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**Greener economies, better lives?  
A political economy of decarbonisation policies in the EU**

*An assessment of policy coordination in the EU through the lens of Discursive Institutionalism applied to the EU's decarbonisation discourses, from the launch of the Lisbon Strategy to the start of the Europe 2020 Strategy*

## Abstract

*My study focuses on policy coordination in the European Union (EU) and assesses how these process have changed over a 10-year period. Policy coordination has been considered a key subject of political economy and political science research as it is essential to ensure policy coherence. Coordinating policy has proven especially problematic for the EU due to its multi-level nature. As a result, various efforts have been made to increase the effectiveness of the EU's intra- and inter-institutional policy coordination since 2001. Using a discourse analysis aided by ALCESTE, a textual analysis software, and predicated on Discursive Institutionalism as it is applied to decarbonisation policies, my investigation demonstrates that the EU's efforts have not optimised the coordination of different policy frames in its overarching discourse. I further show that only the European Commission has improved the coordination of its discourse, reflecting efforts within this institution to increase intra-institutional coordination since 2001. My results substantiate policy coordination debates applied to the EU and support a rethinking of current decarbonisation policies.*

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## 1. Introduction

The EU has become increasingly concerned with the challenge of climate change since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and have made it necessary to de-carbonise European political economies. Decarbonisation requires EU members to adapt and coordinate social, employment, economic and environmental policies. These concerns have figured prominently on European policy-makers' agenda since the launch of the Lisbon strategy and the EU has presented decarbonisation as an opportunity to increase the competitiveness of its economies.

While assessing the exact impact of decarbonisation policies poses numerous methodological challenges, most results indicate the EU has missed the job creation and competitiveness potential offered by a transition towards a low-carbon economy. The Lisbon Strategy and its sustainable development schemes have not delivered. A key reason for these failures has been the lack of coordination at the EU level. However, the slogan of the Europe 2020 strategy, “a strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth”, seems to indicate that the EU has taken action to address this coordination problem.

So far the literature has neglected the potential impact of policy coordination in the field of decarbonisation policies and very few critical assessments of grand EU slogans have been undertaken. My study aims to remedy this oversight by using a Discursive Institutional theoretical framework. Discursive Institutionalism offers a particularly promising lens to approach policy coordination in the EU and the processes that shape it. It departs from other new-institutionalist frameworks to focus on the link between ideational frames which condition policy-actors' actions, policy-actors' discourses, i.e. speeches and deliberations in policy fora, and institutions. Discursive Institutionalism thus accounts for the processes that drive institutional change rather than continuity, making it a useful approach to critically assess policy coordination debates. My research question is

driven by this theoretical framework:

*Has the EU effectively increased the coordination of its decarbonisation discourses since the start of the Lisbon strategy? What institutional processes have driven this outcome?*

I argue in this dissertation that the EU has not increased its decarbonisation discourses since the start of the Lisbon Strategy as a result of a limited increase of inter- and intra-institutional coordination. I study the case of decarbonisation discourses' evolution over a 10-year period in order to substantiate my argument. The exact impact of discourses on policy coordination should not be overstated. Nonetheless, discourses are crucial in the EU's policy-making processes and in the overarching strategies which guide the Union's actions. I focus on discourses dealing with the main frames of decarbonisation policies – environment, social, employment and economics – and assess the coordination of these frames in the Lisbon strategy and the Europe 2020 strategy.

Policy coordination in the EU as well as the Lisbon and Europe 2020 strategies have been widely studied using qualitative approaches. While these studies offer extremely precise findings, they cannot be generalised and only a few scholars have undertaken systematic comparative assessments of policy coordination in the EU. I thus bridge the growing body of literature analysing political discourses through Quantitative Text Analysis (QTA) with the insights of the qualitative literature on policy coordination. QTA is a useful method as it allows to quantify the frames composing policy discourses as well as to understand the associations between these frames and the institutions where political discourses are produced. Through this method of analysis, I aim to substantiate findings from literatures of both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

My units of analysis are four European Councils, identified as critical events in the Lisbon strategy as well as the Europe 2020 strategy. I use the ALCESTE software for the QTA of each summit as it

allows to see co-occurrences between words and to map policy frames precisely. As a result, I provide an empirical evidence showing that the EU has not increased the coordination of decarbonisation policy frames in its overarching discourse. In fact, only the European Commission has increased the coordination between decarbonisation policy frames in its discourse. What caused this outcome was mainly the lack of institutional reforms in the Council of the European Union and a continuous reform process within the Commission. My findings have implications for policy coordination at the EU level and for the future of decarbonisation policies.

I first provide a background review of policy coordination theories and debates. I then introduce my theoretical framework, i.e. Discursive Institutionalism, and explain its value added compared to the three other frameworks of new-institutionalism in analysing policy coordination in the EU. I pursue by applying policy coordination debates and the Discursive Institutionalist theoretical framework to decarbonisation policies. After this theoretical discussion, I lay out my research design. I start by introducing the set of hypotheses which structure my dissertation. I then explain my choice of European Councils as proxies for my case studies, with a special focus on the Lisbon strategy and the Europe 2020 strategy. I further justify the choice of a QTA as well as the use of ALCESTE and my data set in order to verify my hypotheses. Using this methodology, I generate aggregate empirical results which are segmented into the two strategies. From these results, I finally derive implications for policy coordination in the EU and I conclude by discussing them in the light of the concept of Joint-Decision Trap.

## **2. Background: Policy Coordination**

Policy coordination has been a core topic of academic research and has given birth to concepts such as policy convergence, policy coherence, policy transfers, and policy learning. Hartlapp (2011:182) defines policy coordination as the 'horizontal calibration of different policy areas', i.e. the process

through which interdependencies between different policy fields are reflected in drawing the solutions to cross-sectoral problems (Hartlapp, 2011). I follow this definition and refer to policy coordination as the process of coordinating different policy areas in order to create a more comprehensive and encompassing policy-making process as well as to generate a more coherent policy output. It stems from this definition that policy coordination is as much a process happening during policy-making as an outcome reflecting this process. This definition also implies that policy actors are key to policy coordination as their interaction will determine the extent to which policy areas are coordinated. Studying policy-actors is therefore central to understanding policy coordination as an outcome as well as a process.

Ideally, full coordination happens when the interests of actors in all policy areas are given equal consideration while non-coordination occurs when only one actor's interest, thus one policy area, is heard (Hartlapp, 2011). In a system with no coordination between policy actors pursuing their own interests, policy areas are highly segmented. This can lead to incoherent and contradictory policy outcomes, which prevent the achievement of wider policy goals and generate a sub-optimal equilibrium (Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015). While achieving policy coordination is a difficult task for any polity, it should be sought for in order to increase the coherence of the policy-making process and of its outcome (Jordan, Schout, 2006). I follow these assumptions and treat policy coordination as a result which translates underlying coordination processes.

I focus on policy coordination in the EU as it is a case in point. Authors have repeatedly pointed out the lack of coherence of its policies and have emphasised the high coordination requirements which stem from its multi-level nature (Jordan, Schout, 2006, Adelle, Hertin, Jordan, 2006, Hartlapp, 2011). The sectoral organisation of EU institutions is another factor which reduces the coherence of EU policies (Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015). For instance, Héritier (1996) has underlined the difficulty to accommodate different interests within the Council of the EU. The spread of the New Public



Management agenda has reinforced these problems, since it has resulted in a multiplication of public agencies which has further fragmented decision making structures (Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015). Furthermore, coordination problems of the EU have increased after 2000 due to the expansion of its policy scope and several waves of enlargement (Jordan, Schout, 2006).

Following Vanhoonacker and Neuhold (2015), I distinguish three types of policy coordination, namely the intra-institutional, the inter-institutional, and the inter-level, for a better understanding of policy coordination problems in the EU. Intra-institutional coordination refers to the coordination of policy-actors' interests and policy areas *within* a single EU institution while inter-institutional coordination relates to the coordination of policy actors' interests and policy areas *between* different EU institutions. Inter-level coordination refers to the coordination of policy actors' interest and policy areas *between* different *levels of governance*, for instance between the EU and its Member States. Among three levels of policy coordination, intra-institutional coordination processes within the European Commission and the Council of the EU have been the most extensively studied (Héritier, 1996, Selianko, Lenschow, 2015), whereas inter-institutional and inter-level coordination have been less studied (Jordan, Schout, 2006). In this dissertation, I focus on inter-institutional coordination at the EU level in order to evince intra-institutional coordination.

The EU has taken these criticisms into account and has made various attempts at increasing its inter- and intra-institutional coordination in order to generate more comprehensive and coherent policies since 2001 (European Commission, 2001). Nonetheless, the consensus on greater coordination has been challenged. Begg (2008), for instance, argues that the extent of coordination should depend on policy goals. Economic policy is a case in point as the heterogeneity of EU political economies renders any extensive coordination attempt unfit (Begg, Hodson, Maher, 2003, Begg, 2008, Gabrisch, 2011). However, calls for cautious coordination mainly focus on inter-level coordination and do not undermine calls for greater inter- or intra-institutional coordination.

Of more concern for the policy coordination consensus is Scharpf's (2009) argument that greater policy coordination would reinforce Joint-Decision Traps at the EU level. The concept of Joint-Decision Trap has been developed in the context of the German Federal system before being extended to the Council of the EU's policy-making process (Scharpf, 1988). This model is applied to political decisions taken in compulsory negotiations systems where actors are cleaved by conflicts of interests (Holzinger, 2011). The higher the number of veto players and the transaction costs, the closer policies are to the lowest common denominator (Scharpf, 2006). Therefore, the lack of coordination between sectoral formations in the Council of the EU can drive actors to exit Joint-Decision Traps (Scharpf, 2009). On the other hand, cross-policy coordination can also yield exit from the Joint-Decision Trap by helping actors with different interests to build a consensus and thus to avoid making decisions based on lowest common denominators (Hartlapp, 2011). My analysis of policy coordination in the EU attempts to substantiate this debate.

### **3. Theoretical Framework: Discursive Institutionalism**

I adopt the theoretical framework of Discursive Institutionalism (DI) to analyse policy coordination in the EU, with a special focus on the study of policy-actors' discourses. There has been growing interest in analysing the ways in which different ideas and interests can be coordinated in order to shape policy-making processes, in the field of political science (Sabatier, 1987, 1988, Rose, 1991, Bennet and Lewitt, 1992), political economy (Hall, 1989, 1993), political theory (Weale, 2010) and European Studies (Checkel, 2001). I follow Rein and Schön's (1996) concept of 'policy frames', as it summarises the core assumptions of this literature. According to Rein and Schön, actions and decisions of policy-actors are guided by policy frames, functioning as story lines and schemas of interpretation. Each frame is supported by sponsors and interest groups who engage in policy conversations with others (Rein, Schön, 1996). The merit of Rein and Schön's (1996) approach lies in its recognition of the discourse as an object of study per se. An increasing number of scholars has

followed this approach and highlighted political discourses as a way to capture the interplay between different policy actors' interests and ideas (Schmidt, 2008, Schonhardt-Bailey, Yager, Lahlou, 2012). I follow Selianko and Lenschow's (2015) argument that policy-actors' discourses show the ways in which coherent understandings of policy problems and solutions are constructed.

However, it is essential to take the institutional fora into account, within which policy-actors' deliberations and discourses take place (Bicquelet, 2014). Indeed, discourses reveal not only policy-actors' preferences and interests but also given institutional settings (Schmidt, 2008). As a result, the interactions between multiple policy-actors and their interests are reflected in the discourse of an institution. This perspective is at the heart of the DI theoretical framework, which Schmidt (2010:3) defines as 'an umbrella concept for the vast range of works in political science that take account of the substantive content of ideas and the interactive processes by which ideas are conveyed and exchanged through discourse'. In this theoretical perspective, discourses are a process of deliberation, legitimation, as well as ideas generation (Schmidt, 2010).

I analyse policy coordination in the EU through the lens of the DI theoretical framework, as it complements the insights of the three other theories of new-institutionalism (Schmidt, 2008). Indeed, DI scholars base their works on: (1) policy-actors interests as studied by Rational Institutionalists; (2) path dependencies analysed by Historical Institutionalists or (3) socialisation processes, explored by Sociological Institutionalists (Schmidt, 2010). Nevertheless, they focus on processes of change rather than continuities explained by the three theories of new-institutionalism (Schmidt, 2010). Therefore, I consider that institution's discourses reveal not only their interests, path-dependencies, socialisation processes but also the ideational frames within which they are located. This perspective is essential in understanding the drivers of inter- and intra-institutional coordination in the EU. I do take into account the fact that the position and power of an institution and its policy-actors can undermine the sole value of discourses (Schmidt, 2010).

