# **European Politics Track**

## Core course 2

## Syllabus Autumn 2023 Version 1.1 (21 August 2023)

## Important Challenges in European Governance: Lobbying and Interest Groups (7,5 ECTS)

Contact	Wiebke Marie Junk (Track coordinator, <u>wiebke.junk@ifs.ku.dk</u> ), Silje Hermansen ( <u>silje.hermansen@jur.ku.dk</u> ) & selected practitioners (guest speakers)
Course description	The goals and values of the European Union and, more broadly, those common to countries on the European continent, are constantly put under stress by many external and internal developments. Charges of a 'democratic deficit' are frequently raised, both regarding decision- making at the European Union level, but also regarding national political processes. Despite the legislative procedures in place to formalize political competences, the location of power in decision-making is frequently debated. Which levels of decision-making and which actors are and should be involved in tackling the prime questions and challenges facing Europe?
	This course will engage with such (legitimacy) challenges, and the actors involved in them by placing attention on the relationships between state and non-state actors. It assesses the role of interest organizations from different perspectives, including efficiency and feasibility considerations, as well as normative implications. In the course, we will examine theories and empirical research on how organized interests organize in the first place, are governed internally, enter and interact with each other in populations or interest communities, and, ultimately, seek to influence policy.
Exam	Oral/synopsis exam.
Course overview	Part 1: Introduction and Conceptualisation
	1. The Role and Politics of Interest Organizations in Europe: An Overview
	2. Understanding Communities of Interest Groups
	Part 2: The Influence Production Process
	3. Issue Mobilization
	4. Inside Lobbying Strategies: Targeting Political Institutions and decision-makers

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	5. Outside Strategies: Lobbying the public & the media
	6. Access to Gatekeepers
	7. Influencing Policy Outputs: Access, Success and Power
	Part 3: Other Items in the Lobbying Tool Box
	8. Argumentation and Framing
	9. Lobbying in Coalitions
	10. Practitioners' perspectives: Lobbying Strategies (in-house)
	11: Legal Mobilization before the Court of Justice of the EU
	12: Practitioners' perspectives: Public Affairs Companies
	Part 4: Re-cap & Conclusions
	13: Strategy Game: Design a lobbying Strategy for a EU policy issue
	14: Conclusions: Is Lobbying a Challenge in European Governance?
Teaching structure	The course is structured into different parts that trace how non-state actors (try to) exert political influence in the EU and its member states. Classes will be conducted in seminar-style with emphasis on the discussion of advanced readings on related topics. It is expected that students prepare for class by following weekly reading guidelines that structure potential questions regarding that weeks' literature.
	Class participation then involves a) discussing several research articles during classes (guided by the teacher) and b) participating in exercises to apply arguments, findings or lobbying tools in practical terms. The participation in class discussions and exercises is designed to prepare students for the oral exam.
Learning goals	<ul> <li>At the end of the course students will have learned to: <ul> <li>Identify and describe challenges regarding interest representation in Europe and at EU-level</li> <li>Give an account of the role of non-state actors in modern policy making from a comparative perspective, considering different interest systems such as neo-corporatist and pluralist systems</li> <li>Understand the main perspectives on the interest production process in terms of mobilisation, strategy choice, access to political gatekeepers and, potentially, influence on policy outcomes</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Stud	ents will have trained the following skills:
	The ability to apply theoretical perspectives on the
	relationships between policy-makers and organised interests
•	The ability to select and discuss suitable methods to assess the role and success of organised interests, such as qualitative or
	quantitative (text) analysis, interviews, surveys methods etc.
	The ability to develop and support an argument on whether and
	how organised interests undermine or facilitate democratic
	politics in Europe
Stud	ents should have fostered the following competences:
	Independent reflection on representation in Europe based on
	the academic literature
	Critical analysis of the scope, nature and/or effect of the
	involvement of organised interests in decision-making,
	including the formulation of theoretical expectations and
	observable implications.
	Evaluation of the benefits, challenges and implications of the
	activities of organised interests on modern decision-making

## **Class Schedule and Literature**

## **Textbooks & Articles**

Two textbooks are assigned for the course and are listed below. However, much of our reading will be the academic journal literature on organized interests. Several articles per week will be assigned.

## **Textbooks**

- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaff, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Viral Lobbying. Mobilisation, Strategies, Access and Influence During the COVID-19 Pandemic. De Gruyter. (available open access)
- Klüver, H. (2013). Lobbying in the European Union: interest groups, lobbying coalitions, and policy change. Oxford University Press.

## Useful background reading

- Baumgartner, F. R., Berry, J. M., Hojnacki, M., Leech, B. L., & Kimball, D. C. (2009). *Lobbying and policy change: Who wins, who loses, and why*. University of Chicago Press.
- Mahoney, C. (2008) Brussels Versus the Beltway, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press.

#### **Detailed Syllabus**

(Readings cover 900+ pages)

Unless specified otherwise, classes take place on Thursdays (15-17) in room CSS CSS 2-1-18. (changes from the normal weekly schedule highlighted in yellow)

#### Part 1: Introduction and Conceptualisation

Please see the weekly reading and preparation guides for each session on Absalon.

