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EU VALUES IN THE SPOTLIGHT

A comparative thematic analysis of the nineteen European Medicines Agency bidding brochures that were submitted the 31 of July 2017 to the Commission

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Abstract

According to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, less than half of the EU countries are "*fully democratic*." Consequently, there is a deficiency in compliance to the EU values among the Member States in the EU. In 2016, United Kingdom voted in favor of leaving the European Union. One of the central questions for the EU was the question what was going to happen with the EU's decentralized agencies located in London; the European Medicines Agency and the European Banking Authority.

This thesis analyses in what way the EU values are shown in the nineteen bidding brochures that were used in the application process for the relocation of the European Medicines Agency in 2017. The focus is on investigating how the Member States chose to promote themselves as better candidates in the promotional race. The method of thematic analysis was used to find the manifestations of EU values themes in the brochures both explicitly and implicitly. The analysis was conducted through three theories that explain the European integration process, neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism and social constructivism, to see how Member States emphasized the EU values in comparison to their respective ideas about more or less integration and explain in what way the EU values were shown in the brochures.

The main results presented in this study is that Member States who do not host an EU agency at present demonstrated a stronger will to promote the EU values explicitly. The dominant reason behind how the Member States used the EU values seem to be the result of various conscious choices. The Member States used the EU values themes implicitly in a context where they promote themselves as good candidates to be the new host of the agency.

Key words: European Union, European Medicines Agency, EU values, European integration, thematic analysis, brochures

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1. Introduction

“Promote peace, its values and well-being of its citizens.”¹

This is the first goal of the European Union (EU). It leads to the question, *what is meant by European values?* In article 2 of the Lisbon treaty, the EU introduces its values as common for the member countries in their societies, where inclusion, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and non-discrimination prevail.² The EU lists six themes that represent the EU values: *human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and human rights*. These values are fundamental and shall unite all Member States (MS). The EU has kept more than half a century of peace among its members. Katarina Areskoug Mascarenhas, Head of the European Commission Representation in Stockholm, informed and highlighted on the EU day at Lund University 2018 that one of the biggest successes of the EU is that it has maintained its democracy, more than half a century of peace.³ In 2012 the EU also won the Noble Peace Prize, with the justification for advancing the causes of peace, reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe.⁴

However, according to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index less than half of the European Union countries are *“fully democratic.”*⁵ Larry Diamond, leading Professor in the democratic scholar, stress that in the last year there has been a *“democracy recession.”*⁶ Spain, France, and Malta were the countries with the steepest score decline in 2017. In Spain, due to the Spanish government's treatment of Catalonia's independence bid. In Malta, due to the unsolved murder of the journalist who questioned the rule of law, Daphne Caruana Galizia. In France of greater political and social polarization. According to the

¹ “About EU.” *European Union*, Last accessed 6 Mar. 2018

https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en

² “Consolidated version of the Treaty of the European Union.” EU, Official Journal of the European Union, 5, Last accessed 6 Mar. 2018

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:en:PDF>

³ Katarina Areskoug Mascarenhas, “EU-day at Lund University.” 19 Mar. 2018

⁴ EU, “About EU.”

⁵ Cristina Abellan Matamoros, “Less than half of EU countries are fully democratic” *Euronews*, Last accessed 18 Mar. 2018

<http://www.euronews.com/2018/02/01/less-than-half-of-eu-countries-are-fully-democratic-report>

⁶ Larry Diamond, “Stanford Larry Diamond.” Last accessed 12 Apr. 2018

<https://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/>

⁷ Matamoros, “Less than half of EU countries are fully democratic.”

Democracy Index, only eleven EU countries were ranked "*fully democratic*," among the highest ranked, were the Scandinavian countries and the rest of the western and Southern European countries. The rest, seventeen of the EU countries, was ranked "*flawed democracies*," most of the eastern European countries. The eastern European countries have traditionally scored low on the Democracy Index, and this is according to the Index because of the weak political culture, chaotic transition to democracy, and difficulties at safeguarding the law and corruption.⁸

The same human rights do not apply in every MS in the EU. The fact that Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia do not offer a registered partnership for same-sex couples means that there is no safety for the staff and their partners of EMA with the relocation. This was something highlighted by the European department of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (Ilga-Europe).⁹ A special mention must also be drawn to the latest report from the Gender Equality Index 2017, published 10th of October 2017.¹⁰ The index validated EU states regarding work, money, knowledge, time, power and health between 2005 and 2015. In the bottom were Greece, Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania. In the top were Sweden, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands.

With this being said the European values are not fully respected within the EU in 2018. In 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) voted in favor of leaving the European Union. This led to a lot of questions and worries among the MS. One of the central questions for the EU was the question what is going to happen with the two London based agencies; the European Medicines Agency (EMA) and the European Banking Authority (EBA.)

⁸ "Democracy Index 2017 Free speech under attack." EIU, A report by *The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited 2018*, 11, Last accessed 18 Mar. 2018 http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=Democracy_Index_2017.pdf&mode=wp&campaign_id=DemocracyIndex2017

⁹ Teffer, "Fears for LGBTI staff at Brexit relocation agencies." *EUobserver*, Brussels, 27. Oct 2017, 11:59, Last accessed 20 Mar. 2018, <https://euobserver.com/lgbti/139678>

¹⁰ "Gender Equality Index 2017: Measuring gender equality in the European Union 2005-2015 – Report." *EIGE*, Last accessed 20 Mar. 2018, <http://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/gender-equality-index-2017-measuring-gender-equality-european-union-2005-2015-report>

EMA, the bigger of the two agencies, has approximately 900 full-time employees while the EBA has around 200 full-time employees.¹¹ Twenty-three of the twenty-seven Member States applied for EMA and EBA, either one or both of the agencies. Nineteen MS applied for the EMA and eight MS applied for the EBA. Each one of the applicants sent brochures to the Commission; some of the applicants created special websites and posted videos to help promote their city. All of a sudden, the EU values were being manifested by the Member States.

This has motivated me to investigate more how the EU values were highlighted in the promotional material to host the EMA. The humanistic agency of the two, and the agency more connect to my research field. I have chosen to focus only on the nineteen bidding brochures that were submitted to the Commission July 31, 2017.¹² The brochures vary in length, texts and images, and how they answer the six criteria that were set up as demand for hosting the agency. The brochures are interesting to analyze and compare because of their differences and how they chose to express the EU values themes explicitly and implicitly. The portrait they give of themselves are in focus in my study.

¹¹ Cat Contiguglia, "EMA-EBA staff London benefits." *Politico*, Published July 8, 2017, Last accessed 20 Mar. 2018, <https://www.politico.eu/article/ema-eba-staff-london-benefits/>

¹² "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation" *European Union*, Brussels, 22 June 2017, 2, Last accessed 20 Mar. 2018
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21503/22-euco-conclusions-agencies-relocation.pdf>

The following Member States applied for hosting the EMA.
(I have also written in parentheses on how they are listed in the Democracy Index.¹³)

- Amsterdam, Netherlands (Full Democracy)
- Athens, Greece (Flawed Democracy)
- Barcelona, Spain (Full Democracy)
- Bonn, Germany (Full Democracy)
- Bratislava, Slovakia (Flawed Democracy)
- Brussels, Belgium (Flawed Democracy)
- Bucharest, Romania (Flawed Democracy)
- Copenhagen, Denmark (Full Democracy)
- Dublin, Ireland (Full Democracy)
- Helsinki, Finland (Full Democracy)
- Lille, France (Flawed Democracy)
- Malta, Malta (Full Democracy)
- Milan, Italy (Flawed Democracy)
- Porto, Portugal (Flawed Democracy)
- Sofia, Bulgaria (Flawed Democracy)
- Stockholm, Sweden (Full Democracy)
- Vienna, Austria (Full Democracy)
- Warsaw, Poland (Flawed Democracy)
- Zagreb, Croatia (Flawed Democracy)



¹³ Matamoros, "Less than half of EU countries are fully democratic."

1.1. Purpose

The goal is to investigate how the EU values themes are represented in the nineteen bidding brochures both explicitly and implicitly. Highlighting how the different nations portray themselves as members of the European Union and how they promote themselves as good candidates to host the agency is particularly in focus. I will discuss the significance this seems to have had for the decision about the relocation. I will interpret how the MS are using the EU values by relevant theories that explain the European integration process, such as neo-functionalism (NF), liberal intergovernmentalism (LI), and social constructivism (SC). The theories help me to analyze how each country feels about more or less integration. Additionally, the theories help me to understand how the MS develops in different ways to describe their attitudes towards the EU project. In this paper I will also analyze how the newer Member States are expressing the EU values to promote themselves as good members. It is interesting to see how the newer MS are using the argument of what was confirmed by the European Council 2008, to give priority to the newer Member States.¹⁴ The newer Member States from the Enlargement from 2004 and forward are classified as new.¹⁵ According to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, ten out of nineteen applicants for the EMA are listed as "*flawed democracies*."¹⁶ Therefore, it is interesting to see how the dichotomy of *full* and *flawed* democracies presents the EU values to promote themselves.

¹⁴ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation." 3

¹⁵ "European Neighborhood Policy And Enlargement Negotiations.", *European Commission*, Last accessed 5 May, 2018, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/from-6-to-28-members_en

¹⁶ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

1.2. Research Questions

1. In what way are the EU values explicitly shown in the nineteen different EMA brochures?
 - 1.1 In what way are the EU values implicitly shown in the nineteen different EMA brochures?
2. How did the Member States use the EU values themes in the nineteen EMA brochures to emphasize their view on more integration or less integration?
3. How is a newer Member State expressing EU values to promote itself as a good member of the EU?
4. According to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, how are the Member States as described as *full democracies* using the EU values to promote themselves?
 - 4.1 According to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, how are the Member States as described as *flawed democracies* using the EU values to promote themselves?

1.3. EMA Background

The European Medicines Agency (EMA) was founded in 1995.¹⁷ EMA was created to harmonize the work of existing national medicines regulatory bodies. EMA works across the European Union and globally to protect public and animal health by assessing medicines to rigorous standards through providing partners and stakeholders with independent, science-based information on medicines.¹⁸

The goal of the EMA is to foster scientific excellence in the evaluation and supervision of medicines, for the benefit of public and animal health in the European Union. The EMA has about 900 employees, which is one of the agencies with the most staff in the EU, almost a fifth of the total staff at all the EU decentralized agencies.¹⁹ The agency also hosts 36 000 experts for scientific meetings every year. In 2015 they held 4 273 teleconferences.²⁰ What makes the EMA system unique is it how its network helps to regulate medicines in Europe. Through a closed-coordinated regulatory network of competent national authorities in the Member States of the European Economic Area (EEA).²¹ The Commission takes bidding decisions based on the scientific recommendations from EMA.²² The national authorities supply thousands of experts helping and taking part in EMA's scientific committees, working parties, and other groups.²³

In September 2016, 648 children of the EMA staff started school.²⁴ The importance of a smooth relocation for the EMA staff and their families is a high priority.

¹⁷ "History of EMA", *European Medicines Agency*, EMA, Last accessed 22 Mar. 2018
http://www.ema.europa.eu/ema/index.jsp?curl=pages/about_us/general/general_content_000628.jsp&mid=WC0b01ac058087add

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal, "Agencification of the European Union Administration Connecting the Dots." ARENA Working Paper 3/2016, March 2016, ARENA Centre for European Studies University of Oslo, 2016, 5,
<https://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-working-papers/2016/wp-3-16.pdf>

²⁰ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation" 13

²¹ "European medicines regulatory network." *EMA*, Last accessed 22 Mar. 2018
http://www.ema.europa.eu/ema/index.jsp?curl=pages/about_us/general/general_content_000671.jsp&mid=WC0b01ac05809f8ed0

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation." 15

1.4. Relocation process / Context

To better understand the relocation process of the agencies and to help understand why so many of the Member States applied to host the agency I present the context of the matter.

On the 22nd of June 2017 the European Council (EC) published six criteria for hosting the agencies.²⁵ In addition to those criteria, the EC has to take into account that the two agencies already exist and that business continuity is vital and must be ensured. The EC also refers to the desirability of geographical spread, the promise from 2003 and confirmation from 2008, giving priority to newer Member States regarding relocation of agencies.²⁶ It was decided that the decision for the relocation was going to take place in a four-stage step procedure. Firstly, all Member States had to apply for the agencies no later than the 31 July 2017.²⁷ Secondly, the Commission was to assess all the offers by 30 of September 2017 and thirdly in October there was going to be a political discussion based on the Commission assessments. Fourthly the 27 EU ministers was to make the final decision by voting and deciding on the relocation.