Nonetheless, the DI theoretical framework provides an insight about how to operationalise policy coordination in the EU by focusing on discourses. As the EU is a compound polity, it favours the use of discourse in its policy-making activities, especially through the use of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) (Schmidt, 2010, Jordan, Schout, 2016 ). The OMC is a discursive policy-making technique which aims at coordinating the actors of a networked EU (Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015). Therefore, institutional discourses in the EU play a crucial role in reaching policy goals and defending them against other institutions and Member States (Coppeland, Papadimitriou, 2012). OMC discourses thus contribute to the creation of ideas and values within the EU which can finally lead policy-actors to exit Joint-Decision Traps (Büchs, 2008, Falkner, 2011). Focusing on discourses of EU institutions and their coordination is therefore a good proxy to analyse the interaction between interests, institutions, and ideational frames which shape the processes and outcomes of policy coordination in the EU. I differentiate between two types of discourses to refine my DI analysis. The first is coordinative discourse, which leads to the generation and contestation of ideas. The second is communicative discourse, which involves the translation, contestation, and deliberation of ideas with the public (Schmidt, 2008, Carstensen, Schmidt, 2016).

#### **4. An Application: The Coordination of Decarbonisation Policies**

Decarbonisation policies is worthy of notice in analysing policy coordination in the EU through the lens of the theoretical framework of DI. The concept of decarbonisation is related to sustainable development, green growth or low-carbon economy debates (Cedefop, 2010). Decarbonisation initially referred to the transition from fossil to renewable energy sources and its potential for reducing the carbon footprint of European Political Economies (Begg, 2014). While the concept was first used to assess the economic impacts of this transition, especially its impact on labour markets, it has expanded to encompass a 'socio-ecological transition' (Laurent, 2013). Indeed, the interaction between environmental, social, labour, and economic policies has been repeatedly evinced in studies

on decarbonisation (OECD, 2010, Cedefop, 2010, 2015, Begg, 2014).

Accordingly, concerns about decarbonisation have been echoed at the EU level, notably by the European Commission (2005, 2010) who has emphasised the competitive potential of a transition to a decarbonised economy. I adopt an encompassing view of decarbonisation accounting for the interaction between environmental, social, labour, and economic impacts, as it better reflects the challenges in adapting and mitigating climate change. Since Climate Change is a transnational issue which needs to be addressed at a supranational level (OECD, 2010, World Bank, 2012), my focus is on decarbonisation at the EU level.

As decarbonisation encompasses various policy areas, coordinating environmental, social, economic, and employment policies is required to be particularly acute for the successful transition to competitive low-carbon economies (OECD, 2010). The importance of acute coordination has been emphasised in many literatures on policy coordination that focused on the EU's environmental policy. (Adelle, Hertin, Jordan, 2006, Tews, 2015). For instance, Jordan and Schout (2006) argued that Environmental Policy Integration is a principle of good governance that should be adopted at the EU level in order to improve the quality of its policy-making. This claim highlights the necessity of improving both intra- and inter-institutional coordination (Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015). Indeed, sectoral groups within the European Commission or the European Council focusing on only one of these areas and promoting a single interest would miss the greater policy goal of decarbonisation. The role of discourse in doing so is particularly important as most areas essential to decarbonisation fall within the remit of the EU's shared competencies, thus making it necessary to promote coherence across the EU 28 Member States' national policies (Jordan, Schout, 2006). Based on the decarbonisation literature, I distinguish four decarbonisation policy frames: (1) economic; (2) environmental; (3) social and (4) employment.

Despite this continued concern, it is still unclear whether policy coordination in the field of decarbonisation policies has increased during the 2000s. Steurer, Berger and Hametner (2010) claim that since the Lisbon and Göteborg European Councils, the EU has integrated economic, social, and environmental policies in the European welfare state model, generating a “win-win-win” situation. Moreover, the slogan of the EU 2020 strategy, “a strategy for smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth” (European Commission, 2010) indicates that the imperative for coordinating decarbonisation policies has increased. Finally, a lot of effort has been made at the EU level to increase coordination (Schout, 2009). The use of outside sources like think tanks has also increased (Schout, 2009), which indicates that coordination is now greater at the inter-institutional and intra-institutional levels.

Nevertheless, Adelle, Jordan, and Benson (2015) argue that coordination between economic and environmental interests remains low. They thus reiterate a criticism made by the EU itself through the Kok report, which underlined the lack of integration of Environmental concerns in EU policies (European Commission, 2004). Economic estimates of the impact of decarbonisation policies on the economy have hardly demonstrated their positive impact on job creation or welfare improvements. Furthermore, they highlight that approaches to the issue remain sectoral (Bowen, Kuralbayeva, 2015). Finally, Barbier (2012) points out that social policy has been sidelined in the Europe 2020 strategy. I aim at substantiating these debates by studying the evolution of decarbonisation policy frames in the EU discourse.

## **5. Research Design**

### *5.1. Hypotheses*

The discussion on a theoretical level leads me to formulate three following hypotheses which guide my research design.

*H0: The coordination of decarbonisation's policy frames in the EU's overarching discourse has not changed from Lisbon to Europe 2020.*

My null hypothesis translates the possibility of a status quo, that is a lack of change in the coordination of decarbonisation frames both in the EU's overarching discourse and in each EU institution's discourse over the period studied. It has implications for the DI theoretical framework and for policy coordination debates applied to decarbonisation policies.

*H1: The coordination of decarbonisation's policy frames in the overarching discourse of the EU has increased from Lisbon to Europe 2020.*

My first hypothesis translates the possibility that EU grand slogans actually translate a real discourse shift towards a more coherent and encompassing policy goal. It has implication on policy coordination debates applied to decarbonisation policies as it would invalidate arguments that the EU has not increased the coordination of the environmental, social, economic, and employment policies. It also has implications for the coherence of the EU's policy output.

*H2: The coordination between decarbonisation's policy frames in the discourse of some institutions has increased from Lisbon to Europe 2020 without affecting coordination of the EU's overarching discourse.*

My second hypothesis controls for diverging patterns of frame coordination between and within EU institutions. It thus accounts for the facts that both H0 and H1 can be disproved, since the coordination of decarbonisation frames might have changed without having become more coherent at the overarching EU level. Finally, H2 allows to control the persistence of a Joint-Decision Trap in decarbonisation policies despite changing coordination trends.

## *5.2. Case-studies: European Councils*

I aim to assess the change in the coordination of decarbonisation policy frames in the EU discourse through the theoretical framework of DI. My prime focus is the discourse as a vehicle for policy-frames, ideational change, preferences, and interests which eventually impacts on policy-making. It is therefore necessary to identify major fora of discourse at the EU level (Schmidt, 2010). The EU's general strategies, i.e. the Lisbon strategy ('Lisbon') as well as the Europe 2020 strategy ('Europe 2020'), have played a key role in conditioning the overarching discourse of the EU (James, 2012). Moreover, these strategies have been essentially discursive and have been a key attempt at coordinating policies at the EU level (Adelle, Hertin, Jordan, 2006). I therefore focus on two case-studies, Lisbon and Europe 2020, to assess changes in the EU decarbonisation discourse and substantiate policy coordination debates.

Lisbon and Europe 2020 are a perfect entry point for applying policy coordination debates to decarbonisation issues. Indeed, Lisbon and the 2001 Sustainability Agenda were the actual starting point of decarbonisation policies and concerns at the EU level. The prominence of decarbonisation themes in the EU discourse has increased while Lisbon was being developed, as exemplified by the Kok report (European Commission, 2004). Therefore, the Lisbon triangle of economic, employment, and social priorities seems to have been completed by an environmental dimension (Marlier, Natali, 2010, Armstrong, 2012).

Lisbon was launched in 2000 to restore the competitiveness of European political economies against its global competitors (James, 2012). Although constant attempts were made for the revision and development of the strategy, it has been widely received as a failure (Papadimitriou, 2012). It even failed to meet the benchmarks it set itself (Copeland, 2012). The key reasons for this failure were the lack of coordination that the Open Method of Coordination produced and inadequate implementation



of Lisbon's guidelines (James, 2012). In fact, Lisbon did not lead to a real rise of competitiveness of European economies (Begg, 2008, Natali, Marlier, 2010, Tausch, 2010, Copeland, Papadimitriou, 2012).

Lisbon officially ended in March 2010 with the adoption of Europe 2020 which was intended to complement Lisbon's failures. Comparing Lisbon with Europe 2020 therefore makes substantive as well as methodological sense, considering that Europe 2020 was designed by reflecting the numerous transformations which have happened in EU policy-making since Lisbon's launch (Papadimitriou, 2012). Second, the 10-year timeline between each strategy guarantees that processes of change can be fully grasped from Lisbon to Europe 2020, following Sabatier's guidelines for the assessment of policy change (Sabatier, 1987). Thirdly, as Europe 2020 stemmed from the failures of Lisbon, the requirement for synchronicity (Hancké, 2009, Bicquelet, 2014) is fulfilled. Finally, the institutional architecture of the EU has been modified by the institutionalisation of the European Council (Vanhoonacker, Neuhold, 2015). My analysis accounts for this change in the European Council's role.

The primary fora of discourse for each of these strategies were European Councils. Indeed, European Councils were critical events which conditioned the EU discourse on decarbonisation policies during Lisbon and Europe 2020 (Papadimitriou, 2012). Critics have pointed out that European Councils generated vague commitments and that they were subject to obtruding national interests (Begg, Hodson, Maher, 2003). Nonetheless, these summits enabled key decisions and orientations to be made. I therefore focus on European Councils as they provide a useful insight to investigate the conceptual schemes with which policy-makers and institutions shaped their ideas at the time of launching the strategy.

To operationalise my focus on European Councils, I target four European Councils which have led to

the conception of Lisbon and Europe 2020. The Lisbon extraordinary Council which took place from the 23<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> of March 2000 led to the adoption of Lisbon but did not include environmental concerns. These concerns were added to the Göteborg European Council of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June in 2001 to complement the previous Council (Coppeland, 2012). Both events are thus aggregated and treated as Lisbon. The Council of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of March 2010 brought about the adoption of Europe 2020 but did not lead to an agreement on all the components of the new strategy (Marlier, Natali, 2010). Agreements on social policy, poverty, and headline targets were made at the 17<sup>th</sup> of June 2010's European Council (Marlier, Natali, 2010). I thus aggregate these two events and treat them as the proxy for Europe 2020.

European Councils are gatherings of the EU's head of states which also involve a range of EU institutions who provide inputs to summits. I focus only on the three most influential, namely, the European Council, the European Commission, and the Council of the EU. While the European Parliament also carries a major legislative role, it is not directly involved in drafting the overarching strategies at the EU level (Marlier, Natali, 2010). To be specific, it has not submitted any document to the European Councils, except for Europe 2020, in which it submitted only three opinions. I therefore ruled out the European Parliament for reason of comparability. The European Council is the key actor of the Open Method of Coordination (Copeland, 2012). The European Commission as well as the Council of the EU are the essential institutions organising the EU's multi-level governance system (Adelle, Hertin, Jordan, 2006).

### *5.3. Methodology: Quantitative Text Analysis*

This dissertation uses a Quantitative Text Analysis (QTA) to investigate the change in policy frames' coordination from the Lisbon European Councils to the Europe 2020 European Councils. Qualitative studies of political discourses fail to come up with empirical assessments, and QTA can fill this gap

(Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). Developed in the humanities, QTA has been applied to sociology and began to be used in the field of political science and economic policy recently. Schonhardt-Bailey (2012), for instance, analysed the debates of monetary committees in the United States and the United Kingdom. Biquelet (2016) studied the EU referendum debates in the House of Commons from 1974 to 2010. Through QTA, it is possible to come up with empirical measures of qualitative data. It thus bridges linguistics and statistics, the wealth of qualitative study with the power of quantitative methods, eventually enabling to map out policy actors' concept clouds (Schonhardt-Bailey, Yager, Lahlou, 2012).

Empirical studies are insufficient especially in EU governance and policy coordination literatures (Jordan, Schout, 2006). The same conclusion applies to the DI field (Schmidt, 2010). Most of the studies evincing a change of discourse of the EU, such as the analysis of Barbier (2012), have relied on qualitative analyses. Only Wueest and Fossati (2015) have conducted a quantitative analysis on the interaction between discourses and institutions within six European countries. My dissertation thus aim to contribute to the study of discourses, institutions, and preferences in a systematically comparative way.

