

## Index

- access to public services. *See* coverage levels of public services, NEG prescriptions on
- accession policies. *See* EU enlargement
- Adequate Minimum Wage Directive. *See also* minimum wage regulation; post-Covid NEG regime
- adoption of, 39, 128–130, 325–326, 357
- collective bargaining provisions, 130, 325
- minimum wage-setting provisions, 130, 324–325
- significance, 130–131, 306, 350
- Albert, Michel, 26
- Andriessen, Frans, 135
- austerity policies. *See* expenditure on public services, NEG prescriptions on
- aviation services. *See* civil aviation services
- bailout programmes for banks, 1–2, 27–28
- bailout programmes for Member States, 27–29, 35–36, 313–314, 361
- Ban, Cornel, 103–104
- Barrett, Gavin, 28, 39
- Barroso, José Manuel, 2, 29
- Bartolini, Stefano, 22
- Beck, Ulrich, 26, 38
- Belgian Platform for Action on Health and Solidarity, 259
- Bellamy, Richard, 42–43, 254, 297
- Berlusconi, Silvio, 104, 113, 117
- Bieler, Andreas, 159, 192–193
- Blair, Tony, 103–104
- Bolkestein Directive. *See* service trade liberalisation via Services Directive
- Bolkestein, Frits, 50, 138–139, 208
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 78–79
- Boyer, Robert, 26
- Boylan, Lynn, 228
- Brexit, 49, 131, 312, 356
- Broad Economic Policy Guidelines, 24, 31, 35, 44, 104
- broadband services. *See* telecommunications services
- Brooks, Eleanor, 54, 241–243, 253, 256
- Büchs, Milena, 105
- Burawoy, Michael, 45, 50
- bus services, Ireland, 180, 187
- Byrne, David, 240
- Calmfors, Lars, 32
- capitalist accumulation
- by dispossession, 47–49
- marketisation of public services. *See* public services marketisation
- NEG regime based on logic of, 28–29, 40, 353–354
- solidaristic employment and welfare arrangements, tempering function, 21–22, 46–47, 233
- carers' rights regulation, 102, 128
- Centrale nationale des employés (CNE) (Belgian trade union), 259
- CFR Infrastructura (Romanian railway infrastructure company), 184, 186
- CFR Marfă (Romanian state-owned freight railway company), 185
- CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail) (French trade union), 262
- childcare services, NEG prescriptions on, 148, 156
- CIDs (Council Implementing Decisions), 323, 361–362

- civil aviation services. *See also* transport services  
 European Aviation and Safety Agency, 183  
 Ireland, commodification of, 177–180  
 liberalisation (pre-2008), 169–170
- CNE (Centrale nationale des employés)  
 (Belgian trade union), 259
- coercive power of NEG prescriptions  
 concept and taxonomy, 80–81, 85, 109–111  
 employment relations prescriptions, 111,  
 113–114, 118
- EU funds, NEG conditionalities  
 RRF funds. *See* Resilience and Recovery  
 Facility (RRF)  
 social and cohesion funds, 32, 185, 190,  
 321
- Europe 2020 strategy, weakness of, 2, 35
- MIP's coercive power, 85, 278–279  
 fines for compliance failures, 30–32, 35,  
 321
- post-Covid prescriptions, 321–322
- public services prescriptions. *See* coercive  
 power of public services NEG  
 prescriptions
- SGP's coercive power, 85, 278  
 Covid-19 pandemic suspension, 9, 232,  
 265, 306–309, 313, 356  
 fines for compliance failures, 29–32, 35  
 synthesising assessment, 276, 280–281, 355  
 uneven coercive power, challenge for  
 transnational protests, 304–306
- coercive power of public services NEG  
 prescriptions  
 generally, 142, 154–155, 292  
 on healthcare services, 243, 249  
 on transport, 177, 183, 188, 202  
 on water services, 211–213, 220, 229
- cohesion funds, 32, 175, 185, 190, 206,  
 321
- collective action, transnational. *See*  
 transnational collective action
- collective bargaining. *See also* trade unions;  
 wages  
 Adequate Minimum Wage Directive on,  
 130, 325  
 Germany, healthcare worker protests over,  
 258  
 Laval Quartet rulings, 106, 120, 128  
 NEG prescriptions on, 114–116, 283,  
 329–330, 357  
 commodifying or decommo­difying  
 potential, 62–65, 114, 119–120, 281  
 pre-2008 wage negotiations, 17, 31, 45,  
 100–101, 103–104, 121
- Commission. *See* European Commission
- commodifying or decommo­difying potential of  
 NEG prescriptions  
 comparative analyses. *See* comparative  
 analyses of commodifying or  
 decommo­difying potential  
 conceptual framework, 58–60, 85, 108–109,  
 354–355  
 employment relations prescriptions, 6–7,  
 108–109, 114, 116, 118–120, 276–277,  
 283–284  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions,  
 324–330, 348, 356–357  
 healthcare services prescriptions, 8,  
 231–232, 242–243, 253–257  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions,  
 265–266, 343–347, 349, 351  
 public services prescriptions generally, 7,  
 142, 147–149, 154–157, 160, 163–164,  
 276–277  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions,  
 330–335, 348–350, 357  
 transport services prescriptions, 7, 176–177,  
 187–190, 200–202  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions,  
 336–338  
 water services prescriptions, 7–8, 209–210,  
 213–214, 218–221, 229–230  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions,  
 340–342
- comparative analyses of commodifying or  
 decommo­difying potential  
 employment relations and public services  
 prescriptions  
 expenditure boosts, 279–281  
 expenditure curtailments, 277–279  
 generally, 276–277, 283–285, 351  
 marketising prescriptions, 281–283  
 public services sectoral prescriptions  
 expenditure boosts, 291–293  
 expenditure curtailments, 290–291  
 generally, 285–290, 296–298  
 marketising prescriptions, 293–296  
 quantitative and qualitative prescriptions  
 distinguished, 8–9, 59, 271–276
- competitive tendering liberalisation. *See* public  
 services marketisation
- Concessions Directive  
 healthcare services under, 242, 258, 295

- social clause, 163
- transport services exclusion from, 295
- water services exclusion from, 158, 221–222, 226–227, 305
- Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) (French trade union), 262
- Constitutional Treaty and Lisbon Treaty referendums, 24, 139, 320
- consultation rights, 102, 116–117
- Conte, Giuseppe, 32
- contracts of employment. *See* employment protection
- Copeland, Paul, 46–47, 57, 60
- Copenhagen accession criteria, 16–17, 137, 235
- Cornago, Elisabetta, 321
- Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive, 326
- corporatisation of public service providers, 69–70
- cost-coverage mechanisms, 71–72, 154, 214–215, 252–253. *See also* coverage levels of public services, NEG prescriptions on
- Council of Europe, 19, 360
- Council of the European Union
  - CIDs (Council Implementing Decisions), 323, 361–362
  - Council of finance ministers, 27, 29–31, 43–44, 104, 107, 189, 191, 219, 231–232
  - Council of transport ministers, 167–168, 189–191, 200, 294
  - European Council and Council of Europe distinguished from, 359–360
  - NEG Recommendations of, 33–35
  - QMV in. *See* qualified majority voting (QMV) in Council
- country-specific nature of NEG prescriptions
  - country-specific recommendations defined, 360–361
  - national countermovements triggered by, 41, 44, 49, 305, 311–312
  - post-Covid prescriptions, 320–321
  - research implications, 4, 42–44, 52, 62, 80–83, 354
  - specific country studies. *See* Germany; Ireland; Italy; Romania
  - synthesising assessments. *See* coercive power of NEG prescriptions; commodifying or decommodifying potential of NEG prescriptions
  - transnational collective action, challenge for, 96, 127, 164, 232, 264–265, 304–305, 354
  - coverage levels of public services, NEG prescriptions on
    - healthcare services, 251–253
    - public services generally, 153–154, 349–350
    - quantitative and qualitative prescriptions distinguished, 71–72
    - transport services, 187
    - water services, 214–216
- Covid-19 pandemic. *See also* post-Covid NEG regime
  - employment relations impact, 130–131
  - Eurogroup crisis loans, 309–310
  - hospital bed and equipment shortages, 254–255, 307, 309, 343, 347, 349
  - lockdowns, 307, 317–318
  - NRRPs issued during. *See* National Resilience and Recovery Plans (NRRPs)
  - road haulage services in, 200
  - RRF funds. *See* Resilience and Recovery Facility (RRF)
  - SGP suspended during, 9, 232, 265, 306–309, 313, 356
  - state aid rules suspended during, 309
  - transnational collective action during, 347–348
- Crespy, Amandine, 56–57, 71, 241–242
- cross-border healthcare services
  - commercial route, 239–240, 256
  - Cross-Border Care Directive, 157, 241–242, 257–258, 264
  - social security route, 234–235
- Crouch, Colin, 40
- Daly, Mary, 57
- Dawson, Mark, 55, 80
- De Spiegelaere, Stan, 330
- decommodifying potential of NEG prescriptions. *See* commodifying or decommodifying potential of NEG prescriptions
- Degli Abbati, Carlo, 172
- Degryse, Christophe, 35
- Dehove, Mario, 26
- Delors, Jacques, 99, 101, 121
- democracy
  - EU policymaking democratisation, 23–25
  - European Citizens' Initiatives, 24, 198