Countries tried to negotiate and enlighten why their city and state were the best choices for the agencies. The situation was being compared to the Eurovision Song Contest, a beauty pageant, or a race. Ministers and diplomats touted the advantages of their cities at meetings in Brussels and in other diplomatic conferences in all bidding countries. In September 2017, the result of a survey done by the EMA was published, which revealed that the staff warned that if the European Council picked a candidate that the EMA did not have as a top candidate, a lot of the staff would not follow, which would have direct consequences.²⁸

²⁵ “Decision on the procedure for relocation of EU agencies currently located in the UK, 22/06/2017.” EU, Last accessed 20 Mar. 2018, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/06/22/euco-agencies-relocation/>

²⁶ EU, “EUCO conclusions agencies relocation.” 3

²⁷ EU, “Decision on the procedure for relocation of EU agencies.”

²⁸ EMA, “EMA business continuity. “

Ellen Vos, Professor of European Law at Maastricht University, who is leading international academic network that focuses on EU agencies got interviewed before the voting ceremony, for EUobserver's magazine *Region & Cities*.²⁹ Vos states that hosting an agency does bring prestige, and it puts your country on the map.³⁰ The reports in the media about the forced relocation of the two agencies will lead to a more significant citizen's awareness of the agencies.³¹ Vos says that the people within the research community are speaking of "agencification," a process describing the fact that more and more executive power are being transferred to bodies not located in Brussels.³²

There was a discussion, and there were also remarks from more recent EU members pointing out to the people making the decision, that they should take into consideration what was promised in 2003 and confirmed in 2008 that those countries that do not already have an agency located in their country should be prioritized.³³ For example, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Cyprus, and Slovakia do not have an EU agency present in their country. Vos said that she does not believe that agencies will be distributed based on geographical spread anymore nor that they should be. Instead, she believes that the focus should be on where an agency is assumed to fulfill its tasks the best.³⁴ Vos stresses that fulfilling the objective criteria alone will not determine the relocation. She points out to the fact that there will also be a lot of politics and strategies involved.³⁵ However, looking at the text and the campaign brochures, we can learn more about how each country present EU values themes to take over the EMA and to promote itself as a good candidate.

²⁹ Peter Teffer, "AGENCIES RELOCATION CRITERIA—A BIG STEP FORWARD" *EUobserver Magazine, Region & Cities Magazine October 2017*, 8, <https://euobserver.com/regions/138951>

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Teffer, "AGENCIES RELOCATION" 9

³² Ibid.

³³ "Presidency Conclusions – Brussels, 19/20 June 2008" EU, Last accessed 22 Mar. 2018 <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11018-2008-REV-1/en/pdf>

³⁴ Teffer, "AGENCIES RELOCATION." 9

³⁵ Ibid.

1.5. Disposition

In this thesis, I first present my primary material which is the nineteen bidding EMA brochures. Then I present my secondary material, methods books and social science books, reports, index, and magazines. After that, I present previous research to highlight the relevance of my topic. After that, I present a yearly background chapter about all the decentralized agencies, to emphasize the continuity with the EU agencies. Following that, I present my theoretical framework with three theories that explain the European integration process neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, and social constructivism. After my theory chapter, I present my method chapter by first describing content analysis to express my qualitative part in my research. Secondly, I present thematic analysis. Thirdly I highlight validity and reliability. Fourthly I highlight delimitations and limitations in the method. After that, I present my results divided into three different parts. Part one is focusing on the EU values and the EU values themes explicitly. The second and third part concentrate on the EU values themes implicitly mentioned. Following my analysis, divided according to my research questions. Finally, I present my conclusions as well as a bibliography, and an appendix.

2. Material

My primary source in this thesis are the nineteen bidding brochures for hosting the European Medicines Agency 2017 that was submitted to the Commission on the 31 of July 2017.³⁶ My secondary sources are books, index, magazines, and relevant articles. Method books I have used are *Applied Thematic Analysis* written by Greg Guest, Kathleen M. MacQueen, Emily E. Namey, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH – a practical guide for beginners* written by Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke and *Textens mening och makt - Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* written by Bergström & Boréus. Theory books that explain the European integration process I have used are the following: *POLITICS in the EUROPEAN UNION* written by Ian Bache, Simon Bulmer, Stephen George and Owen Parker, *EU:s politiska system* written by Jonas Tallberg and *The European Union How does it work?* Written by Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson, and Richard Corbett. Important index I used in this thesis are the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index³⁷ and the Gender Equality Index 2017.³⁸ One magazine, in particular, I have used is EUobserver Regions & Cities Magazine from October 2017.³⁹ (Which was primarily focused on the EU agencies race in that issue.)

³⁶ "Offers to host the European Medicines Agency (EMA)", *European Union*, Last accessed 5 May. 2018 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/relocation-london-agencies-brexite/ema/>

³⁷ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

³⁸ EIGE, "Gender Equality Index 2017."

³⁹ *EUobserver Magazine, Region & Cities Magazine October 2017*, <https://euobserver.com/regions/138951>

3. Previous research

I have chosen to study the nineteen bidding EMA brochures, and in what way the brochures present the EU values. Vos highlights that she had to refuse many people in a recent call for papers relating to EU agencies: “*It has shown how much scientific interest there is in this issue of EU agencies.*”⁴⁰ To study brochures are something that can be approached in many different ways both textually and visually. I have chosen to do only a textual analysis, a qualitative study that focuses on the EU values themes. In this chapter, I explain how the following theses are relevant to my research. I have divided them into two categories: EU agencies and European values.

3.1. EU agencies

Merjin Chammon a Post-doctoral assistant at the Department of European, Public and International Law at the University of Ghent has done her doctoral thesis about EU agencies: *EU Agencies – Legal and Political Limits to the Transformation of the EU Administration.*⁴¹ Chammon has analyzing EU agencies from an institutional and constitutional perspective. Her doctoral thesis has been very useful for my background chapter of the decentralized agencies.

Lena Caspers, from the Department of Political Science Centre for European Studies at Gothenburg University, wrote her Master Thesis focusing on the experts at EMA: *Regulating the (E) Uterus Epistemic Communities in the European Medicines Agency and the case of ellaOne.*⁴² Caspers did eight interviews in aiming to understand the role of scientific experts in EU medicines regulation. Her thesis is highlighting the importance of scientific experts employed in EU agencies, their role in policy-making. Caspers narrowed it down in a relevant way.

⁴⁰ Teffer, “AGENCIES RELOCATION” 8

⁴¹ Merjin Chammon, *EU agencies Legal and Political Limits to the transformation of the EU administration*, (Oxford studies in European Law, 2016)

⁴² Lena Caspers, “Regulating the (E)Uterus, Epistemic Communities in the European Medicines Agency and the case of ellaOne.” MA thesis., University of Gothenburg, 2016
https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/44953/1/gupea_2077_44953_1.pdf

3.2. European values

One relevant thesis I have found about European values is *A community of values: Democratic identity formation in the European Union*, written by Odelia Oshiri, Tamir Sheafer, and Shaul R Shenhav.⁴³ Oshiri, Sheafer, and Shenhav from the department of political science from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. They have used survey data to study democratic values and if the EU has succeeded in socializing its democratic values it claims to promote.⁴⁴ They examined differences among countries as well as changes within countries over time. They concluded that democratic values are higher in countries with more years of the EU membership. Their thesis is relevant to my study because I want to find out whether their result that highlighting democratic values is more common among the older EU members, perhaps could be applicable when it comes to each Member State's presentation in the EMA brochures.

Another recent Master thesis that is related to my topic is, *The EU as an external promoter of its internal values* written by Margot Niezen, from the University of Twente in the Netherlands.⁴⁵ Niezen focuses on looking at different policy areas to find out which instruments the EU uses within these policy areas to promote its values. Her thesis is relevant to my study because of her opposite approach in comparison to mine. She is trying to understand how the EU uses its values to promote itself, while I will do the opposite and analyze how the MS are using the EU values to promote themselves.

⁴³ Odelia Oshiri, Tamir Sheafer and Shaul R Shenhav, "A community of values: Democratic identity formation in the European Union." Published article, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, 2016, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1465116515608957>

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Margot Niezen, "The EU as an external promoter of its internal values", MA thesis, University of Twente, Netherlands, 2017, http://essay.utwente.nl/72022/1/Niezen_MA_BMS.pdf

4. Decentralized agencies yearly background

In this chapter, I present decentralized agencies with a yearly background from the first to the EMA and the EBA relocation 2017. This chapter highlight the continuity and the importance of the decentralized agencies to understand better the arguments and discussions the brochures are presenting.

The EU consists of institutions located in Brussels, Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt but there are also decentralized agencies present in many European cities⁴⁶. Touching the lives of 500 million citizens the EU agencies work to create safety for all European Union citizens. From promoting environmental protection, to transport safety, to make sure that the food we eat is safe and to the protection of public health so that the medicines we take are safe, effective and have high quality.

The EU has created more than forty EU agencies that have a vital role in carrying out specific legal, technical or scientific tasks.⁴⁷ EU institutions and the Member States get help from the EU agencies to implement EU policies more efficiency. The EU agencies have become an essential part of the EU institutional family.⁴⁸

The EU agencies are divided into four groups: Decentralized agencies, executive agencies, Euratom agencies and independent agencies. I limit this chapter to only decentralized agencies since EMA is part of that group. There are two types of agencies: executive and regulatory. Executive agencies are set up for a limit lifespan and managed by the Commission.⁴⁹ Regulatory agencies are in contrast independent bodies that have their legal basis and have been set up for specific needs.⁵⁰ The EMA is a regulatory agency.

⁴⁶ Teffer, "History of the agencies (re)shuffle.", *EUobserver*, Published, Oct 2017, 07:30, Last accessed 23 Mar. 2018

<https://euobserver.com/regions/138536>

⁴⁷ "THE EU AGENCIES working for you." *European Union 2016*, 4 , Last accessed 23 Mar. 2018, https://euagencies.eu/sites/default/files/eu_agencies_brochure_2017.pdf

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ "Information Guide Agencies and Decentralised Bodies of the European Union." Cardiff University, 2013, 2, Last accessed 23 Mar. 2018

http://aei.pitt.edu/74857/1/Agencies_Decentralised_Bodies.pdf

⁵⁰ Ibid.

The decision to choose the first decentralized agencies occurred in 1975.⁵¹ The nine Member States agreed that the European Centre for the Development Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) was going to be located in West Berlin, Germany and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EUROFOUND) was going to be located in Dublin, Ireland.

Fifteen years later, the next agency was discussed, the European Environment Agency (EEA). During that decision, the Commission left the decision to the Council of the EU. Which were criticized by the Members of European Parliament (MEP.)⁵² The final decision about the EEA was in 1993 when the government leaders could unite and agree that the location would be Copenhagen, Denmark. In 1993, in the treaty of the European Union⁵³ nine agencies were set up⁵⁴, later established and distributed among the members⁵⁵:

1993, European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA),
Lisbon, Portugal

1994, European Environmental Agency (EEA), Copenhagen, Denmark

1994, European Training Foundation (ETF), Turin, Italy

1994, Community Plant Variety Office (CVPO), Angers, France

1994, Translation Centre for the Bodies of the European Union (CdT), Luxembourg,
Luxembourg

1994, European Agency for Safety and Health at Work (EU-OSHA), Bilbao, Spain

1995, European Medicines Agency (EMA), London, United Kingdom

1999, European Union Intellectual Propriety Office (EUIPO), Alicante, Spain

1999, European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation (Europol), The Hague,
Netherlands

⁵¹ Teffer, "History of the agencies (re)shuffle."

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ "Treaty on European Union. *European Union*, Brussels, Luxembourg 1992

https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf

⁵⁴ EU, "Decentralised Bodies of the European Union." 3

⁵⁵ "Decentralized agencies" *European Union*, Last accessed 28 Mar. 2018,

https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/agencies/decentralised-agencies_en#search_for_an_agency

The European Council also decided that CEDEFOP was going to be relocated to Thessaloniki, in Greece.⁵⁶ The relocation took two years, and it was the first agency to get transferred.⁵⁷ The dominant factor in the relocation was that Frankfurt, Germany, obtained the predecessor of the European Central Bank (ECB), the European Monetary Institute.⁵⁸ The ECB was seen as the top prize and also a big reason why the relocation took place. Why Spain got two agencies was because the former prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez was not pleased with only getting one agency, EUIPO. He successfully managed to bargain for one more agency, the EU-OSHA.⁵⁹

Chammon highlights that in the 1990s it was common first to establish an agency then decided the location.⁶⁰ For example, when the Commission proposed the Community Plant Variety Office (CPVO) in 1990, it started its work in Brussels. In 1994 the office of CPVO was established. But it was not until 1996 the foreign ministers finally decided that it would relocate to Angers in France. The annual report from CPVO 1997 highlights that the relocation of the agency was not done in a day and a lot of arrangement was taken into consideration for the families' removals.⁶¹

2001 European Institute for Security Studies (EISS), was established in Paris.⁶²

2002 a discussion occurred when the Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi said, in reaction to the Finns being the top candidate for the EU food safety agency (EFSA):

*"Parma is synonymous with good cuisine. The Finns don't even know what prosciutto is. I cannot accept this"*⁶³

Berlusconi managed to win his case, because in 2002 when the EFSA was established, it was decided by the fifteen government leaders that it should be located in Parma. The Finns got

⁵⁶ Teffer, "History of the agencies (re)shuffle."