Identifying institutional discourses made during European Councils can be problematic, considering that most discussions are held behind closed doors (Begg, Hodson, Maher, 2003). Nonetheless, archives of documents exchanged between institutions during each European Council are publicly accessible. Focusing on these documents reduces the validity of the analysis by excluding most of the negotiations and debates which happened at the time of European Councils. Nonetheless, analysis based on the archives of official documents ensures reliability and replicability. Moreover, minor debates or variation of language are not a problem as a QTA aims at grasping the deeper trends revealed by policy-making activities.

Bearing in mind that QTA can only reflect what is happening within the forum of analysis (Bara, Weale, Biquelet, 2007), I assume that ideational frames shaping European policy-makers and institutions' policies in 2000 and 2010 are well conveyed by bureaucratic archives submitted to European Councils. Bureaucratic archives are not created by unitary actors, but by multiple individuals of diverse preferences and interests who contribute to the production of bureaucratic documents. This is the reason why the most precise degree of differentiation is included in my analysis. Most of the time, however, I regard these archives as the discourse of a unitary institution.

#### *5.4. The Data and the ALCESTE Software*

I perform my QTA using ALCESTE, a software which was developed based on the work of Benzecri (1980, 1982). ALCESTE is particularly suited to the analysis of large text data files. Indeed, the minimum number of words for the analysis to be performed is 10,000 (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). ALCESTE concentrates on word co-occurrences to perform a downward hierarchical classification of word classes (Schonhardt-Bailey, Yager, Lahlou, 2012). Words with the most co-occurrences are hence allocated to a particular class on an automatic basis (IMAGE, 2015). The text data, divided into Initial Context Units (ICU) by the researcher, is then automatically divided into Elementary Class Units (ECU) by the software. The ECUs are then used to calculate word co-occurrences. ECUs are gauged sentences determined automatically based on the punctuation and syntax of the text (Shonhardt-Bailey, 2011).

Contrarily to other types of software, ALCESTE gives an objective picture of the text as it does not treat words according to their meaning (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2014). It only uses a dictionary to classify synonyms and simplify the analysis. Based on this process, ALCESTE generates a number of word classes reflecting the main themes of the text and quantifies the prevalence of these classes across the text (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2010). Two elements are particularly interesting to the researcher in

order to analyse these classes: first, the  $\chi^2$ , and second the most significant ECUs. Words in every class are ranked according to their statistical significance (IMAGE, 2015). ALCESTE also gives a number of ECUs, again classified in order of significance. The classifications help the researcher to identify the meaning of each class more easily, as the meaning has to be assigned individually (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2012b). While this freedom of interpretation has been criticised, it currently remains the best way to objectivise text data (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2012a). Another advantage of ALCESTE is that it provides a way to visualise text data and the association between classes, making the understanding of big data corpi easier (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2015).

The use of ALCESTE poses four challenges. The selection of sources, hence the construction of the text data file, is essential as the results depend solely on what is submitted to the software (Bicquelet, 2014c). Second, approaches used by other types of software vary and might lead to different results (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2012a). Nonetheless, ALCESTE is more powerful and practical compared to other types of software like Hamlet (Bara, Weale, Bicquelet, 2007, Schonhardt-Bailey, 2012b). Third, ALCESTE simplifies the analysis through the use of lemmatization. This process requires to replace some words in the original text corpus. Furthermore, the researcher needs to provide the software with synonymous words in order to avoid imprecise interpretations (Shonhardt-Bailey, 2010). Finally, Bicquelet and Weale (2011) have pointed out the lack of interpretability of ALCESTE's output under specific circumstances. That is the reason why a good knowledge of the context of analysed discourses is essential (Schonhardt-Bailey, Yager, Lahlou, 2012).

My corpus of analysis consists of all text archives submitted by one of the three institutions during the four European Councils which are publicly available through the Consilium library<sup>1</sup>. I have nonetheless proceeded to a purposive selection by only including documents related to the Lisbon strategy, the Europe 2020 strategy and economic, environmental, social and employment themes. The data-set

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1 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/>, accessed on 14/07/2016

has hence been built using 42 documents which are detailed in Appendix 1. Each document constitutes an ICU and has been coded with four tags in order to facilitate the analysis: (1) name of the strategy; (2) name of the institution; (3) name of the summit and (4) name of the speaker within the institution if available. In each document, ' \* ' signs have been deleted as they are essential for ALCESTE to perform its analysis (IMAGE, 2015). Moreover, bureaucratic codes have been deleted and words in upper case letters have been replaced by words in lower case letters. As some documents contained tables, the content of the table has been preserved in order to be closest to the source as possible. Only the formatting of tables has disappeared. No other modification or deleting process has been done. More details on the coding process can be found in Appendix 2.

## 6. Results

### 6.1. Results from the Entire Dataset

I begin by analysing the results produced by ALCESTE for my whole text data set, that is for both strategies, all three institutions and all four summits. The hierarchical descending analysis first divides the corpus into two clusters. The first cluster contains two lexical classes, the second four. Figure 1 provides summary statistics for the analysis. ALCESTE divides the corpus into 4716 ECUs, of which 81% are classified. That is, the six classes represent 81% of the overall discourse produced by EU institutions. Hence the analysis is robust. Moreover, the clustering makes substantive sense.

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**Table 1: Summary statistics for the general analysis**

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Total word count	170,752
Unique words analysed	87,700
Passive variables (tagged indicators)	20
ICUs	42
ECUs	4716
%age of classified ECUs	81%
Lexical classes	6

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Table 2 shows the most significant words per class as well as the most significant ECUs for class 1. Only the most significant ECUs for class 1 are shown due to space constraints but the entire list of most prominent ECUs per class can be found in Appendix 3. Most significant words and most significant ECUs are essential in order to make practical sense of the identified classes. Class 1 contains, among others, words like 'financial', 'crisis', 'fiscal', 'macro\_economic' or 'euro'. These words point towards economic policy as well as the Eurozone and the 2008 financial crises. A closer look at the most characteristic ECUs confirms these intuitions as most deal with the impact of the crises and the measures to tackle the financial crisis. I have hence labelled this class 'The Eurozone, economics and the financial crisis'. I follow the same process to deduct the meaning of the other classes and label them accordingly, as shown in table 2.

This analysis hence enables to classify the discourse of the EU into 6 policy frames. Interestingly, environmentalism figures prominently among these frames as classes 2 and 3 altogether represent 33% of the whole corpus. It is more important than social and employment frames, which account only for 12%. Economics, which seem to be mainly discussed through the angle of the 2008 and 2010 crises, accounts for slightly more, 16%. The notion of competitiveness through digital and new technologies is the second most represented frame, with a quarter of the analysed discourse. Whilst it is linked to economics, it is not related to crisis discourses.

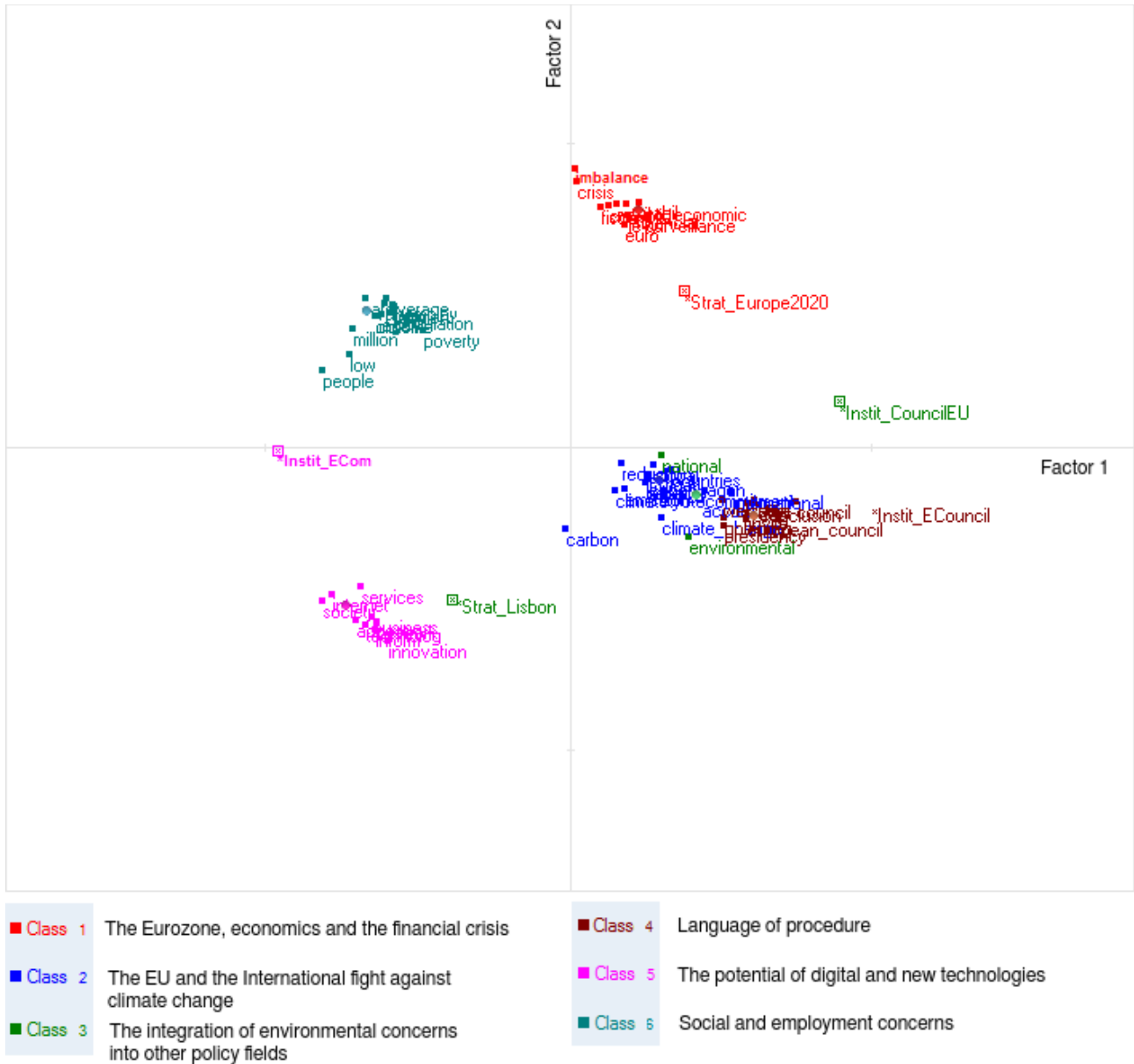
The results from the classification can be displayed graphically in a correspondence space (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2008, Biquelet, 2007, Pommier, 2001). This correspondence space stems from a cross-tabulation of classes to create a word matrix which is then subjected to a factor correspondence analysis (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). In other words, it is a data standardisation process leading to a spatial representation of associations between classes, the distance between each class indicating the degree of association (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). This approach preserves a maximum of information while reducing the data to a single, 2 dimensional, space. The axes thus

**Table 2: classes for the general analysis**

Class (size)	Top characteristic words ( $\chi^2$ )	Top 3 characteristic phrases (ECUs) (characteristic words in bold)
1. The Eurozone, economics and the financial crisis (16%)	financial (468); crisis (370); fiscal (293); stabil+ (283); macro_economic (233); euro (200); surveillance (181); levy (177); consolid+ (169); exit (166)	<p>... <b>authority</b>, ESMA, with exclusive <b>supervisory powers</b> over <b>credit rating agencies</b> registered in the <b>E_U</b> 24. <b>also</b> in the <b>U_S</b>, there is <b>currently legislation</b> in both the house of representatives and senate that <b>would</b> further <b>enhance regulation</b> of Cras and <b>would also enhance convergence</b> between the E_U and U_S <b>regulatory framework</b>.</p> <p>... indeed, <b>financial</b> distress in one member_states can jeopardize the <b>macro financial stability</b> of the <b>euro area</b> as a <b>whole</b>. the <b>crisis</b> has demonstrated that a robust <b>framework</b> for <b>crisis management</b> is a <b>necessary complement</b> to the instruments for <b>surveillance</b>, <b>prevention</b> and <b>adjustment</b> discussed above.</p> <p>... <b>liquidity risk management</b> and quality of <b>capital</b>. <b>October</b> 2008 adopted <b>may</b> 2009 <b>deposit guarantee schemes directive amendment</b> <b>october</b> 2008 adopted march 2009 <b>credit rating agencies regulation</b> <b>october</b> 2008 adopted <b>september</b> 2009 communication on <b>remuneration</b> principles april 2009 see annex/</p>
2. The EU and the international fight against Climate Change (10%)		emission (651); copenhagen (579); countries (468); mitigat+ (375); reduction (320); climate (318); cankun (252); climate_change (229); accord+ (220); carbon (210)
3. The integration of environmental concerns into other policy fields (22%)		Environmental (459); national (161); cooper+ (149); polic+ (124); community (113); develop+ (104); object (99); integr+ (76); strateg+ (75); dialogue (74)
4. Language of procedure (16%)		european_council (983); council (438); conclusion (284); june (279); presidency (267); goteborg (238); adopt (212); invite (187); welcome (160); endorse (149)
5. The potential of digital and new technologies (24%)		Inform+ (351); internet (325); technolog+ (324); society (227); access (198); business (183); services (182); network (176); innovation (171); skill (151)
6. Social and employment concerns (12%)		Age (481); unemployment (442); population (423); women (380); income (325); rate (312); low (259); people (241); poverty (241); old (227)



**Figure 1: Correspondence analysis for the general analysis**



	Intrinsic value	% Association	% Cumulative
Factor 1	0.27	29.39%	29.39%
Factor 2	0.19	20.38%	49.78%

generated do not have a set meaning (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2008). Indeed, Pommier (2001) explains that these are frameworks for interpretation as they represent potentialities offered by the text.