- democracy (cont.)  
 QMV reforms. *See* qualified majority voting (QMV) in Council  
 NEG's democratic deficit. *See* democratic deficit of NEG regime  
 referendums. *See* referendums  
 social policies and democratisation, 21–22, 46
- democratic deficit of NEG regime  
 alternative methods of governance. *See* governance  
 European Parliament's role limited, 31, 160–164, 256, 263, 313  
 necessity rationale, 38, 308  
 popular protests against, 41, 44, 49, 305, 311–312, 356  
 post-Covid prescriptions, 322  
 transnational protests against. *See* transnational collective action  
 transport prescriptions example, 201
- demonstrations, transnational. *See* transnational collective action
- Deutsche Bahn (German state railway company), 173–174, 184, 188, 191–192, 294
- Díaz, Yolanda, 319
- differentiated integration, NEG as reversed  
 form of, 42–43, 254, 297, 304, 320–321, 355
- digitalisation policies, 317–318, 333, 349. *See also* e-health systems
- dockworkers' strikes, 193, 198, 203, 304
- Drinking Water Directives, 205–207, 222, 227, 342
- Dublin Bus, 180, 187
- Dyrhaug, Helene, 175, 184, 190
- EASA (European Aviation and Safety Agency), 183
- economic and monetary union (EMU)  
 accession criteria, 17, 100–101, 136  
 transport services commodification via, 174–176  
 Broad Economic Policy Guidelines, 24, 31, 35, 44, 104  
 core and periphery Member States, differentiated impacts, 17–18  
 Covid-19 pandemic, Eurogroup response, 309–310  
 labour and public services impacts, 16–17, 95, 103, 235–237  
 Maastricht Treaty on. *See* Maastricht Treaty  
 sovereign debt crisis. *See* eurozone crisis
- economic governance, EU  
 post-2008. *See* NEG (new economic governance) regime  
 pre-2008. *See* EU economic governance (pre-2008)
- EDP (excessive deficit procedure) of SGP, 29–30, 32–33, 136, 278–279, 332
- e-health systems  
 European Health Data Space Regulation (draft), 345–347  
 NEG prescriptions on, 70, 76, 251, 296, 317, 344
- EHIC (European Health Insurance Card), 234–235, 242
- employee information and consultation rights, 102, 116–117
- employment protection  
 flexible working rights, 102, 128, 324  
 flexicurity policies (pre-2008), 25, 105  
 Germany, mini-jobs, 118, 282–283, 324  
 information and consultation rights, 102, 116–117  
 Italy, Jobs Act, 117, 153, 281  
 NEG prescriptions on, 31, 36, 117, 282–283, 328–329  
 commodifying or decommodifying potential, 65–66, 118–119, 281  
 for pregnant workers, 102, 128  
 self-employed worker status, 131, 326
- employment relations  
 commodification of. *See* labour commodification  
 democratisation of, 21–22, 46  
 dimensions of. *See* collective bargaining; employment protection; wages  
 EU governance pre-2008. *See* employment relations governance (pre-2008)  
 MIP social indicators, 31–32  
 NEG, labour politics of, 3, 13–14, 44–46, 306, 311–312, 353, 357–358  
 transnational collective action. *See* transnational collective action  
 post-Covid. *See* Adequate Minimum Wage Directive; post-Covid NEG regime  
 self-employed worker status, 131, 326  
 trade unions. *See* trade unions
- employment relations governance (pre-2008)  
 approaches characterising, 1, 20–21, 25  
 flexicurity policies, 25, 105

- health and safety policies. *See* occupational health and safety
- phases, 97, 120–121, 129  
1950s–1980s, 97–99  
1980s–1990s, 99–103  
2000–2008, 103–107
- wage moderation policies, 17, 31, 100–101, 103–104
- employment security. *See* employment protection
- EMU. *See* economic and monetary union (EMU)
- enhancing social inclusion policies. *See* social inclusion policies
- enlargement policies. *See* EU enlargement process
- ENPCHSP. *See* European Network Against Privatisation and Commercialisation of Health and Social Protection (ENPCHSP)
- environmental policies  
EU's competence for, 207  
green economy policy rationale, 156, 202, 221, 292, 316–317, 340  
post-Covid transport measures, 338–340  
post-Covid water service measures, 341–342
- EPSU. *See* European Public Service Union (EPSU)
- Erne, Roland, 39, 49, 85, 95, 127, 160, 308–309  
writing with Béthoux and Golden, 50, 121, 139, 174, 311–312, 320  
writing with Jordan and Maccarrone, 9, 35, 39, 83, 85, 271, 278  
writing with Maccarrone and Golden, 16, 324–325  
writing with Maccarrone and Regan, 88, 112, 115, 153, 182, 327  
writing with Nowak, 4, 9, 46, 62, 89–91, 121, 193, 223  
writing with Stan, 3, 45, 83, 88, 104, 232, 234–235, 309, 349  
writing with Szabó and Golden, 5, 24, 39, 45, 50, 88, 137, 158, 193, 198, 202–203, 210, 216, 226, 230, 306
- ESM (European Stability Mechanism), 310, 361
- ETF. *See* European Transport Workers' Federation (ETF)
- ETUC. *See* European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)
- EU competence  
'competence creep' strategies and arguments, 28–29, 38, 105, 108, 158, 318–319  
for decommodifying measures, arguments for, 38–39, 130, 325–326  
for environmental policies, 207
- EU economic governance (post-2008). *See* NEG (new economic governance) regime
- EU economic governance (pre-2008)  
asymmetry of economic and social integration, 14–16, 18
- employment relations governance. *See* employment relations governance (pre-2008)
- EMU. *See* economic and monetary union (EMU)  
'governance' term, 41–42  
neoliberalism, emergence of, 134–135, 169–170  
political dynamics, 18–25  
public services governance. *See* public services governance (pre-2008)
- service trade liberalisation. *See* service trade liberalisation via Services Directive
- single market. *See* single market project
- EU enlargement  
Copenhagen accession criteria, 16–17, 136–137, 235  
core and periphery Member States, differentiated impacts, 17–18  
public services commodification and, 136–137, 193  
water governance and, 206–207  
workers' free movement restrictions, 99–100
- EU integration. *See* single market project
- EU legal instruments, 360
- Euratom (European Atomic Energy Community), 20
- Europe 2020 strategy, 2, 33, 35, 361
- European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), 20
- European Aviation and Safety Agency (EASA), 183
- European Central Bank, 27–29, 103
- European Citizens' Initiatives, 24, 198  
examples. *See* Fair Transport; Right2Water
- European Coal and Steel Community, 19–20
- European Commission  
bank bailout approvals, 1–2, 27

