Briefing Implementation Appraisal



May 2017

Enhancement of social legislation in road transport II (Working time and enforcement of Regulation 561/2006)

This briefing is one in a series of 'Implementation Appraisals' on the operation of existing EU legislation in practice. Each briefing focuses on a specific EU law, which is likely to be amended or reviewed, as envisaged in the European Commission's annual work programme. Implementation appraisals aim at providing a succinct overview of publicly available material on the implementation, application and effectiveness of an EU law to date – drawing on input from EU institutions and external organisations. They are provided to assist parliamentary committees in their consideration of the new proposals, once tabled.

Summary

Directives 2002/15 and 2006/22 lay down rules on the working time of professional drivers, breaks, and enforcement of Regulation 561/2006 on the harmonisation of certain social legislation relating to road transport. Various sources show that there are currently several challenges linked with the implementation of social legislation in road transport in the Member States. These challenges include diverging enforcement practice across the various EU Member States, a lack of clarity in the legislation, the broad discretion left to Member States, and various exemptions allowed by the legislation. These challenges are affecting harmonisation in the field of road transport; they have an impact on legal certainty and are hindering the fulfilment of the legislation's objectives. The European Parliament has noted these issues and has called for them to be resolved. Similarly, the European Economic and Social Committee has recommended updating the current legislation, while representatives of various stakeholder groups have called for amendments in this field. Last, but not least, the European Commission itself has expressed its willingness to revise these directives as part of the enhancement of social legislation in road transport. It is expected that the European Commission will submit a proposal in the second quarter of 2017.

EP committee responsible at the time of adoption of the EU legislation:

- Committee on Employment and Social Affairs (Directive 2002/15/EC)1
- Committee on Transport and Tourism (Directive 2006/22/EC)²

Date of adoption of original legislation in plenary:

- 5 February 2002 (Directive 2002/15)
- <u>2 February 2006</u> (Directive 2006/22)

Deadline for transposition of legislation:

- 23 March 2005 (Article 14 (1), Directive 2002/15)
- 1 April 2007 (Article 16 (1), Directive 2006/22)

Planned date for review of legislation:

- The European Commission is obliged to produce reports on the implementation of Directive 2002/15/EC

¹ Since this piece of legislation was adopted at third reading, the procedural file (1998/0319(COD)) was also dealt with by the EP Delegation to the Conciliation Committee (CODE).

² In addition to the TRAN Committee, the procedural file (2003/0255(COD)) was originally covered by the Committee on Regional Policy, Transport and Tourism (RETT) and since this piece of legislation was adopted at third reading also by the EP Delegation to the Conciliation Committee (CODE).

every two years and submit them to Parliament (Article 13 (2), Directive 2002/15).

- The European Commission was required to present a report to Parliament and the Council analysing the consequences of the exclusion of self-employed drivers from the scope of Directive 2002/15 by 23 March 2007 (Article 2 (1), Directive 2002/15).
- By 1 May 2009, the European Commission was required submit a report to Parliament analysing the penalties for serious infringement of Directive 2006/22/EC (Article 10, Directive 2006/22/EC).³

Timeline for new amending legislation: The revision of Directives 2002/15/EC and 2006/22/EC is presumed in <u>Annex 2</u> of the <u>Commission work programme 2017.</u> The European Commission intends to submit its proposal in the second quarter of 2017.

1. Background

Social legislation in road transport has three complementary goals: (1) to enhance road safety, (2) to prevent the distortion of competition and (3) to improve the working conditions of drivers.⁴ It currently covers a variety of issues, relating to both freight and passenger road transport, which are covered by various legal acts, as follows:

- (1) driving time, breaks and rest periods Regulation 561/2006;
- (2) working time Directive 2002/15 EC;
- (3) enforcement of Regulation 561/2006 Directive 2006/22/EC and
- (4) tachographs Regulation 165/2014.

This briefing examines Directive 2002/15 EC and Directive 2006/22/EC and the issues they cover: working time and enforcement. Regulation 561/2006 on driving time, breaks and rest periods are dealt with in a parallel briefing on enhancement of social legislation in road transport.⁵ As these legal acts are linked, the briefings should be read together.