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ "Cedefop in Thessaloniki – 20 years on.", *CEDEFOP*, 2015, Last accessed 28 Mar. 2018 <http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/news-and-press/news/cedefop-thessaloniki-20-years>

⁵⁹ Teffer, "History of the agencies (re)shuffle"

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "Annual report 1997, Community Plant Variety Office." CPVO, Published 1999, 14, Last accessed 28 Mar. 2018, <http://aei.pitt.edu/33364/1/A99.pdf>

⁶² EU, "Decentralized agencies"

⁶³ Teffer, "History of the agencies (re)shuffle."

the European Chemical Agency, and seven more agencies were distributed among the current fifteen members.⁶⁴ Before the Enlargement in 2003, the government leaders wrote in a declaration that decision of new agencies would give priority to acceding states, once they joined the EU.⁶⁵ The promise fulfilled, and new agencies were set up and located in Poland, Hungary, Malta, the Baltic States and Slovenia.

List of agencies, in yearly order of establishment⁶⁶:

2002, European body for the enhancement of judicial co-operation (Eurojust), The Hague, The Netherlands

2002, European Union Satellite Centre (SatCen), Madrid, Spain

2002, European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA), Lisbon, Portugal

2003, European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA), Cologne, Germany

2004, European Railway Agency (ERA), Valenciennes and Lille, France

2004, European Defense Agency (EDA), Brussels, Belgium

2004, European GNSS Agency (GSA), Prague, Czech Republic

2004, European Border and Coast Guard Agency, Warsaw, Poland

2005, European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA), Heraklion, Greece

2005, European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC), Stockholm, Sweden

2005, the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL), Budapest, Hungary

2007, European Chemical Agency (ECHA), Helsinki, Finland

2007, Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), Vienna, Austria

2007, European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), Vilnius, Lithuania

In 2008, the EU leaders confirmed their commitment in another declaration:

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ "BRUSSELS EUROPEAN COUNCIL \12 AND 13 DECEMBER 2003, PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS." *European Union*, 27, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/78364.pdf

⁶⁶ EU, "Decentralized agencies"

*"Seats of future offices or agencies should be primarily located in the Member States that acceded to the Union in or after 2004, while appropriate priority should be given to the Member States that do not already host an EU office or agency."*⁶⁷

Only three years later the promised was broken as part of the EU's attempt to prevent future banking crisis, three European supervisory authorities was established, the European Banking Authority (EBA), the European Insurance and Occupational Pensions Authority (EIOPA); and the European Securities and Markets Authority (ESMA).⁶⁸ The EBA took over the already existed Committee of European Banking Supervisors (CEBS) in London, the EIOPA located in Frankfurt, and ESMA located in Paris, and thereby the big three EU leading countries took all three in an attempt of controlling and stabilizing the economy.⁶⁹

List of agencies, in yearly order of establishment⁷⁰:

2010, European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT), Budapest, Hungary
2010, Body of European Regulators of Electronic Communications (BEREC), Riga Latvia
2010, European Systemic Risk Board (ESRB), Frankfurt, Germany
2011, Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators (ACER), Ljubljana, Slovenia
2011, European Banking Authority (EBA), London, United Kingdom
2011, European Securities and Markets Authority (ESMA), Paris, France
2011, European Insurance and Occupational Pensions Authority (EIOPA), Frankfurt, Germany
2011, European Asylum Support Office (EASO), Valletta, Malta
2012, European Agency for the operational management of largescale IT Systems in the area of freedom, security and justice (eu-LISA), Tallinn, Estonia
2016, European Border and Coast Guard Agency (2004) (FRONTEX), Warsaw, Poland

⁶⁷ "BRUSSELS EUROPEAN COUNCIL 19/20 JUNE 2008 PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS." *European Union*.

<http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11018-2008-REV-1/en/pdf>

⁶⁸ "European Banking Authority." *European Union*, Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018

http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/european_banking_authority.html

⁶⁹ "About CEBS." *European Banking Authority*, Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018

<http://www.eba.europa.eu/cebs-archive>

⁷⁰ EU, "Decentralized agencies"

In 2016 the UK voted in favor of leaving the EU leading to the two agencies EMA and EBA had to be relocated.⁷¹ This led to a competition where twenty-three of twenty-seven MS applied to host either one or both of the agencies.⁷² The final decision was made on the 20th of November 2017 after three round-voting procedure that EMA would be located in Amsterdam and EBA in Paris.

Bratislava was a high contender, and after being beaten in the first round, Bratislava chose to abstain from voting in the second and third round, leading to a tied result in the third round.⁷³ The tied result in the final round led to a proverbial coin flip between Amsterdam and Milan, and Amsterdam won.⁷⁴

To summarize, and just as the EUobserver magazine highlights, the historical background concerning establishment of the EU agencies shows that political deal-making is the one decisive factor.⁷⁵ For example, the case with EFSA shows the great influence of the politicians in the decision-making regarding the location of the food agency. The EU's decentralized agencies were all set-up because of the federalist idea that together we can create a better existence with decentralized agencies, but also on basis of conferred power is believed to work on a supranational level.

⁷¹ Simon Kennedy, "Brexit timeline: From the Referendum to article 50" *Bloomberg*, published March 20, 2017, Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018
<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2017-03-20/brexit-timeline-from-eu-referendum-to-theresa-may-and-article-50>

⁷² "UK based EU agencies" *European Union*, Last accessed 20 Mar. 2018

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/08/01/uk-based-eu-agencies/>

⁷³ Jon Rogers, "Anger at EU's handling of Brexit spoils: Furious Slovakia first to blast bloc rivals." *Express*, published Nov.21, 2017, Last accessed 23 May. 2018

<https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/882211/EU-Brexit-EMA-European-medicines-agency-Slovakia-EBA>

⁷⁴ Kai Kupferschmidt, "European Medicines Agency will move to Amsterdam." *Science*, published Nov 20, 2017, Last accessed 23 May. 2018

<http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2017/11/european-medicines-agency-will-move-amsterdam>

⁷⁵ Teffer, "History of the agencies (re)shuffle."

5. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I present two opposite theories that explain the European integration process, neo-functionalism, and liberal intergovernmentalism. The theory of social constructivism complements these theories as a way of describing more of how the states see themselves and the EU, it is a result of interaction with others. Finally, I present limitations, how the theories are relevant to my research.

5.1. Neo-functionalism

Neo-functionalism explains that transnational actors and the EU's supranational institutions have the determining role in the European integration process. This is in line with what the founding fathers of the European Union were thinking with the idea of creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ESCS),⁷⁶ which led to the first treaty in Rome 1957. Neo-functionalism (NF) is a pluralistic theory that does not assume that a state is a single unified actor nor that it is the only actor on the international stage.⁷⁷ Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the European Union, believed that coming together is the only way there will be peace in Europe, and he stated the following:

*"There will be no peace in Europe if the States rebuild themselves on the basis of national sovereignty ... The countries of Europe are not strong enough individually to be able to guarantee prosperity and social development for their peoples."*⁷⁸

Neo-functionalism explains how and why states voluntarily mingle, merge and integrate with their neighbors to lose their sovereignty to resolve conflicts between themselves. Ernst Haas, a German-American political scientist, is the theorist most associated with Neo-

⁷⁶ "Europe 1957-2017: 60 years of peace, democracy, solidarity" *European Union*, Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018 https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/cuba/23459/europe-1957-2017-60-years-peace-democracy-solidarity_en

⁷⁷ Ian Bache, Simon Bulmer and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union*. (OUP Oxford University Press, 2015.) 10

⁷⁸ "Seminar Jean Monnet" *European Commission*, 2, Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018 https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/sites/erasmusplus/files/2017-asia-contact-seminar-jean-monnet_en.pdf

functionalism.⁷⁹ Haas developed the theory in the late 1960s to explain the development of the ESCS and the European Economic Community (EEC).⁸⁰ Haas describes the theory as a process, where political actors in national settings shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new center where there will be a new jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states.⁸¹ Haas argued for a spillover effect that economic integration would later lead to political integration. Collaborations would create common supranational institutions to accelerate the process.⁸² Haas claims that the *spillover* effect drives integration forward.⁸³

The idea behind and the need of European agencies is fully in line with the theory of neo-functionalism. The agencies hold experts, and they are an important part of the institutional process in helping the commission to fulfill its tasks. Tallberg stresses that the neo-functionalism captures everyday integration and how transnational actors come together to push for common rules.⁸⁴ The European Medicines Agency role is to safeguard our health, and the agency works for all member states on a supranational level. The neo-functionalist way of looking at the brochures are that they are representation of how committed they are to more integration and their loyalties to the EU project.

5.2. Liberal Intergovernmentalism

In contrast to neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism (LI) explains that national states are the main actors and the leading developers in the European integration process.⁸⁵ The process can be seen as a result of which all nations have made conscious choices to strengthen their economic and political position.⁸⁶ One of the theorist most associated with the theory is Andrew Moravcsik⁸⁷, professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton

⁷⁹ "Ernst B, Haas Biography" *European Union*, Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/100books/en/detail.html?id=38>

⁸⁰ Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson, and Richard Corbett, *The European Union. How does it work?* (Third Edition - Oxford University Press – 2012) 12

⁸¹ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

⁸² Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

⁸³ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 15

⁸⁴ Tallberg, Jonas, *EU: s Politiska system*, (Femte upplagan, 2013, Studentlitteratur, Lund.) 33

⁸⁵ Tallberg, *EU: s Politiska system*, 32

⁸⁶ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

⁸⁷ Ibid.

University.⁸⁸ He argues that nation-states has more impact than supranational institutions in the European integration process.⁸⁹ Moravcsik says that states act rationally. A national leader's first priority is their national gain from the EU membership, then they bargain among themselves to realize those interests (Moravcsik 1993: 481).⁹⁰ Moravcsik summarizes the European integration process as follows:

*“EU integration can best be understood as a series of rational choices made by national leaders. These choices responded to constants and opportunities stemming from asymmetrical interdependence, and the role of institution in bolstering the credibility of interstate commitment.”*⁹¹

Moravcsik came to three conclusions by his case studies in which he determines how MS make decisions on EU level.

1. The major choices in favor of Europe were made a reflection of the preferences of national governments, not of the preferences of supranational organizations.
2. These national preferences reflected the balance of economic interests, rather than the political biases of politicians or national strategic security concerns.
3. The outcomes of negotiations reflected the relative bargaining power of the states; the delegation of decision-making authority to supranational institutions reflected the wish of governments to ensure that the commitments of all parties to the agreement would be carried through rather than federalist ideology or a belief in the inherent efficiency of international organizations.⁹²

⁸⁸ Andrew Moravcsik "CV Moravcsik" Last accessed 30 Mar. 2018

http://www.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/person/cvfiles/amoravcs_cv.pdf

⁸⁹ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 15

⁹⁰ Andrew Moravcsik and Frank Schimmelfennig, *Chapter 4 Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 69
<https://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/intergovernmentalism.pdf>

⁹¹ Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

⁹² Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 15

The economic interest confirms how Member States saw the race for the EMA, as a financial investment and how it was finally determined by the MS also confirming Moravcsik case studies. Vos also highlights what might be the reason why so many of the members applied for hosting the agency. It was a playroom where almost every country wanted to take part, and Vos states:

*"Member states think it is lucrative to host an agency"*⁹³

The liberal intergovernmental way of looking at the brochures are that they are a representation of all the Member States, their political interest and their national view of the EU.

5.3. Social Constructivism

In the late 1990s, social constructivism (SC) emerges as a study of the EU, as spillover from the discipline of international relations. Additionally, it develops because of misgivings among scholar of the narrow debates between neo-functionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism.⁹⁴ The theory entered the debate to the EU not to dispute either the intergovernmental or the supranational interpretation of integration but to challenge the rationalist acceptance on which the dominant integration theories built.⁹⁵ Bache et.al says the theory should one understand as an *"ontological approach to social inquiry."*⁹⁶ This view is shared with the one of the most associated with the theory, Thomas Risse, Professor in International Relations who expresses his view of SC as follow:

*"It is probably most useful to describe constructivism as based on a social ontology which insists that human agents do not exist independently from their social environment and its collectively shared systems of meanings (culture in a broad sense)."*⁹⁷

⁹³ Teffer, "AGENCIES RELOCATION." 8

⁹⁴ Thomas Risse, *Chapter 8 Social Constructivism and European Integration*, 144
<https://bayanbox.ir/view/5405317841944535052/Social-Constructivism.pdf>

⁹⁵ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 64-65

⁹⁶ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 65

⁹⁷ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

SC explains that the actions of individuals cannot be understood in isolation from their social environment. Risse stresses that identities are a social construction.⁹⁸ Interests and identities are shaped by the social context in which they exist. Risse emphasizes that the enlargement in 2004 was primarily a function of the member states' socialization into a particular conception of 'Europe.' The officials of the Commission acted as 'norm entrepreneurs' to promote an impression of a shared community, with shared values.⁹⁹ Risse (2004:151) came to the conclusion that SC can be helpful in three ways to improve our understanding of the EU:

1. By highlighting the mutually constitutive nature of agency and structure it allows for a deeper understanding of the impact of the EU on its member states and particularly on statehood.
2. By emphasizing the constitutive effects of EU rules and policies it facilitates study of the ways in which EU membership shapes the interests and identities of actors.
3. By focusing on communicative practices it highlights both how the EU is constructed discursively and how actors come to understand the meaning of European integration.¹⁰⁰

Just like Risse highlight how actors come to understand the meaning of European integration, I apply SC to see how the MS understand the meaning of European integration. In the nineteen bidding brochures we see identities represented, each one of the nineteen brochures give their view on the EU values by also promoting oneself. The portrait they give reflects their view of the EU and how they want to be seen as a member of the EU.