- European Commission (cont.)  
 Covid-19 pandemic relief programmes,  
 309–310, 312  
 definition, 360  
 democratisation of policymaking, 23–24  
 eurozone crisis role, 27–29  
 NEG enforcement powers, 29–32  
 NEG implementation assessments by, 36  
 NRRP implementation assessments by,  
 313–320, 323–324  
 rail services, competition enforcement  
 action, 191–192  
 state aid regulation. *See* state aid regulation  
 wage policy competence claim, 108
- European Council  
 Council of the European Union and  
 Council of Europe distinguished from,  
 359–360  
 EU Constitution, call for, 23  
 role, 20
- European Federation of Salaried Doctors, 262
- European Health Data Space Regulation  
 (draft), 345–347
- European Health Insurance Card (EHIC),  
 234–235, 242
- European Network Against Privatisation and  
 Commercialisation of Health and  
 Social Protection (ENPCHSP)  
 establishment, 8, 259, 265  
 membership, 259, 263  
 ‘Our health is not for sale’ annual days of  
 action, 259–264, 306, 356  
 post-Covid protests organisation, 347–348
- European Parliament  
 definition, 360  
 legislative role, 18, 20, 171  
 NEG regime, role limited, 31, 160–164,  
 256, 263, 313  
 service trade liberalisation opposition, 24,  
 139–140
- European Pillar of Social Rights, 127–128,  
 160, 222, 316
- European Public Service Union (EPSU)  
 Cross-Border Care Directive opposition,  
 257–258, 264  
 European Health Data Space Regulation  
 response, 347  
 healthcare commodification protests,  
 support for, 262–264  
 healthcare workers’ protests organisation  
 (post-Covid), 347–348
- NEG regime protests organisation, 8, 159,  
 302  
 Right2Water. *See* Right2Water  
 (European Citizens’ Initiative)
- Procurement Directive protests organisation,  
 222, 239, 258
- Services Directive protests organisation,  
 223–226, 257, 302
- European Semester process  
 NEG prescriptions integration role, 2,  
 34–35  
 NRRP, Commission assessments, 313–320,  
 323–324  
 outlined, 209, 361  
 trade union participation in, 127
- European Stability Mechanism (ESM), 310,  
 361
- European Trade Union Confederation  
 (ETUC)  
 establishment, 98  
 in pre-2008 period, 99, 101–102, 121  
 NEG regime protests organisation, 121, 127,  
 159–160  
 NEG regime social dialogue, 127–129, 160,  
 264–265
- European Transport Workers’ Federation  
 (ETF)  
 aim, 192–193  
 Fair Transport (European Citizens’  
 Initiative), 7, 198–200, 202–203  
 pre-2008 period protests, 202, 301–302, 304  
 Public Services Obligation Regulation  
 welcomed by, 172  
 rail services measures, concerns about, 191  
 road haulage workers’ rights initiatives, 200
- Euro sceptic politics, 44, 49, 305, 311–312,  
 356
- eurozone crisis  
 German opposition to debt mutualisation  
 policies, 310–311  
 Member State bailout programmes, 27–29,  
 35–36, 313–314, 361  
 NEG adoption during, 1–2, 13, 25–27,  
 37–38, 95–96, 107  
 excessive deficit procedure of SGP, 29–30,  
 32–33, 136, 278–279, 332  
 expenditure on public services, NEG  
 prescriptions on  
 cross-sectoral synthesising assessment,  
 290–293  
 general public spending, 66–68, 146–149

- healthcare services spending, 243–248,  
290–291, 318
- in Covid-19 pandemic and post-Covid  
period, 332–333, 350
- public sector wages. *See* public sector wages
- transport spending, 180–182, 187–188
- water services spending, 218
- Fair Transport (European Citizens' Initiative),  
7, 198–200, 202–203
- female labour market participation,  
prescriptions on, 148, 156, 248,  
293
- Ferrovie dello Stato (Italian state railway  
company), 184, 186
- Finger, Matthias, 175, 189
- Fiscal Treaty (Treaty on Stability,  
Coordination, and Governance in the  
Economic and Monetary Union), 30,  
121, 147
- Fischbach-Pytel, Carola, 257
- flexible working rights, 102, 128, 324
- flexicurity policies (pre-2008), 25, 105
- Forum Italiano dei Movimenti per L'acqua,  
91, 184–185, 227–228
- France
- Constitutional Treaty referendum, 24, 139,  
320
  - NEG prescriptions for, 35
  - public services tradition, 133
  - state aid provision, 137–138
- gender equality policies, 99, 131
- Germany
- business associations
    - Covid-19 resilience and recovery funds,  
support for, 310–312
    - opposition to NEG, 27, 311
  - Deutsche Bahn (state railway company),  
173–174, 184, 188, 191–192, 294
  - employment relations prescriptions. *See*  
Germany, employment relations  
prescriptions
  - healthcare services, EMU convergence  
criteria impact, 236–237, 251
  - mini-jobs, 118, 282–283, 324
  - minimum wage regulation, 327–328, 348
  - MIP's wage policy, reception in, 107–108
  - NRRP for. *See* Germany, NRRP (National  
Resilience and Recovery Plan)
  - private hospitals, 254, 258
  - public services prescriptions. *See* Germany,  
public services prescriptions
  - public services tradition, 133
  - rail services liberalisation, resistance to,  
173–174
  - road haulage regulation, 171
  - transport reform, post-Covid, 338
  - wage moderation policies (pre-2008), 31,  
103–104, 119, 284
  - water charges, protests against, 226–227
- Germany, employment relations prescriptions
- on collective bargaining, 64, 115–116, 281
  - on employment protection, 118–119,  
281–283
  - on public sector wages, 279
  - on wage levels, 111, 113, 119–120, 324
- Germany, NRRP (National Resilience and  
Recovery Plan)
- on healthcare services, 344–345
  - on transport services, 337–338
- Germany, public services prescriptions
- on expenditure, 147–149, 156, 181–182,  
218, 279
  - on healthcare services, 78, 82, 247,  
249–250, 290–291, 344
  - on public procurement, 148–150, 155,  
216–217, 222, 227
  - on public sector wages, 279
  - on transport, 148, 181–184, 188–189,  
202
  - on water services, 216–220, 340
  - rebalance the EU economy rationale, 6,  
113, 220, 279–280, 293, 324
- global financial crisis, 1–2, 27. *See also*  
eurozone crisis
- glossary of terms, 359–362
- Golden, Darragh, 128, 258, 263
- writing with Béthoux and Erme, 50, 121,  
139, 174, 311–312, 320
  - writing with Maccarrone and Erme, 16,  
324–325
  - writing with Szabó and Erme, 5, 24, 39, 45,  
50, 88, 137, 158, 193, 198, 202–203,  
209–210, 216, 226, 230, 306
- governance
- by ad hoc prescriptions. *See* NEG  
prescriptions
  - by law, 87, 188, 221–223, 257, 276, 338
  - by numbers, 24, 29, 70
    - MIP's scoreboard of indicators, 31–32,  
107–108, 112, 278–279