<u>Directive 2002/15/EC</u> of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 March 2002 on the organisation of the working time of persons performing mobile road transport activities

The directive establishes minimum requirements with regard to the organisation of the working time of mobile workers (drivers), the improvement of road safety and the alignment of competition in the road transport sector (Article 1). Member States can introduce laws more favourable to the protection of the health and safety of persons performing mobile road transport activities (Article 10).⁶ A direct link between the directive and Regulation 561/2006 is underlined by Article 2 of the directive specifying that the directive applies to activities and drivers within the scope of Regulation 561/2006 and the <u>European Agreement Concerning the Work of Crews of Vehicles Engaged in International Road Transport</u>. The provisions of Directive 2002/15 supplement the rules on driving time, breaks and rest periods established by Regulation 561/2006. When implementing this directive, Member States must also take into account Article 31(2) (fair and just working conditions) of the <u>EU Charter of fundamental rights</u>. As such, the directive is considered a *lex specialis*, over-riding the general Working Time <u>Directive 2003/88/EC</u>.

Directive 2002/15 applies to drivers employed by companies in Member States, who carry out the activities covered by Regulation 561/2006, and to self-employed drivers. According to the directive, the term 'working time' includes not only driving but also other activities such as loading and unloading, assisting passengers boarding and disembarking, cleaning and technical maintenance, and other work intended to ensure the safety of the vehicle (Article 3 (a)).

³ With regard to these reports, see point 2.

⁴ See, for example, European Commission, <u>Evaluation and fitness check (FC) roadmap</u>: Evaluation of social legislation in road transport (2015), p. 1.

⁵ See, M. Remáč, Enhancement of social legislation in road transport I. (Driving time), EPRS, May 2017.

⁶ The directive also allows for various derogations. See, Article 8.

⁷ Mobile workers not covered by Directive 2002/15 are covered by Working Time Directive 2003/88/EC.

The directive requires Member States to adopt measures ensuring that average weekly working time does not exceed 48 hours (Article 4).⁸ The directive also notes that the working time of employees working for different employers is the **sum of the working hours**. With regard to breaks, the Member States are obliged to adopt measures prohibiting 'work for more than six consecutive hours without a break'. Also, working time should be interrupted by a break of at least 30 minutes if working hours total between six and nine hours, and of at least 45 minutes if working hours total more than nine hours (Article 5). In the case of night work, the Member States should ensure that daily working time does not exceed 10 hours in a 24-hour period and that the drivers are compensated for night work (Article 7). The working time of persons performing mobile road transport activities must be recorded. The Member States are also obliged to create a system of penalties for breaches of the national provisions based on the directive.

<u>Directive 2006/22/EC</u> of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 March 2006 on minimum conditions for the implementation of Council Regulations (EEC) No 3820/85 and (EEC) No 3821/85 concerning social legislation relating to road transport activities

This directive requires Member States to organise a system of appropriate and regular checks on correct and consistent implementation of Regulation 561/2006. These checks should be conducted at the roadside as well as at premises of transport companies (Article 2 (1)) and the directive introduces the minimum requirements. The directive also requires that from 1 January 2010 at least 3 % of days worked by drivers should be checked. This amount could be increased to 4 % by the European Commission if the collected data shows that, on average, more than 90 % of all vehicles checked are equipped with a digital tachograph (Article 2 (3)). The control of the contro

The directive includes special rules for roadside checks (Article 4) and the checks on the premises of undertakings (Article 6). The roadside checks have to be organised in various places and at any time. As noted by the directive, 'they have to cover a sufficiently extensive part of the road network'. With regard to the checks, the directive lays down a principle of non-discrimination. For instance, the enforcement officers must not discriminate on the basis of the country of registration of the vehicle, the country of residence of the driver, or the type of tachograph (Article 4 (4)). In this context, the Member States are required to adopt coherent national enforcement strategies. Additional requirements for the checks are included in Annex I of the directive, while Annex III includes guidelines and a typology of infringements of the provisions of Regulation 561/2006.¹¹

The directive requires the Member States to introduce a risk rating system for undertakings based on the relative number and severity of infringements of Regulation 561/2006 (Article 9). Undertakings with high risk ratings are checked more closely and more often. The European Commission is required to establish guidelines on best enforcement practice (Article 11 (1)).¹² The Member States are also obliged to designate a body for intra-Community liaison. These bodies ensure coordination among the Member States, forward statistical data to the Commission, assist competent bodies of other Member States and exchange information.¹³

⁸ This weekly working time can be increased to 60 hours with a condition that, over four months, an average of 48 hours a week is not exceeded (Article 4 (a)).

