4). As also mentioned before, in order to study the process of Europeanization and its impact on domestic administration (the top down process) we initially need to explore the status of “inconvenience”, “misfit” and “facilitating actors”. In other words, European procedures and domestic management should, to some extent be incompatible with each other since “adaptation pressures” progress from misfit circumstances. Adaptation pressures along with facilitating actors responding to these pressures are according to Börzel and Risse necessary conditions for domestic change (2000 p.1).

“If European norms, rules, and the collective understandings attached to them are largely compatible with those at the domestic level, they do not give rise to problems of compliance or effective implementation more generally speaking. Nor do they provide new opportunities and constraints to domestic actors which could lead to a redistribution of power resources at the domestic level. European policy frames which resonate with domestic policy ideas and discourses are unlikely to trigger collective learning processes which could change actors’ interests and identities”.

(ibid 2000 p.5)

Policy misfits are experienced between the regulations at the European level and the domestic policies, when European political goals clash with national ones.
3. An Eastern European challenge?

3.1 Domestic Change and Europeanization

Radaelli writes about different mechanisms in order for the scholar to understand the impact of Europeanization on domestic change. As shown earlier, Europeanization and governance are interlinked with each other. Furthermore, he mentions three different forms of governance, those are; bargaining, hierarchy, and facilitated coordination (2004 p.10, 13). Bargaining comes into focus when EU directions are implemented into domestic policy, and so requires considerable negotiations between EU representatives and domestic actors. The process of bargaining can occur over sanctions but also over the degree of implementing EU directives nationally. During this process, adaptation is the main instrument of Europeanization. Furthermore, as mentioned in the first section, there is a hierarchical governing within the EU. Two ways are proposed for how this phenomenon takes place; through policies of positive and negative integration. The first one practises hierarchy through policies that correct market outcomes where models are produced of how policies should look like, and impose adaptation pressures on member states (Knill and Lehmkuhl 2002 p. 258). The latter enforces the “level playing field” and is not, like the one mentioned above, a matter of adaptation and misfit, but it is more an issue of compliance and capacity to change domestic policies accordingly. The last approach of Europeanization, facilitated cooperation, is just as it sounds cooperation that is organized between the member states by the EU, i.e. the regular meetings between members of different international organizations (Radaelli 2004 p.15). This method is alleged to lead to a process of learning from each other through socialisation. However, there is a debate among scholars on how to relate domestic changes to the definition of facilitated coordination, since introduced changes have different causes it is hard to detect the ones produced by soft law. The states are obliged to implement directives imposed by EU- law, but non- compliance is nevertheless taking place (Panke 2007 p. 850).
3.2 The Pressure

The range of literature on Europeanization and its impact on Poland is fairly limited, given that the main focus of research examines the effects of EU accession on all the relevant central and eastern European countries (EEC). Moreover, as Heather Grabbe points out, the effects of Europeanization on Poland cannot fall under scrutiny in the same way as the effects of Europeanization on already established members of the union. Comparisons are very hard to execute due to the fact that Poland, and other new member states, have been subject to other kind of adaptation pressures. The fact that Poland had been preparing for accession for about ten years, should in reality make a comparison between already established members possible. However, since political relations are different between the EU and the new member states, the outcome of Europeanization will also show a discrepancy (Grabbe 2002). Moreover through the whole pre-accession process the EEC countries were not “acting within” the EU system but were constrained to only “interacting with it” (Lippert et al. 2001 p. 984).

There is an emphasis placed on the power-relations between the EU and the EEC governments, where conditionality constitutes a means of pressure and authority. Asymmetry forms this power relationship and conditions shape the membership of the EEC (Hughes et al. 2004 p.524). In other words, Poland had to accept the policy norms of the EU, and implement the existing acquis communautaire prior to accession. This method of conditionality has been referred to as a process of “cognitive-sociological convergence”, where the pressure on new member states of today is greater than in former enlargements (O’Dwyer 2006). There has been a "significantly worse application and enforcement of EU law than in many of the 'old’ Member States” (Falkner 2008 p.299). “The cognitive encompasses the frames through which meaning is made and the rules that constitute the nature of reality” (Scott in Laffan 2001 p.8). Admittedly, the European Union is neither a society nor a state but an institution that is constructed on the beliefs and ideas of its joined nations (Laffan 2001 p.8), where the new member states are compelled to converge to the cognitive pillar of the EU. The discrepancies in pressure on domestic policies are, as mentioned very dissimilar in the EEC. What is more, the
policies of the EU are in a different stage of development, which also contributes to the harder accession criteria’s, compared to the ones of earlier applicants. To illustrate some of the progress of the union, Grabbe mentions the development of the single market, the free movement area of the Schengen, and the establishment of the single currency (2002 p.3).