On the correspondence space produced, the first two factors of analysis account for roughly half of the total number of associations. This relatively small number reflects the prevalence of many cleavages between the Lisbon strategy and the Europe 2020 strategy. Nonetheless, this association ratio can still be considered prominent by the standards of the QTA literature (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). The horizontal axis seems to show an opposition between the discourse of the Commission and the Council, as both are completely opposed. The vertical axis' interpretation is less clear cut. Consequently, I have not attempted to label the axes. Some findings from the correspondence space are nonetheless striking.

First, it appears that the economic as well as the environmental frames are loosely associated with the social and employment frame. Second, Lisbon and Europe 2020 are diametrically opposed. Lisbon seems to be closely associated with the knowledge economy agenda while Europe 2020 is related to economic and crisis concerns. As such, these findings are hardly surprising as Lisbon never broached crisis matters. Furthermore, it seems that the digital, new technology agenda has disappeared from Europe 2020. Finally, it is worth noticing the overlap between environmental integration and the international fight against climate change frames. This result illustrates a substantive coherence between the EU's international climate change and environmental agendas.

When turning to decarbonisation, it seems hard to assess whether the coordination of decarbonisation's frames has increased over the 10 years period. Indeed, Europe 2020 as well as Lisbon are both as far from environmental concerns as they are from social and employment issues. The economic frame is well represented in both, even though it shifted from a positive view of competitiveness to a crisis discourse. To refine my findings, I rerun the analysis previously done by dividing my dataset between the Lisbon and Europe 2020 strategies' discourses.

## *6.2. Results by Segmenting the Data Between Lisbon and Europe 2020*

The robustness of my separate analyses is lower in both cases compared to the general analysis. Nonetheless, the number of classified ECUs is only lower of three percentage points for Lisbon compared to the general analysis. The percentage of classified ECUs for Europe 2020 is more of a concern as only 72% of the ECUs is successfully classified. This lower level of robustness implies that results obtained for the Europe 2020 analysis need to be taken with more caution than the general results.

As shown in tables 3 and 4, I labelled the different classes generated by ALCESTE following the same process as for the general analysis. It appears that environmental frames are higher in Europe 2020 than they are in Lisbon. Indeed, the integration of environmental policies only represents 14% of the Lisbon discourse. A substantial share of Göteborg's discourses about the environment is in fact captured by the class referring to the coordination and implementation of EU policies. On the other hand, environmental frames are now captured by an international class and a European class representing 35% of the Europe 2020 discourse. There was therefore a rise of environmental frames in Europe 2020. These findings support the general analysis showing the overlap between international climate change and environmental frames.

The economic frame is 20% more prevalent in Europe 2020 than it is in Lisbon. Moreover, while economic/competitiveness discourses during Lisbon were optimistic, adopting a long-term view, they became pessimistic and short-term in Europe 2020. Indeed, both European councils happened in the aftermath of the global financial crisis and at the beginning of the Eurozone crisis. The main victim of the increase of the economic frame in the Europe 2020 discourse are the social and employment frames. In fact, the social and employment frames have almost utterly disappeared from Europe 2020 discourses. It appears that social and employment keywords are scattered across classes 3, 4 and 5

**Table 3: Summary statistics for the specific analysis – Lisbon**

Total word count	91,230
Unique words analysed	49,042
Passive variables (tagged indicators)	11
ICUs	19
ECUs	2519
%age of classified ECUs	78%
Lexical classes	6
Distribution of classes (%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Employment and social concerns (11%)</li> <li>2. The international policy of the EU (10%)</li> <li>3. Europeanization implementation and coordination of EU policies (25%)</li> <li>4. The integration of environmental policies (14%)</li> <li>5. The competitiveness of a knowledge economy (24%)</li> <li>6. The potential of digital and new technologies (16%)</li> </ol>

**Table 4: Summary statistics for the specific analysis – Europe 2020**

Total word count	79,515
Unique words analysed	42,468
Passive variables (tagged indicators)	14
ICUs	23
ECUs	2197
%age of classified ECUs	72%
Lexical classes	6
Distribution of classes (%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Financial reforms and the financial crisis (12%)</li> <li>2. The international fight against Climate Change (19%)</li> <li>3. Economic policy and EU policy coordination (20%)</li> <li>4. the Eurozone crisis and economic imbalances (17%)</li> <li>5. Technological and digital potentials for the Single Market (16%)</li> <li>6. The low-carbon economy, energy and de-carbonisation (16%)</li> </ol>

with very low levels of significance, indicating that social and employment issues are not a priority.

Turning to correspondence analyses can help better visualise the change in discourse and evince the potential increase in coordination between the different frames of decarbonisation policies. Both correspondence analyses account for  $\frac{3}{4}$  of associations. Accordingly running separate analyses of Lisbon and Europe 2020 discourses enables to reduce the number of cleavages. Half of the associations in Lisbon discourses are in fact explained by a single dimension. The tagged variables “Summit\_Goteborg” and “Summit\_Lisbon” are opposed on the horizontal dimension. The axis seems therefore to indicate the cleavage that existed between the original Lisbon strategy discourse which did not take environmental concerns into account and the updated Lisbon strategy discourse at the Göteborg council, which was dealing mainly with environmental concerns. This can explain why the social and employment frame is very loosely correlated with environmental frames. Interestingly, the economics frame is scattered across the correspondence space without a clear gravity centre, indicating that it is as correlated with social and employment as it is with environmental frames.

The Europe 2020 correspondence analysis is not as much polarised around the horizontal axis as the Lisbon strategy one. Indeed, the horizontal axis accounts for about 39% of the associations while the vertical one translates almost 34% of associations. Interestingly, international and environmental frames are closely associated. This was not the case in Lisbon. This would thus seem to indicate a greater coherence in EU discourses, coordinating both international and European environmental discourses. This also discloses the greater role that the EU acquired on the international stage when dealing with climate change issues (Lenschow, Sprungk, 2010).

Nonetheless, these environmental frames are not associated with economics ones. While this is understandable for classes 1 and 4, which deal with international crises, it is more surprising for class 3 which conveys the coordination of EU policies in general and of economic policies in particular.

Figure 2: Correspondence analysis for the Lisbon strategy

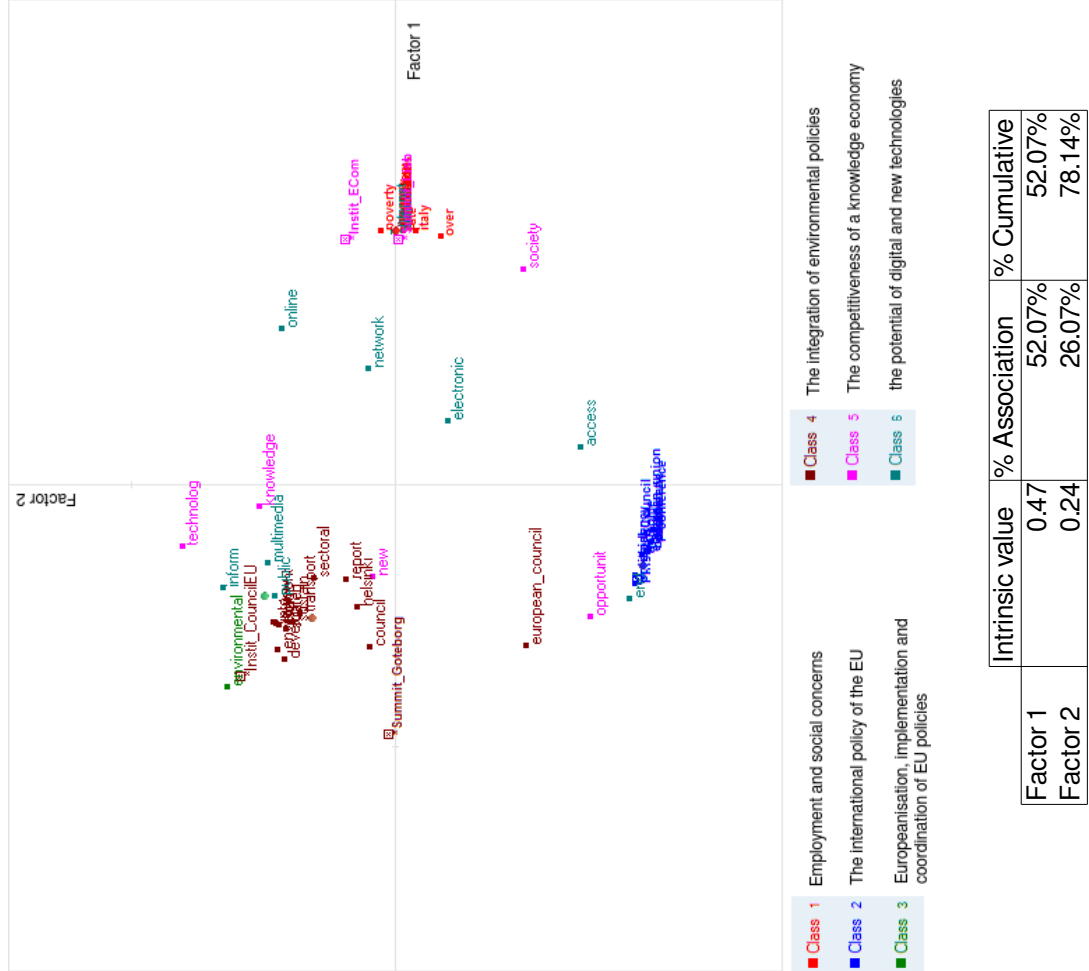
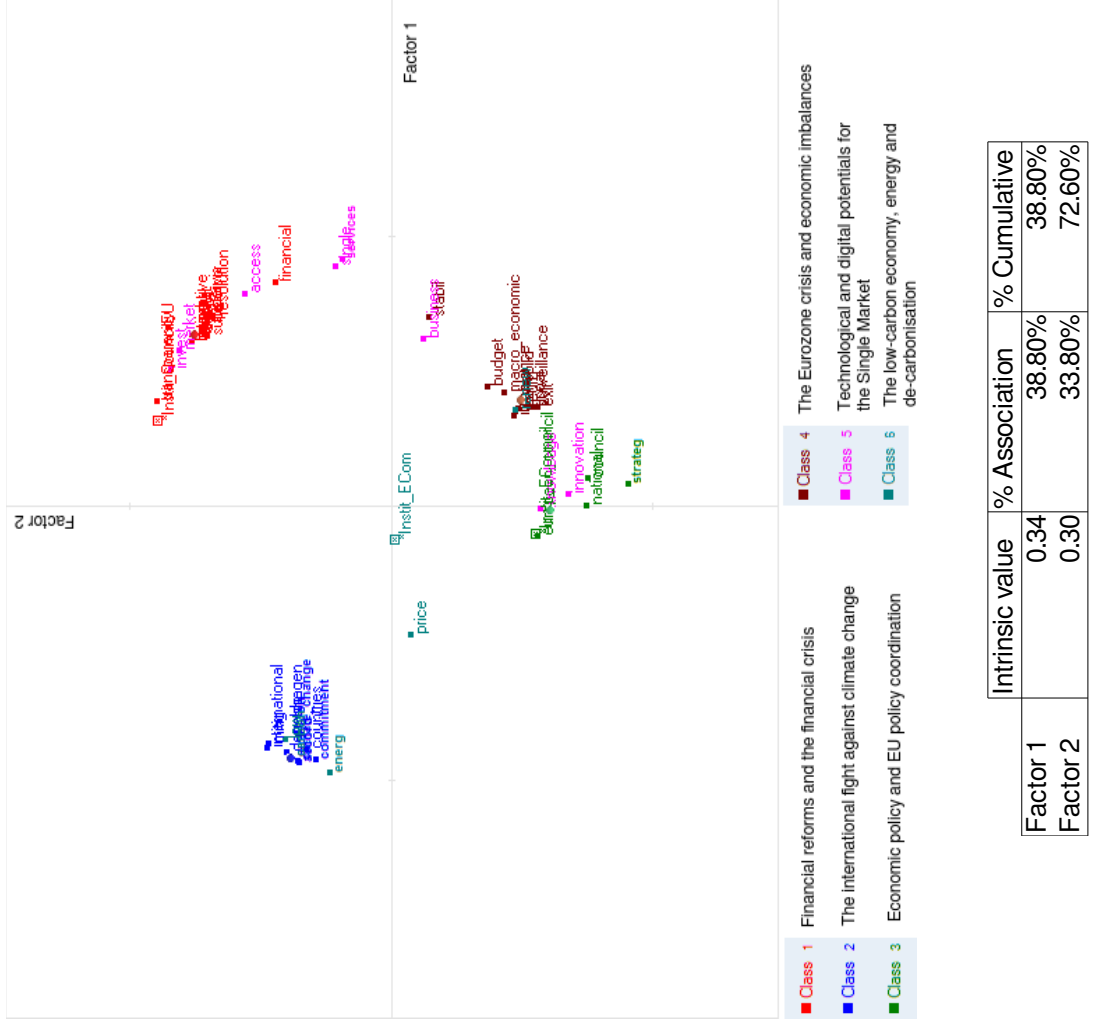