# 1. Perspectives on the Role and Politics of Interest Organizations in Europe: An Overview Wighke Marie Junk Thursday, 7 September, 15:00, 17:00

Wiebke Marie Junk - Thursday, 7 September, 15:00-17:00

- Klüver (2013): Introduction, pp. 1-23. In: Lobbying in the European Union: interest groups, lobbying coalitions, and policy change. Oxford University Press. (22 pages)
- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 1. In: Viral Lobbying and the Influence Production Process. In: Viral Lobbying. Mobilisation, Strategies, Access and Influence During the COVID-19 Pandemic. De Gruyter. (available open access) (13 pages)
- Baroni, L., Carroll, B. J., Chalmers, A. W., Marquez, L. M. M., & Rasmussen, A. (2014). Defining and classifying interest groups. *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 3(2), 141-159. (18 pages)

#### 2. Understanding Communities of Interest Groups Wiebke Marie Junk - <u>Thursday, 14 September, 15:00-17:00</u>

- Lowery, D., Baumgartner, F. R., Berkhout, J., Berry, J. M., Halpin, D., Hojnacki, M., ... & Schlozman, K. L. (2015). Images of an unbiased interest system. *Journal* of European Public Policy, 22(8), 1212-1231. (19 pages)
- Salisbury, R. H. (1969) An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 13, 1-32. (31 pages)
- Moe, T. M. (1981) Toward a Broader View of Interest Groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 43, 531-543. (12 pages)
- Berkhout, Joost, Brendan J. Carroll, Caelesta Braun, Adam W. Chalmers, Tine Destrooper, David Lowery, Simon Otjes & Anne Rasmussen (2015). 'Interest organizations across economic sectors: explaining interest group density in the European Union.' *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(4): 462-480. (22 pages)

Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 2. The

#### Part 2: The Influence Production Process

#### 3. Issue Mobilization – Wiebke Thursday, 21 September, 15:00-17:00

- Berkhout, J. (2013). Why interest organizations do what they do: Assessing the explanatory potential of 'exchange' approaches. *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 2(2), 227-250. (23 pages)
- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 3. Issue Mobilisation. In: Viral Lobbying. (21 pages)
- Halpin, D. (2011) 'Explaining Policy Bandwagons: Organized Interest Mobilization and Cascades of Attention'. *Governance* 24(2):205-30. (25 pages)

No teaching in week 39 (double session next week)

## 4. Inside Lobbying Strategies: Targeting Political Institutions and Decisionmakers &

5. Outside Strategies: Lobbying the public & the media –

Wiebke <u>Thursday, 5 October, 13:00-17:00 room CSS 7-0-34</u>

#### Inside Lobbying

- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaff, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 4. Lobbying Strategies. In: Viral Lobbying. (29 pages)
- Binderkrantz, A. (2005) Interest Group Strategies: Navigating Between Privileged Access and Strategies of Pressure. *Political Studies*, 53, 694-715. (21 pages)
- De Bruycker, I. and Beyers, J. (2019) 'Lobbying strategies and success: Inside and outside lobbying in European Union legislative politics'. *European Political Science Review* 11(1):57-74. (18 pages).
- Dür, A. and G. Mateo (2013). 'Gaining access or going public? Interest group strategies in five European countries.' *European Journal of Political Research* 52: 660-686. (26 pages)

#### **Outside Lobbying**

- Danielian, L. H. & Page, B. I. (1994) The Heavenly Chorus: Interest Group Voices on TV News. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38, 1056-1078. (22 pages)
- Binderkrantz, A.S., Bonafont, L.C., and Halpin, D.R. (2017) 'Diversity in the News? A Study of Interest Groups in the Media in the UK, Spain and Denmark'. British Journal of Political Science 47(2):313-28. (15 pages)

- Dür, A. (2019) 'How interest groups influence public opinion: Arguments matter more than the sources', *European Journal of Political Research* 58(2): 513-37 (23 pages)
- Flöthe, L. and Rasmussen, A. (2019) 'Public Voices in the Heavenly Chorus? Group Type Bias and Opinion Representation', *Journal of European Public Policy*. (28 pages)
- Brown, H. (2016) Does globalization drive interest group strategy? A cross-national study of outside lobbying and social media. *J. Public Affairs*, 16: 294–302. (9 pages)

#### 6. Access to Gatekeepers

Wiebke Thursday, 12 October, 15:00-17:00

- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 5. Lobbying Access. In: Viral Lobbying. (29 pages)
- Binderkrantz, A. S., Christiansen, P. M., & Pedersen, H. H. (2015). Interest group access to the bureaucracy, parliament, and the media. *Governance*, 28(1), 95-112. (17 pages)
- Chalmers, A.W. (2013) 'Trading information for access: informational lobbying strategies and interest group access to the European Union'. *Journal of European Public Policy*. (21 pages)
- Eising, R. (2007) Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices. *European Union Politics*, 8, 329-362. (33 pages)

No teaching in week 42, happy autumn holidays!