Furthermore, she puts forward three factors that stipulate the EEC process of accession as the most rigorous, requiring major policy adaptations. To start with, the process of adaptation is faster and more scrupulous than ever before. The second factor is the will to take on the policies by the EEC’s, as a result of communism desertion and institutional change (Grabbe 2001). There is an economic, political and ideational appeal of the EU among the EEC, from which the strive for membership derives (Beate Sissenich, 2008 p.145). During the talks of accession the EEC’s were seeking for novel policies and so, the framework of the EU was introduced at a proper time. Moreover, every applicant state in east and central Europe claimed that joining the union was the first priority regarding foreign policy. Political conditionality has been a common precondition within the CEE countries (Schimmelfennig 2007 p.127). "With fundamental structural changes already underway, it is argued, there is less 'institutional resistance’ ” (O’Dwyer, 2006). And so the obligations of the eastern European countries to attain membership were more stringent than ever before and demanded not only the acceptance of the acquis communautaire, but “they also had to have a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union, as well as stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities” (Grabbe 2002 p. 5). Decisively, “institutional stability” is within the EU equated with “the consolidation of democracy” (Lippert et al. 2001 p. 983). However since there is no measuring instrument of the overall adaptation, this undoubtedly provides the EU with a “license” to interfere with the country’s national arrangements (ibid).
4. Survey results

In view of the fact that I am making use of Jacobsson’s and Bengtsson’s research questions, an account of the choices will follow introductarily. 18 out of the 42 original questions have been included in the survey, however with much reflection over the selection. The main reasons behind the reduction are the time limit, the apprehension that too many questions would be neglected by the authorities and that since the original questionnaire had its focus on Sweden, there were some questions not relevant for the purpose of this essay with Poland as its subject matter. Some questions that can be mentioned in this context are concerning matters such as influence from Nordic countries, and also influence deriving from authorities in these countries. The questions that are included are instead taking up outer circumstances relevant to the Polish case and their influence on the chosen subjects.

When authorities were asked to what extent their units activities concerning the inner market, economic and social issues and free movement of products, services, capital and persons is influenced by the EU, the answers show, as demonstrated in the chart below, that the officials find their units on the whole being very influenced by the EU organs. As much as 50% of the questioned officials state that the activities surrounding the inner market are to a large extent influenced by the European Union. What's more, nearly 27 % assert that the impact is very large.
However when asked about the influence on foreign affairs and security issues 53% of the officials perceive it to be of minor significance and only 33% see the EU as an important constituent. Concerning the influence on legal issues and matters of police cooperation, customs and border control, the opinions are quite spread seeing that 46% state that the EU largely affects these issues whereas 36% find the EU having a rather modest effect.

As a relatively new member of the European Union I found it interesting to see how much of the units overall work time comprises of EU-related matters during the latest year (2007). Not surprisingly, jointly 77% answers that a large amount of time is spent on work concerning the EU.
Furthermore, during the latest five years there have been quite large changes in the country’s existing rules and new ones have been added to the units’ area of activity as a result of the EU. As shown below, a total of 87% of the employees consent with this statement.

![Chart 1.3: Changes in regulations at the authorities due to the EU](image)

Another interesting aspect is that all the units are to a quite high degree involved in decision phases in connection with the EU, such as initiatives/ preparations, investigations, decisions, implementation and follow-up. However when it comes to the liberty of implementing EU-regulation within the own area of activity the results show that 60% find the degree of liberty being quite small contrary to 37% that state that they have quite much implementation choice. Soft regulations that are seen as vital for the countries own development and adoption of the EU are in this case replaced by hard regulations with little maneuver freedom.

