

## **Bricolage or Entrepreneurship? Lessons from the Creation of the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control**

**Thibaud Deruelle**

University of Exeter, United Kingdom

**The full article is available for free on the website of the Policy Studies Organization**

<http://www.ipsonet.org/publications/open-access/epa/epa-volume-2-number-2-winter-2016>

### ***Abstract***

*This paper belongs to the field of theories of the Policy process and contributes to the literature on the multiple streams approach (MSA), by investigating bricolage as an alternative type of agency in agenda-setting and policy formulation. The bricoleur frames conditions as a problem that can and must be fixed and emerges as the one who looks for a solution. For the bricoleur outcome goals, or rather, the choice of a particular outcome is less important than the process goal. Therefore, the bricoleur selects policy ideas depending on the properties they display and combines them to create the best “fit” to couple the streams. Bricolage relates to the organizational properties of certain actors, in this case the European Commission. Evidence comes from the case of the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC) and its origins, created in the aftermath of the severe acute respiratory syndrome crisis. I will demonstrate that the crisis did not trigger the creation of the ECDC but rather was framed as a salient issue to be resolved by the Commission. The process of policy formulation that followed resulted in a bespoke solution. As such, this paper contributes to the development of the MSA but also to the literature on ideational politics and European agencies.*

## References

1998. "Decision No 2119/98/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 September 1998 setting up a network for the epidemiological surveillance and control of communicable diseases in the Community." *Official Journal of the European Union*. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/>
- Ackrill, Robert, and Adrian Kay. 2011. "Multiple Streams in EU Policy-Making: The Case of the 2005 Sugar Reform." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (1): 72–89.
- Ackrill, Robert, Adrian Kay, and Nikolaos Zahariadis. 2013. "Ambiguity, Multiple Streams, and EU Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 871–87.
- Alam, Thomas. 2007. "Quand la Vache Folle Retrouve son Champ. Une Comparaison Transnationale de la Remise en Ordre d'un Secteur d'Action Publique." PhD Thesis Universite du Droit et de la Sante - Lille II.
- Bartlett, Chris. 1998. "'Eurosurveillance': Monitoring disease in the European Union." <http://depts.washington.edu/eminf/1998/Eurosurv/euro1.htm> (accessed October 29, 2015).
- Birkland, Thomas A. 1998a. "After Disaster: Agenda Setting, Public Policy, and Focusing Events." *Choice Reviews Online* 35 (8): 35–4778–35–4778.
- Birkland, Thomas A. 1998b. "Focusing Events, Mobilization, and Agenda Setting." *Journal of Public Policy* 18 (1): 53–74.
- Blankenau, Joe. 2001. "The Fate of National Health Insurance in Canada and the United States: A Multiple Streams Explanation." *Policy Studies Journal* 29 (1): 38–55.
- Böhm, Katharina, and Claudia Landwehr. 2013. "The Europeanization of Health Care Coverage Decisions: EU-Regulation, Policy Learning and Cooperation in Decision-Making." *Journal of European Integration* 36 (1): 17–35.
- Bowis, John. 2004. "Report on the Proposal for a European Parliament and Council Regulation Establishing a European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control—A5- 0038/2004." European Parliament.