- governance (cont.)  
 ULCs (unit labour costs) benchmark,  
 107, 112, 119, 276–279, 284, 296  
 NEG model, TNC corporate governance  
 analogy, 3, 5, 42–46, 305, 319  
 pre-2008 period. *See* employment relations  
 governance (pre-2008); EU economic  
 governance (pre-2008); public services  
 governance (pre-2008)  
 technocratic, 13–14, 33, 51, 55, 357  
 term, 41–42  
 green economy policy rationale, 156, 202, 221,  
 292, 316–317, 340. *See also*  
 environmental policies
- Greer, Ian, 69, 71  
 Greer, Scott L., 54  
 Griffith-Jones, Stephany, 26
- Haas, Ernst, 20  
 Hall, David, 206  
 Harvey, David, 47–48, 59  
 health and safety regulation. *See* occupational  
 health and safety
- healthcare services. *See also* Covid-19  
 pandemic; social welfare  
 commodifying or decommodifying potential  
 of prescriptions, 8, 231–232, 242–243,  
 253–257  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions,  
 265–266, 343–347, 349, 351  
 coverage level prescriptions,  
 251–253  
 cross-border provision. *See* cross-border  
 healthcare services
- e-health systems  
 European Health Data Space Regulation  
 (draft), 345–347  
 NEG prescriptions on, 70, 76, 251, 296,  
 317, 344
- EMU convergence criteria, impact on,  
 235–237, 251, 264
- EU governance (pre-2008), 231–232  
 1950s–1990s, 232–235  
 1990s–2000, 235–237, 264  
 2000–2008, 140, 237–242
- expenditure, prescriptions on, 243–248,  
 290–291, 318
- Germany, prescriptions on, 78, 82, 247,  
 249–250, 290–291, 344
- hospitals, private services and privatisations,  
 60, 254–255, 258
- Ireland, prescriptions on. *See* Ireland,  
 healthcare services prescriptions
- Italy, prescriptions on, 77–78, 82, 248–249,  
 252, 293
- marketisation reforms (pre-2008), 140,  
 237–242, 256
- NEG application, socialisation thesis on, 54
- provider-level governance, prescriptions on,  
 250–251, 295–296
- Romania, prescriptions on. *See* Romania,  
 healthcare services prescriptions
- sector-level governance, prescriptions on,  
 248–250, 295–296
- healthcare services, transnational collective  
 action on  
 healthcare worker protests (post-Covid),  
 347–348  
 NEG regime protests, 239, 257–265, 306,  
 356  
 Services Directive inclusion protests, 8, 232,  
 238–240, 256–257
- Henrich-Franke, Christian, 168  
 Héritier, Adrienne, 171
- hiring and firing mechanisms. *See*  
 employment protection
- Höpner, Martin, 120
- horizontal–vertical EU integration paradigm  
 adoption of, 37–41, 95–96, 353–354  
 democratic deficit of. *See* democratic deficit  
 of NEG regime  
 labour politics of NEG, 2–3, 13–14, 44–46,  
 306, 311–312, 353, 357–358  
 transnational collective action. *See*  
 transnational collective action
- modes distinguished, 39–40, 44, 359  
 prescriptions, country-specific nature. *See*  
 country-specific nature of NEG  
 prescriptions
- Horn, Laura, 121  
 Huws, Ursula, 305–306  
 Hyman, Richard, 84, 106
- information and consultation rights, 102,  
 116–117
- Insurance Directive, 242
- internal market. *See* single market project
- International Monetary Fund, 27–29, 42
- Ireland  
 bus services, 180, 187  
 corporatist agreements (pre-2008),  
 100–101



- employment relations prescriptions. *See* Ireland, employment relations prescriptions
- healthcare services, EMU convergence
  - criteria impact, 236–237
- healthcare workers' protests, 258–259
- industrial cluster policies (pre-2008), 17–18
- NRRP for. *See* Ireland, NRRP (National Resilience and Recovery Plan)
- private hospitals, 254–255, 266
- privatisations, 153
- public services prescriptions. *See* Ireland, public services prescriptions
- Ireland, employment relations prescriptions
  - employment protection, no specific prescriptions, 117–118
  - on collective bargaining, 115
  - on healthcare workers (post-Covid), 327
  - on public sector wages, 111–112, 146, 277–278
  - on wage levels generally, 119, 327
- Ireland, healthcare services prescriptions
  - cost-efficiency and managerialism, 76–78, 249–251, 254–255, 295–296
  - generally, 82, 247, 291
  - post-Covid prescriptions, 327, 343
  - sector-level governance mechanisms, 249
- Ireland, NRRP (National Resilience and Recovery Plan)
  - on healthcare services, 327, 344
  - on transport services, 337
  - on water services, 341
- Ireland, public services prescriptions
  - digitalisation measures, 333
  - on expenditure, 147, 163–164, 181, 277–278
  - social infrastructure investments, 148–149, 156, 202, 279–280
  - on healthcare services. *See* Ireland, healthcare services prescriptions
  - on privatisation, 151
  - on public procurement, 340–341
  - on public sector wages, 111–112, 146, 277–278
  - on water services. *See* Ireland, water services prescriptions
  - transport, no specific prescriptions, 176, 182–183, 189
- Ireland, water services prescriptions
  - cost-coverage mechanisms, 214–215, 219, 223, 294–295
  - investment prescriptions, 218, 220–221, 340
- Irish Water incorporation, 214–216
  - national protests against, 215–216, 223, 228, 230, 306
- Italian Water Movements Forum, 91, 184–185, 227–228
- Italy
  - Commission enforcement action against, 32
  - corporatist agreements (pre-2008), 100–101
  - employment relations prescriptions. *See* Italy, employment relations prescriptions
  - general strike (2002), 104, 117
  - healthcare services, EMU convergence
    - criteria impact, 236–237, 251
  - Jobs Act, 117, 153, 281
  - NRRP for. *See* Italy, NRRP (National Resilience and Recovery Plan)
  - private hospitals, 254
  - public services prescriptions. *See* Italy, public services prescriptions
  - public services tradition, 133
  - rail services liberalisation, resistance to, 173–174
  - Right2Water campaign support in, 227–228
  - road haulage regulation, 171
- Italy, employment relations prescriptions
  - on collective bargaining, 115
  - on employment protection, 31, 36, 117, 119
  - on public sector wages, 112–113, 146–147
  - on wages generally, 327
- Italy, NRRP (National Resilience and Recovery Plan)
  - on healthcare services, 327, 344–345
  - on public administration, 334
  - on public procurement, 334
  - on transport services, 337
  - on water services, 341
- Italy, public services prescriptions
  - on expenditure, 147–149, 163–164, 182, 248, 279–280
  - on healthcare services, 77–78, 82, 248–249, 252, 293, 344
  - on privatisation, 152, 185–186, 192, 281–282
  - on professional services liberalisation, 77–78, 150
  - on public administration, 152–153
  - on public procurement, 150–151, 155–156, 184–185, 201, 217–218, 336
  - on public sector wages, 112–113, 146–147
  - on SOE governance, 152, 186–187, 216
  - on transport, 148, 182–184, 189, 294
  - on water services, 217–219