To make out the level of training for the immense changes that the EU membership brings about on the examined authorities, the officials are asked if they during the latest five years have undergone schooling in regulations, EU’s decision making systems language and negotiations. Out of the above mentioned subjects most effort has been put on language education followed by schooling in regulations and EU’s decision making process and least focus has been placed on negotiations. The large effects of the EU on Polish authorities are among other factors shown, when 86% of the survey subjects answer positively to the question if their unit, during the latest five years has employed personnel to work specifi-
cally with EU-related issues. Out of the 86% that answered yes to this question, 53% state that more than ten new officials have been added. Seeing that most Polish authorities have an EU-division the impact of Europeanization cannot be disregarded pertaining to political organizations and their formations. Continuing on the same topic, the employees were asked how often they have, during the latest year, been involved in different project groups or other national forums that are mainly concerned with EU-related issues, such as the EU coordinating meetings, the secretaries of state EU-preparation, the EU-board, the state public investigation or other project groups. Just about 74% state that they continuously are part of EU coordinating meetings and 82% have been involved in the secretaries of state EU-preparation. When it comes to the EU-board the extent of participation lays at 87% but as much as 46% state that they have never been involved in the state public investigations. The result shows that the questioned employees are to a very high degree involved in EU-working groups, even so more than in state public investigations. One explanation for this can be that the EU has been very much incorporated into the daily work of the employees and is somehow very much perceived to be a domestic matter.

The viewpoint on how easy or difficult it is for the unit to know what the government or the departments political management asks for when it comes to EU-questions within the units area of activity, is fairly divided. A number of 48% find it hard to understand the stipulations whereas 44% find it quite unproblematic.

Another aspect is the lack of contact between the examined authorities and international groups when it comes to EU-matters within the unit’s line of work. As is shown in the table below the concentration on almost every area lays in the never column. The questions are taking up relationships with:

a) European commission/ the directorate generals under the commission
b) preparing committees/ expert groups under the commission
c-) implementation committees
d) council of ministers
e) EU-parliament with its underlying bodies
f) EU- chairmanship

g) EU court of justice

h) other EU bodies, e.g. the economic- or social committee

i) international organizations

j) administrations in neighboring countries

k) administrations in member countries.

**Chart 1.4: How often ideas are retrieved by the authorities from other countries or from international organizations**

The very limited contact scheme can be an outcome of the establishment of EU-sections on the authorities. In that case most international contacts are probably handled by these formations.

Moreover, the scrutinized authorities rarely retrieve ideas or models from other countries or from international organizations about how to run their administration. Only 4% of the survey subjects see their neighboring countries as an example, 29% do it occasionally while 36% answer very rarely. Concerning other countries and international organizations the results are quite similar. However
when it comes to EU-bodies the outcome is more compelling with 11% perceiving them as an example quite often and 36% doing it on an occasional basis.

Hence, other member countries are not seen as role models by the authorities in a way that has been predicted by earlier literature. One interpretation can be that these Polish authorities want to adapt to, and profile the EU in its own way and shape.

However, the countries that are seen as role models when asked about them are primarily Great Britain (20%), France (17%), Sweden (15%), Germany (15%) and Denmark (9%).

The outlook on whether the units opinions and wishes regarding the EU have been acknowledged by the European commission, preparing committees, the board of EU ministers, Polish authorities, other Polish administrative bodies, special interest organizations, the government and the parliament is quite positive since the majority has answered that they to a large extent feel recognized. However, these views are closely followed by ones that stress a quite small perceived acknowledgement by the above mentioned parties. What is gripping is that the largest amount of answers is to be found in the; I don’t know column.
The units have for the most part during the last year tried to influence EU bodies when it comes to proposing new rules or suggestions. In the table below the results of the authorities are shown separately. Predominantly, it is the ministry of foreign affairs and the ministry of health that have made the greatest effort to influence the EU bodies.
On the question posed whether the EU-work has brought about any changes of the authority’s control procedures the main part of the authorities answered that supervision has increased since Poland joined the European Union.

**Chart 1.7: Changes in control procedures as a result of the EU**

Lastly, 47% of the questioned employees state that the impact of the EU on their authority has been very large. Additionally 24% see the consequences as quite large.

**Chart 1.8: The degree of impact on the authorities by the EU**
When it comes to the impact of the EU concerning either positive or negative effects, a total of 71% state that the outcome has been positive. For more survey results see appendix 2.

Chart 1.9: Positive or negative impact of the EU on the authorities
5. Conclusion and Analysis

Scholars put forward the matter of conditionality as a phenomenon quite dominant in the debate surrounding Europeanization and its effects on domestic structures. There is a perceived “power asymmetry” between the new member states and the established ones (Hughes et al. 2004 p 524). As mentioned before, and as is seen by the survey answers, it can be said that there is a pressure on the examined authorities to take on the “acquis communautaire”. This is i.e. shown by the large amount of time spent by the authorities on matters concerning the EU. However, if it is compliance or if this is very much voluntarily brought on by the authorities (assimilation intents) is a matter of further debate.

