



# Working Paper

## **The Myth of 80% and the Impact of Europeanisation on German Legislation**

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Editorial Note:

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## Abstract

Ever since Jacques Delors's famous speech in front of the European Parliament in July 1988, the myth of an 80%-influence of Europe on the legislatures of the member states was born. For Germany, two empirical studies reveal a much lower impact of Europeanisation on German legislation, but it remains an open question on how Europe affects the democratic principles of the German legislative process. Following Moravcsik (1997), the executive can exploit Europeanisation and increase governmental agenda-setting power which should raise the adoption rate of governmental proposals. This prompts the question on the reaction of parliament which may feel threatened by increased governmental power. Recent parliamentary research points to an inherent principal agent-problem of coalition government, according to which coalition partners share the common interest in forming government and often agree on a common program, but must delegate portfolio powers to ministers in order to implement their programmatic goals. But when ministers are tempted to pursue their own interests at the expense of the common goals, legislative review becomes a key resource for the coalition partner to scrutinize governmental proposals in the event of ministerial drift (Martin and Vanberg 2005). Hence, when Europe increases governmental agenda-setting power, the question is whether the risk of ministerial drift will also increase and whether parliament will accordingly increase scrutinizing activities and amend more governmental proposals to solve principal agent-problems. In order to answer this question this article explores the effects of European impulses for the adoption rate of (governmental) bills and the level of parliamentary amendment activities in German legislation in the period from 1978 to 2005. Our findings reveal that government cannot profit from Europeanisation in terms of a higher adoption rate. Rather, because the governmental adoption rate is already very high in German legislation, the indication of a European impulse only increases the likelihood for success of other legislative agenda setters. Moreover, parliament is obviously more aware of hostile proposals when a European impulse is mentioned. We find more parliamentary amendments and longer duration, both indicating more parliamentary scrutiny in the event of proposals with European impulse independent of the type of initiator.

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## 1. From Executive Dominance to Parliamentary Scrutiny?

Does Europeanization disempowering national parliaments? If so, can governments exploit Europeanization and dominate legislative policymaking when the stimulus for a policy initiative comes from Brussels? And under what circumstances should we find a reaction of parliaments when the political parties are aware of the risk of governmental dominance in legislative policy making by Europeanization? These questions are central to an understanding of the impact of Europeanization on democratic governance in the member states. Regarding the Europeanization of domestic politics, a large part of the Europeanization literature deals with policy outcomes/failures when member states implement European laws, but we know remarkably little about the extent to which Europeanization affects the process of decision making in parliamentary legislatures. Several scholars fear that Europeanization is eroding the democratic principles of the nation state by weakening domestic parliaments (i.e., Scharpf 1993, 1999, Hix 1999, Kohler-Koch and Eising 1999, Jachtenfuchs 2001, Maurer and Wessels 2001).<sup>1</sup> Following Moravcsik (1997), the executive can exploit Europeanization and increase governmental agenda-setting power when policy originates in Brussels.

While this perspective focuses on the separation of powers between governmental and parliamentary actors in domestic legislatures, recent legislative studies point to the principal agent-problems of coalition partners in parliamentary governments (i.e., Martin and Vanberg 2004, Huber and Shipan 2002). This literature demonstrates that ministerial drift is an inherent problem of coalition governments, which can be overcome in the legislative decision making process by using parliamentary instruments of legislative review. When ministers are tempted to pursue own interests in policy making and initiate proposal at the expense of the common coalitional program, legislative review is a key resource for scrutinizing ministerial drift because it allows to amend biased proposals in order to implement the common program.<sup>2</sup> Hence, when Europeanization empowers the government and increases the risk of ministerial drift – as suggested by the Moravcsik (1997) –, the question is whether the legislature will monitor and scrutinize these proposals more frequently and make more use of the parliamentary open rule-provision for making amendments. Accordingly, the new insights from legislative research lead to rivalry claims about the legislative process and the impact of Europeanization: while a proxy for an increase of governmental agenda-setting power could be higher adoption and lower amendment rates of governmental proposals, the legislative scrutinizing approach predicts more review and amendments when ministerial drift is raising increasing concerns in the event of Europeanization.