- Jobs Act (Italy), 117, 153, 281
- Jordan, Jamie, 85
- Juncker, Jean-Claude, 127–128, 199, 202, 280, 304
- Kaeding, Michael, 167, 170
- Kallas, Siim, 174
- Kerwer, Dieter, 170
- Kölliker, Alkuin, 43
- Krachler, Nick, 69, 71
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, 89, 159
- Kröger, Sandra, 42–43, 254, 297
- Kyprianou, Markos, 240
- labour commodification. *See also* employment relations
- coercive power of NEG prescriptions, 111, 113–114, 118
  - commodifying or decommo­difying potential of NEG prescriptions, 6–7, 108–109, 114, 116, 118–120, 276–277
  - post-Covid prescriptions, 324–330, 348
  - conceptual framework, 58–60, 85, 108–109, 354–355
  - dimensions of. *See under* collective bargaining; employment protection; wages
  - in pre-2008 period, 18, 22, 48, 103–107
  - negative-positive EU integration, effects on, 15–16, 22
  - neoliberalism driving, 46–49, 81–83
  - overview, 60–61
  - public sector employment. *See* public sector wages
  - specific country studies. *See* Germany, employment relations prescriptions; Ireland, employment relations prescriptions; Italy, employment relations prescriptions; Romania, employment relations prescriptions
  - transnational action resisting. *See* transnational collective action
- labour politics of NEG regime, 2–3, 13–14, 44–46, 306, 311–312, 353, 357–358. *See also* transnational collective action
- Laval Quartet rulings, 106, 120, 128
- legal instruments of EU, 360
- Leisink, Peter, 106
- Leyen, Ursula von der, 130, 202, 307, 316
- Lindberg, Leon N., 169
- Lisbon Strategy, 24–25
- Lisbon Treaty and Constitutional Treaty referendums, 24, 139, 320
- Lobina, Emanuele, 206
- Maastricht Treaty
- as multilevel governance regime, 20–21, 23–24
  - Broad Economic Policy Guidelines introduced by, 24, 31, 35, 44, 104
  - EMU accession criteria, 17, 100–101, 136
  - environmental governance competence under, 207
  - healthcare services impact, 235–237
  - QMV (qualified majority voting) rules, 20, 23, 101
  - Social Protocol, 16, 23, 101–103
- Maccarrone, Vincenzo, 46, 319, 326
- writing with Erne and Golden, 16, 324–325
  - writing with Erne and Jordan, 9, 35, 39, 83, 85, 271, 278
  - writing with Erne and Regan, 88, 112, 115, 153, 182, 327
- Macroeconomic Imbalance Procedure (MIP)
- aim, 35
  - coercive power, 85, 278–279
  - fin­es for compliance failures, 30–32, 35, 321
  - definition, 361
  - scoreboard of indicators, 31–32, 107–108, 112, 278–279
  - Social Imbalances Procedure counterpart proposal, 351–352
  - wage policy, 107–108
- macroeconomic imbalances
- definition, 2, 30–31
  - eurozone crisis. *See* eurozone crisis
  - German prescriptions, rebalance the EU economy rationale, 6, 113, 220, 279–280, 293, 324
  - MIP. *See* Macroeconomic Imbalance Procedure (MIP)
- Macron, Emmanuel, 310
- Majone, Giandomenico, 13
- managerialisation of public service providers, 70, 72
- marketisation of public services. *See* public services marketisation
- Martin, Andrew, 45, 299
- Marx, Karl, 44–45, 47
- Mazzucato, Mariana, 202, 292

- McAlevey, Jane, 51
- McGowan, Lee, 172
- Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs),  
bailout programmes under, 27–29,  
35–36, 313–314, 361
- Merkel, Angela, 310–312
- Messulam, Pierre, 175, 189
- mini-jobs (Germany), 118, 282–283, 324
- minimum wage regulation. *See also* wages  
Directive on. *See* Adequate Minimum  
Wage Directive  
generally, 62  
Germany, adoption of, 327–328, 348  
Ireland, prescriptions on, 112, 119, 327  
for posted workers, 128  
Romania, prescriptions on, 112
- MIP. *See* Macroeconomic Imbalance  
Procedure (MIP)
- Miró, Joan, 56–57
- Monti, Mario, 117, 132, 192, 282
- Morandi Bridge disaster (2018), 182, 336
- Morton, Adam David, 192
- MoUs (Memoranda of Understanding),  
bailout programmes under, 27–29,  
35–36, 313–314, 361
- Nanetti, Raffaella Y., 175
- national protests against NEG regime, 41, 44,  
49, 305, 311–312, 356
- National Resilience and Recovery Plans  
(NRRPs)  
background to adoption, 310–312  
characteristics, 320–322, 357  
Commission's assessments of, 313–319,  
323–324  
definition, 361  
on employment relations, 328–329, 348, 350  
on healthcare services, 343–347, 349, 351  
on transport services, 336–338  
on water services, 341–342  
policy orientation of. *See* post-Covid NEG  
regime
- nationalisation policies, 134, 138. *See also*  
public services privatisation
- NEG (new economic governance) regime  
adoption of, 1–2, 13, 25–27, 37–38, 95–96,  
107  
analytical contributions of study, 353–358  
in Covid-19 pandemic and post-Covid  
period. *See* Covid-19 pandemic; post-  
Covid NEG regime
- democratic deficit. *See* democratic deficit of  
NEG regime
- Europe 2020 strategy, 2, 33, 35, 361
- European Semester process. *See* European  
Semester process
- horizontal–vertical paradigm. *See*  
horizontal–vertical EU integration  
paradigm
- legality questionable, 28, 38–39
- MIP strand. *See* Macroeconomic Imbalance  
Procedure (MIP)
- MoU strand (bailout programmes), 27–29,  
35–36, 313–314, 361
- policy orientation, commodification–  
decommodification axis. *See*  
commodifying or decommodifying  
potential of NEG prescriptions; labour  
commodification; post-Covid NEG  
regime; public services  
commodification
- policy orientation, socialisation thesis,  
53–55, 79, 160
- politicisation of. *See* politicisation  
prescriptions. *See* NEG prescriptions
- research design and methodology. *See* NEG  
regime, research design and  
methodology
- SGP strand. *See* Stability and Growth Pact  
(SGP)
- Six-Pack laws, 13–14, 29–30, 39, 83–84,  
147, 361
- social dialogue on, 127–129, 160, 264–265
- TNC corporate governance analogy, 3, 5,  
42–46, 305, 319
- Two-Pack laws, 29–30, 147
- NEG prescriptions  
bailout programmes, 27–29, 35–36,  
313–314, 361
- coercive power. *See* coercive power of NEG  
prescriptions
- commodifying or decommodifying  
potential. *See* commodifying or  
decommodifying potential of NEG  
prescriptions
- communicative contexts of, 78–81
- country-specific nature. *See* country-specific  
nature of NEG prescriptions
- in Covid-19 pandemic and post-Covid  
period. *See* National Resilience and  
Recovery Plans (NRRPs); post-Covid  
NEG regime