One conclusion that can be drawn is that the studied Polish authorities are very much affected by, and affiliated in the process of Europeanization. Before the Europeanization storm, international matters were on the most part handled by the ministry of foreign affairs. As we can see from the results, it is no longer only the MFA that dominates the international sphere of politics, since the other three authorities show resembling results. Therefore what can be drawn from the studied authorities is that there is an outspread decentralization when it comes to EU-related work and international contacts are now extended to the other survey units as well. The authorities in question all have contacts with different EU bodies on some level, however not as frequent or with as many EU organs as Swedish authorities in the survey conducted by Jacobsson and Sundström. This outcome can be expected since Poland still is a relatively new member state. Ultimately, the authorities are creating their own international contact nets that for the time being are in a stage of development.
What is called “EU- administrations” by Jacobsson and Sundström are yet not prevailing in the case of the scrutinized authorities because transnational interactions are not as manifested.

However, special EU- sections have been put together at the authorities and a consequence may be a division between them and the rest of the department. This is due to the fact that the officials at the EU- sections have a correspondence with other EU- officials and international organisations which can transmit a different way of conduct. In time the EU- sections of the authorities may have more similar working methods with other alike formations in different countries than with their own department, as has been the case in several Swedish cases (Jacobsson and Sundström 2006).

As a result high demands of the EU are at the authorities met by the establishment of special EU- sections, language- and EU regulation schooling and the employment of officials principally in order to deal with EU related matters. The ambitions of the authorities seem to be very high in the adaption process, however awareness among Polish officials is in some cases experienced quite low, due to the fact that a fair deal of questions are answered with I don’t know.

To draw from the mismatch theory, the higher the divergence the more pressure there is on the state to adapt to the EU. However, seen from the literature on Europeanization, it is very hard to conceptualize to exactly what it is member states should be adapting to. Every state has its own administrational structures and adapts to the EU in its own ways where culture, politics and economical circumstances play a big part. There is not an absolute EU- government to adapt to which constitutes a definition problem for new members. These states are on a contiguous path of leaving the communist ways behind them and take on new political structures which may lead to dilemmas of what is in harmony with the EU. An important question to pose here is if the European Union model in fact is adjusted only for the Western European countries. As mentioned, every member state personally profiles the identity of the EU but is there any room for a polish EU iden-
tity? Seen from the literature written on Europeanization, the pressure for adaptation has been very apparent and hard rules, rather than soft have been applied.

Before Poland became a member of the European Union suspicion was directed towards their rule adherence (Lippert et al. 2001), and it is not likely that the country now has the benefit of total trust. Thus are Polish “national colours” are suppressed from the top? As seen by the survey results, Poland will, in my view follow the rules of the EU, with compliance as a big part of the process. Another basis for this statement is the fact that the country’s approach to the EU has been an entire state modernization (Tewes in Lippert et al 2001 p. 1002). As portrayed from the rule- following perspective, the authorities will increasingly be waved in to the Western European governance system.

Consequently, is there any room for an Eastern European model of the EU? Seen from the outlook of rationalist institutionalism, when resources are granted political actors do their utmost in order to seize the opportunity, if it is a beneficial one. Being incorporated into the political and economical process of the EU is in the view of Poland an advantageous occurrence, and so measures are determined. In this case it is a total modernization of state forms. Since I don’t believe that the choices pursued by Poland are purely rational, sociological institutionalism is in this context seen as a complementary perspective instead of a contrasting one. The adaptation process derives its justification out of the former communist ruling, from which a collective understanding of “proper” social expectations has developed. For more than a decade, at least the central administration in Poland has had contiguous contacts with EU- bodies. Furthermore, sociological institutionalism proposes that in a changing environment, actors will try to adapt to the institutions accordingly. Viewed from this perspective, at present there is little room for a Polish or Central European interpretation of the EU legislatives. The process of adaption is in its developing course and due to a high pressure from the top; Poland is more or less adjusting to the EU ways of doing things.