Figure 3: Correspondence analysis for the Europe 2020 strategy



Finally, it is striking that the notion of a competitive single market is completely disconnected from frames linked to decarbonisation or environmental policies. While this indicates a coherence between the Lisbon strategy and the Europe 2020 strategy, it seems to invalidate the view that the coordination of the EU's single market and environmental discourses has increased.

Refining the analysis of the correspondence space of both strategies allows nonetheless to notice an interesting movement of actors on the correspondence space. In Lisbon, the European Commission's discourse was primarily correlated with employment and social frames. It was relatively away from environmental, international and economics frames by being located at the right hand side of the horizontal axis. The European Commission's position is less definite on the Europe 2020 correspondence space. Indeed, the "Instit\_Ecom" variable is located at the centre of gravity of the correspondence space. The tag still appears in blue, the colour of class 6, which relates to the decarbonisation discourse, indicating that this is the class with which the European Commission is the most correlated. Nonetheless, it is almost as much correlated with all the other themes. This would indicate an increased balance in the European Commission's discourse and a better integration of all the frames in its strategic discourse.

The difference with the Council of the EU position's evolution is even more striking. The Council of the EU's discourse was very much focused on the coordination of EU policies and the integration of environmental policies during Lisbon. This discourse has completely changed at the time of launching Europe 2020 as the Council of the EU is strongly correlated with financial reforms and financial crisis measures. This indicates that the Council has kept a very thematic discourse from Lisbon to Europe 2020, defending sectoral interests disconnected from the other prevalent themes on the EU's agenda.

## 7. Discussion and Implications

### *7.1. Policy Coherence and Inter-Institutional Coordination*

Several implications can be derived from these results. First, it appears that H0 is invalidated. The coordination of employment, social, economic and environmental policy frames in the EU's discourse did change between the launch of the Lisbon strategy and the start of the Europe 2020 strategy. Likewise, H1 is not verified. A new frame of discourse dealing explicitly with decarbonisation has made its apparition in Europe 2020. Nevertheless, it has been at the expense of the social and employment frames, which have disappeared and are likely to have been absorbed by the economic frame. Henceforth, Barbier's (2012) claim that social policy has been sidelined in Europe 2020 is empirically corroborated. Noticeably though, the EU has enhanced the international climate change and internal environmental frames' coordination. Moreover, the environmental policy frame has gained prominence in the overarching discourse of the EU from the launch to the end of the Lisbon strategy.

On the other hand, H2 is verified. Whilst the Council of the EU and the European Council's discourses have remained sectoral, the coordination of decarbonisation's frames in the European Commission's discourse has greatly increased. However, (un)coordination between each institutions' discourse has been constant during the 10-year period. The lack of inter-institutional coordination could explain why the Lisbon and the Europe 2020 strategies appear to be diametrically opposed on the correspondence analysis for the whole dataset. A first conclusion is therefore that the change of slogans in Europe 2020 did not reflect a major enhancement of policy-actors discourses' coordination.



## *7.2. Policy-Coherence and Intra-Institutional Coordination*

Different trends of policy coordination between EU institutions can be traced back to processes of intra-institutional coordination. In fact, the rise of coherence in the European Commission's discourse confirms the qualitative case-studies portraying the European Commission as a Green actor (Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015, Selianko, Lenschow, 2015). It also directly illustrates the increase in intra-institutional coordination from Lisbon to Europe 2020. Indeed, the European Commission has developed an extensive coordination system which has resulted in a more coordinated output (Vanhoonacker, Neuhold, 2015, Selianko, Lenschow, 2015). The use of networks has further enabled the European Commission to increase its internal coordination capabilities (Jordan, Schout, 2006). The European Commission has also mainstreamed the use of impact assessment methods which have helped to deliver a more consistent policy output (Radaelli, 2009). Policy coordination has been eased by non-political ways of making decisions within the European Commission (Falkner, 2011). The European Commission's Europe 2020 discourse is therefore primarily coordinative.

On the other hand, the Council's discourse is highly communicative and sectoralised. It reflects major cleavages between different sectoral interests as well as between Member States. It is also the product of the rising number of veto players after the 2004 enlargement which has led to a rise of stakeholders and a diversification of interests (Adelle, Hertin, Jordan, 2006, Büchs, 2008, Holzinger, 2011, Adelle, Jordan, Benson, 2015). As a result, the predominance of the ECOFIN Council, as well as of economic and crisis interests during the decision making process is not surprising. Most environmentally progressive states in the EU, dubbed environmental leaders, are from North/Western Europe while environmental laggards are from South/Eastern Europe (Jordan, Lenschow, 2000, Jordan, 2005, Janicke, 2005, Hartlapp, 2011, Knil, Heichel, Arndt, 2012). The timing of Europe 2020 key summits coincides with the financial crisis and the start of the Eurozone crisis affecting Southern Europe. It is likely that the environmental leaders from North/Western Europe were more concerned

about the stability of the Eurozone than environmental policy integration or the coordination of decarbonisation discourses.

Vanhoonacker and Neuhold's (2015) claim that the institutionalisation of the European Council would affect every level of cooperation in the EU. This claim is not supported by changes in the European Council's discourse. Indeed, the European Council seems to be more concerned with the language of procedure than concrete claims of ideas throughout the 10-year period.

### *7.3. Is Decarbonisation in a Joint-Decision Trap?*

Despite repeated claims at increasing the coordination of employment, social, economic and environmental policies, the conceptual space of European Union policy-makers seems to be far from such considerations. This analysis of institutional discourse at the EU level has shown that decarbonisation policy-problems are not yet framed in a comprehensive and encompassing manner. This raises doubts concerning the effectiveness of the Europe 2020 strategy. As the EU does not seem to have coordinated better, it is unlikely that decarbonisation strategies will deliver. The EU has experienced a decrease of its carbon footprint from Lisbon onwards, but this has mainly been caused by the recession ex-post the 2008 crisis. Moreover, no job creation nor social benefits could be identified (Bowen, Kuralbayeva, 2015).

This situation illustrates a serious problem-solving gap reflecting Joint-Decision Traps. The concept of Joint-Decision Trap had been specifically coined to address concrete policy-making outputs and not political discourses or strategies (Scharpf, 1988, 2006). However, it can still be accurately applied to my discourse analysis. Holzinger (2011) argues that the Joint-Decision Trap is less of a problem in environmental policy-making since 1987, which marked the recognition of the environmental legal base in EU treaties. Nonetheless, she reckons that interests in the Council of the EU still push for the

lowest common denominator. In fact, as Hartlapp (2011) notes, Council voting rules do not require cross-sectoral coordination. This can explain the few changes of coordination in the Council over time. The Lisbon and Europe 2020 discourses thus reflect a lowest common denominator in a highly political sphere of bargaining towards which decarbonisation ideational frames are pushed.

This problem-solving gap explains the conundrum of coordinating decarbonisation policies into a more positive form of integration while managing Joint-Decision Traps. Indeed, Scharpf (2006) presents positive integration and the Joint-Decision Trap as fundamentally opposed. Coherent and coordinated decarbonisation discourses would involve an increase in positive integration. Hence the discursive Joint-Decision Trap in the Council of the EU prevents the EU from filling its problem-solving gap through positive integration. If the EU is to maintain its output legitimacy – that is the legitimacy it derives from the high quality of its policy output and its contribution to solving policy problems (Scharpf, 1999) – in a time of economic, political and social crisis, a decision-making change would be required in order to ensure that the transition towards a low-carbon economy really becomes the window of opportunity towards a more competitive and sustainable Europe.

## **8. Conclusion**

I have shown that EU grand slogans on decarbonisation, green growth, sustainable future and increased coordination did not translate into a coherent and coordinated discourse. Indeed, the employment, social, economic and environmental components of decarbonisation policies have not been more coordinated in the Europe 2020 grand strategy discourses than they were in the Lisbon strategy discourse. This illustrates the lack of institutional changes in the Council of the EU which sustained a discursive joint-decision trap and prevented intra- and inter-institutional coordination from improving. As the Council of the EU has a dominant role in the primarily intergovernmental process of decision on EU strategies, the improvement of intra-institutional coordination within the European

Commission was not sufficient to improve coordination overall.

These conclusions stem from the application of a Quantitative Text Analysis using the ALCESTE software to documents exchanged by institutions at four European Councils. The choice of documents as well as the unit of analysis, European Councils, have heavily influenced the findings. Moreover, this research design has only enabled to analyse the discourse that institutions wanted to communicate. It did not uncover secret processes behind closed-doors. Therefore, previous conclusions should be taken with caution and need to be verified.

Bearing in mind these limitations, two implications can be drawn. The first is for European policy-makers. The lack of ideational coordination between the different features of the concept of decarbonisation translates a lack of framing of current environmental, social, labour and economic problems into a comprehensive framework. This raises doubt concerning the success of decarbonisation policies at the EU level. As ideas impact policies, it is likely that decarbonisation policies will not be coherent and will not deliver on the promises of a competitive, green and sustainable economy, thus raising doubt concerning the future of European political economies and making clashes between employment, social, environmental and economic policies even more likely.

The second implication is for further research. This dissertation has shown that Quantitative Text Analysis could be successfully applied to make sense of the concurring concepts surrounding decarbonisation debates and EU governance debates. It has also provided an innovative approach to empirically assess the interaction between ideas, discourses and institutional settings at the heart of the burgeoning literature on Discursive Institutionalism. It would require further research to test whether the findings hold if different time units or units of analysis are chosen. Indeed, by trying to identify an “EU decarbonisation discourse”, the dissertation has focused on specific events, i.e. European Councils. It would be promising to conduct a long-term analysis at the level of specific

institutions and to investigate the next European strategies, such as Europe 2030, using this method. Hence a wide research agenda of Quantitative Text Analysis at the EU level could be explored and developed.