- NEG prescriptions (cont.)  
 definition, 2, 361  
 European Semester process integrating. *See* European Semester process  
 implementation, Commission's assessments, 36  
 MIP indicators, linkage to, 31  
 policy contexts, 81–83  
 policy rationales. *See* policy rationales of NEG prescriptions  
 quantitative and qualitative types. *See* quantitative and qualitative NEG prescriptions  
 semantic analysis of, 55–57, 74–78, 85  
 NEG regime, research design and methodology  
 case selection and analytical strategy, 84–85, 87–88, 141–142  
 coercive power, taxonomy of, 80–81, 85, 109–111  
 country-specific prescriptions, research implications, 4, 42–44, 52, 62, 80–83, 354  
 data collection and sources, 88–91  
 overview, 4–6, 73–74, 83–84  
 semantic analysis of prescriptions, 55–57, 74–78, 85  
 negative–positive EU integration paradigm, 15–16, 39–40  
 neoliberalism  
 commodification and, 1, 46–49, 81–83  
 emergence in EU governance, 134–135, 169–170  
 network services liberalisation, 23, 135–136, 172–173  
 Nowak, Jörg, 4, 9, 46, 62, 89–91, 121, 193, 223  
 NRRPs. *See* National Resilience and Recovery Plans (NRRPs)
- Ocampo, José Antonio, 26  
 occupational health and safety  
 pregnant workers, 102, 128  
 Single European Act, measures under, 23, 101  
 working time regulation, 102, 128  
 Open Method of Coordination, 24, 35, 44, 105, 120  
 Orbán, Viktor, 318–319, 321  
 ordinary legislative procedure, 23, 32–33, 41, 158, 221, 263  
 outsourcing of public services, 69  
 Palacio, Loyola de, 171  
 parental rights regulation, 102, 128  
 Patel, Kiran Klaus, 168–169  
 Pay Transparency Directive (proposed), 326  
 People's Health Movement (PHM) Europe, 91, 259, 262  
 platform companies, 131, 317–318, 326  
 Pochet, Philippe, 35  
 Polanyi, Karl, 50, 61  
 policy rationales of NEG prescriptions  
 to boost competitiveness and growth, 155, 163, 220, 280  
 digitalisation policies, 317–318, 333, 349  
 enhancing social inclusion. *See* social inclusion policies  
 generally, 271, 291–293, 330–332, 340, 356  
 green economy, 156, 202, 221, 292, 316–317, 340  
 labour market participation expansion, 148, 156, 248, 255, 293  
 payroll taxes reduction, 255, 296  
 private sector involvement in public services  
 promotion, 155–156, 280, 336  
 to rebalance the EU economy, 6–7, 113, 220, 229, 279–280, 293, 324  
 political will of EU executives, 295  
 politicisation  
 depoliticised policymaking of NEG. *See* governance  
 of EU integration, 18–19, 22, 49  
 labour politics of NEG regime, 2–3, 13–14, 44–46, 306, 311–312, 353, 357–358  
 by social movements and trade unions. *See* transnational collective action  
 term, 359  
 theory on, 5–6, 46, 50–51  
 popular protests against NEG regime, 41, 44, 49, 305, 311–312, 356  
 Port Services Directives, 193, 199, 202, 269–270  
 positive–negative EU integration paradigm, 15–16, 39–40  
 post-Covid NEG regime  
 characteristics of prescriptions, 320–322  
 employment relations prescriptions, 324–330, 348, 356–357  
 healthcare services governance, 342–347  
 minimum wage regulation. *See* Adequate Minimum Wage Directive  
 policy orientation, synthesising assessment, 348–351

- public service prescriptions generally, 330–335, 348–350, 357
- transnational collective action against, 335, 338–339, 347
- transport governance, 338–340
- water services governance, 340–342
- posted workers' rights, 102, 106, 128, 200
- power relations, study of, 6, 42, 53, 57, 82, 84–85
- PPPs (public–private partnerships), 60, 69, 137, 202, 207, 222
- pregnant workers' rights, 102, 128
- privatisation policies. *See* public services privatisation
- Procurement Directives
  - healthcare services under, 242, 258
  - social and environmental content, 140, 163, 222
  - transnational collection action against, 193, 222, 239, 258
  - transport services under, 169
- professional services liberalisation prescription, Italy, 77–78, 150
- protests, transnational. *See* transnational collective action
- public procurement policies. *See* public services marketisation
- public sector wages
  - commodifying or decommodifying policies, 66, 108, 277–281
  - Germany, prescriptions on, 279
  - healthcare worker protests, 258, 347–348
  - Ireland, prescriptions on, 111–112, 146, 216, 277–278
  - Italy, prescriptions on, 112–113, 146–147, 149
  - Romania, prescriptions on, 112, 146, 277–278, 328, 334
- public services commodification
  - comparative analysis of NEG prescriptions. *See* coercive power of public services
  - NEG prescriptions; commodifying or decommodifying potential of NEG prescriptions
  - conceptual framework, 58–60, 85, 108–109, 354–355
  - coverage level dimension. *See* coverage levels of public services, NEG prescriptions on
  - EU enlargement process driving, 136–137
  - in pre-2008 period, 17, 22, 48
  - marketisation policies, 8, 106–107, 137, 140, 237–242
  - via Services Directive. *See* service trade liberalisation via Services Directive
- neoliberalism driving, 46–49, 81–83
- overview, 66, 72
- public sector employment. *See* public sector wages
- resource level dimension. *See* expenditure on public services, NEG prescriptions on
- sectors analysed. *See* healthcare services; transport services; water services
- specific country studies. *See* Germany, public services prescriptions; Ireland, public services prescriptions; Italy, public services prescriptions; Romania, public services prescriptions
- transnational action resisting. *See* transnational collective action
- via marketisation. *See* public services marketisation
- via privatisation. *See* public services privatisation
- public services governance (pre-2008)
  - approaches characterising, 1, 20–21, 25, 132, 137
  - marketisation policies, 8, 106–107, 137, 140, 237–242
  - network services liberalisation, 23, 135–136, 172–173
  - phases, 133, 163
    - 1950s–1980s, 133–134
    - 1980s–1990s, 134–138
    - 2000–2008, 138–141
  - privatisation policies, 59–60, 136–137, 173
  - service trade liberalisation. *See* service trade liberalisation via Services Directive
  - specific sectors. *See* healthcare services; transport services; water services
  - state aid regulation. *See* state aid regulation
- public services marketisation
  - concept, 68–69, 71–72
  - EU laws on. *See* Concessions Directive; Procurement Directives
  - Germany, prescriptions on. *See under* Germany, public services prescriptions
  - healthcare marketisation reforms. *See under* healthcare services
  - in pre-2008 period, 8, 106–107, 137, 140, 237–242

- public services marketisation (cont.)  
 Ireland, prescriptions on, 340–341  
 Italy, prescriptions on. *See under* Italy, public services prescriptions  
 managerialisation of providers, 70, 72  
 NEG prescriptions on, synthesising assessment, 281–283, 293–296  
 outsourcing, 69  
 post-Covid prescriptions on, 333–335  
 PPPs (public–private partnerships), 60, 69, 137, 202, 207, 222  
 privatisation. *See* public services privatisation  
 Romania, prescriptions on, 150–152, 184  
 SOEs, corporate governance prescriptions, 152, 186–187, 216, 332, 334–335, 337–338  
 transport services, 172, 182–185, 188–190, 201, 338  
 water services, 216–218
- public services privatisation  
 generally, 48  
 ‘implicit’ privatisation, 68  
 in Ireland, 153  
 marketisation via, 72  
 NEG prescriptions on, 151–152, 185–186, 192, 201, 254–255, 281–282, 294  
 in pre-2008 period, 59–60, 136–137, 173, 175, 254  
 private hospitals, 60, 254–255, 258  
 privatisation types, 70
- public transport services. *See* transport services
- qualified majority voting (QMV) in Council health and safety measures adopted by, 23, 101–102  
 Lisbon Treaty reforms, 169, 174  
 Maastricht Treaty reforms, 20, 23, 101  
 reversed QMV on NEG fines on compliance failures, 29–30  
 Single European Act reforms, 20, 101–102, 135, 170
- quantitative and qualitative NEG prescriptions  
 employment relations prescriptions, 61  
 generally, 8–9, 59, 271–276  
 public services prescriptions, 66–72, 285
- Radaelli, Claudio M., 188
- rail services. *See also* transport services  
 Commission competition enforcement action, 191–192  
 commodification via NEG prescriptions, 175, 294  
 EU laws on (post-2008), 183–191, 193, 338–340  
 EU laws on (pre-2008), 170–174, 176, 200  
 Germany, prescriptions on, 184, 188–189  
 Ireland, NRRP on, 337  
 Italy, prescriptions on, 294, 337  
 privatisations, 185–186, 192, 201, 294  
 Romania, prescriptions on, 180–181, 183, 186, 189, 201, 294
- referendums  
 generally, 49  
 on Constitutional Treaty and Lisbon Treaty ratification, 24, 139, 320  
 on Italian compulsory competitive tendering rules, 184–185, 201, 217–218, 227–228
- Regling, Klaus, 314
- regulatory independence of public services, 68
- Rehn, Olli, 39
- remuneration. *See* wages
- Renzi, Matteo, 117, 152–153, 186–187
- research design and methodology. *See* NEG regime, research design and methodology
- Resilience and Recovery Facility (RRF). *See also* National Resilience and Recovery Plans (NRRPs)  
 background to adoption, 310–312, 361  
 healthcare commodification, potential effect on, 265–266, 351  
 NEG conditionalities, 9, 185, 321–322, 349–351, 356  
 NRRP implementation assessments, 313–320, 323–324  
 post-Covid prescriptions related to, 320–322
- resource level prescriptions. *See* expenditure on public services, NEG prescriptions on
- reversed differentiated integration, NEG as, 42–43, 254, 297, 304, 320–321, 355  
 reversed qualified majority voting (QMV) on NEG fines, 29–30
- Right2Water (European Citizens’ Initiative)  
 Citizens’ Initiatives generally, 24, 198  
 country-level support for, 227–228  
 effects of, 158, 199–200, 203, 226–227, 230, 305–306  
 reasons for success, 199, 226
- road haulage services, 170–171, 200