⁹ Council Regulations (EEC) No 3820/85 and (EEC) No 3821/85 were repealed and replaced by Regulation 561/2006.

¹⁰ So far, the Commission has not increased this amount.

¹¹ This annex was amended by <u>Commission Directive 2009/5/EC</u> of 30 January 2009 amending Annex III to Directive 2006/22/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on minimum conditions for the implementation of Council Regulations (EEC) Nos 3820/85 and 3821/85 concerning social legislation relating to road transport activities.

¹² See, the European Commission's <u>Guidance notes on implementation and enforcement</u>, <u>Commission Directive 2009/5/EC</u> of 30 January 2009 amending Annex III to Directive 2006/22/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on minimum conditions for the implementation of Council Regulations (EEC) Nos 3820/85 and 3821/85 concerning social legislation relating to road transport activities and <u>Commission Recommendation (2009/60/EC)</u> of 23 January 2009 on guidelines for best enforcement practice concerning checks of recording equipment to be carried out at roadside checks and by authorised workshops.

¹³ The European Commission updates the <u>list of bodies for intra-Community liaison</u>.

2. EU-level reports, evaluations and studies

2.1 European Commission's implementation reports

European Commission's implementation reports

The European Commission reports to Parliament on the implementation of Regulation 561/2006 and Directive 2002/15 in biennial reports. The reports are based on the Member States' reports and they provide an overview of how the Member States have implemented the legislative acts. They usually are complemented by staff working documents.

The 28th and most recent report on the implementation of these pieces of legislation (2017)¹⁵ covers the years 2013 and 2014. With regard to Directive 2002/15, the Commission notes that the submissions of some of the Member States were insufficient and incomplete. ¹⁶ For this reason the Commission points out that the report's analysis is not representative of the whole EU. The report notes legislative changes in some Member States (Poland and Malta) with regard to the transposition of the directive. According to the report, the directive is generally, among the Member States, perceived as 'a good set of arrangements that helped to deal with definition of working time and its limits'. ¹⁷ Some of the Member States, for instance, Germany and the UK, consider that no change of the directive is necessary while others, such as Finland and Bulgaria, raised concerns as regards self-employed drivers. As regards violations of working time rules set by the directive, seven Member States allow for rectification of a breach within a specified period. 18 If within this specified period there is no correction of a behaviour, these Member States impose a penalty. According to the report, not all Member States have provided sufficient statistics, thus no 'global conclusions' could be drawn. Furthermore, the report informs that only 10 Member States confirmed that a consultation with stakeholders had taken place. 19 Nonetheless, the Commission acknowledges a general consensus among the employees and employers consulted that the directive contributes to the health and safety protection of drivers.²⁰ The Commission concludes that because of incomplete information from the Member States it has not been able to carry out an 'in-depth analysis of impacts of this legislative act on health and safety of drivers or on road safety'. 21 Previous Commissions reports, namely the 27th report covering years 2011 and 2012²² and the 26th report covering years 2009 and 2010,²³ also noted insufficient reporting from the Member States, which limited the Commission's ability to draw conclusions with regard to the implementation of the directive.

European Commission <u>report</u> on the consequences of the exclusion of self-employed drivers from the scope of the Directive 2002/15 (May 2007)

With this report the Commission was complying with a reporting obligation included in Directive 2002/15.²⁴ The Commission stated that the majority of Member States had not managed to transpose the directive within the period provided²⁵ and that, because of that, it could do no more than estimate the impact of the directive.²⁶ The Commission recognised that limiting the working time of the self-employed might 'bring a certain improvement in road safety' and, furthermore, it also argued that it was difficult to quantify this in

¹⁴ As the review period for these two pieces of legislation is the same, the Commission has decided to submit only one report on their implementation.

¹⁵ COM(2017) 117 final. See the Commission staff working document accompanying the report (SWD (2017) 100 final).

¹⁶ According to Article 13 of Directive 2002/15 the Member States are obliged to report to the Commission every two years on the implementation of the directive. Based on these reports, the Commission prepares a report for Parliament.

¹⁷COM(2017) 117 final, p. 10.

¹⁸ Austria, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland and Sweden.