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<sup>1</sup> A similar picture is drawn by the empirical literature, which finds significant changes in several policy domains of the member state through the implementation of EC directives (i.e., Héritier et al. 1994, Liebert 2003, Börzel 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Martin and Vanberg (1994) investigate the incidence of legislative amendments to 366 governmental proposals introduced before the German and Dutch parliament between 1982 and 1994 showing that the policy distance between the party controlling the minister responsible for drafting and the coalition partner significantly increases the number of article changes made to the proposal.

From a strategic perspective, the remainder briefly presents a theoretical foundation for the rivalry hypotheses on the effect of Europeanization. While these approaches commonly assume that actors pursue different interests when implementing European law, they differently interpret the type of conflict and the institutional provisions which characterize the domestic legislatures in the member states. Furthermore, an explorative empirical analysis provides preliminary insights into their explanatory power for German legislation. Even in Germany, the Delors-myth of an 80% Europeanization of federal legislation is raising concerns about the role of the Bundestag, although the former Commission president had explicitly excluded the German and the British parliament when predicting a shifting of agenda-setting power from national parliaments to Brussels (König and Mäder 2009). The findings indicate that the adoption rate of governmental proposals hardly increases when an initiative refers to a European origin, while the adoption rate of proposals from other parliamentary initiators increases from 23% to about 32%. This suggests that governmental actors can hardly benefit from Europeanization. Against the prediction of the Europeanization literature, (governmental) proposals with European origin are more frequently amended, in particular in sensitive areas such as foreign affairs. One reason for this frequent use of legislative review might be that the legislature perceives a higher risk of ministerial drift in the event of Europeanization. However, initiatives from other legislators also reveal a higher amendment rate which suggests that proposals with European origin generally increase the attention of parliament and are more often amended than those without European impulse.

## **2. The Process of Europeanization: Governmental dominance and parliamentary scrutiny**

The literature on Europeanization is diverse and deals with a number of different phenomena, which can be broadly summarized to studies investigating whether and to what extent Europeanization influences the policies, politics and polities of the member states (Richardson 1996, Börzel and Risse 2003, Scharpf 2004, Zürn and Jörges 2005). This summary of a broad common research agenda is accompanied by a variety of alternative definitions of Europeanization (see for an excellent overview, Radaelli 2000). For example, Risse, Cowles and Carporaso (2001: 3) define “Europeanization as the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem-solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative rules”. Börzel (1999: 574) relates it to the transfer of competences to Brussels and defines Europeanization as “a process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making.” A common thesis of this literature is that the ongoing process of European integration increasingly affects the outcomes in the member states (Risse et al. 2001: 4). Hereby, Europeanization is mainly understood as the extent, to which goals and standards of national policies are determined by European integration. For Germany, a number of case studies find significant negative effects of Europeanization on outcomes in selected national policy domains (i.e., Knill 2003, Schmidt 2005, Sturm and Pehle 2005, Börzel 2006), while others emphasize higher efficiency (Zürn 2004).

Compared to this outcome-oriented research, more recent studies focus on the transformation of domestic policy making process by Europeanization. Several authors fear that Europeanization is changing national decision making and produces an erosion of democratic control (Scharpf 1999, Goetz and Hix 2000), while others see a regulative/bureaucratic impact for decision making (Majone 2005).<sup>3</sup> More recently, the studies of Töller (2008) and König and Mäder (2008) have provided detailed empirical insight into the extent to which Europeanization affects German federal legislation. Using the indication of European impulses they find a modest but increasing impact of Europeanization for German legislation. According to Moravcsik (1997), this may redistribute the domestic distribution of power resources to the executive at the expense of parliament.

From a strategic perspective, we can theoretically distinguish between two scenarios, which support Moravcsik's claim for executive dominance which should empirically result in a higher adoption and a lower amendment rate of governmental proposals. In both scenarios, actors have different interests and the government has an informational advantage on the location of the constraints for a common solution. When governmental actors have exclusive information about both the policy constraints at the European level and the implementation effectiveness of policymaking at the national level, they can exploit their informational advantage about the location of the status quo and create a common winset of governmental and parliamentary actors. Instead of trying to persuade parliamentary actors from their position, governmental actors may simply expand the common winset by suggesting a larger parliamentary distance to the status quo, which makes parliament more indifferent against a proposal which follows governmental interests. Hence, even if governmental and parliamentary actors diverge in their interests, the higher parliamentary distance to the status quo increases the likelihood for parliamentary support of the proposal.