- Rokkan, Stein, 22
- Romania
- employment relations prescriptions. *See* Romania, employment relations prescriptions
  - healthcare services prescriptions. *See* Romania, healthcare services prescriptions
  - hospital privatisations, 60, 254, 258
  - Labour Code (2003), 103–104, 114
  - NRRP for. *See* Romania, NRRP (National Resilience and Recovery Plan)
  - public services prescriptions. *See* Romania, public services prescriptions
- Romania, employment relations prescriptions
- on collective bargaining, 114–115, 119–120, 283, 329–330, 356–357
  - on employment protection, 116–117, 119
  - on public sector wages, 112, 146, 277–278, 328, 334
  - on wage levels generally, 112
- Romania, healthcare services prescriptions
- cost-efficiency and managerialism, 78, 85, 248–251, 254–255, 295–296
  - coverage levels, 251–253, 291–293, 296 generally, 82
  - post-Covid prescriptions, 327, 343
  - resource levels, 243–247, 290–291
- Romania, NRRP (National Resilience and Recovery Plan)
- on employment relations, 328–329, 348, 350
  - on healthcare services, 344–345
  - on public procurement, 334
  - on public services digitalisation, 333–334
  - on SOE governance, 332, 334–335, 337–338
  - on water services, 341–342
- Romania, public services prescriptions
- on expenditure, 147–149, 163–164, 243–247, 277–280, 332
  - on healthcare services. *See* Romania, healthcare services prescriptions
  - on privatisation, 151–152, 185, 281–282
  - on public administration, 152, 327
  - on public procurement, 150–151, 184
  - on public sector wages, 112, 146, 277–278, 328, 334
  - rural areas, prescriptions affecting, 147–148, 153–154, 156, 215–216, 221, 229
  - on SOE governance, 152, 186
  - on transport, 148, 180–181, 183, 185–186, 189, 201, 294
  - on water services, 215–216, 218–221, 229, 340
- Ross, George, 45, 299
- RRF. *See* Resilience and Recovery Facility (RRF)
- Rüffert case, 106–107, 140
- Ryanair, 23, 180, 183
- Sabato, Sebastiano, 330, 351–352
- salaries. *See* wages
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, 138
- Savage, James D., 175
- Scharpf, Fritz, 15–16, 23, 39–40
- Scheingold, Stuart A., 169
- Schmid, Achim, 68
- Schmidt, Vivien A., 265, 307–308
- Schmitter, Philippe C., 41
- Scholz, Olaf, 312, 328
- Schot, Johan, 168–169
- Schröder, Gerhard, 103–104, 236
- Schulten, Thorsten, 45
- Schuman, Robert, 20
- security of employment tenure. *See* employment protection
- Seeliger, Martin, 120
- self-employed worker status, 131, 326
- service trade liberalisation via Services Directive
- background to, 17
  - consequences of failure, 24, 41
  - opposition to. *See* Services Directive opposition
  - Services Notification Procedure Directive (proposal), 157–158, 230
- Services Directive opposition
- country-of-origin principle controversies, 105–106, 139, 208–209
  - generally, 24, 96, 121, 139–141, 158–159, 284, 320
  - to healthcare services inclusion, 8, 232, 238–240, 256–257
  - private sector unions' support for, 302–303
  - to water services inclusion, 209, 223–226
- services of general economic interest (SGEI), 133–134, 138, 172, 208–209, 237–238. *See also* state aid regulation
- SGP. *See* Stability and Growth Pact (SGP)
- silent revolution, 2, 25–27, 29, 37–38, 243

- single currency. *See* economic and monetary union (EMU)
- Single European Act  
 mutual recognition principle, 99  
 negative integration approach, 16, 22, 41, 45  
 occupational health and safety measures, 23, 101  
 QMV (qualified majority voting) rules, 20, 101–102, 135, 170
- single market project  
 core and periphery Member States, differentiated impacts, 17–18  
 cross-border healthcare. *See* cross-border healthcare services  
 economic and social integration differentiated, 14–16, 18  
 free movement of workers, competitive pressures from, 17–18, 22, 45, 95, 99–100  
 freedoms, commodifying effect of, 106–107  
 marketisation reforms. *See* public services marketisation  
 negative–positive integration paradigm, 15–16, 39–40  
 political integration initiatives, 18–21  
 SEA on. *See* Single European Act  
 service trade liberalisation. *See* service trade liberalisation via Services Directive  
 social policies, 16–17, 23, 99, 101–103, 233  
 state aid regulation. *See* state aid regulation
- Six-Pack laws, 13–14, 29–30, 39, 83–84, 147, 361
- social and cohesion funds, 32, 175, 185, 190, 206, 321
- social inclusion policies  
 for rural areas in Romania, 147–148, 153–154, 156, 215–216, 221, 229  
 generally, 111, 255–256, 292–293
- Social Protocol, Maastricht ‘Treaty’, 16, 23, 101–103
- social reproduction of labour, 46–47, 60–62, 97–98
- Social Rights, European Pillar of, 127–128, 160, 222, 316
- social welfare. *See also* healthcare services  
 benefits levels, 62  
 cross-border healthcare, social security route, 234–235  
 democratisation, link to, 21–22, 46  
 EU citizens’ benefits rights, 233  
 MIP social indicators, 31–32
- socialisation thesis (on NEG policy orientation), 53–55, 79, 160
- SOEs, corporate governance prescriptions, 152, 186–187, 216, 332, 334–335, 337–338
- solidaristic employment and welfare arrangements  
 capitalist accumulation, tempering function, 21–22, 46–47, 233  
 decommodifying potential of prescriptions. *See* commodifying or decommodifying potential of NEG prescriptions
- Spasova, Slavina, 330, 351–352
- spending on public services. *See* expenditure on public services, NEG prescriptions on
- Springford, John, 321
- Stability and Growth Pact (SGP)  
 aim, 35, 136  
 coercive power, 85, 278  
 fines for compliance failures, 29–32, 35  
 Covid-19 pandemic, suspension during, 9, 232, 265, 306–309, 313, 356  
 definition, 361  
 EDP (excessive deficit procedure), 29–30, 32–33, 136, 278–279, 332  
 greater fiscal flexibility, calls for, 127, 332  
 ‘Growth’ element added, 57
- Stan, Sabina, 60, 237, 253  
 writing with Erme, 3, 45, 83, 88, 104, 232, 234–235, 309, 349
- state aid regulation  
 bank bailouts, exemptions for, 27  
 Covid-19 pandemic, suspension during, 309  
 Directive 80/723/EEC, 134–135  
 healthcare sector and, 238  
 SGEI (services of general economic interest)  
 concept, 133–134, 138, 172, 208–209, 237–238  
 transport sector and, 169  
 state-owned enterprises, NEG prescriptions on, 152, 186–187, 216, 332, 334–335, 337–338
- Sterkel, Gabriele, 45
- Stevens, Handley, 169–170
- Stiglitz, Joseph E., 26, 62
- Streeck, Wolfgang, 16, 23, 50, 120
- strikes, transnational. *See* transnational collective action
- structure-agency nexus, 54–55
- SUD-Health Social (French trade union), 259