7. Influencing Policy Outputs: Access, Success and Power Wiebke <u>Thursday</u>, 26 October, 15:00-17:00

- Dür, A. (2008) Measuring Interest Group Influence in the EU. European Union Politics, 9, 559-576. (17 pages)
- Klüver, H. (2011) The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 12, 483-506. (23 pages)
- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 6. Influence. In: Viral Lobbying. (25 pages)
- Dür, A., and De Bièvre, D. (2007) Inclusion without Influence? NGOs in European Trade Policy. *Journal of Public Policy*, 27(1), 79-101. (22 pages)
- Crepaz, Michele, Hanegraaff, Marcel, and Junk, Wiebke Marie (2023). Is There a First Mover Advantage in Lobbying? A Comparative Analysis of How the Timing of Mobilization Affects the Influence of Interest Groups in 10 Polities. *Comparative Political Studies*. 56(4), 530–560. (30 pages)

#### Part 3: Other Items in the Lobbying Tool Box

#### 8. Argumentation and Framing – Wiebke

Thursday, 2 November, 15:00-17:00

- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Mahoney, Christine. (2008). Forum Section: The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue Definition in the European Union. *European Union Politics* 9 (3):435-449. (15 pages)
- Druckman, J. N. (2001) On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame? *Journal* of *Politics*, 63, 1041-1066. (15 pages)
- Junk, W. M. and Rasmussen, A. (2019). Framing by the Flock: Collective Issue Definition and Advocacy Success. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(4), 483– 513. (31 pages)
- Daviter, F. (2011) Policy Framing in the European Union, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 6: The Framing of EU Biotechnology, 145-170 (25 pages)

#### **9. Lobbying in Coalitions – Wiebke** Thursday, 9 November, 15:00-17:00

- Hojnacki, M. (1997).'Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone.' American Journal of Political Science 41(1): 61-87. (26 pages)
- Sabatier, P. A. (1988) 'An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein', *Policy Sciences*2-3(21): 129-168. (39 pages)
- Klüver, H. (2013) Lobbying as a collective enterprise: winners and losers of policy formulation in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:1, 59-76. (17 pages)
- Junk, W. M. (2019), When Diversity Works: The Effects of Coalition Composition on the Success of Lobbying Coalitions. *American Journal of Political Science*. 63: 660-674 (15 pages)
- Junk, Wiebke Marie (2020) 'Synergies in lobbying? Conceptualising and measuring lobbying coalitions to study interest group strategies, access, and influence', *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, 9: 21–37. (17 pages)

## **10.** Practitioners' perspectives on Lobbying Strategies (in-house) Thursday, 16 November , 15:00-17:00

## Dansk Industri (Laura Marie Sinius Månsson) & Dansk Metal (Emil Drevsfeldt Nielsen)

- De Bruycker, I. (2019) 'Lobbying: An art and a science—Five golden rules for an evidence-based lobbying strategy'. *Journal of Public Affairs* 19(4). (4 pages)
- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 7. Interest Groups' Experiences with Lobbying during the Pandemic. In: Viral Lobbying. (16 pages)

#### **11. Legal mobilization before the Court of Justice of the EU – Silje Hermansen** Thursday, 23 November, 15:00-17:00

- Conant, Lisa, Andreas Hofmann, Dagmar Soennecken, and Lisa Vanhala. 2018. "Mobilizing European Law." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (9): 1376– 89. (14 pages)
- Alter, Karen J., and Jeanette Vargas. 2000. "Explaining Variation in the Use of European Litigation Strategies: European Community Law and British Gender Equality Policy." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (4): 452–82. (30 pages)
- Vanhala, Lisa. 2009. "Anti-Discrimination Policy Actors and Their Use of Litigation Strategies: The Influence of Identity Politics." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (5): 738–54. (17 pages)
- Case, Rhonda Evans, and Terri E. Givens. 2010. "Re-Engineering Legal Opportunity Structures in the European Union? The Starting Line Group and the Politics of the Racial Equality Directive." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (2): 221–41. (20 pages)

**12. Practitioners' perspectives: Public Affairs Companies** <u>Thursday, 30 November, 15:00-17:00</u>

> Rud Pedersen, EU Office (Diane Watson) Ulobby (Anders Kopp Jensen)

> > Part 4: Re-cap & Conclusions

13. Strategy Game: Design a Lobbying Strategy for EU policy issue – Wiebke (including Exam Preparation) Thursday, 7 December, 15:00-17:00

Preparation material on Absalon (ca. 30 pages)

# **14.** Conclusions: Is Lobbying a Challenge in European Governance? – Wiebke Thursday, 14 December, 15:00-17:00

- Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page (2014). 'Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens '*Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3):564 - 581. (17 pages)
- Crepaz, M. Junk, W. M., Hanegraaf, M. and Berkhout, J. (2022). Chapter 8. Conclusion: Trends and Biases in Viral Lobbying (21 pages)