⁹⁸ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 148

⁹⁹ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 66

¹⁰⁰ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 67

5.4. Limitations

All theories have their disadvantages, and I am aware that there are critiques of the theories. However, I have chosen neo-functionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism because they are in contrast to each other, and to better understand the European integration process in a profound way. The theories are my guidelines in my analysis and help me to highlight how nations present tendencies towards more European integration (NF) or more nationally based interests (LI). The theories help me answer my research questions. The aim is to investigate how the different countries portrait themselves as members of the European Union and as good candidates with the help of the EU values. Social constructivism (SC) is a good theory in explaining how identities are part of their social environment and help me answering my research questions. SC are also going to be used to point out when the EU values are implied implicitly instead of explicitly outspoken because SC explains more how Member States act because of the context. The purpose of my study is to study the EMA bidding brochures in what way they use the EU values. The focus is on classifying the EU values themes, applying neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, and social constructivism to help me make sense of my data.

6. Method

The goal of this thesis is to understand how the EU values are represented in the nineteen EMA bidding brochures that were submitted the 31 of July 2017 to the Commission.¹⁰¹

Therefore, the method of thematic analysis was chosen as it allows for identification and description of implicit and explicit ideas.¹⁰² First, I present content analysis to highlight my qualitative part in my research. Secondly, I present thematic analysis which will be used as my method to understand the EU values themes explicitly and implicitly. Thirdly, I present validity and reliability. Fourthly I present delimitations and limitations in my method.

6.1. Content analysis

Bergström and Boréus highlight that when counting frequencies in documents to say that it is more dominant or have more importance it does not always answer the questions about the context. Therefore, depending on the context, it can be essential to analyze *how* it presents and not only how many *times* it occurs.¹⁰³ Bergström and Boréus highlight that content analysis is suitable for finding patterns in more abundant materials.¹⁰⁴ They say that manually conducting analyzes enables more advanced assessments and interpretations, which is something that I apply in my thesis.¹⁰⁵ Braun and Clarke divide qualitative research into two broad camps, *experiential* and *critical*.¹⁰⁶ The experiential validates the meanings, views perspectives and practices expressed in the data. The critical qualitative research uses meanings or experience to explore some other phenomenon, to understand the effects.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation" 6

¹⁰² Greg Guest, Kathleen M. MacQueen, and Emily E Namey, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc., 2012.) 10

¹⁰³ Göran Bergström, Kristina Boréus, *Textens mening och makt – metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*. ((red.) tredje upplagan – Lund, Studentlitteratur, 2012.) 80

¹⁰⁴ Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 87

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Virginia Braun, Victoria Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH – a practical guide for beginners*, (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013) 21

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

6.2. Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke discuss what makes a good theme.¹⁰⁸ It is vital to consider themes on their own and the relationship between themes. Good themes make sense on their own. When choosing to use thematic analysis, there are several approaches. Braun and Clarke point out that one of the biggest strength with the method is that the method is flexible, and you choose yourself how to apply thematic analysis to find the best way to answer the research questions.¹⁰⁹ Guest et.al. highlight that thematic analysis is the most useful method in capturing the complexities of meaning within a textual data set.¹¹⁰ They describe thematic analysis (TA) as rigorous, still inductive, set of procedures designed to identify and examine themes from textual data in a way that is transparent and credible.¹¹¹ They illustrate thematic analysis with this definition:

*“Thematic analysis move beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focus on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas with the data that is themes. Codes are then typically developed to represent the identified themes and applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis.”*¹¹²

I will apply their illustration on my results, to find how the EU values are used explicitly and implicitly in the brochures. This study aims to be an empirical investigation in that sense that important elements and codes are combined to generate thematic and explanatory models.¹¹³ Guest et.al. define basic terms in textual qualitative research as follow:

Data: The textual representation of a conversation, observation, or interaction.

Theme: A unit of meaning that is observed (noticed) in the data by a reader of the text.

¹⁰⁸ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 231

¹⁰⁹ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 178, 180

¹¹⁰ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 11

¹¹¹ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 15

¹¹² Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 10

¹¹³ Ibid.

Code: A textual description of the semantic boundaries of a theme or a component of theme.

Codebook: A structured compendium of codes that includes a description of how the codes are related to each other.

Coding: The process by which a qualitative analyst links specific codes to specific data.¹¹⁴

In this thesis, my data is the nineteen bidding brochures. The themes I search for are the EU values presented in the article 2 in the Lisbon treaty.¹¹⁵ I have chosen to have my codebook incoherence to my results as a way of making it easier to understand how each code was conducted and not intentionally stated. Each code in each section will have a precise definition of how it connects to the themes and how it was conducted.

In order to identify themes Guest et.al. draw attention to Ryan and Bernard (2003) list of identifying themes.¹¹⁶ They list seven types of methods to identify themes: 1. *Repetition*, 2. *Indigenous categories/typologies*, 3. *Metaphors and analogies*, 4. *Transitions*, 5. *Constant comparison/similarities and differences*, 6. *Linguistic connectors*, 7. *Silence/missing data*. I limit this study to use the following methods techniques, 5 *Constant comparison/ similarities and differences* and 7 *Silence and missing data*. Therefore, I only present these two and how I will apply them. I will use the methods of *Constant comparison/ similarities and differences* on the nineteen bidding brochures in my results and in my analysis. *Silence/ missing data* will be used and helped with my theories in observing absence, this help me make sense of my evidence. Guest et.al. highlight that when creating qualitative thematic comparisons, the themes are not counted; instead one compares the content of narratives and highlights similarities and differences between two or more datasets (groups).¹¹⁷ Guest et.al. specify when making a qualitative comparison, to answer these two questions:

“Are some themes present in one data set but not another? “

¹¹⁴ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 50

¹¹⁵ EU, “About EU.”

¹¹⁶ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 66

¹¹⁷ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 162

*“If a theme is present in data sets from both groups in an analysis, is the expression of that theme different between groups?”*¹¹⁸

6.3. Validity and reliability

Bergström and Boréus,¹¹⁹ Braun and Clarke¹²⁰ and Guest et.al.¹²¹ all share high attention towards the importance of having validity and reliability when doing qualitative research. Guest et.al. devote a whole chapter to just validity and reliability.¹²² They stress that the most commonly used term related to validity and reliability is Lincoln and Guba's (1985) definition term *credibility* and *dependability*.¹²³ Credibility, meaning the true value and dependability meaning that the research process is consistent and with careful attention to the rules and convention of qualitative methodology.¹²⁴ Guest et.al. specify two reasons why validity is more important in qualitative research.¹²⁵ First, the replication is typically not a goal, most research is descriptive and not designed to replicate. Secondly, it is common that the data collection is unstructured, which often is the case with qualitative inquiry. The goal of my study is not replication, it is just like Braun and Clarke highlight in an experiential study¹²⁶, to validate the meaning, in my case the EU values and in what way in the EU values were expressed in the nineteen bidding brochures. Therefore, the focus is to systematically compare the brochures to try come to an understanding of how the MS used the EU values to promote themselves. I aim to ensure validity and I will consider the effects of subjectivity in coding, to define the codes. The coding needs to have high dependability with high clarity. By doing so my interpretations and the analysis are grounded in the results of data, just as Guest.et.al highlights how a credible thematic analysis should be grounded:

*“Credible thematic analysis is grounded in the data.”*¹²⁷

¹¹⁸ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 162,163

¹¹⁹ Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 82

¹²⁰ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 280

¹²¹ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 38

¹²² Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, Chapter four, 79-106

¹²³ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 83

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 84

¹²⁶ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 21

¹²⁷ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 97

Guest et.al. express that a valid comparative analysis requires an apples-to-apples comparison.¹²⁸ Guest et.al. highlight the importance of structure when doing comparing analysis, something I strive to accomplish:

*"One cannot make claims that any differences observed are due to actual differences between groups, since all or most of the variability could just as easily be due to differences in the way questions were asked."*¹²⁹

6.4. Delimitations and limitations in the method

There are many ways to analyze the content of a brochure but what I found is the best suitable way to carry through my research questions is by making a thematic analysis. It is a useful method when analyzing and identifying manifestations of data. It is most suitable for the kind of qualitative content study I will perform and it will help me to find the EU values themes which are represented in the brochures both explicitly and implicitly.

First, I searched for the EU values to see if they were written explicitly in any of the brochures. Secondly, I searched for any EU values themes expressed explicitly in the brochures. Thirdly, I searched for EU values themes connected to the EU values and if any of those were expressed implicitly. Fourthly, I named the subthemes that has been coded just like Guest et.al. highlight to get high credibility to my research.¹³⁰ Fifthly, I analyzed and compared themes as a method to help me understand the differences and the similarities between the different brochures. What unites and distinguish them, in line with Ryan and Bernard (2003), *Constant comparison/ similarities and differences*.¹³¹

In this thesis, I emphasize on doing experiential qualitative research just like Braun and Clarke mention.¹³² The goal is to come to an understanding of the reasons behind the Member State's positions to create the particular brochures by using the EU values themes. The themes I look for are the EU values themes, which means that my themes are predetermined.

¹²⁸ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 88

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 83

¹³¹ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 66

¹³² Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 21

However, the implicit EU values themes are made based on my own interpretation of their connection to the EU values. The themes I have coded are directly connected to answer my research questions. I aim to have high validity and reliability with a clear structure in my results and follow Guest et.al. apples-to-apples comparison.¹³³ The delimitation of only looking at the EU values in the brochures is that I will leave out some data in the brochures that are essential for the brochures, but not for my study. For example, the proposals on the EMA building and how much money each MS are willing to provide to strengthen the EMA system. This is also something that it is often mentioned as a critique and limitation with thematic analysis.

Guest et.al. stress that TA may miss some of the more nuanced data.¹³⁴ Guest et.al. insist that the observation of absence should be included in any report.¹³⁵ I chose to add Ryan and Bernard's (2003) identification method of themes, *silence/missing data* to have a more enriched analysis and to highlight when there is lack of information and link the absence to my theories.¹³⁶ Braun and Clarke also share this view: *to understand what it is; it is also helpful to understand what it is not.*¹³⁷ The analysis relies on my results, and just as Guest et.al. indicate that the goal is to explicitly map the path between theory and the data that are collected,¹³⁸ I use theories that explain the European integration process to answer my research questions and make sense of my data to have a credible thematic analysis.

¹³³ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 88

¹³⁴ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 17

¹³⁵ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 66

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 20

¹³⁸ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 75

7. Results

In this chapter I present the results of my analysis of the content in the nineteen bidding brochures. I present the results in three separate parts. In the first part, I code how the EU values were expressed explicitly in the brochures.

First, I conduct if they express the EU values explicitly, secondly in what way the EU values themes are represented explicitly through the brochures.

In the second and third parts, I investigate if and how the EU values themes are implicitly presented. I have chosen two implicit vital themes relating to the EU values themes. The two themes are implicit in their way of fulfilling and promoting the EU values themes. The two themes are *openness* and *commitment to the EU project*. Both themes are related to my research questions. Each presented theme is systematically introduced. First, I explain the coding and second, I define the definition of the theme. After that I present a summary of the results where the MS are listed if they have used the theme in their brochures. Finally, I will present an explanation of how the MS used the subthemes in connection to each other, what unites and what distinguishes. Each subtheme was coded to make sense on its own, just as Braun and Clarke highlight that good themes make sense on their own.¹³⁹

7.1. EU values explicitly

Coding: The coding was conducted as a research to find out whether the brochures explicitly mention the EU values or not.

Definition: EU values explicitly mentioned.

¹³⁹ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 231

Results:

Countries in whose brochures the EU values were explicitly mentioned:

Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Portugal

Slovakia¹⁴⁰, Bulgaria¹⁴¹, and Romania¹⁴², all chose to mention their commitment to the EU values and principles explicitly. Neither Slovakia nor Romania hold an EU agency today, and they both drew attention to their commitment to the EU project and reference to how long they have been a member of the EU. Portugal that the country has been a member of the EU for a long time. Portugal highlighted how they believes in the large benefits of belonging to the European Union and following its values.¹⁴³

7.1.2. EU values themes explicitly

Coding: The EU values themes are stated in article 2 in the Lisbon treaty: democracy, equality, freedom, human dignity, human rights and the rule of law.¹⁴⁴ The coding was conducted as a research and analysis of the text in each brochure to find out when the EU values themes were mentioned explicitly.