- Supiot, Alain, 38
- SURE funds, 324
- Sutherland, Peter, 135
- Sweden, collective bargaining in, 64
- Szabó, Imre, 66, 112, 318–319  
 writing with Golden and Erne, 5, 24, 39, 45, 50, 88, 137, 158, 193, 198, 202–203, 209–210, 216, 226, 230, 306  
 writing with Kahancová, 216, 258
- technocratic governance, 13–14, 33, 51, 55, 357
- telecommunications services  
 Italy, prescription on, 148  
 Romania, prescription on, 148  
 sector liberalisation, 23, 135
- Teutsch, Michael, 170
- TNCs. *See* transnational corporations (TNCs)
- Tooze, Adam, 316
- trade unions  
 collective bargaining by. *See* collective bargaining  
 EPSU. *See* European Public Service Union (EPSU)  
 ETF. *See* European Transport Workers' Federation (ETF)  
 ETUC. *See* European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)  
 EU's competence for decommodifying measures, union arguments on, 38–39, 130, 325–326  
 Laval Quartet rulings, 106, 120, 128  
 Lisbon strategy response, 25  
 market integration competitive pressures faced by, 16–18, 22, 45, 95, 99–100  
 NEG policies, perceptions of, 26, 91  
 rights under EU law, 62  
 Services Directive, opposition to, 24, 96, 105–106  
 transnational collective action by. *See* transnational collective action
- transnational collective action  
 agency-oriented factors affecting, 269  
 commodifying script prerequisite, 269–270, 303, 355–356  
 country-specific nature of prescriptions, challenge for, 96, 127, 164, 232, 264–265, 304–305, 354  
 cross-border competition, challenge for, 193, 198  
 in Covid-19 pandemic, 347–348  
 EPSU-organised. *See* European Public Service Union (EPSU)  
 ETUC-organised. *See* European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)  
 EU actors targeted, explanations for, 301–303  
 European Parliament's limited NEG role, challenge for, 160–164, 263  
 future priorities, 9  
 healthcare commodification protests, 258–265, 306, 356  
 labour politics of NEG regime, 2–3, 13–14, 44–46, 306, 311–312, 353, 357–358  
 lists of NEG regime protests, 159–160  
 post-Covid period, 335, 338–339, 347–348  
 pre-2008 period, 299  
   dockworkers' strikes, 193, 198, 203, 304  
   Procurement Directives protests, 193, 222, 239, 258  
   Services Directive protests. *See* Services Directive opposition  
 private and nation state actors targeted, dearth of protests, 299–301  
 research data on, 89–91  
 structural factors affecting, 49–52, 160–163  
 transport commodification protests, 7, 192–200, 202–203, 338–339  
 uneven coercive power of prescriptions, challenge for, 304–306  
 water rights campaign. *See* Right2Water (European Citizens' Initiative)
- transnational corporations (TNCs)  
 corporate governance, NEG regime compared, 3, 5, 42–46, 305, 319  
 digital platform companies, 131, 317–318, 326  
 ETUC promoting democracy in. *See* European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)  
 healthcare service and pharmaceutical companies, 256–257, 345–347  
 water companies, 206–207, 222, 226  
 transport services  
 buses, 180, 187  
 civil aviation. *See* civil aviation services  
 commodification via EMU accession criteria, 174–176  
 commodifying or decommodifying potential of prescriptions, 7, 176–177, 187–190, 200–202  
 NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions, 336–338

- transport services (cont.)
- compulsory competitive tendering rules, 172
  - coverage level prescriptions, 187
  - EU governance (pre-2008), 167–168, 200
    - 1950s–1970s, 168–169
    - 1980s–1990s, 169–171
    - 2000–2008, 171–174
  - EU laws on (post-2008), 190–193, 338–340
  - expenditure, prescriptions on, 180–182, 187–188
  - Germany, prescriptions on, 148, 181–184, 188–189, 202
  - Ireland, no specific prescriptions on, 176, 182–183, 189
  - Italy, prescriptions on, 148, 182–184, 189, 294, 337
  - provider-level governance, prescriptions on, 185–187, 201
  - railways. *See* rail services
  - Romania, prescriptions on, 148, 180–181, 183, 185–186, 189, 201, 294
  - sector-level governance, prescriptions on, 182–185, 188–190, 201, 294
  - transnational collective action on, 7, 192–200, 202–203, 338–339
  - Treaty on Stability, Coordination, and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (Fiscal Treaty), 30, 121, 147
  - Turnbull, Peter, 193
  - Two-Pack laws, 29–30, 147
- Umney, Charles, 69, 71
- unit labour costs (ULCs) benchmark, 107, 112, 119, 276–279, 284, 296
- United Kingdom
- Brexit, 49, 131, 312, 356
  - collective bargaining in, 63–64
  - Maastricht Treaty Social Protocol rejection, 101
  - privatisation policies, 59–60, 136
  - unjustified dismissal protections. *See* employment protection
- Urban Waste-Water Treatment Directives, 206–207, 342
- utilities
- commodification. *See* public services commodification
  - commodification
  - network services liberalisation, 23, 135–136, 172–173
  - sectors analysed. *See* transport services; water services
- Vanhercke, Bart, 54, 78, 330, 351–352
- Vanheuverzwijn, Pierre, 56–57
- Vanpool, Christine and Todd, 74–75
- Velde, Didier van de, 173
- Veolia (transnational water and transport services corporation), 180, 213, 226
- ver.di (German trade union), 91, 226
- vertical integration. *See* horizontal–vertical EU integration paradigm
- Viking and *Laval* cases, 106, 120, 128
- wages
- collective bargaining of. *See* collective bargaining
  - gender equality policies, 99, 131
  - minimum wage regulation. *See* Adequate Minimum Wage Directive; minimum wage regulation
  - MIP's wage policy, 107–108
  - moderation policies (pre-2008), 17, 31, 100–101, 103–104, 284
  - NEG prescriptions on, 61–62, 111–114, 119–120, 277–281, 327–328
  - of public sector workers. *See* public sector wages
  - Pay Transparency Directive (proposed), 326
- Water Framework Directive, 206–208, 295
- water services
- commodification via Services Directive inclusion, 208–209, 219, 223–226
  - commodifying or decommodifying potential of prescriptions, 7–8, 209–214, 218–221, 229–230
  - NRRPs and post-Covid prescriptions, 340–342
  - coverage level prescriptions, 214–216
  - EU governance (pre-2008), 204–205
    - 1970s–1990s, 205–206, 229
    - 1990s–2000, 206–208, 229
    - 2000–08, 208–209, 219, 229
  - EU laws on (post-2008), 221–223, 226–227, 342
  - expenditure, prescriptions on, 218
  - Germany, prescriptions on, 216–220, 340
  - Ireland, prescriptions on. *See* Ireland, water services prescriptions
  - Italy, prescriptions on, 217–219
  - PPPs (public–private partnerships) for, 60, 207
  - provider-level governance, prescriptions on, 216, 294–295

- Romania, prescriptions on, 215–216,  
218–221, 229, 340
- sector-level governance, prescriptions on,  
216–218, 294–295
- transnational campaign on. *See*  
Right2Water (European Citizens'  
Initiative)
- welfare services. *See* social welfare
- Wiedemuth, Jörg, 45
- Wilks, Stephen, 172
- women's labour market participation,  
prescriptions on, 148, 156, 248, 293
- workplace health and safety regulation. *See*  
occupational health and safety
- World Bank's 'good governance' interventions, 42
- Wüest, Bruno, 89
- Würth, Reinhold, 311
- Zeitlin, Jonathan, 54, 78
- Zuboff, Shoshana, 345