The results of this study show that Poland still is in its developing phase of adoption. Even if structure has settled the European Arena, agency has a very large
part of the context, and is still adapting to the new circumstances. As is perceived by agency centred sociological institutionalism, an internationalization of new norms is prevalent in the case of Poland and the desire to become a fully fledged EU actor is a focal motivation. The effects of Europeanization on Polish authorities are very large; however time is needed for the ways of conduct of the Union to embrace all relevant levels of political society. As is shown by the results, awareness of the external circumstances is many times lacking among the officials at the authorities In view of the fact that every country has different political actors and resources, if in a stage of adaptation or compliance, the effects of Europeanization will surely never be the same.
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Appendices

Appendix 1. Questionnaire

1. To what extent is the units activity influenced by the EU?
   a) Matters concerning the inner market, economic and social issues, free movement of products, services, capital and persons (e.g. regulations on competition, trade barriers, financial and monetary questions, public purchasing, immigration and asylum, education, statistics, research and development, post- and telecommunication, transport, fisheries and agriculture, industry, assurances, social- and healthcare, labor market, culture, energy, environmental issues, regional policy, consumption, tourism)
   b) Foreign affairs and security politics issues
   c) Legal issues and matters of police cooperation, customs and border control

   To a very large extent
   To a quite large extent
   To a quite small extent
   To a very small extent
   Does not concern

2. Approximately, how much of the units overall work time comprised of EU-related issues during this year?
   A very large amount of time
   A quite large amount of time
   A quite small amount of time
   A very small amount of time

3. To what extent, during the latest five years, have existing rules been changed and new ones have been added to the units area of activity, as a result of the EU?

   To a very large extent
   To a quite large extent
   To a quite small extent
   To a very small extent
   They have not been changed at all

4. To what extent are the following types of EU-related set of laws being applied within the unit’s area of activity?
a) Regulations (apply immediately and are binding for the member states)  
b) Directives (will be implemented and are binding for the member states)  
c) Decisions (apply immediately and are binding for all the concerned)  
d) Recommendations and statements (not binding)  

High extent  
Quite high extent  
Quite small extent  
Very small extent  
Not at all  

5. To what extent, during the latest year, has the unit been involved with the below stated decision phases, in connections with the EU?  

a) Initiatives/ preparations, investigations  
b) Decisions  
c) Implementation and follow-up  

Large extent  
Quite large extent  
Small extent  
Not at all  

6. How much liberty has the unit when it comes to implementing EU-regulation within the own area of activity?  

Very much  
Quite much  
Quite small  
Very small  
None at all  

7. How many employees does the unit have? (State yearly work forces)  

Less than 20  
20-70  
More than 70  

8. To what extent have the employees of the unit, during the latest five years, undergone schooling in any of the below listed areas as a result of EU work related demands?  

a) Language  
b) Regulations  
c) The EUs and other EU members organization- and decision making systems
d) Negotiations

Large extent
Some extent
Small extent/ none at all

9a. Has the unit, during the latest five years employed personnel to work specifically with EU related issues?

Yes
No

9b. If the answer to the previous question is “yes”, than how many new employees have been added? (State yearly work forces)

Less than 5
5-10
More than 10

10. How often have the employees of the unit, during the latest year, been involved in different working-, project-, reference groups or other national forums that are mainly concerned with EU related issues?

a) The EU- coordinating meetings
b) The Secretaries of state EU- preparation
c) The EU- board
d) The state public investigation
e) Other working-, project- or reference groups

Once a month or more often
A few couple of times
One time
Not at all

11. How easy, or how difficult is it for the unit to know what the government or the departments political management ask for when it comes to EU- questions within the units area of activity?

Very hard
Quite hard
Quite easy
Very easy
I don’t know

12. How often have the employees of the unit, during the latest year, been in contact with following international authorities and groups when it comes to EU- matters within the unit’s line of work?
a) European commission/ the directorate generals under the commission
b) Preparing committees/ expert groups under the commission
c) Implementation committee
d) The council of ministers
e) EU- parliament with its underlying bodies
f) EU- chairmanship
g) EU- court of justice
h) Other EU bodies, e.g. the economic- or social committee
i) International organizations
j) Administrations in neighboring countries
k) Administrations in member countries

Daily
Weekly
Monthly
A few times
Never

13a. How often does it occur that the unit retrieves ideas or models about how to run the administration from other countries or from international organizations?