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## Appendix 1: Institutional Documents Sent in Preparation of Each European Council

Documents where retrieved from the Consilium database:

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/register/en/content/int/?lang=en&typ=ADV>

except for the Lisbon European Council's Conclusions and the Commission working document – 'Consultation on the future "EU 2020" strategy' as they were not available on the database. The Lisbon European Council's Conclusions were retrieved from the European Parliament's database:

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm)

The 'Consultation on the future "EU 2020" strategy' was retrieved from the European Commission's Europe 2020 database:

[http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/documents/documents-and-reports/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/documents/documents-and-reports/index_en.htm)

The Consultation was not sent by the European Commission in prevision of a European Council. Nonetheless, it was described by Marlier and Natali (2010) as a key step towards the Europe 2020 strategy. I hence decided to include it in my sample. Table 5 provides a summary of documents used.

**Table 5: Primary documents used to build the text data set**

Strategy	Institution	Submission date	Document number	Document name
Lisbon	Council of the EU	28/03/2001	7329/01	Transport policy – follow-up to the Cardiff/Helsinki Summit on the integration of environment and sustainable development into the transport policy – Council Resolution
		26/04/2001	7885/01	Conclusions on integration of environmental concerns and sustainable development into the Common Fisheries Policy
		05/04/2001	7791/01	Draft report to the European Council on environmental integration in the external policies within the remit of the General Affairs Council
		21/05/2001	8971/01	Draft Council conclusion on a strategy on the integration of environmental concerns into EC economic and development co-operation to promote sustainable development

		27/04/2001	8328/01	A strategy for integration of sustainable development into the Enterprise policy of the European Union – Draft Council conclusions
		17/05/2001	8486/01	Conclusions on environmental integration and sustainable development in the Common Agricultural Policy
		07/05/2001	8490/01	A Strategy for integrating environmental aspects and sustainable development into energy policy = Adoption of a Council resolution
		18/05/2001	8970/01	Strategy for the integration of environmental protection and sustainable development into internal market policy – Report to the European Council
		21/05/2001	8971/01	Draft Council conclusions on a strategy on the integration of environmental concerns into EC economic and development co-operation to promote sustainable development
European Commission		04/02/2000	COM(2000) 48 final	Communication from the Commission – Strategies for jobs in the Information Society
		01/03/2000	COM(2000) 78 final	Communication from the Commission – Community policies in support of employment
		01/03/2000	COM(2000) 79 final	Communication from the Commission – Building an inclusive Europe
		01/03/2000	COM(2000) 82 final	Communication from the Commission – Social trends: prospects and challenges
		08/03/2000	COM(2000) 130 final	eEurope, An Information Society for All – Progress Report For the Special European Council on Employment, Economic reforms and Social Cohesion – Towards a Europe based on Innovation and Knowledge
		01/03/2000	6602/00	Preparation of the special European Council in Lisbon on 23 and 24 March 2000 – Commission contribution
		15/02/2001	COM(2001) 264 final	Communication from the Commission – A sustainable Europe for a Better World: A European Union Strategy for Sustainable Development
European Council		24/03/2000	-	Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000 – Presidency conclusions
		16/06/2001	SN 200/1/01 REV 1	Presidency conclusions – Göteborg European Council 15 and 16 June 2001
Europe 2020	Council of the EU	16/03/2010	7586/10	Council Conclusions on Europe 2020
		09/06/10	10861/10	Ecofin Report – Preparation of the European Council on the state of play on measures in the financial sector in response to the crisis

	09/06/2010	10876/10	Broad Economic Policy Guidelines for the economic policies of the Member States and of the Union – Report to the European Council
	09/06/2010	10879/10	Council (Ecofin) report on fiscal exit strategy
	09/06/2010	10881/10	Council (Ecofin) Conclusions on European 2020 Strategy
	14/06/2010	11028/10	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on analysis of options to move beyond 20% greenhouse gas emission reductions and assessing the risk of carbon leakage – Council conclusions
	08/03/2010	7120/10	Draft Internal Security Strategy for the European Union: "Towards a European Security Model"
	15/03/2010	7562/10	Climate change: Follow-up to the Copenhagen Conference (7-19 December 2009) – Council conclusions
	16/03/2010	7591/10	Council Conclusions on the financing of climate change
	12/05/2010	9089/1/10 REV 1	Climate change: fast start financing = Draft Council Conclusions
	09/06/2010	10828/1/10 REV 1	Contribution to the European Council of 17 June 2010: Europe 2020 – A new Strategy for Jobs and Growth – EU target on social inclusion, in particular through the reduction of poverty
European Commission	24/11/2009	COM(2009) 647 final	Commission working document – Consultation on the future "EU 2020" strategy
	26/05/2010	COM(2010) 265 final	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions – Analysis of options to move beyond 20% greenhouse gas emission reductions and assessing the risk of carbon leakage
	02/06/2010	COM(2010) 301 final	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the European Central Bank – Regulating financial services for sustainable growth
	03/03/2010	COM(2010) 2020 final	Communication from the Commission – Europe 2020 – A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth
	10/02/2010	COM(2010) ?	Europe 2020 – A strategy for sustainable growth and jobs – Contribution from the President of the European Commission to the informal meeting of Heads of State and Government of 11 February 2010

	09/03/10	COM(2010) 86 final	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions – International climate policy post-Copenhagen: Acting now to reinvigorate global action on climate change
	12/05/2010	COM(2010) 250 final	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions – Reinforcing economic policy coordination
European Council	01/12/2009	15265/1/09 REV 1	Brussels European Council – 29/30 October 2009 – Presidency conclusions
	17/06/2010	EUCO 13/10	European Council – 17 June 2010 – Conclusions
	19/03/2010	7707/10	European Council (25 and 26 March 2010) – Draft conclusions
	20/04/2010	8766/10	EUROPE 2020 – Strategy for Jobs and Growth – Follow-up to the March 2010 European Council
	11/05/2010	EUCO 7/1/10 REV 1	European Council – 25/26 March 2010 – Conclusions

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## Appendix 2: The Construction of the Text Data Set

Using ALCESTE requires to construct and code a text data file and to slightly modify the text used in order for ALCESTE to run its analysis. ALCESTE's interface is in French, however the software offers an English dictionary which enables to exclude conjunctions, prepositions, articles and similar words when performing the analysis. I have coded my text data by considering each document as an ICU. Each ICU has been coded with four passive variables, represented by four starred words. Passive variables need to be inserted at the beginning of each ICU. My four passive variables are: (1) Strategy's name; (2) Institution's name; (3) European Council's name and (4) Speaker's name.

Speaker's name refers to the policy actor within one institution which is quoted as the source of the document used. For instance, an opinion from the Ecofin Council submitted to other members of the Council of the EU and other institutions will be considered to originate from a speaker labelled as 'Ecofin'. Some documents originate from an individual, for instance the President of the European Commission. In this instance, I code the Speaker passive variable with the name of a single individual. The Speaker passive variable can therefore represent sub-parts or departments within an institution as well as single individuals. When documents originated from more than one Speaker, that is from various departments, formations, or when it was impossible to identify a single speaker, I coded the Speaker passive variable as 'Multiple'.

In my text data, Document 8971/01, 'Draft Council conclusions on a strategy on the integration of environmental concerns into EC economic and development cooperation to promote sustainable development', submitted by the Council of the EU at the Göteborg European Council as part of the Lisbon Strategy is hence an ICU, coded as follows:

\*\*\*\* \*Strat\_Lisbon \*Instit\_CouncilEU \*Summit\_Goteborg \*Speaker\_Dcwg


It is necessary to delete stars in the original text data in order not to confuse ALCESTE and ensure that passive variables are recognised. I have hence deleted all stars present in my original text data and replaced them by spaces. Dollar signs are another point of concern for ALCESTE as they are used to manually define sampling units. I have used ALCESTE automatic sampling method, hence I have not included any dollar sign in my text data file. Textual documents used did not contain any dollar sign beforehand. Furthermore, I have deleted empty lines between paragraphs in order to have a homogeneous text data file.

Text data used for my analysis comes from bureaucratic documents. EU documents are coded following a standardised process assigning various administrative codes to each documents, which are usually found on the first page. Furthermore, all documents, except the Lisbon Council's conclusions retrieved from the European Parliament's database, come in the form of pdf files. I have thus copy-pasted text from pdf files into my text data file. Furthermore, I have deleted administrative codes found in each document in order to reduce the amount of unclassified words in my analysis. My text data file's substance has not been altered by these modifications as these codes would have been ignored and unclassified by ALCESTE. Figure 4 illustrates the parts I have deleted in every document.

ALCESTE performs its analysis according to a supervised lemmatization process. That is, words beginning by a capital letter are automatically transformed to begin by a lower-case letter (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2014). Hence, 'Ecofin' would become 'ecofin'. Moreover, hyphens are deleted by the software. Thus, 'socio-economic' would become 'socio economic'. It is also necessary to pay attention to apostrophes as they bear a specific meaning in English. I have hence replaced all apostrophes by underscores. Finally, key institutions' or concepts are split during the co-occurrence analysis process as words are treated individually. It hence distorts the exact meaning of the text and

**Figure 4: Example of deleted parts in a primary text file**





Disappeared when copy-pasted

**COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Brussels, 26 April 2001

7885/01

LIMITE

PECHE 78  
ENV 188

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**CONCLUSIONS**

from : Fisheries Council  
to : European Council at Göteborg, 15-16 June 2001  
Subject : Conclusions on integration of environmental concerns and sustainable development into the Common Fisheries Policy

1. Article 6 of the Treaty establishing the European Community provides that environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of Community policies and activities, with a view to promoting sustainable development.
2. The Council understands that integration in the field of fisheries means that the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) should adhere to the objectives and principles of the Community's environmental policy as they are set out in Article 174 of the Treaty. The Council considers that ways to apply concretely the principles of Article 174 to the fisheries policy should be explored.
3. In June 2000 the Fisheries Council submitted to the European Council a report on the state of integration of environmental requirements into the CFP. This report concludes that further and significant actions to integrate environmental requirements into fisheries policy are still needed.

Deleted

4. The Council recognizes that heavy fishing pressure and the use of inappropriate fishing techniques, along with a series of other factors unrelated to fisheries, threatens marine biodiversity and the long-term sustainability of the European fisheries sector. Continued fishing pressure may have influenced the genetic variability of some commercially harvested stocks. Possible changes of genetic variability, sensitive species and the level of biodiversity need to be monitored. The impact of fisheries on bio-diversity still requires thorough study, particularly in relation to genetic diversity, long-living species, non-target species and the ecological functions of various ecosystems.
5. The Council agrees that targeted reductions in fishing pressure are the most important management measures in order to achieve sustainable development. Total allowable catches (TACs) are a key instrument in limiting fishing pressure. This instrument needs to be further developed in the light of the Council conclusions on the application of the precautionary principle and multi-annual arrangements for setting TACs.
6. The Community has not yet succeeded in establishing a sustainable balance between fishing effort (the product of capacity and activity) and available fish resources, and this also may have a negative effect on the marine environment as a whole. The Council therefore invites the Commission to develop a fleet policy which would secure appropriate targeted reductions in fishing effort.
7. The Council considers that significantly enhanced technical conservation measures should also be a central part of the overall strategy to integrate fisheries and environment policy. In this context, the Council supports the development and implementation of more selective fishing gears in order to reduce discards, incidental by-catch and impact on habitats. Time and site specific protection measures should be considered in order to protect juveniles or sensitive and threatened species. The Council invites the Commission to continue to develop actively this important dimension of fisheries conservation policy in consultation with all players.

7885/01

DG B III

RU/mc 1  
**EN**

7885/01

DG B III

RU/mc 2  
**EN**

might bias the class creation process. I have therefore edited all institutions' and countries names as well as key phrases by linking them with underscores, which are treated by ALCESTE as links within a single word. Table 6 details words I have modified following this process.