In the second scenario, a common winset of governmental and parliamentary actors already exists, but governmental actors can strategically exploit their knowledge in the sense of the paradox of weakness-logic, originally developed by Thomas Schelling (1960). According to Schelling's paradox of weakness, governments may strategically benefit in international negotiations when they can credibly claim that their hands are tied by high domestic ratification hurdles (i.e., Putnam 1988, Milner and Rosendorff 1996). Similarly, governments may also claim that they are constrained by European institutional actors when a policy comes from Brussels. The purpose of this claim is to reduce the common winset in the direction of the interest of the governmental actors – in the extreme, the governmental actors are able to propose their ideal position as the only solution in the common winset. When parliaments believe in the governmental claim, they will abstain from asking for more concessions respectively making amendments on the proposal. This can be stated by our first hypothesis:

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<sup>3</sup> These evaluations often refer to EC directives which implement a change of the nation state by European politics. Unsurprisingly, several Europeanization studies refer to directives, which provide the member states with some discretionary power in order to reach policy goals (Siedentopf and Ziller 1988, Tallberg 2002, Knill and Lehmkuhl 2002).



*H1: Governmental bills with European impulse should have a higher adoption rate and a lower amendment rate.*

Compared to these insights, several principal agent-models have recently been developed for the study of parliamentary legislatures. While the original model of Laver and Shepsle (1996) assumes that the making and breaking of parliamentary government involves a considerable level of discretion to ministers who are in charge and able of implementing policies within their portfolios, Thies (2001) shows that junior ministers shadow this discretionary power of ministers belonging to the other coalition partner at the cabinet level. According to the parliamentary scrutinizing approach developed by Martin and Vanberg (2005), governmental proposals are even challenged and amended by the coalition partner in parliament when the risk of ministerial drift is high. They argue that political parties share a common interest in forming government by coalition-building and hence must provide ministers with portfolio and agenda-setting power to implement their common program, but these ministers may still pursue own interests and initiate proposal at the expense of the coalition program. In this dynamic model, a minister will consider a compromise that will emerge if the proposal is challenged by the partner, the opportunity cost of drafting the proposal and the challenging costs for the coalition partner. This suggests that the coalition party will scrutinize and amend governmental proposal, the higher is the risk of ministerial drift. Accordingly, when Europeanization increases the risk of ministerial drift, the likelihood for the counter-reaction of the coalition partner also increases. From this scrutinizing perspective, one would expect

*H2: Proposals with European impulse should have a higher amendment rate.*

All of these features would express a change of the democratic principles of the legislative process by Europeanization. The separations of power view suggests an increase of governmental agenda-setting power and draws the attention to the informational advantage of the executive, which it will exploit against parliamentary actors in case of a Europeanization. The parliamentary scrutinizing approach, however, provides a more dynamic picture of a parliamentary response to Europeanization, which can even strengthen the parliamentary impact in legislative decision making when legislative review is more frequently used in the event of a European impulses. Over time, we would expect that the size and the scope of these effects increase due to the further integration of policy competencies by the treaty revisions at Maastricht (1993), Amsterdam (1999) and Nice (2003).

### **3. Germany and Europeanisation: Adoption and amendment rates**

For German legislation, the formal agenda-setting power is shared between the government, a group of parliamentary members of the Bundestag and the states represented in the Bundesrat. While all these actors can initiate a bill, the government is by far the most active and the most successful agenda setter in German federal legislation (Bräuninger and König 1999). Even in periods of divided government, in which the governmental party majority of the Bundestag differs from the (party) majority of the states in the Bundesrat, governmental proposals have significantly higher adoption rates than

initiatives by any other type of initiator. At the same time, opposition initiatives are almost always rejected, and the few Bundesrat initiatives are only sometimes adopted (König and Bräuninger 2005). Most recently, several authors report that most of German initiatives originate in Brussels, i.e. Börzel and Risse (2000: 3) claim that Europeanization has in some policy domains, such as agriculture and environment, an impact of more than 80% (see also, Maurer et al. 2000: 3). Furthermore, the director of the C.E.P., Lüder Gerken, and the former German president, Roman Herzog, quote a study of the Justice ministry, according to which more than 84% of German legislation in the period from 1999 to 2004 has been stimulated by Brussels and only the remaining 16% by Berlin (Die Welt 2007). However, because these studies suffer from severe methodological deficits, they cannot answer the question on the impact of Europeanization for German legislation.