- Butler, Declan. 1998. "Call for Europe-Wide Public Health Agency." *Nature* 395 (6698): 106.
- Cabrol, Christian. 1997. "Recommendation for Second Reading on the Common Position Adopted by the Council with a View to Adopting a European Parliament and Council Decision Setting up a Network for the Epidemiological Surveillance and Control of Communicable Diseases in the Europe." European Parliament.
- Cairney, Paul, and Michael D. Jones. 2015. "Kingdon's Multiple Streams Approach: What is the Empirical Impact of this Universal Theory?" *Policy Studies Journal* 44 (1): 37–58.
- Carstensen, Martin B. 2011. "Paradigm Man vs. The Bricoleur: Bricolage as an Alternative Vision of Agency in Ideational Change." *European Political Science Review* 3 (1): 147–67.
- Council of the European Union. 1997a. Outcome of Proceedings 16 January 1997, Working party on Health.
- Council of the European Union. 1997b. Outcome of Proceedings 14 February 1997, Working party on Health.
- Council of the European Union. 1997c. Outcome of Proceedings 25 February 1997, Working party on Health.
- Council of the European Union. 1997d. Outcome of Proceedings 13 March 1997, Working party on Health.
- Council of the European Union. 1998. Draft Minutes of the 2131st meeting of the Council (HEALTH).
- Council of the European Union. 2004. *Interinstitutional file Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a European Centre [for Disease Prevention and Control]—Outcome of the European Parliament's first reading*. 2003/0174 COD.
- Cram, Laura. 1993. "Calling the Tune Without Paying the Piper? Social Policy Regulation: The Role of the Commission in European Community Social Policy." *Policy & Politics* 21 (2): 135–46.

Dove, Alan. 1998. ““European CDC’ Lobbies for Support.” *Nature Medicine* 4 (11): 1214–15. European Commission. 1998. “Opinion on the European Parliament’s Amendments to the Council’s Common Position Regarding the Proposal for a Decision Creating a Network for the Epidemiological Surveillance and Control of Communicable Diseases in the European Communities.”

European Commission. 2002. “European Commission—PRESS RELEASES— Press Release—David BYRNE European Commissioner for Health and Consumer Protection Future Priorities in EU Health Policies European Health Forum on ‘Common Challenges for Health and Car’ Gastein, 26 September 2002.” September 26. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_SPEECH-02-426\\_en.htm?locale=en](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-02-426_en.htm?locale=en) (accessed March 30, 2016).

European Commission. 2003a. “Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a European Centre [for Disease Prevention and Control]/COM/2003/0441 final - COD 2003/0174.”

European Commission. 2003b. “European Commission—PRESS RELEASES— Press Release—Extraordinary Council Meeting EMPLOYMENT, SOCIAL POLICY, HEALTH AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS Brussels, 6 May 2003.” May 6. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_PRES-03-122\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_PRES-03-122_en.htm) (accessed June 25, 2016).

European Parliament. 1999. “Report on Improvement in the Functioning of the Institutions without Modifications of the Treaties”, The Herman Report, Brussels: European Parliament.

Freeman, Richard. 2007. “Epistemological Bricolage: How Practitioners Make Sense of Learning.” *Administration & Society* 39 (4): 476–96.

Giesecke, Johan, and Julius Weinberg. 1998. “A European Centre for Infectious Disease?” *Lancet* 352 (9136): 1308.

Greer, Scott L. 2006. "Uninvited Europeanization: Neofunctionalism and the EU in Health Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (1):134–152.

Greer, Scott L. 2012. “The European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control: Hub or Hollow Core?” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 37 (6): 1001–30.

- Greer, Scott L., and Margitta Mätzke. 2012. "Bacteria without Borders: Communicable Disease Politics in Europe." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 37 (6):887–914.
- Greer, Scott L., and Olga Löblová. 2016. "European Integration in the Era of Permissive Dissensus: Neofunctionalism and Agenda-Setting in European Health Technology Assessment and Communicable Disease Control." *Comparative European Politics* in print.
- Herweg, Nicole. 2015. "Explaining European Agenda-Setting Using the Multiple Streams Framework: The Case of European Natural Gas Regulation." *Policy Sciences* 49 (13):13–33.
- Herweg, Nicole, Christian Huß, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer. 2015. "Straightening the Three Streams: Theorising Extensions of the Multiple Streams Framework." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (3): 435–49.
- Jones, Michael D., Holly L. Peterson, Jonathan J. Pierce, Nicole Herweg, Amiel Bernal, Holly Lamberta Raney, and Nikolaos Zahariadis. 2015. "A River Runs Through It: A Multiple Streams Meta-Review." *Policy Studies Journal* 44 (1): 13–36.
- Krause, Gérard. 2008. "How Can Infectious Diseases be Prioritized in Public Health?" *EMBO reports* 9 (Suppl 1 Science and Society). <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3327548/pdf/embor200876.pdf> (Accessed October 27, 2015).
- Kelemen, R. Daniel. 2014. "European Union Agencies." In *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, eds. Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kelman, Steven. 2005. *Unleashing Change: A Study of Organizational Renewal in Government*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kingdon, John W. [1984] 2003. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Longman classics edition) (2nd edition). 2nd ed. New York: Longman.
- Knaggård, Åsa. 2015. "The Multiple Streams Framework and the Problem Broker." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (3): 450–65.

- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1988. *The Savage Mind (Nature of Human Society)*. London, UK: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Lindblom, Charles E. 1959. "The science of "muddling through."" *Public Administration Review* 19 (2):79–88.
- Lord, Christopher. 2011. "The European Parliament and the Legitimation of Agencification." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (6): 909–25.
- MacLehose, Laura, Martin McKee, and Julius Weinberg. 2002. "Responding to the Challenge of Communicable Disease in Europe." *Science* (New York, N.Y.). 295 (5562): 2047–50.
- Maggetti, Martino. 2013. "The Politics of Network Governance in Europe: The Case of Energy Regulation." *West European Politics* 37 (3): 497–514.
- McKee, Martin, Rifat Atun, and Richard Coker, eds. 2008. *Health Systems and the Challenge of Communicable Diseases: Experiences from Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moe, Terry M. 2005. "Power and Political Institutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (2): 215–33.
- Newton, Lisa, Olivier Grimaud, and Julius Weinberg. 1999. "Establishing Priorities for European Collaboration in Communicable Disease Surveillance." *European Journal of Public Health* 9 (3): 236–40.
- Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 94 (2): 251–267.
- Reichhardt, Declan Butler. 1998. "Call for Europe-Wide Public Health Agency." *Nature* 395 (6698): 106.
- Rüb, Friedbert W. 2016. "Agenda-Setting and Policy-Making in Time: What the Multiple Streams Approach Can Tell Us— and What It Cannot." In *Decision-Making Under Ambiguity and Time Constraints: Assessing the Multiple Streams Framework*, eds. Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Friedbert Rüb. Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 51–70.
- Saurugger, Sabine, and Fabien Terpan. 2015. "Do Crises lead to Policy Change? The Multiple Streams Framework and the European Union's

Economic Governance Instruments." *Policy Sciences* 49 (1):35– 53.

The Lancet. 1998. "Editorial. Not Another European Institution." *The Lancet* 352 (9136): 1237.

Tibayrenc, Michel. 1998. "Coordinating European Public Health." *Nature* 396 (6707): 108.

Tibayrenc, Michel. 1999. "European Centre for Infectious Disease." *The Lancet* 353 (9149): 329.

Walker, Jack L. 1974. "Performance Gaps, Policy Research, and Political Entrepreneurs: Toward a Theory of Agenda Setting." *Policy Studies Journal* 3 (1): 112–16.

WHO. 2015. "Summary of Probable SARS Cases with Onset of Illness from 1 November 2002 to 31 July 2003." July 24. [http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/table2004\\_07\\_21/en/](http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/table2004_07_21/en/)(accessed September 28, 2016).

Zahariadis, Nikolaos. 2003. *Ambiguity and Choice in Public Policy: Political Decision Making in Modern Democracies (American Governance and Public Policy)*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Zahariadis, Nikolaos. 2008. "Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (4): 514–30.

Zohlnhöfer, Reimut, and Friedbert W. Rüb. 2016. "Introduction: Policy-Making Under Ambiguity and Time Constraints." In *Decision-Making under Ambiguity and Time Constraints—Assessing the Multiple Streams Framework*, eds. Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Friedbert Rüb. Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 51–70. ds