**Table 6 : Modified words**

Original word	Replaced by
-	[space]
.	[delete]
's	_s
•	[space]
A digital agenda for Europe	A_digital_agenda_for_Europe
CAN	C_A
CAP	C_A_P
Cap-and-trade	cap_and_trade
CDM	C_D_M
CH	C_H
Climate change	climate_change
CLIMATE CHANGE	Climate_change
climate change	climate_change
COMMISSION	Commission
COMMITMENT	Commitment
Common Agricultural Policy	Common_Agricultural_Policy
CONFIRMS	Confirms

CONSIDERS	Considers
COUNCIL	Council
Council of ministers	Council_of_Ministers
DG Agriculture	D_G_Agriculture
DG INFSO	D_G_I_N_F_S_O
DGECFIN	D_G_Ecfin
DK	D_K
Dk	D_K
E	E_S
E-Europe	E_Europe
EC	E_C
ECB	E_C_B
Eco-innovation	eco_innovation
Eco-management	Eco_management
ECOFIN	E_C_O_F_I_N
Ecofin Council	Ecofin_Council
<i>EE</i>	<i>E_E</i>
<i>EEA</i>	<i>E_E_A</i>
EEAS	E_E_A_S
EIB	E_I_B
EIF	E_I_F
EL	E_L
employment rate	employment_rate
EMU	E_M_U
EN	[delete]
ENER	E_N_E_R
ENV	E_N_V
EPSCO	E_P_S_C_O
ES	E_S
ESF	E_S_F
ESP	E_S
ETS	E_T_S
EU 2020	E_U_2_0_2_0
EU13	E_U_1_3
Euro-area	euro_area
Europe 2020	Europe_2020
EUROPE 2020	Europe_2_0_2_0
Europe 2020 strategy	Europe_2_0_2_0_strategy
European Commission	European_Commission
European Communities	European_Communities
European Community	European_Community
European Council	European_Council
<i>European Council in Lisbon</i>	<i>European_Council_in_Lisbon</i>
European Parliament	European_Parliament
European Platform Against Poverty	European_Platform_Against_Poverty
European Semester	European_Semester
European Union	European_Union
EUROSTAT	Eurostat

F	F_R
FI	F_I
Fin	F_I
FIN	F_I
fiscal surveillance	fiscal_surveillance
FOLLOW-UP	Follow_up
FR	F_R
FRONTEX	Frontex
G20	G_2_0
GDP	G_D_P
<i>GERMANY</i>	<i>Germany</i>
GHG	G_H_G
Göteborg	Goteborg
Gothenburg	Goteborg
GR	E_L
headline indicators	headline_indicators
Headline targets	headline_targets
HR	High_Representative
I	I_T
ICT	I_C_T
ICTs	I_C_T
IMF	I_M_F
Innovation Union	Innovation_Union
integrated guidelines	Integrated_guidelines
Internal Security Strategy	Internal_Security_Strategy
IPCC	I_P_C_C
IRELAND	Ireland
Irl	I_E
IRL	I_E
IRL	I_E
IT	I_T
JAP	J_P
L	L_U
Lisbon conclusions	Lisbon_conclusions
Lisbon European Council	Lisbon_European_Council
Lisbon process	Lisbon_process
Lisbon strategy	Lisbon_strategy
Lisbon Summit	Lisbon_Summit
LV	L_V
Macro-economic	macro_economic
Macro-prudential	macro_prudential
Medium-Term-Objectives	Medium_Term_Objectives
Member State	Member_State
Member States	Member_States
Micro-economic	micro_economic
Micro-prudential	micro_prudential
NAP	N_A_P
NAPs	N_A_P
NATO	N_A_T_O

NL	N_L
NI	N_L
NRP	N_R_P
NRPs	N_R_P_s
OECD	O_E_C_D
Open Method of Coordination	Open_Method_of_Coordination
P	P_T
PES	Public_Employment_Services
PL	P_L
POLAND	Poland
PORTUGAL	Portugal
Pro-cyclical	pro_cyclical
PT	P_T
R&D	R_&_D
REAFFIRMS	Reaffirms
RECALL	Recall
RECALLS	Recalls
RECOGNISES	Recognises
REDDplus	R_E_D_D_plus
REITERATES	Reiterates
Resource efficient Europe	Resource_efficient_Europe
SGP	S_G_P
SME	S_M_E
SMEs	S_M_E
social economy	social_economy
social inclusion	social_inclusion
Socio-economic	socio_economic
SPAIN	Spain
Stability and Convergence Programme	Stability_and_Convergence_Programmes
Stability and Convergence Programmes	Stability_and_Convergence_Programmes
Stability and Growth Pact	B_E
sustainable growth	sustainable_growth
Sw	S_E
SWEDEN	Sweden
Task Force	Task_Force
TEU	T_E_U
ü	[delete]
UK	U_K
UN	U_N
unemployment rate	unemployment_rate
UNFCCC	U_N_F_C_C_C
United Kingdom	United_Kingdom
US	U_S
USA	U_S
Vice-President	Vice_President
WTO	W_T_O
Youth on the move	Youth_on_the_move

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Finally, a single institution, policy-actor or country might be referred to in different ways. For instance, the European Commission will be interchangeably called 'the Commission', 'the Commission of the EC' or 'the European Commission'. It is therefore necessary to input a list of synonyms into the software in order to ensure that the analysis is not biased. I have done so by directly modifying my text data file and replacing all synonyms by the synonym which was most frequently used across original documents. Table 7 provides a list of synonyms and their counterparts which most frequently appeared in original documents.

<b>Synonyms</b>	<b>Chosen word</b>
Europe_2020	Europe_2020
E_U_2020	
E_U_2020_strategy	
E_U_2020_agenda	
Europe_2020_agenda	
Europe_2020_strategy	
Lisbon_Agenda	Lisbon_strategy
Lisbon_strategy	
Lisbon_European_Council	
Lisbon_Council	
Lisbon_scenario	
Lisbon_target	
European_Council_in_Lisbon	
Lisbon process	
Lisbon_conclusions	
Lisbon_Summit	
A_T	Austria
Austria	
B_G	Bulgaria
Bulgaria	
C_Y	Cyprus
Cyprus	
C_Z	Czech
Czech	
D_K	Denmark
Denmark	
E_L	Greece
Greece	
E_E	Estonia
Estonia	
F_I	Finland
Finland	

F_R France	France
H_U Hungary	Hungary
I_E Ireland	Ireland
I_T Italy	Italy
L_T Lithuania	Lithuania
L_V Latvia	Latvia
L_U Luxembourg	Luxembourg
M_T Malta	Malta
N_L Netherlands	Netherlands
P_L Poland	Poland
P_T Portugal	Portugal
R_O Romania	Romania
S_E Sweden	Sweden
S_K Slovakia	Slovakia
S_I Slovenia	Slovenia
U_K United_Kingdom	United_Kingdom
H_R Croatia	Croatia
D_E Germany	Germany
E_S Spain	Spain
C_A_P Common_Agricultural_Policy	Common_Agricultural_Policy
Ressource_efficient Ressource_efficiency	Ressource-efficiency
Commission European_Comission	European_Commission
Council Council_of_the_E_U Council_of_the_European_Union Council_of_Ministers	Council_of_the_EU
S_M_E	S_M_E

S_M_E_s	
Ecofin	Ecofin
E_C_O_F_I_N	
Ecofin_Council	
E_U	E_U
European_Community	
European_Communities	
E_C	
C_A	Canada
Canada	
Member_State	Member_States
Member_States	
Stability_and_Growth_Pact	Stability_and_Growth_Pact
S_G_P	

### Appendix 3: Detailed Results from the General and Segmented Analyses

This appendix provides detailed results for the analysis of my data-set. Table 2 (p.22) is derived from table 8, which gives results for the general analysis, while tables 3 and 4 (p.26) are derived respectively from tables 9 and 10, which give results from the analyses of my segmented data set. Each table provides the most significant words and ECUs obtained by running the analysis using ALCESTE. I have named classes according to the most significant words and the most significant ECUs, following the same process as detailed in part 6.1.

**Table 8: classes derived from the general analysis**

Class (size)	Top characteristic words ( $\chi^2$ )	Top 3 characteristic phrases (ECUs) (characteristic words in bold)
1. The Eurozone, economics and the financial crisis (16%)	financial (468); crisis (370); fiscal (293); stabil+ (283); macro_economic (233); euro (200); surveillance (181); levy (177); consolid+ (169); exit (166)	<p>... <b>authority</b>, ESMA, with exclusive <b>supervisory powers</b> over <b>credit rating agencies</b> registered in the <b>E_U</b> 24. <b>also</b> in the <b>U_S</b>, there is <b>currently legislation</b> in both the house of representatives and senate that <b>would</b> further <b>enhance regulation</b> of Cras and <b>would also enhance convergence</b> between the <b>E_U</b> and <b>U_S regulatory framework</b>.</p> <p>... indeed, <b>financial</b> distress in one member_states can jeopardize the <b>macro financial stability</b> of the <b>euro area</b> as a <b>whole</b>. the <b>crisis</b> has demonstrated that a robust <b>framework</b> for <b>crisis management</b> is a <b>necessary complement</b> to the instruments for <b>surveillance, prevention</b> and <b>adjustment</b> discussed above.</p> <p>... <b>liquidity risk management</b> and quality of <b>capital</b>. <b>October</b> 2008 adopted <b>may</b> 2009 <b>deposit guarantee schemes directive amendment</b> <b>october</b> 2008 adopted <b>march</b> 2009 <b>credit rating agencies regulation</b> <b>october</b> 2008 adopted <b>september</b> 2009 communication on <b>remuneration</b> principles april 2009 see annex/</p>



2. The EU and the international fight against Climate Change (10%)

emission (651); copenhagen (579); countries (468); mitigat+ (375); reduction (320); climate (318); cancun (252); climate\_change (229); accord+ (220); carbon (210)

... **E\_U action alone** is not **enough to deliver** the goal of **keeping global temperature increase below 2 C compared to pre industrial levels**. all **countries** will need to make **an additional effort**, including **cuts** of 80 95%by 2050 by developed **countries**. **an E\_U target** of 20%by 2\_0\_2\_0 is just a first **step to put emissions onto this path**.

... the **E\_U reiterates** its **conditional offer to move to a 30%reduction by 2\_0\_2\_0 compared to 1990 levels, provided that other developed countries commit themselves to comparable emission reductions and that developing countries contribute adequately according to their responsibilities and respective capabilities**.

... **analysis of options to move beyond 20%greenhouse gas emissions reductions and assessing the risk of carbon leakage** I NTRODUCTION when the **E\_U** decided in 2008 to **cut its greenhouse gas emissions...**

3. The integration of environmental concerns into other policy fields (22%)

Environmental (459); national (161); cooper+ (149); polic+ (124); community (113); develop+ (104); object (99); integr+ (76); strateg+ (75); dialogue (74)

... **consistent** with the **objective of sustainable development** through I. e. the **mainstreaming of environmental sustainability into all aspects of development cooperation; security policy**, including the **integration of environmental concerns in policies on landmine clearance, as well as disarmament and non proliferation which requires environmental precaution in the disposal of weapons of mass destruction;**

... the **member\_states' and the community\_s development** of their regulatory **policies should, wherever relevant, include specific consideration of how best to integrate environmental protection and sustainable development into the general regulatory framework**.

... this asymmetrical socio\_economic **impact adds** to an already diversified **regional environment**. The **regional diversity** of demographic **and economic characteristics** suggests more **emphasis** is needed in **taking account** of the **regional dimension** in the socio\_economic **policy field**.