Definition: The EU values themes explicitly mentioned.

¹⁴⁰ "THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC: OFFER TO HOST THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY IN BRATISLAVA. SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." 28 July, 2017, Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic, 7

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21814/bratislava-offer.pdf>

¹⁴¹ "Bulgarian candidacy to host the European Medicines Agency." 2017, The Government of the Republic of Bulgaria, 1

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21828/bulgaria-ema-offer.pdf>

¹⁴² "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency: Bucharest, Smart Agency in a vivid European city." 2017, The Minister of Health of Romania, 5,15

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21817/bucharest-ema-offer.pdf>

¹⁴³ "Porto. Welcomes EMA. PORTUGUESE OFFER TO THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY (EMA) RELOCATION." 2017, República Portuguesa, 13

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21826/porto-offer-ema-en.pdf>

¹⁴⁴ EU, "Consolidated version of the Treaty of the European Union." 5

Results:

Countries in whose brochures the EU values themes were explicitly mentioned:

Democracy: *Spain, Romania*

Equality: *Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Portugal*

Freedom: *Austria, Greece, Netherlands, Sweden, Romania, Malta, France*

Human dignity:

Human rights: *Romania, Greece*

The rule of law:

Democracy

Spain was the only country to mention democracy, confirming the EU support and how they as a nation has the European spirit of democracy.¹⁴⁵ Romania mentioned democracy, not in the brochure itself, but in its Annex 1, in which Romania described how the country is a semi-presidential democracy.¹⁴⁶ Based on the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate, where all members of the legislature are directly elected.

Equality

Sweden¹⁴⁷, Finland¹⁴⁸, and Denmark¹⁴⁹, all mentioned equality, regarding the high level of equality in the country, confirming that their countries are ranked high in terms of equality. Greece¹⁵⁰, mentioned the fact that equality is part of the country's DNA and Portugal¹⁵¹, mentioned equality in the context of its own Medicines Agency contribution.

¹⁴⁵ "BARCELONA IS WAITING FOR YOU: Building Europe's Future. Spanish bid for EMA." 2017, Gobierno de España, 12, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21809/barcelona-ema-offer.pdf>

¹⁴⁶ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 95

¹⁴⁷ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA, Sweden has the qualifications and the assets." 2017, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 22, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21830/stockholm-offer.pdf>

¹⁴⁸ "Application of the Republic of Finland for the relocation of the European Medicines Agency to Helsinki: HELSINKI FOR EMA." 2017, the Government of Finland, 26
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21820/ema-offer-helsinki.pdf>

¹⁴⁹ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency: Copenhagen, offers the optimal conditions." 2017, The Government of Denmark, 21, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21818/offer-copenhagen.pdf>

¹⁵⁰ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency: Athens." 2017, Hellenic Republic, 40
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21807/athens-ema-offer.pdf>

¹⁵¹ "Porto. Welcomes EMA." Portugal, 48

Freedom

Austria mentions its geographical availability how freedom of movement for workers is beneficial for EU, European Economic Area and Swiss nationals.¹⁵² Sweden was highlighting freedom of expression and gender equality, as two hallmarks for Sweden.¹⁵³ France drew attention to the way France deals with questions of healthcare and how people in France have the freedom and possibility to choose different solutions regarding healthcare.¹⁵⁴ Malta put particular focus on indicating the respect for human rights and freedom for all.¹⁵⁵ By also by saying how they 2014 made same sex-couples legal, and how Malta is working towards introducing marriage equality. Romania mentioned freedom in the context of that it is fundamental for the national objectives and how the economy is rated.¹⁵⁶ Greece spoke of freedom as part of their national DNA.¹⁵⁷ The Netherlands mentioned freedom and how it is a crucial pillar of their society, which includes freedom of expression, religion, gender orientation and same-sex marriage.¹⁵⁸

Human dignity

No country mentioned human dignity explicitly.

Human rights

Romania¹⁵⁹, mentioned, *One world Romania* which is the biggest documentary festival dedicated to human rights in Romania. Greece¹⁶⁰, mentioned human rights and stressed that

¹⁵² "Decision on the relocation of the European Medicines Agency in the context of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the Union: Offer submitted by AUSTRIA." 2017, Republic of Austria, 7 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21831/austria-ema-offer-with-annexes.pdf>

¹⁵³ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA." Sweden, 22

¹⁵⁴ "CANDIDACY DOSSIER RELOCATION OF THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY. French bid – Lille." 2017, République Française, 19, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21822/lille-ema-offer-en.pdf>

¹⁵⁵ "European Medicines Agency: Malta bid." 2017, Malta Medicines Authority, 22 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21823/malta-ema-offer.pdf>

¹⁵⁶ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 65

¹⁵⁷ "Athens." Greece, 40

¹⁵⁸ "The Dutch bid for the European Medicines Agency: Amsterdam Metropolitan Area." 2017, Government of the Netherlands, 54, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21805/amsterdam-ema-bidbook.pdf>

¹⁵⁹ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 106

¹⁶⁰ "Athens." Greece, 40

human rights is encoded in the DNA of the Greeks.

The rule of law

No country mentioned the rule of law explicitly.

7.2. Openness

Coding: The coding was conducted as a research to find out if and in what way the MS mentioned the word open in their brochures. From looking at how each MS presented the concept of openness and the word open as a way of indicating how transparent they are as a country, several subthemes emerged. The EU values themes which are connected to the word open are democracy, human dignity, equality, human rights and freedom. The codes have been collected and analyzed from looking at the context when each MS stated that it was being an *open* country.

Definition: Openness means that the country is open and transparent towards its citizens.

Results:

Countries in whose brochures openness are explicitly mentioned:

- 1. Location:** *Finland, Spain, Sweden, Greece, Poland, Croatia*
- 2. Political system:** *Finland, Denmark, Ireland*
- 3. Family friendly:** *Sweden, Netherlands, Ireland*
- 4. Education:** *Germany, Romania, Malta, Poland*
- 5. History:** *Greece, Portugal*
- 6. Cultural:** *Portugal, Italy, Ireland*
- 7. Gender equality:** *Greece, Malta, Italy*
- 8. Opening hours:** *Spain, Germany, Romania*
- 9. Business:** *Slovakia, Belgium, Austria, France*

1. Location

Several MS regard themselves as open countries associated with good climate and open nature. Spain¹⁶¹, for example, spoke of ideal nature as a way of quality of life and Finland¹⁶², spoke of the open sea, Sweden¹⁶³, mentioned Stockholm has open countryside on the doorstep. Croatia¹⁶⁴, highlighted that it is a tourist destination and Poland¹⁶⁵, pointed out Warsaw as the safest location in Poland.

2. Political system

Denmark mentioned that it is the least corrupt country in the world.¹⁶⁶ Finland mentioned that they have an open government and minimal hierarchies.¹⁶⁷ Ireland highlighted their open and stable political system, which also means that it is a safe environment for organizations and their staff.¹⁶⁸

3. Family friendly

Netherlands¹⁶⁹, Ireland¹⁷⁰, and Sweden¹⁷¹, all described themselves in a similar way as being able to offer an attractive place to work, live and raise a family.

4. Education

¹⁶¹ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 5

¹⁶² "HELSINKI FOR EMA." Finland, 15

¹⁶³ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA." Sweden, 5

¹⁶⁴ "European Medicines Agency in Zagreb: Zagreb. A safe place for EMA A good life for you." July 2017, the Republic of Croatia, 6, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21836/zagreb-ema-offer-en.pdf>

¹⁶⁵ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) to Poland." 2017, the Republic of Poland, 10 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21834/poland-offer-ema-en.pdf>

¹⁶⁶ "Copenhagen, offers the optimal conditions." Denmark, 6

¹⁶⁷ "HELSINKI FOR EMA." Finland, 15

¹⁶⁸ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." 2017, the Government of Ireland, 40 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/relocation-london-agencies-brexit/ema/>

¹⁶⁹ "Amsterdam Metropolitan Area." The Netherlands, 7, 54

¹⁷⁰ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." Ireland, 3

¹⁷¹ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA." Sweden, 5

Germany spoke of schools that are "open all day."¹⁷² Romania mentioned its education system character and that the healthcare is free for everyone.¹⁷³ Malta highlighted how open the education system is for everyone with requisite qualifications.¹⁷⁴ Poland expressed how the state-of-the-art research Centre for materials and technologies is open for cooperation not only in Poland.¹⁷⁵

5. History

Greece highlighted how open multicultural society they have always had as one of the trademarks of the Greek capital.¹⁷⁶ Portugal spoke of tradition and history as a way of saying how open they are to the world, a reference to the Portuguese discoveries, over five centuries ago.¹⁷⁷

6. Cultural

Portugal¹⁷⁸, and Italy¹⁷⁹, both presented themselves as offering an open city with vibrant cultural life. Ireland reference itself as geographical and cultural proximity to London which will significantly ease the transition and Ireland highlighted that Dublin is an open, friendly, multicultural and cosmopolitan city with outstanding cultural facilities.¹⁸⁰

7. Gender Equality

As mentioned in the section about equality in chapter 7.1.2 the Scandinavian countries explicitly mention gender equality. However, several other countries in the context of being

¹⁷² "Application by the Federal Republic of Germany for the Federal City of Bonn to be the new seat of the European Medicines Agency Germany brochure." 2017, Federal Ministry of Health, 40
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21811/bonn-ema-german-application-document-en-2.pdf>

¹⁷³ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 51

¹⁷⁴ "European Medicines Agency, Malta bid." Malta, 25, 28

¹⁷⁵ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) to Poland." Poland, 6

¹⁷⁶ "Athens." Greece, 40

¹⁷⁷ "Porto. Welcomes EMA." Portugal, 14, 52

¹⁷⁸ "Porto. Welcomes EMA." Portugal, 11

¹⁷⁹ "EMA MILANO. ITALY'S OFFER TO HOST THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY (EMA)." 2017, the Italian Government, 38, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21825/milan-ema-offer.pdf>

¹⁸⁰ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." Ireland, 3, 40

an open member spoke of gender equality as part of their identity. Malta¹⁸¹, Greece¹⁸², and Italy¹⁸³, highlighted a great deal of their openness to the LGBT community. Malta was also stated itself being the most LGBTIQ friendly state in Europe.¹⁸⁴ Italy said that they promote and protect LGBTIQ rights and stressed how they guarantee the rights of all couples in a stable relationship.

8. Opening hours

Spain put focus at their (generous) opening hours in different service sectors for example airport availability and car services.¹⁸⁵ Romania was pointed out that emergency care is free for everyone and that it is open all year-round.¹⁸⁶ Germany spoke of schools that are "open all day."¹⁸⁷

9. Business

Slovakia spoke of business continuity, highlighting that EU and EEA do not require any further authorization to work there.¹⁸⁸ Belgium mentioned its business openness regarding how much the EMA staff will benefit just as much as staff from the EU institutions.¹⁸⁹ Austria¹⁹⁰, and Italy¹⁹¹, highlighted how they will open an information office in London to help the EMA staff for a smooth relocation process. France mentioned opening regarding new jobs, how IBM the world's number one for information technology has set up innovation center in France in Lille and that they are opening young graduate scheme.¹⁹²

¹⁸¹ "European Medicines Agency, Malta bid." Malta, 37

¹⁸² "Athens." Greece, 40

¹⁸³ "EMA MILANO." Italy, 26

¹⁸⁴ "European Medicines Agency, Malta bid." Malta, 37

¹⁸⁵ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 60, 85

¹⁸⁶ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 72

¹⁸⁷ "European Medicines Agency Germany brochure." Germany, 40

¹⁸⁸ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 30

¹⁸⁹ "BELGIAN BID FOR THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY. " 2017, Kingdom of Belgium, (*Responsible Editor: Dirk Achten*) 11, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21816/brussels-ema-offer-publication-en.pdf>

¹⁹⁰ "Offer submitted by AUSTRIA." Austria, 16

¹⁹¹ "EMA MILANO." Italy, 11

¹⁹² "French bid – Lille." France, 19

7.3 Commitment to the EU project

Coding: The coding was conducted as an analysis of the texts in the brochures for the search for when the Member State was mentioned, in co-relation to the EU and the EU project. By that also indicating the EU value theme *rule of law* and willingness to follow the treaties.

Definition: Commitment to the EU project means the way the Member States portray themselves as being a member of the EU and being an ideal location because of their commitment to the EU.