Neighboring countries
Other countries
EU- bodies
Other international organizations

Very often
Quite often
Occasionally
Rarely
Very rarely

13b. Which countries are seen as role models by the unit?

Denmark
Sweden
Finland
Norway
Great Britain
Holland
Island
USA
Germany
France
Austria
Canada
Australia
Spain
Switzerland
Hungary
Greece
Chile

14. To what extent have the units opinions and wishes regarding the EU been acknowledged by the below mentioned parties?

a. The European commission/ general directorate
b. Preparing committees/ expert groups under the commission
c. The board of EU ministers
d. Polish authorities
e. Other Polish administrative bodies
f. Special interest organizations
g. The government
h. The parliament

Large extent
Quite large extent
Quite small extent
Very small extent
I don’t know

15. Has the unit, during the last year tried to influence any EU body when it comes to proposing new rules or suggestions?

Yes
No

16. Do you think that working with EU has meant changes concerning the control system of the unit? (here several options can be marked).

New types of control have been instigated
There is more control
There is less control
The exerted control has not been changed
It is not current
I don’t know

17. Some assertions are stated below about the character of the EU- questions and how they affect public administration. How much do the questions agree with the unit’s line of work?

a) Tight timelines are hampering the acquiring of views from authorities and concerned companies and organizations.
b) Tight timelines are hampering the process of proposing questions for the government.
c) Most of the questions concerning the EU are so difficult that they have to be reassigned to experts.

d) EU-work has contributed to an increased coordination between the unit and state administration in different sectors.

e) EU-work has contributed to an increased coordination between the unit and administrations in the same sector.

f) The politicians are interfering more in the units work concerning EU-questions than other matter.

g) The EU-work has induced a “culture shock” between the Polish political culture and the norms, gaming rules and working ethics within the EU.

h) The goal- and result orientation within the unit inadequately corresponds to the demands that the EU membership requires.

Completely agree
I partly agree
I have certain doubts
I don’t agree
I don’t know

18. On the whole, what are the consequences of the EU on the unit?

If the consequences have been big/ small:

Very big
Quite big
Nor big, nor small
Quite small
Very small
I don’t know

If the consequences have been negative/ positive:

Very positive
Quite positive
Nor positive, nor negative
Quite negative
Very negative
I don’t know
Appendix 2. Survey Results

1a. To what extent is the units activity influenced by the EU?

a) Matters concerning the inner market, economic and social issues, free movement of products, services, capital and persons (e.g. regulations on competition, trade barriers, financial and monetary questions, public purchasing, immigration and asylum, education, statistics, research and development, post- and telecommunications, transport, fisheries and agriculture, industry, assurances, social- and healthcare, labor market, culture, energy, environmental issues, regional policy, consumption, tourism).

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<th>IRS</th>
<th>MFA</th>
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<td>30%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<td>To a quite large extent</td>
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<td>40%</td>
<td>54%</td>
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<tr>
<td>To a quite small extent</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<td>50%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To a very small extent</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does not concern</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
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b) Foreign affairs and political security issues
c) Legal issues and matters of police cooperation, customs and border control.

4. To what extent are the following types of EU-related set of laws being applied within the unit’s area of activity?

   e) Regulations (apply immediately and are binding for the member states)
   f) Directives (will be implemented and are binding for the member states)
   g) Decisions (apply immediately and are binding for all the concerned)
   h) Recommendations and statements (not binding)
5. To what extent, during the latest year, has the unit been involved with the below stated decision phases, in connections with the EU?

d) Initiatives/ preparations, investigations
e) Decisions
f) Implementation and follow-up

6. How much liberty has the unit when it comes to implementing EU-regulation within the own area of activity?
8. To what extent have the employees of the unit, during the latest five years, undergone schooling in any of the below listed areas as a result of EU work related demands?

e) Language.

b) Regulations.
c) The EUs and other EU members’ organization- and decision making systems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Large extent</th>
<th>Some extent</th>
<th>Small extent/ none at all</th>
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<td>6,70%</td>
<td>76,70%</td>
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<th>Large extent</th>
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<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>66,70%</td>
<td>23,30%</td>
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d) Negotiations.
9a. Has the unit, during the latest five years employed personnel to work specifically with EU related issues?

9b. If the answer to the previous question is “yes”, than how many new employees have been added? (State yearly work forces)
11. How easy, or how difficult is it for the unit to know what the government or the departments political management ask for when it comes to EU- questions within the units area of activity?