¹⁹ Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

²⁰ ibid., p. 12.

²¹ ibid., p. 13.

²² COM(2014)709 final.

²³ SWD(2012)270 final.

²⁴ COM(2007) 266 final.

²⁵ In May 2005, the Commission opened infringement proceedings against 11 Member States regarding this directive.

²⁶ Self-employed drivers were originally excluded from Directive 2002/15 temporarily. The directive started to apply to them from 23 March 2009.

relation to other factors influencing the fatigue.²⁷ The Commission acknowledged that the overall balance of disadvantages and advantages of excluding or including self-employed drivers was 'mixed'.²⁸ In this regard, the Commission welcomed the adoption of Regulation 561/2006 and its provisions on tachographs and expressed its intention to focus on the correction and enforceable application of the directive, as well as its intention to deal with the phenomenon of 'false' self-employed drivers.²⁹

European Commission <u>report</u> analysing the penalties for serious infringements of the social rules in road transport, as provided for in the legislation of the Member States (May 2009)

This report³⁰ analysed the penalties for serious infringements of social legislation in road transport (Regulation 561/2006 and Regulation 3821/85³¹) as required by Directive 2006/22. The report concentrated on the main types of penalty: (1) financial penalties, (2) immobilisation of the vehicle, (3) driving bans, and (4) imprisonment. According to the report, the penalties for serious infringements of the social legislation varied considerably among the Member States. While all Member States used financial penalties, other penalties were less common. According to the report, only 15 Member States provided for immobilisation of the vehicle as a penalty, while only seven of them provided for imprisonment for serious infringements. Withdrawal of a driver's driving licence or driver card was very uncommon. The report noted that financial penalties ranged from €60 in Malta to €5 000 or more in Austria and Ireland. The report also found that the infringements were not perceived in the same way, as some infringements were seen as serious infringements in one country, but not necessarily in another.³² Furthermore, in many Member States the penalties applied did not correspond to the guidelines adopted. The Commission claimed that it would continue to support dialogue among the Member States concerning interpretation of the social rules in road transport.

European Commission <u>ex-post evaluation</u> of social legislation in road transport and its enforcement (June 2016)

This evaluation concentrates on Regulation 561/2006 and Directives 2002/15 and 2006/22.³³ With regard to Directive 2002/15, the evaluation notes that 23 Member States use derogations from the directive, and goes on to highlight considerable variety in the directive's implementation by the Member States.³⁴ It also shows widely varying penalties for breaches of national laws implementing the directive. These penalties range from €1 250 to €61 200.³⁵ With regard to Directive 2006/22, the evaluation shows that the number of checks was increased to at least 3 % of drivers' working days in January 2010. This minimum threshold has not, however, been met by five Member States.³⁶

With regard to the effectiveness of Directive 2002/15, the evaluation notes that low priority is given to enforcement of compliance with the directive, which according to the evaluation suggests a success.³⁷ It also suggests that Directive 2006/22 has contributed to a more uniform application of the enforcement rules across the EU. However, it highlights that the cooperative measures have not been sufficient, as there are still diverse national applications. The evaluation also points to reports concerning a lack of financial and human resources and suggests that the enforcement measures are only partially effective. With regard to efficiency, the evaluation notes that the requirements of Directive 2006/22 have led to increased costs, but at the same time these requirements have improved compliance with the directive. A high level of coherence and coordination between Regulation 561/2006 and Directive 2002/15 is highlighted with regard to their objectives, general scope and definitions. Nonetheless, the evaluation recommends several measures to improve the enforcement system, to clarify the legislation, to address the risks and needs of

²⁷ Report, p. 8.

²⁸ ibid.

²⁹ ibid., p. 9.

³⁰ COM(2009)225.

³¹ Regulation 3821/85 was subsequently repealed and replaced by Regulation (EU) No 165/2014 on tachographs.

³² ibid., p 7.

³³ The evaluation was outsourced by the European Commission and carried out by Ricardo, TRT Trasporti e Territorio Srl and Milieu in 2016.

³⁴ Evaluation, p. 32.

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ Denmark, Italy, Greece, Latvia and the Netherlands.