Results

Countries in whose brochures the commitment to the EU were explicitly mentioned:

1. **European schools:** *Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Slovakia, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Spain*
2. **Pro EU:** *Slovakia, Romania, Portugal, Spain, Bulgaria, Ireland*
3. **Heart:** *Netherlands, Spain, Germany, Slovakia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Croatia, Ireland, Austria*
4. **Eurozone:** *Spain, Slovakia, Malta, Portugal, Ireland*
5. **EU agency:** *Spain, Slovakia, Romania, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Croatia, Bulgaria, Austria, Greece*
6. **EU membership:** *Spain, Belgium, Romania, Malta, Portugal, Bulgaria, Ireland, Croatia, Slovakia, Greece*

1. European schools

The Netherlands¹⁹³, Denmark¹⁹⁴, Belgium¹⁹⁵, Spain¹⁹⁶, and Italy¹⁹⁷, all mentioned that they have European schools established in their countries. Italy highlighted how long it has been since the school was established, that it started already in 1960. Belgium underlined that they

¹⁹³ "Amsterdam Metropolitan Area." The Netherlands, 7, 58

¹⁹⁴ "Copenhagen, offers the optimal conditions." Denmark, 17,18

¹⁹⁵ "BELGIAN BID FOR THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY." Belgium, 11

¹⁹⁶ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 75

¹⁹⁷ "EMA MILANO." Italy, 21

have more than a third of all European school. Slovakia¹⁹⁸, Sweden¹⁹⁹, and Poland²⁰⁰, spoke about, all in a similar way, how they consider establishing European schools accredited to the EU system.

2. Pro EU

Slovakia²⁰¹, Romania²⁰², and Ireland²⁰³, mentioned how they have been in favor for the EU ever since they joined. Portugal²⁰⁴, and Spain²⁰⁵, both mentioned in a similar way their support to the EU project and how well the population supports the EU. Bulgaria mentioned that it is an optimistic country, that the positive attitude towards the EU project remains steady.²⁰⁶

3. Heart

Being an attractive country for the EMA staff and conferences, several MS chose to indicate its commitment by writing heart as proof of their commitment to the EU project. The Netherlands²⁰⁷, Slovakia²⁰⁸, Belgium²⁰⁹, Austria.²¹⁰, Ireland²¹¹, and Croatia²¹², all shared that vision and they all pointed out that their country is at or in the heart of Europe. Germany²¹³, Spain²¹⁴, and Poland²¹⁵, all mentioned and highlighted that their respective cities are located at the heart of a region, Rhine Region, Mediterranean region, and Central and Eastern Europe.

¹⁹⁸ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 49

¹⁹⁹ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA." Sweden, 5, 17

²⁰⁰ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) to Poland." Poland, 5

²⁰¹ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 7

²⁰² "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 6, 15

²⁰³ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." Ireland, 7

²⁰⁴ "Porto. Welcomes EMA." Portugal, 4

²⁰⁵ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 12

²⁰⁶ "Bulgarian candidacy to host the European Medicines Agency." Bulgaria, 1

²⁰⁷ "Amsterdam Metropolitan Area." The Netherlands, 8

²⁰⁸ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 10

²⁰⁹ "BELGIAN BID FOR THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY." Belgium, 3

²¹⁰ "Offer submitted by AUSTRIA." Austria, 30

²¹¹ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." Ireland, 7

²¹² "Zagreb. A safe place for EMA A good life for you." Croatia, 3

²¹³ "European Medicines Agency Germany brochure." Germany, 4

²¹⁴ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 51

²¹⁵ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) to Poland." Poland, 11

France,²¹⁶ Denmark²¹⁷, Sweden²¹⁸, Poland²¹⁹, and Italy²²⁰, mentioned that the new agency was going to be located at the heart of their respective city.

4. Eurozone

Commitment to the Eurozone was used by some of the MS to help improve their presentations of themselves as better MS more committed to the EU project. Both Malta²²¹, and Portugal²²², highlighted their commitment to the Eurozone by stating how long they had been part of it. Spain wanted to stress that it is listed as the 4th biggest economy in the Eurozone.²²³ Slovakia highlighted that they are one of only two Eurozone members, and the only one in the Schengen area which does not host an EU agency.²²⁴ Ireland highlighted that having EMA located in Ireland would be beneficial because Ireland is part of the Eurozone, which means that it can provide budgetary certainty.²²⁵

5. EU agency

Several of the MS stressed facts regarding having or not having an EU agency today as a commitment to EU and why each country therefore should be chosen to host the EMA. The Nordic countries, Sweden²²⁶, Finland²²⁷, and Denmark²²⁸, all focused on the business sector and that hosting EMA would benefit and give higher competitiveness because of their own EU agency in their country. Spain stated how well the three agencies are geographically spread and that they all have been successfully established.²²⁹ Both Italy²³⁰, and Austria²³¹,

²¹⁶ "French bid – Lille." France, 14

²¹⁷ "Copenhagen, offers the optimal conditions." Denmark, 3

²¹⁸ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA." Sweden, 8,9

²¹⁹ "Relocation of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) to Poland." Poland, 11

²²⁰ "EMA MILANO." Italy, 36

²²¹ "European Medicines Agency, Malta bid." Malta, 11

²²² "Porto. Welcomes EMA." Portugal, 4

²²³ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 5,21

²²⁴ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 7

²²⁵ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." Ireland, 7

²²⁶ "THE SWEDISH OFFER TO HOST THE EMA." Sweden, 20

²²⁷ "HELSINKI FOR EMA." Finland, 4

²²⁸ "Copenhagen, offers the optimal conditions." Denmark, 12

²²⁹ "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 132

²³⁰ "EMA MILANO." Italy, 33

²³¹ "Offer submitted by AUSTRIA." Austria, 8

made remarks on how few EU agencies they have today. Italy stressed the fact that they host a comparatively small number of EU officials working in the EU agencies, comparing to the country's population.²³² Slovakia²³³, Romania²³⁴, Bulgaria²³⁵, and Croatia²³⁶, highlighted that they do not have an EU agency present in their country and stressed that they are ready to host one. Slovakia does not have an agency, and highlighted therefore how the distribution of EU agencies have been performed ever since the year they joined the EU:

*"Only nine EU agencies are located in eight newer member states, while five newer states do not host an EU agency. Twelve EU agencies, established after 2003, have been allocated to older member states. Moreover, eight older member states host more than one EU agency."*²³⁷

Slovakia stressed that choosing Slovakia would increase the visibility of the EU across the whole eastern part of the EU.²³⁸ Greece highlighted that giving them the seat of the agency, would be smart because of its geographical position.²³⁹

6. EU membership

Malta²⁴⁰, Portugal²⁴¹, Spain²⁴², Ireland²⁴³, Romania²⁴⁴, Slovakia²⁴⁵, Bulgaria²⁴⁶, and Croatia²⁴⁷, all used the theme EU membership to indicate how long they have been EU members as a way to emphasize their commitment to the EU project. Belgium highlighted the fact that it is one of the founding members of the EU.²⁴⁸ Greece stood out by mentioning how well they can organize big-scale European and International events.²⁴⁹

²³² "EMA MILANO." Italy, 33

²³³ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 7

²³⁴ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 92

²³⁵ "Bulgarian candidacy to host the European Medicines Agency." Bulgaria, 4

²³⁶ "Zagreb. A safe place for EMA A good life for you." Croatia, 32

²³⁷ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 7

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ "Athens." Greece, 31

²⁴⁰ "European Medicines Agency, Malta bid." Malta, 11

²⁴¹ "Porto. Welcomes EMA." Portugal, 4

²⁴² "Building Europe's Future." Spain, 12

²⁴³ "DUBLIN. WHERE THE WORLD COMES TO WORK." Ireland, 7

²⁴⁴ "Smart Agency in a vivid European city." Romania, 3

²⁴⁵ "SETTLE IN SLOVAKIA GOOD IDEA." Slovakia, 7

²⁴⁶ "Bulgarian candidacy to host the European Medicines Agency." Bulgaria, 1

²⁴⁷ "Zagreb. A safe place for EMA A good life for you." Croatia, 32

²⁴⁸ "BELGIAN BID FOR THE EUROPEAN MEDICINES AGENCY." Belgium, 3

²⁴⁹ "Athens." Greece, 19

8. Analysis

This chapter is divided into four parts, according to my four research questions. My research has made it possible to analyze how well the EU values are explicitly and implicitly manifested by the MS in the brochures. I have applied the theories neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, and social constructivism to help putting these texts in a larger context based on research relevant for interpreting data regarding EU-documentation connected to EU-institutions. As mentioned in my method chapter 6, I also intend to point out and comment on data that is missing in comparison to the decided criteria, to enrich my analysis.

8.1. In what way are the EU values explicitly shown in the nineteen different EMA brochures?

The result illustrates that the EU values are to some extent shown in the nineteen bidding brochures explicitly. Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, and Slovakia do not host an EU agency at present, and this is something that seems to have had a significant impact and seems to be one of the reasons why all these countries, except Croatia, explicitly mention the EU values. Portugal specified the values explicitly to stress that Portugal lives by the EU values, to enhance themselves as a better candidate. Guest et.al. insist that the observation of absence should be included in any report. In my research I found that all the other Member States' brochures lacked explicitly mentioned EU values.²⁵⁰ The silence from the MS can be seen as they did not find it necessary to highlight them or that they already follow them, or that they wanted them to be implicitly interpreted and implied in the brochures in line with Risse's view of social constructivism.²⁵¹

The silence data of the EU values theme *democracy* can be seen as a statement made by the Member States, and that they saw it as something that is not worth mentioning as it is a part of their identity in line with Risse's view of SC.²⁵² Being an EU member also means respecting *democracy* and being a democratic country. The reason behind why Spain specifically

²⁵⁰ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 66

²⁵¹ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁵² *Ibid.*

mentioned *democracy* can be is probably due to its political instability with Catalonia fighting for complete independence from Spain. According the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, Spain has decreased on the *democracy* scale in only one year.²⁵³ The fact that Spain had to highlight *democracy* explicitly is in line with Risse's view on social constructivism and that identities are constructed in their context, must be that Spain view itself as less democratic than others.²⁵⁴

Greece and Romania mentioned three of six EU values themes explicitly which is the highest score of all the MS. Greece often points out its historical importance due to significant historical events that has taken place in Greece in the past. Greece indicates the three EU values themes as part of their DNA, (*equality, freedom and human rights*). However, in the context of Greece history, Greece is probably most associated with *democracy*, something they never mention explicitly, which may be a sign of SC.²⁵⁵ Romania mentions the word *democracy* only in their appendix as a presentation of the country structure. *Freedom and human rights* are explicitly mentioned in the Romanian brochure to boost the country, how *human rights* is fundamental for the national objectives and that Romania arrange one festival dedicated to *human rights*. It is an indicating of national interest, in line with Moravcsik's view on LI.²⁵⁶ France and Malta also mentioned *freedom* to strengthen the reader's image of these countries having *freedom* in their countries.

The Nordic countries used *equality* to portrait themselves as the highest ranked countries regarding questions of *equality*, compared to all the other countries in the world. Both Risse's view of SC²⁵⁷, and the view of LI²⁵⁸, are applicable in explaining why Sweden, Finland, and Denmark are highlighting how high *equality* they have between people in their countries. These countries want to confirm the context they are in, what makes them better candidates to strengthen their political and economic position. In contrast, the other MS wanted not to highlight *equality* as they are not in the top in the category, this could be a reason and confirming SC, not to stress the context in which they are a part, i.e. their lack of equality.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

²⁵⁴ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 148

²⁵⁵ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁵⁶ Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

²⁵⁷ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁵⁸ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

²⁵⁹ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

Braun and Clarke discuss what makes a good theme.²⁶⁰ The EU values themes *human dignity* and *the rule of law* are complex themes that may need to be explained. The missing data of *human dignity* and *the rule of law* explicitly can be seen as MS wanted to include them implicitly. *The rule of law*, meaning following the treaties and *human dignity* involves fundamental rights. Both themes are abstract and need clarification, and this might be the reason why not they were explicitly mentioned.

The missing data of the words *human dignity* and *the rule of law* can be seen as all MS intended to include the themes implicitly instead. *The rule of law* can be seen implicitly in the sixth criteria by the fact that each MS separately wanted to indicate why or why not the issue of geographical spread had to be prioritized and respected due to what was promised by the European Council 2008.²⁶¹ The MS without an EU agency at present in their country used the promise as an argument for why they deserved an EU agency. The other MS wanted to highlight that the situation was unique and that the relocation process should not have to respect the earlier decision about geographical spread because of the fact that the decision is only applicable regarding new agencies. *Human dignity* on the other hand it is more related to the other EU values themes. *Human dignity* can be found implicitly especially when MS mention better conditions for the families of the staff, something all the MS wanted to highlight. All in line with SC, their mutual understanding of not saying *human dignity* and *the rule of law* explicitly.²⁶²

Why so many MS chose not to use the EU values explicitly, on contrary to the EU values themes which were explicitly manifested can be explained with Moravcsik's second conclusion on LI.²⁶³ Several MS saw the race for EMA as an economic investment than a political platform to ensure the EU values. However, several MS saw the race as a chance to express their political position to improve themselves. For example, in the results, part one, Greece, Spain, and Portugal implicitly implied their political identity. They all have experiences from different dictatorships, and they all joined the EU after they had become democracies during the 1980s.²⁶⁴ Their respective presences in part one can be seen as they

²⁶⁰ Braun and Clarke, *SUCCESSFUL QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*, 231

²⁶¹ EU, "2008 PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS."