4. Language of procedure (16%)	european_council (983); council (438); conclusion (284); june (279); presidency (267); goteborg (238); adopt (212); invite (187); welcome (160); endorse (149)	<p>... <b>it invites the european_commission to present a progress report to the council by june 2001.</b> V_ immigration and asylum. <b>the european_council welcomes progress made on implementing the measures it identified at its june 2009 meeting regarding illegal migration in the mediterranean.</b></p> <p>2. <b>on this basis, the june european_council will ne invited to endorse the integrated_guidelines.</b> They will be <b>formally adopted by the council after the june european_council,</b> in the light of the <b>forthcoming opinion of the european_parliament on the employment guidelines.</b></p>
5. The potential of digital and new technologies (24%)	Inform+ (351); internet (325); technolog+ (324); society (227); access (198); business (183); services (182); network (176); innovation (171); skill (151)	<p>... <b>in coreper on 4 april 2001. the general affairs council is invited to adopt the report with a view to forwarding it to the european_council in goteborg.</b></p> <p>... <b>growth based on knowledge and innovation: this means improving our productivity by increasing our R_ &amp; D and innovation performance, better exploiting the potential of I_C_T and creating a digital single market, raising education outcomes and promoting skills.</b></p> <p>... the <b>true benefits of the information society will come from a dynamic and innovative use of these tools, improving quality of customer service and access to new customers and markets.</b></p> <p>3. 1. <b>towards a knowledge based economy E_U support for a european information society the information and communication technologies offer europe new opportunities for growth and job creation.</b></p>
6. Social and employment concerns (12%)	Age (481); unemployment (442); population (423); women (380); income (325); rate (312); low (259); people (241); poverty (241); old (227)	<p>... <b>changes in the economy, the labour market, society_s demographic profile and family patterns weaken social cohesion, by increasing income inequalities and vulnerability. the problem of permanent poverty is compounded by more widespread insecurity: a high percentage of people experience poverty or are threatened by it at some point in their lives.</b></p>

... the unemployment\_rate for **women** across the union **is still some 3percentage points higher than for men.**  
**Graph 1 employment rates EUUS 100 1999 89%86%80**  
**74%63%57%60 52%40 E\_U U\_S 37%E\_U E\_E U\_S**  
**36%E\_U U\_S U\_S 20 0 young 1524 men 2554 women**  
**2554 older 5564 source: eurostat, E\_U labour force**  
**survey;**

3. 1. disposable **income: employment is still the main source on average, 70%of disposable income arises from work,employment and self employment. in terms of the distribution of income, lone parents, families with many children, persons living alone, particularly women, and the unemployed are the groups most at risk of low income.**

**Table 9: classes derived from the analysis of the Lisbon strategy data set**

Class (size)	Top characteristic words ( $\chi^2$ )	Top 3 characteristic phrases (ECUs) (characteristic words in bold)
1. Employment and social concerns (11%)	low (376); income (333); population (242); poverty (211); rate (187); household (160); eurostat (135); age (134); german+ (109); netherlands (105)	<p>... except for <b>denmark</b> and <b>netherlands</b> where <b>disparities in income distributions are smallest</b> and where the <b>low income population is only</b> about 10. A <b>second group, greece, spain, ireland, italy, with low income thresholds of around 5000 PPS</b> and about 200%of the <b>population living below the threshold.</b></p> <p>... 7560 <b>denmark germany greece spain france ireland italy luxembourg netherlands austria portugal united_kingdom E_U_1_3 7758 7422 4268 4544 7025 5447 5228 11219 6583 7404 3790 6715 6340 low income pop, ...</b></p> <p>3. 1. disposable <b>income: employment is still the main source on average, 70%of disposable income arises from work,employment and self employment. in terms of the distribution of income, lone parents, families with many children, persons living alone, particularly women, and the unemployed are the groups most at risk of low income.</b></p>

2. The international policy of the EU (10%) presidency (157); conference (156); european\_council (117); russ+ (113); welcome (101); balkan (95); political (94); peace (87); minister (87); democratic (87)
76. the **europaean\_unioun stands ready to assist the political, economic and social reforms necessary for restoring peace, stability and prosperity.** east timor 77. the european\_council **expresses its support for the forthcoming elections for the constituent assembly in east timor.**
- Page 20 **annex III documents submitted to the goteborg european\_council. Page 21 annexes to the presidency conclusions goteborg, 15 and 16 june 2001 ANNEX I declaration on prevention of proliferation of ballistic missiles strengthening international norms and political instruments to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery!**
- ... the european\_council **reaffirms that the peace, prosperity and stability of south east europe are a strategic priority for the european\_unioun. The european\_council notes the progress achieved over the past year but also the serious challenges which the international community still faces in the western balkans.**
3. Europeanization implementation and coordination of EU policies (25%) Environmental (151); should (103); effect (77); take (75); community (67); measure (66); member\_state (66); account (60); objective (51); national (49)
- ... in **this context, the future handbook on the application of articles 28 to 30 to national environmental measures will give guidance. Where appropriate, mutual recognition clauses should be inserted in national legislation. The use of the procedure under directive 98/ 34 as an instrument to monitor to what extent such clauses are inserted should also continue.**
- objective:** the member\_states should ensure the effective application of the mutual recognition principle, while maintaining a high level of environmental protection. **action:** the european\_commission should follow up to what extent clauses on mutual recognition are used in notifications under directive 98/ 34, and report to the council indicator:
- ... and that the measures taken under articles 95 and 175 are consistent with each other. 2. 3 how to achieve the objectives of the strategy important community principles, such as the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality must be borne in mind at all times.

4. The integration of environmental policies (14%)
- council (381); sustain+ (361); integr+ (301); strateg+ (270); develop+ (268); into (178); european\_council (136); environmental (116); report (115); environment (109)
- ... **recalls the strategy on the integration of environment and sustainable development into energy policy adopted by the council on 2 december 1999 which was approved by the european\_council of helsinki, 10 11 december 1999, 1.**
- ... **implementing the strategy and reviewing progress: steps after goteborg annual stocktaking checks our progress regular monitoring and reporting of progress, based on indicators the stockholm european\_council decided that all dimensions of sustainable development should be reviewed at the annual spring european\_council.**
- 1 7511/ 01 TRANS 53 E\_N\_E\_R 41 E\_N\_V 154, **integrating environment and sustainable development into energy and transport policies: review report 2001 and implementation of the strategies.**
5. The competitiveness of a knowledge economy (24%)
- knowledge (170); opportunit+ (103); technolog+ (97); new; society; innovat+ (82); job; adapt+ (79); skill (74); employ+ (71)
- what is needed is **dynamic european capital markets supporting new start ups, a labour market that supplies a skilled and flexible workforce and competitive product markets which keeps down prices.**
- with the **globalisation of economies, high speed technological change, industrial restructuring and the dynamics of job destruction and creation, work and the labour market** are drastically changing and reshaping the balance between **flexibility and security and offering new opportunities** to those who are the most **employable and adaptable.**
- they therefore play and essential role in fuelling new ideas, supporting entrepreneurial culture and promoting access to and use of new technologies. it is essential to exploit the potential of the euro to push forward the integration of E\_U financial markets. Furthermore, efficient risk capital markets play a major role in innovative high growth S\_M\_E and the creation of new and sustainable jobs.**
6. The potential of digital and new technologies (16%)
- Internet (298); online (175); inform (154); access (153); multimedia (143); teachers (130); public (128); end (119);
- ... **eu. Int/ jobs/ eures http: europa. eu. Int/ citizens 20 E administration best practice.** in denmark, the life cycles **web page**, see preceding, is a **user friendly web site providing the citizen with the necessary information** on a great **number of administrative procedures.**

school (113);  
electronic (112)

priority should be given to **access to public information, online transactions with administrations, digital procurement procedures, social and cultural services. Actors recommendations timing** indicators member states set **up citizen friendly internet page with a clear site map providing information about** civil rights and **offering links** to the relevant **public services**.

4. **fast internet** for **researchers** and **students** **E\_Europe targets by the end of 2000: internet infrastructure** for **researchers** and **students** should be **upgraded. by the end of 2001: at least one university** and one **scientific research** faculty per country should have a **network** supporting **multimedia** communications, rapidly to **extended all others**.

**Table 10: classes derived from the analysis of the Europe 2020 strategy data set**

Class (size)	Top characteristic words ( $\chi^2$ )	Top 3 characteristic phrases (ECUs) (characteristic words in bold)
1. Financial reforms and the financial crisis (12%)	levy (202); capital (161); rating (152); supervis+ (144); bank (140); supervisor (137); derivative (124); legislat+ (119); risk (112); agenc+ (108)	<p>... <b>liquidity risk management</b> and quality of <b>capital</b>. October 2008 adopted <b>may 2009 deposit guarantee schemes directive amendment october 2008</b> adopted march 2009 <b>credit rating agencies regulation october 2008</b> adopted <b>september 2009 communication on remuneration</b> principles <b>april 2009</b> see annex/</p> <p>... investment <b>fund managers directive april 2009 summer 2010 3 rd revision</b> of the <b>capital requirements directive, CRD3, july 2009 summer 2010 supervision</b> package, european <b>systemic risk board</b> and european <b>supervisory authorities, ...</b></p> <p>... <b>april 2009 legislative forthcoming alternative investment fund managers directive april 2009 codecision</b> under way 3 rd <b>revision</b> of the <b>capital requirements directive</b> for <b>banks capital requirements</b> for the <b>trading book</b> and re <b>securitisations, ...</b></p>
2. The international fight against Climate Change (19%)	copenhagen (297); countries (232); mitig+ (171); accord+ (166); develop+ (136); cancu (125); emission (116);	... also <b>recalls developed countries' commitment</b> in the <b>copenhagen accord</b> , in the <b>context</b> of <b>meaningful mitigation actions</b> of <b>developing countries</b> and transparency on <b>implementation, to a goal of mobilising jointly USD 100 billion</b> a year <b>by 2_0_2_0, ...</b>

3. Economic policy and EU policy coordination (20%)	european_council (351); council (186); national (111); strateg+ (106); set (84); june (84); headline_target (73); european_commission (72); integrated_guidelines (71); welcome (67)	<p>the <b>E_U</b> reiterates its conditional offer to move to a 30%reduction by 2_0_2_0 compared to 1990 levels, provided that other developed countries commit themselves to comparable emission reductions and that developing countries contribute adequately according to their responsibilities and respective capabilities.</p>
4. the Eurozone crisis and economic imbalances (17%)	fiscal (258); euro (196); surveillance (178); exit (163); macro_econo+ (162); imbalance (158); consolid+ (133); budget (105); stabil+ (90); deficit+ (89)	<p>the <b>E_U</b> reiterates its conditional offer to move to a 30%reduction by 2_0_2_0 compared to 1990 levels, provided that other developed countries commit themselves to comparable emission reductions and that developing countries contribute adequately according to their responsibilities and respective capabilities.</p>
		<p>... it invites the european_commission to present a progress report to the council by june 2001. V_immigration and asylum. the european_council welcomes progress made on implementing the measures it identified at its june 2009 meeting regarding illegal migration in the mediterranean.</p>
		<p>2. on this basis, the june european_council will be invited to endorse the integrated_guidelines. they will be formally adopted by the council after the june european_council, in the light of the forthcoming opinion of the european_parliament on the employment guidelines.</p>
		<p>the council, ecofin, the european_council borad economic policy guidelines for the economic policies of the member states and of the union report to the european_council delegations will find attached the report on the broad guidelines for the economic policies/</p>
		<p>... the economic situation is improving, but the recovery is still fragile. 2. restoring macro_economic stability and returning public finances on a sustainable path are prerequisites for growth and jobs.</p>
		<p>this will imply closer surveillance, more demanding policy coordination and stronger follow_up to ensure that necessary structural reforms are implemented swiftly. on 9 may, based on a proposal of the european_commission, the ecofin decided on the establishment of a temporary european stabilisation mechanism to deal with the immediate needs of the crisis.</p>

**addressing** these **challenges** requires **strengthened** and **closer policy coordination** including: 26 a **framework** for **deeper** and broader **surveillance** for **euro area** countries: in addition to **strengthening fiscal discipline**, **macro\_economic imbalances** and **competitiveness** developments **should** be and **integral** part of **economic surveillance**, in particular with a view to facilitating a **policy driven adjustment**.

5. Technological and digital potentials for the Single Market (16%) Innovation (211); access (138); market (135); business (121); knowledge (107); services (97); S\_M\_E (96); environment (96); invest (91); single (87)

... **removing tax obstacles**, **improving the business environment**, **particularly for S\_M\_E**, and **supporting entrepreneurship**; adapting E\_U and national legislation to the **digital era** so as to **promote** the circulation of **content** with **high** level of **trust for consumers and companies**.

**unlocking** the potential for **entrepreneurship**, notably **creating** a more **favourable environment for S\_M\_E**, is crucial for **job creation and growth**. the E\_U **needs well** functioning **markets where competition and consumer access stimulate** productivity, **growth and innovation**, and with a strong **social** component.

... **business environment**, **especially for S\_M\_E**, and to support the development of a strong and sustainable **europa's higher education**. E\_U flagship initiative A **digital agenda for industrial base** able to **compete** globally. **Europe** to **speed up** the **rollout of high speed internet and reap** the **benefits** of a **digital single market** for households and firms.

6. The low-carbon economy, energy and de-carbonisation (16%) energ+ (209); carbon (205); price (142); low (118); renew+ (115); world (71); intens+ (65); emission (63); less (56); CO (55)

**secondly**, the **rise in oil prices** 7 proved an incentive to improve **energy efficiency: energy demand has fallen**. **thirdly**, the **carbon price** is **likely** to remain **lower** as **allowances not used in the recession** are carried forward into the future.

... **resource\_efficient\_europe** to **help decouple** economic growth **from** the **use of resources**, support the **shift towards** a **low carbon** economy, **increase the use of renewable energy sources**, **modernise our transport** sector and promote **energy efficiency**.

the international **energy** agency **has** warned that, by 2015, **oil supply could face difficulties** to keep abreast with **increasing demand**, leading to further **increases in oil prices**, **potentially** stifling **renewed** economic growth.