³⁷ Evaluation, p. 85.

the sector more effectively, and to improve reporting and monitoring systems. Regarding measures improving the enforcement system, the evaluation, for instance, calls for efforts to secure compliance with rules included in Directive 2006/22 concerning the distribution of checks at the roadside and at the premises of the company.³⁸ Regarding measures clarifying the legislation, the evaluation recommends updating the cross-references included in Directive 2002/15 to Regulation 3821/85, which has been abrogated, and to align exceptions under Regulation 561/2006 with the obligations under Directive 2002/15.³⁹ Consideration of the need to revise the combination of working and driving time is also recommended. Concerning measures to improve reporting and monitoring systems, the evaluation points to Member States' struggles to provide complete and good quality data and recommends focusing on improving data submissions.⁴⁰

European Commission <u>inception impact assessment</u>: enhancement of social legislation in road transport (September 2016)

The inception impact assessment⁴¹ notes that this particular initiative intends to contribute to two priorities of the Juncker Commission's political guidelines – a deeper and fairer internal market, and jobs growth and investment. It underlines three main problems linked with the implementation of social legislation in road transport: (1) distortions of competition between transport operators, (2) inadequate working conditions for drivers, and (3) high regulatory burdens for Member States and stakeholders.⁴²

The main reasons for these problems include, firstly, the quality of European rules, which according to the Commission are 'ambiguous, unfit or unenforceable' and lead to differences in their application by the Member States and decreased legal certainty. This, for example, includes the rules on regular weekly rest, breaks and rest times, and co-liability for infringements. The second main reason for these problems is the quality of cross-border enforcement, which is described as 'inconsistent and ineffective'. The Commission highlights the fact that some of these problems are linked directly with the EU law in force. In order to deal with these challenges the inception impact assessment identifies three sets of measures that should be taken: (1) simplification and amendment of existing rules, (2) adoption of measures leading to improvement of enforcement, and (3) action to address factors not included in the existing rules, such as more detailed minimum requirements concerning the organisation of drivers' work.

3. European Parliament position / MEPs' questions

3.1 Resolutions of the European Parliament

European Parliament <u>resolution</u> of 9 October 2008 on the implementation of social legislation relating to road transport

In this resolution, Parliament expressed its concerns about shortcomings and delays in the transposition and implementation of Directive 2002/15/EC in some Member States. In this regard, it asked for rapid clarification from the Member States (point 2). It also called on the Member States to speed up their transposition (point 4). The Commission was called upon to draw up the implementation reports pursuant to Directive 2002/15/EC at the two-yearly intervals provided for (point 5). Parliament also called on the Commission to propose guidelines for the uniform definition and classification of infringements (point 8), to review traffic inspection procedures in each Member State and to send Parliament a report (point 15).

In its <u>follow-up</u>⁴⁵ to the Parliament's resolution, the Commission stated that it had adopted a <u>legislative</u> <u>proposal</u>⁴⁶ that, together with its <u>impact assessment</u>, addressed all the points raised by Parliament.

³⁹ p. 205.

³⁸ p. 204.

⁴⁰ p. 208.

⁴¹ The <u>Better Regulation Guidelines</u> (SWD (2015) 111 final) describe an 'inception impact assessment' as a roadmap for initiatives subject to an impact assessment. It sets out in greater detail the description of the problem, issues relating to subsidiarity, policy objectives and options, and the likely impacts of each option.

⁴² Inception impact assessment, p. 1.

⁴³ ibid, p. 2.

⁴⁴ ibid.

⁴⁵ SP(2008)6975.

3.2 Written questions by MEPs

Written question by Claudia Tapardel (S&D, Romania), 7 October 2015

Tapardel inquired about the status of related activities of drivers, such as loading and unloading, as time that has to be taken into account according to Directive 2002/15. She noted that if these activities were registered as driving time, it affected the overall calculation of working time and rest periods. In this context, the Member asked whether these activities could be counted as driving time and whether the Commission intended to amend Regulation 561/2006 to set an upper speed limit for loading/unloading.

Answer given by Violeta Bulc on behalf of the Commission, 27 November 2015

The Commissioner explained that loading/unloading was part of the working time of a driver and that driving and other activities accounted for the total working time of a driver. She furthermore pointed out that the Commission had been evaluating social legislation in road transport and that the preliminary results had not revealed any problems with recording loading/unloading activities. She added, however, that the Commission might consider appropriate measures if the final results proved otherwise.