²⁶² Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 67

²⁶³ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 15

²⁶⁴ EC, "European Neighborhood Policy"

wanted to highlight the context which they now are part of, to strengthen their commitment to the EU values and take focus from their low ranking in the Democracy Index.²⁶⁵ In line with Risse's third conclusion of how actors came to understand the European integration.²⁶⁶

8.1.2. In what way are the EU values implicitly shown in the nineteen different EMA brochures?

EU values were used implicitly as a compliment to the EU values explicitly expressed as a way of portraying each country as a better candidate. I have chosen openness and commitment to the EU project as these values both show the EU values themes in different ways. They complete each other and are connected with all of the six EU values themes as mentioned in chapter 7.2. Coding and 7.3. Coding.

Openness have been very differently expressed and used as a theme by the MS. The focus has been on being attractive for the EMA staffs families. Denmark, Finland, and Ireland highlighted their political stability as a way of stating how good and open societies they have. The fact that these countries emphasized their political stability verifies the theory of LI.²⁶⁷ The Netherlands, Ireland and Sweden described themselves as locations offering an attractive place to work, live and raise a family, to give an illustration of how open they are as a society, being a safe MS indicating the political situation again, confirming the liberal intergovernmental view.²⁶⁸

The results from the subtheme *education* showed that several MS wanted to highlight *open* as part of how their education system looks like, confirming both LI²⁶⁹, and SC²⁷⁰. Because a lot people working at the agency have children, (648 were schooled in last year.²⁷¹) The question of childcare and education is a significant factor for the staff and their families, and their willingness to move to another country. By including information in the brochures about the

²⁶⁵ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

²⁶⁶ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 67

²⁶⁷ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

²⁷⁰ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁷¹ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation" 15

education system in the MS they show respect for the families and also present themselves as keeping a high profile regarding *human dignity*. Germany mentioned how they have schools that are open all day long. It showed their view on how important school is in Germany and their view on German being an attractive place to raise children. Both Romania and Malta mentioned they have an open education system. Poland stood out and talked about *open education*, stressing that the state-of-the-art research Centre for materials and technologies is open for cooperation and not only in Poland. It indicates that they are willing to cooperate not only on a national level, in line with Haas NF shifting loyalties towards a new center.²⁷²

A lot of the MS used *openness* to describe their identity as being transparent to the people of the EU, in line with the SC view.²⁷³ For example, Greece and Portugal used history as explaining how they are openminded. Greece mentioned their open multicultural society which they have always had as one of the trademarks for the Greeks and Portugal talked about the Portuguese discoveries. Portugal, Italy, and Ireland mentioned how open culture they have as promoting themselves as better candidates. Malta, Greece and Italy mentioned *gender equality* success in their countries. Spain and Romania mentioned their generous opening hours. The reason behind this particular fact is probably because they believe that others see their countries as having systems that are not open all the time, for example in Spain when it comes to the *siesta* in the afternoon, when stores are closed during the hottest hours of the day. Romania, on the other hand, wanted to highlight that the emergency care is open all year round to ensure others they have good healthcare. Bulgaria was the only country that did not mention *openness* but did speak about other words connected to the EU values, for example, tolerance and having a safe environment.²⁷⁴ The conclusion one can draw from the results in part two is that MS seems to have made rational choices to use the word or concept *open* in a context where they highlight their respective advantages in their countries, all in line with LI.²⁷⁵

In part three, commitment to the EU project, there were more Member States present than in part one and two. There seem to have been an endeavor to use the EU membership to portray themselves as better candidates. Nine of the nineteen applicants clarified how long they had

²⁷² Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

²⁷³ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 148

²⁷⁴ "Bulgarian candidacy to host the European Medicines Agency." Bulgaria, 1

²⁷⁵ Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

been EU members as an argument to prove their commitment to the EU project. Of those nine countries, four of them were countries that do not host an agency today. *Pro EU* and *Eurozone* were used as a subtheme to confirm the support of EU values and seemed to be the MS way of indicating themselves as better candidates. All of them showed tendencies towards more cooperation, in line with Haas's view on neo-functionalism.²⁷⁶ Several countries chose on the other hand not to mention the subtheme *Eurozone* as a factor to stress their commitment to the EU. Germany, the Netherlands, France, Finland, Belgium, Austria, Greece, and Italy are all part of the Eurozone, but in my coding, they did not mention that as an argument to prove themselves as more committed to the EU.²⁷⁷ None of the five MS that are founding members of the EU mentioned the *Eurozone* even though they are part of the Eurozone.²⁷⁸ This could be seen as they believe that the others know their strong commitment to Eurozone, which confirms the SC theory.²⁷⁹ Austria, Finland, and Greece have all been extended EU members, and it might be the reason why they did not highlight the *Eurozone* as to highlight their commitment to the EU. The fact that Greece did not mention the *Eurozone* is most likely because of the financial crisis that has been going on in Greece in recent years.

Belgium who is hosting the most EU institutions/agencies highlight how it is one of the founding members, located in the heart of Europe. Belgium also highlights the fact that it has more than a third of all European schools, in line with Risse's view of SC.²⁸⁰ Belgium stressed the great environment the families would have if they were to move to Brussels.

European schools for the EMA staff were presented throughout several of the brochures either regarding promotion of already well-established schools or a willingness to establish one. By mentioning European schools, they were confirming a European togetherness, in line with how Tallberg stressed how actors and in this case MS come together to push for common rules.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

²⁷⁷ "Euro area" *European Union*, Last accessed 5 May. 2018
https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/money/euro_en

²⁷⁸ EC, "European Neighborhood Policy"

²⁷⁹ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁸⁰ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 148

²⁸¹ Tallberg, *EU: s Politiska system*, 33

Heart was used in the brochures as a metaphor for the commitment to the EU project. Six of the thirteen MS used the heart as presenting themselves being in the heart of Europe. These six MS are geographically far apart from each other. It demonstrates how each one of these MS used the *heart* to appear closer to its citizens, in line with what Haas, indicated, political actors in national settings persuaded of shifting their loyalties, towards a new center.²⁸² However, one could argue it is where the EU started, from the six, Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands. Of those six, both Belgium and the Netherlands chose to say they are located in the heart of Europe. Three MS used the *heart* metaphor to say they are the center of an attractive region. Germany, who was one of the MS that did not choose the capital for the location of EMA, instead highlighted the advantages of the Rhine Region. Five MS stressed that the agency would be in the *heart* of the city, to promote an attractive place for the staff and their families.

The *EU agency* subtheme was used in the brochures in stressing how well each MS deserves to host an agency because of not having one, or by only having 1, or how successful the present agencies are. Italy stood out stressing that they only host a comparatively small number of EMA staff compared to Italy's population. All MS showed tendencies of highlighting national interest and an idea of being rational in their way of presenting the argument for hosting EMA, all accordingly to LI.²⁸³ However, not all MS used the subtheme *EU agency* to describe their commitment to the EU. Just like Guest et.al. view on including in qualitative comparison what was not present in the data, there was seven MS that did not used arguments and facts to highlight their commitment to EU.²⁸⁴ Of those seven, four were the founders of the EU (Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands), again an indication that the context matter. It is probably due to the fact that they see themselves as influential agencies leaders. They may perceive it to be rational not to highlight their own EU agencies, in line with Moravcsik, that they would gain the most support without mentioning the EU agency.²⁸⁵ Ireland, Malta, and Poland all have decentralized agencies present in their countries, and they did not mention them. This is also interesting because Poland and Malta are two of the countries that has been granted what was promised in 2008.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 162,163

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation." 3

8.2. How did the Member States use the EU values themes in the nineteen EMA brochures to emphasize their view on more integration or less integration?

The Member States used the EU values themes in four different ways to emphasize their opinions towards more integration. Firstly, in the way each MS wanted to be perceived as a nation. Secondly, in the way the Member States reveals their thoughts about the EU. Thirdly, in the way the MS delivered brochures with content adapted to what they believed the EU requested, and fourthly, how the MS expected that the others were going to perform in line with SC, that actions cannot be understood in isolation from their social environment.²⁸⁷

The EU values were explicitly mentioned by the MS that do not host an agency today, which probably was a way to show how committed they are to get an agency, all in a neo-functionalistic way of presenting how worthy they are to host an EU agency.²⁸⁸ The fact that Spain was the only MS to mention *democracy*, as already specified in chapter 8.1, which could be because of the current political instability with Catalonia. However, it can also be because Spain wanted to emphasize its view on more integration, that they are committed to the EU project and that they want to fulfill the EU values.

The EU values themes were used explicitly by the MS to showcase themselves as better candidates, just as the Nordic countries did by highlighting the word and concept of *equality* in their countries' brochures. The fact that the MS did not explicitly mention the EU values themes in results part one, was most likely not since the MS want less integration, and that they only aim for a passive commitment by the MS. On the contrary, it can be interpreted as the MS thought it to be unnecessary to do so, and that they therefore did not have to include the EU values themes, because they already are an EU member and by that confirming Risse's views SC, of how all the Member States understand the meaning of European integration.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁸⁸ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

²⁸⁹ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 67

All nineteen bidding brochures had a bias and nationalistic way of presenting respective city and country, and why the city and country in question was the best fit for hosting EMA and why it should be regarded as an attractive location for the staff. Just as LI explains that nations have made conscious choices to strengthen the economic and political position²⁹⁰, MS tried to use the EU values to enhance their status. The two implicit themes I chose to code connected to the EU values, *openness* and *commitment to the EU project* were both used generally by the MS to help improving the impression of themselves as better candidates. *Openness* as a theme was used to describe the MS open identity. For example, all MS in the chapter 7.2.1 *Location*, used climate and nature as a good way to describe part of the quality of life, to confirm the context that they are part of SC²⁹¹, and also, to show their national interest by promoting themselves as an attractive alternative, in line with LI²⁹².

In part three of the result subtheme, *heart*, you can see a reflection of how the MS wanted to be perceived as a nation. It was clear how each Member State regarded the EU project, and what they believed the EU requested. The Netherlands, Slovakia, Belgium, Austria, Ireland, and Croatia chose in a similar way to highlight that their respective MS is located in the heart of Europe, which can be interpreted as an indication for a positive view towards more integration, in line with NF.²⁹³ By doing so the MS wanted to be perceived as a country that focuses firstly on Europe and secondly on their own country. Germany, Poland and Spain chose in contrast to focus on the heart of a region to stand out intentionally, in line with Moravcsik's ideas of LI, rational choices made by national leader.²⁹⁴ Denmark, Sweden, Poland and Italy chose to mention *heart* regarding the location of their city, also in line with Moravcsik's LI view to say in a rational way why the city is the best location to host the agency.²⁹⁵

In part three in my result, *commitment to the EU project*, MS highlighted how long they had been a member of the EU, as an argument for them deserving the agency. The MS emphasized how they already have or how they are considering establishing European

²⁹⁰ Bomberg et.al, *European Union*, 12

²⁹¹ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

²⁹² Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

²⁹³ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

²⁹⁴ Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

schools, how they have been pro EU ever since they joined and that they also are members of the Eurozone. All the examples confirm Haas's idea of NF.²⁹⁶ They wanted to be perceived as "good" and "reliable" EU countries. The MS used examples of more integration as an argument for taking over the EMA, primarily made by those MS who do not host an EU agency, confirming to the EU that they are committed to the EU project and support the supranational part of the EU. However, one can also argue that all the examples were consciousness choices made by the MS so they could be perceived as more in favor of more integration, in line with Moravcsik's LI.²⁹⁷ This could also explain the silence of arguments regarding less integration, because the competition for EMA was an indication for wanting more integration, to host a decentralized agency, by that the MS did not want to emphasize explicitly that they are in favor of less integration.

8.3. How is a newer Member State expressing EU values to promote itself as a good member of the EU?

The newer Member States who applied for the EMA were Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia. Four of these newer Member States, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia do not host an agency. The result from part one showed that there were tendencies towards wanting to confirm and promote the EU values explicitly by those countries who do not host an EU agency.

In part two of the result, the subthemes *education*, *gender equality*, *opening hours* and *business* were explicitly mentioned by the newer MS. The *education* subtheme was the most present theme by the newer MS. Romania, Malta, and Poland used *education* to describe how open they are, to promote themselves and to improve the image that their city is offering an attractive location for the EMA staff. Malta used *gender equality* to highlight their success in being an open country, to strengthen the image of how democratic, tolerant and transparent they are. Slovakia stressed how *business continuity* is very desirable in Slovakia, based on how well and efficiently EU and EEA citizens find the working life there.

²⁹⁶ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

In part three in the result, the result showed that the newer MS used pro arguments for the EU project. Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria all wanted to highlight how much they have been *pro EU* and they all wanted to stress that their attitude towards EU is still positive. All three MS focused on perceiving in line with Haas's explanation of neo-functionalism, shifting their loyalty towards the EU.²⁹⁸ Slovakia and Poland also wanted to confirm the supranational tendencies and uniting feeling by mentioning that they are willing to establish *European schools* for the families, and by that they also make a confirmation to the EU project in line with NF.²⁹⁹

All newer MS except Poland used the *EU membership* to indicate how long they had been an EU member, and it shows how they wanted to express how committed they are to the EU project. Slovakia stood out and was the only country with strikes in all six subthemes in the results, *commitment to the EU project*. This confirms their willingness to host the agency, and how committed they were to be perceived as the best candidate for the EMA.

