Governing Social Inclusion

Europeanization through Policy Coordination

KENNETH A. ARMSTRONG

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
## CONTENTS

*Table of Cases* xiii  
*Table of Legislation* xv  
*List of Abbreviations* xvii  
*List of Tables* xix

### 1. Europeanizing Social Inclusion—Theory, Concepts and Methods

- Introduction 1  
- Europeanization 4  
- Governance 7  
  - Governance and EU Studies 8  
  - Governance and Social Policy 10  
- Institutionalism and Institutionalization 11  
  - Varieties of Institutionalism 12  
  - Law, Legalism and Institutionalization 14  
- Social Exclusion—Language and Concepts 16  
  - The Europeanization of a Language 17  
  - The Turn to Discourse 19  
  - Programmatic Discourses: Policy Frames and Policy Paradigms 23  
- Social Europe 26

### 2. Policy Coordination in the EU

- Introduction 29  
- Constituting Coordination as ‘The OMC’ 30  
- Evolving Policy Coordination 33  
- The OMC in the Context of the Lisbon Strategy 35  
- Competing Rationalities for Policy Coordination 39  
- The ‘Philosophy’ of Policy Coordination 41  
- Modes of Governance 46  
- Between Governance and Accountability 48  
- Conclusions 52
## 3. Social Policy Coordination and the Lisbon Strategy  

**Introduction**  54  
**The Constitutional Context**  56  
**The Policy Context**  61  
- EU Social Policy: From Missing Domain to 'Productive Factor'  62  
- Social Exclusion and Social Protection  64  
**The Governance Context**  69  
- Common Objectives  71  
- Common Indicators  77  
- Targets  81  
- National Action Plans on Inclusion and Joint Reports  83  
- The Community Action Programme  90  
**Conclusions**  93  

## 4. Relaunching the Lisbon Strategy and the Streamlining of Policy Coordination  

**Introduction**  96  
**The Constitutional Context**  98  
**The Policy Context**  105  
- The Relaunch of Lisbon  105  
- Reframing Social Policy Coordination: From Social Inclusion to Social Protection  112  
**The Governance Context**  115  
- From Streamlining to Integration: The Economic and Employment Coordination Processes  115  
- The Streamlined Social Protection and Social Inclusion Process  118  
**Conclusions**  139  

## 5. Europeanization through Policy Coordination  

**Introduction**  142  
**Mechanisms of Change**  143  
**Polity**  146  
- Central Government  147  
- Devolved Government  151  
- Local Governance  155  
**Politics**  156
Policy 157
Adapting to the OMC: A Case-Study of the United Kingdom 159
  Reporting and Monitoring 161
  Policy Assessment and Analysis 177
  Governance and Participation: Responding to Non-Governmental Actors 183
Conclusions 185

6 Economic Constitutionalism and Social Policy Coordination 188
  Introduction 188
  The Structure of EU Economic Law 191
  The Applicability of EU Economic Law to the Social Sphere 192
  Competition Law and Social Protection 196
    The Concept of an ‘Undertaking’ 196
    Services of General Economic Interest 201
    State Aid 204
    Political Responses to Safeguard Services of General Economic Interest 207
  Free Movement and Social Protection 208
    Free Movement of Workers 209
    Freedom to Receive Services 216
    Freedom of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services 219
Conclusions 226

7 From Lisbon to Lisbon—Europeanization through Constitutionalism 229
  Introduction 229
  Solidarity in EU Constitutionalism 232
    Social Democracy: Solidarity and the Rescue of the Welfare State 232
    Constitutional Pluralism: Solidarity in a Multi-Level System 235
  From Postnationalism to Polyarchy:
    Denationalizing Solidarity 239
  Rebooting European Constitutionalism 241
    Social Values and Objectives 241
    Fundamental Social Rights 245
Conclusions 255
8 Strengthening the Governance of Social Inclusion 263

Introduction 263
After Lisbon 264
  A Changed Economic and Political Context 265
  ‘Europe 2020’ 269

Strengthening the Governance Architecture:
  ‘Hybrid’ Solutions 275
  European Year against Poverty and Social Exclusion 276
  ‘Active Inclusion’ 279

Reinforcing Social Policy Coordination: Institutional
  Change, Institutional Models and Institutional Design 284
  Beyond Hard and Soft Law 285
  Treaty-based Coordination as an Institutional Model
    for the Social OMC 287
  Coordinating Coordination: Learning from Experience 292
  Conclusions 298

Bibliography 301
Index 327