Written question by Wim van de Camp (EPP, the Netherlands), 20 October 2015

With regard to the enforcement of Directive 2006/22, van de Camp asked the European Commission whether the functioning of the Italian sanction system had been brought to its attention and what the Commission intended to do regarding 'the extreme and disproportionate manner' in which the directive was enforced in Italy.

Answer given by Violeta Bulc on behalf of the Commission, 18 December 2015

The Commissioner noted that with regard to the differing penalties applicable in Member States, it had 'prepared a common classification of serious infringements which may lead to the loss of good repute by a transport undertaking'. The Commissioner also suggested that the list of categories, types and degrees of seriousness of infringements of the Union rules was going to be updated by a Commission regulation.⁴⁷ According to the Commissioner, the Commission intended to inquire about the Italian penalty system in the roads sector and proportionality of its sanctions.

Written question by Bendt Bendtsen (EPP, Denmark), 7 June 2011

Bendtsen asked whether the Commission intended to assist the Member States in drawing up recommendations on how to implement Directive 2002/15 concerning self-employed drivers. He also inquired whether the Commission intended to start infringement proceedings against those Member States that had not taken steps to implement the directive.

Answer given by Siim Kallas on behalf of the Commission, 7 July 2011

The Commissioner answered that the Commission saw no need 'to give guidelines on how to transpose the directive in respect of self-employed drivers'. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Commission had surveyed the Member States on the state of implementation of the directive and that it would use its powers if the legislation was not correctly transposed or implemented by the Member States.⁴⁸

4. European Economic and Social Committee

The Economic and Social Committee has expressed its opinions and recommendations with regard to enhancing social legislation in road transport. More detail of the Committee's opinions and recommendations relevant to social legislation in road transport are provided in the parallel briefing.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ The Commission withdrew this legislative proposal on 30 June 2011.

⁴⁷ In March 2016, the Commission adopted <u>Commission Regulation (EU) 2016/403</u> of 18 March 2016 supplementing Regulation (EC) No 1071/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council with regard to the classification of serious infringements of the Union rules which may lead to the loss of good repute by the road transport operator, and amending Annex III to Directive 2006/22/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council.

⁴⁸ In addition to the abovementioned questions, Members also asked various questions with regard to the directives and their link with Regulation 561/2006, for example, P-000563-15, E-004713-16, E-007283-16, E-005437/2011 and E-011437-15.

⁴⁹ See, M. Remáč, Enhancement of social legislation in road transport I. (Driving time), EPRS, May 2017.

5. European Commission public consultation

Between September and December 2016, the European Commission carried out a <u>public consultation</u> on the enhancement of social legislation in road transport. The <u>summary</u> of the public consultation analyses the responses received. A short analysis of this summary is provided in the parallel briefing.⁵⁰

6. Questions from citizens and citizens' petitions

Several petitions dealing with social legislation in road transport have been submitted to the European Parliament. Petition 1043/2013, for example, concerns the enforcement of Regulation 561/2006 in another Member State. Dissatisfaction with the enforcement of the regulation was also voiced in petitions 0215/2011 and 0160/2010. Similarly, European citizens have asked Parliament several questions with regard to the working time and working conditions of professional drivers.

7. Stakeholders' comments

Various stakeholders, including the European Association of Craft, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises, the European Association for Forwarding, Transport, Logistics and Customs Services, the European Transport Workers' Federation and BUSSINESSEUROPE, have expressed their opinions with regard to the enhancement of social legislation in road transport. The specific positions of these stakeholders are detailed in the parallel briefing.⁵¹

8. Other sources of reference

Fact sheet: Road transport: harmonisation of legislation, European Parliament, October 2016 Fact sheet: International and Cabotage Road Transport, European Parliament, October 2016 Fact sheet: Common transport policy: overview, European Parliament, October 2016

To contact the Policy Cycle Unit, please e-mail: EPRS-ExPostEvaluation@ep.europa.eu

Manuscript completed in April 2017. Brussels © European Union, 2017.

The opinions expressed in this document are the sole responsibility of the author(s) and do not represent an official position of the European Parliament. Reproduction and translation of this document for non-commercial purposes are authorized, provided the source is acknowledged and the publisher is given prior notice and sent a copy.

www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank (Internet) - www.epthinktank.eu (blog) - www.eprs.sso.ep.parl.union.eu (Intranet)

51 ibid.

⁵⁰ ibid.