Malta is the only MS of the six newer MS who are listed as *full democratic* according to the Democracy Index.³⁰⁰ This is something that was especially shown when Malta mentioned *freedom* by implicitly highlighting human rights. They were also keen on expressing how good they are at *gender equality*, something that the other five newer MS did not. Which is in line with these newer Member States' low ranking in the Gender Equality Index 2017.³⁰¹ Malta and Poland had fewer strikes in the coding, in part three in the results. This could have something to do with the fact that they do already host decentralized agencies and that they might have been more committed in the race as just political players to ensure future cooperation, or just as Vos highlights regarding "*agencification*," to make sure that the agency is not going to be located in Brussels, Belgium.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

³⁰¹ EIGE, "Gender Equality Index 2017."

³⁰² Ibid.

8.4. According to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, how are the Member States as described as *full democracies* using the EU values to promote themselves?

Full democracies ranking in the EU. (*Luxembourg 6 and United Kingdom 8 not included*)

- Stockholm, Sweden (Full Democracy) (1)
- Copenhagen, Denmark(Full Democracy)(2)
- Dublin, Ireland (Full Democracy) (3)
- Helsinki, Finland (Full Democracy)(4)
- Amsterdam, Netherlands (Full Democracy) (5)
- Bonn, Germany (Full Democracy) (7)
- Vienna, Austria (Full Democracy) (9)
- Malta, Malta (Full Democracy) (10)
- Barcelona, Spain (Full Democracy)(11)

The full democracies explicitly mentioned the EU values themes *democracy*, *equality* and *freedom*. Spain was the only MS to express *democracy*, something I mentioned specifically in chapter 8.1. *Equality* was mentioned by the Nordic countries, to confirm that they are the best countries when it comes to equality. This is in line with the Gender Equality Index 2017 where Sweden, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands are at the top of the list.³⁰³ Malta, Sweden, and the Netherlands explicitly mentioned *freedom* in connection both explicitly and implicitly to other EU values themes for example *human rights*, *equality*, *human dignity*, and *democracy*.

The *full democracies* focused in general more on expressing how good societies they have than promoting any of the EU values themes in their brochures. *Full democracies* like the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland and Finland focused in part two in mentioning openness synonymous with their transparent societies, political stability and an environment that is family friendly. Germany and Ireland were the only two *full democracies* that did not mention any of the EU values themes explicitly. Just like Guest et.al. illustrate that one needs

³⁰³ EIGE, "Gender Equality Index 2017."

to answer if the theme is differentially expressed between the groups.³⁰⁴ The fact that Germany is a vital leader in the EU politics seems to have had a significant impact and could be the reason behind why they do not promote themselves using the EU values themes. This is in line with Risse's view of SC.³⁰⁵ Germany might think others see them as a fulfiller of the EU values; therefore, they ignored expressing the EU values explicitly. Ireland had more strikes in the coding in part two and part three, showing how well they are committed to the EU project and the EU values themes, but implicitly.

Spain who is at the bottom of the list of *full democracies* had the most strikes of the *full democracies* in part three in the result. It shows both inclined NF view³⁰⁶, and LI view.³⁰⁷ Spain made a conscious choice to promote themselves as a democratic EU country. Austria, a full democracy at the bottom of the index list, only promoted themselves twice according to my coding. First in part two, *openness*, by showing a willingness for a smooth transfer of the EMA by setting up an office in London. Secondly, in part three, when it comes to the question of *commitment to the EU project*, Austria remarked that they only have one agency present in the country. My result shows that Austria is less concerned in promoting the EU values than Spain and Malta who also scored low points at the index list.

Previous research by Oshiri, Sheaffer, and Shenhav point out that the democratic values play a more vital part in countries with more years of the EU membership.³⁰⁸ My research results show the opposite in terms of promoting the EU values. The *full democracies* of the EU are less dedicated to promoting and highlight the EU values. This could depend on the fact that these countries are more aware that they already fulfill the EU values in line with Risse's view on SC³⁰⁹ and Oshiri, Sheaffer and Shenhav's research. This could also explain why the *flawed democracies* needed to highlight the EU values more to improve the impression they give of themselves, and to show how good candidates they are to host the agency.

³⁰⁴ Guest et.al, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, 162,163

³⁰⁵ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

³⁰⁶ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

³⁰⁷ Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

³⁰⁸ Oshiri, Sheaffer and Shenhav, "Democratic identity formation in the European Union."

³⁰⁹ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 148

8.4.1. According to the Economic Intelligence Unit's 2017 Democracy Index, how are the Member States as described as *flawed democracies* using the EU values to promote themselves?

Flawed democracies ranking in the EU (*Estonia 4, Czech Republic 6, Cyprus 7, Slovenia 8, Lithuania 9, Latvia 11 and Hungary 15 not included*)

- Milan, Italy (Flawed Democracy) (1)
- Porto, Portugal (Flawed Democracy) (2)
- Lille, France (Flawed Democracy) (3)
- Brussels, Belgium (Flawed Democracy) (5)
- Athens, Greece (Flawed Democracy) (10)
- Bratislava, Slovakia (Flawed Democracy) (12)
- Sofia, Bulgaria (Flawed Democracy) (13)
- Warsaw, Poland (Flawed Democracy) (14)
- Zagreb, Croatia (Flawed Democracy) (16)
- Bucharest, Romania (Flawed Democracy) (17)

Overall the *flawed democracies* had more strikes in my coding in all three parts in the result, compared to the *full democracies*. The *flawed democracies* wanted to express the EU values to make themselves appear as better candidates. Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Portugal were the only ones to mention the EU values explicitly. The fact that Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania are ranked low in the Democracy Index and that they do not host an EU agency seems to have been the motive behind why they chose to mention the EU values explicitly.³¹⁰

Romania and Greece mentioned three EU values themes explicitly, *human rights, freedom, and democracy*. This is in line with my conclusion that these countries also score low points in the Democratic Index.³¹¹ It seems that these choices are both rational and conscious and

³¹⁰ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

that the intention is to create a better portrait of each country, in line with liberal intergovernmentalism³¹², and social constructivism.³¹³

As pointed out by Ilga-Europe, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia do not offer a registered partnership for same-sex couples.³¹⁴ None of these countries mentioned explicitly *equality* and *human dignity*. Poland only mentioned EU values implicitly despite their low ranking in the Democracy Index.³¹⁵ However, Poland already host an agency (Frontex) and was coded four times in my results. Two codes regarded mentioning *openness*. First how Warsaw as a location is safe and open. Secondly, how open education system they have in Poland. Two codes regarded the *commitment to the EU project* both in line with NF, shifting their loyalties towards a new center in this case the EU.³¹⁶ Poland stated that they are considering establish European school, it shows how committed they are to the EU project. Secondly, how the region Poland, is part of Central and Eastern Europe, by including two regions they wanted to show how geographically well they are suited to host the agency.

Greece, Romania, and Slovakia were all at the bottom of the list at the Gender Equality Index 2017.³¹⁷ It seems to have had an impact as all three MS showed a willingness to confirm the EU values both explicitly and implicitly. Slovakia and Romania explicitly mentioned the EU values. Romania and Greece mentioned three of the six EU values themes, which is the most of all MS. However, Greece says it is part of their DNA but they do not explain how they are committed to the EU values themes right now. Using history is also confirming the context of how others see Greece, as a country with history, they want to assure the picture of them, in line with SC.³¹⁸ Romania, the only one of the three countries to both write the EU values explicitly and having the EU values themes explicitly expressed shows a great willingness to promote themselves as a better democratic country.

Portugal at the top of the list of *flawed democracies*, wanted to highlight explicitly that they follow the EU values, to promote themselves as a “better” member. In the coding they stroke

³¹² Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

³¹³ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

³¹⁴ Teffer, “Fears for LGBTI staff at Brexit relocation agencies.”

³¹⁵ EIU “Democracy Index 2017.” 5

³¹⁶ Bache et.al, *Politics in the European Union*, 6

³¹⁷ EIGE, “Gender Equality Index 2017.”

³¹⁸ Risse, *Social Constructivism*, 145

in part two in a similar way to how their culture and history makes them a more open country. In part three, they showed a strong willingness to express how committed they are to the EU as they had strikes in four subthemes areas, *Pro-EU*, *Eurozone*, *EU agency* and *EU membership*.

The *flawed democracies* had mentions of each subtheme in part two and three in the result, except *political system* and *family friendly* which is confirming my conclusion regarding the subthemes and how these countries are less democratic and that they also seem more eager to promote themselves as better candidates by using these subthemes.

9. Conclusions

The Member States' high interest in the relocation of EMA is unique, never had so many MS chosen to actively campaign to host an agency. There are probably several reasons behind the great interest. One of the reasons is definitely that EMA is one of the most prestigious agencies, an agency whose responsibility include regulation of medicine which has direct effect on people's health including saying yes or no to what could be lifesaving medicines. Also, the fact that EMA is one of the decentralized agencies with the most staff has played an important part in creating great interest in the relocation process. A lot of people visit the EMA and EMA often host teleconferences and the MS probably have made calculations that shows that hosting EMA should generate much money and boost both the hosting city as well as the country.³¹⁹ In line with Vos³²⁰, and Moravcsik³²¹, I believe that one of the most dominant factors why so many Member States applied, was that they thought it to be lucrative to host an agency. The geographical spread discussion is still on the table, especially since the relocation of EMA - and EBA - did not go to a country that lacks an agency today. It is likely we will see EU values promoted once again by the Member States that do not host any agency. The protest of Slovakia at the voting ceremony will probably have an impact in the future when it comes to decisions about the location of new agencies or the already established agencies. However, Slovakia will most definitely use it as an argument in the future.

³¹⁹ EU, "EUCO conclusions agencies relocation" 13

³²⁰ Teffer, "AGENCIES RELOCATION." 8

³²¹ Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig, *Liberal intergovernmentalism*, 70

My decision to only code texts mentioning the MS and not including the city may have had an effect on the results, and choosing to include also the city may have shown a slightly different result. However, due to the amount of the texts in the brochures I limited it to only the mention of the Member States. I left out the images in brochures, and I am aware that those could be essential for how a brochure is received so perhaps studying the pictures in the brochures could be an interesting topic for further studies. A similar method could be applied. It would also be interesting to focus on the national presentation contra European presentation visually. It is important to realize that this thesis does not encompass the full EU values themes implicitly. My limitation was due to the time limit and the amount of the texts in the brochures.

The Netherlands won after the three-round ceremony. The results of my research do not show that the EU values were more dominantly demonstrated by the Netherlands than by any other country, neither explicitly nor implicitly. As mentioned in results in chapter 7.1.2. The Netherlands mentioned *freedom* in a context where they also wanted to imply and confirm that they support the EU values themes, which I believe was a conscious choice and that they were more aware of promoting the EU values than what was explicitly mentioned in the brochure. I do not believe the brochures had a significant impact on the EC decision of the relocation. The brochures were more a display for the public, for the MS to showcase themselves as better candidates and more committed to the EU project. The *flawed democracies* especially showed this in the brochures.

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate if and how the EU values were manifested in the nineteen bidding brochures that were used in the application process, the race to host EMA in 2017. To achieve the objective of my research I made an investigation to find out in what way the EU values themes were used explicitly and implicitly in each brochure. The study reveals the different countries' use different methods to describe and promote why their country could be considered the country most committed to the EU project and the EU values. This was especially obviously shown in the brochures made by those MS that do not host an agency today and also by the countries considered as *flawed democracies*.³²²

³²² EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

After studying my results, I conclude that the EU values themes explicitly and implicitly mentioned were handled in three different ways, either promoting the values, highlighting the values themes to showcase oneself as a better candidate or a combination of the two.

Promoting the values was used by all the *flawed democracies* in their mentioning of the EU values explicitly. Highlighting the EU values themes explicitly and implicitly to showcase oneself as a better candidate seems to have been the most present method by all MS. Greece, Spain, and Portugal all used a combination of the two, part one. The reason behind this strategy is probably because of their political background coming from dictatorship, their low ranking at the Democracy Index and their willingness to support the EU project.³²³

Summarizing the EU values in the spotlight is an area for further investigation and the awareness of the EU values themes both explicitly and implicitly can be seen as a strong willingness for the *flawed democracies* to come closer to the *fully democratic* Member States.

³²³ EIU "Democracy Index 2017." 5

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11. Appendix

Abbreviations

CA	Content Analysis
EBA	European Banking Authority
EC	European Council
EEA	European Economic Area
EMA	European Medicines Agency
EU	European Union
MS	Member State(s)
NF	Neo-functionalism
LI	Liberal Intergovernmentalism
SC	Social Constructivism
TA	Thematic Analysis
UK	United Kingdom