Measuring the impact of Europeanization is not a trivial task. Using the indicator of a European impulse, other studies find that that the scope of Europeanization for German legislative politics has been overemphasized (Töller 2008). Even if European impulses with multiple indications are considered, König and Mäder (2008) find that the average European impulse rate for German legislation affects about 24% of all bills. While these studies explored the scope of European impulses over time and across policy domains, the question is whether they impact the German legislative process. For this purpose, we take a close look on the aggregated statistics over time and assess whether the notification of European impulses changes the major characteristics of German legislation, namely whether initiatives and governmental bills have different adoption rates, median

Table 1 lists the adoption rate of all legislative initiatives and distinguishes between governmental and other proposals in the period from 1978 to 2005 (8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> term). Note that the 9<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> term were shorter periods due to early parliamentary elections. Accordingly, we find an overall increase in the number of legislative initiatives since the 8<sup>th</sup> term with more modest numbers for the two shorter legislative periods. Comparing the adoption rates of initiatives with and without European impulses we find a higher adoption rate for the formers over almost all legislative periods regardless of the type of initiator. However, the differences in the adoption rates are much higher for non-governmental proposals. While governmental proposal generally have a very high adoption rate, the likelihood of adoption is not significantly higher for governmental proposals with European impulse. Unlike governmental proposals, the adoption rate for other parliamentary initiatives drastically increases when they include a European impulse.

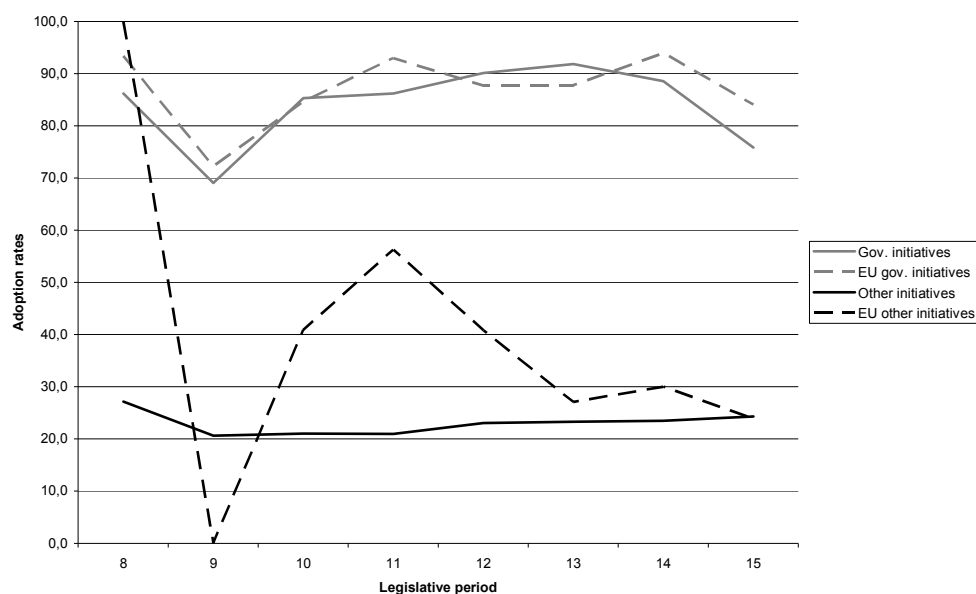
Table 1: Adoption rate of legislative initiatives in the time period from 1978 to 2005 (8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> term)

Legislative period	Initiatives					
	Issued	No impulse Adopted	Rate	Issued	Impulse Adopted	Rate
8	452	281	62.2	61	57	93.4
9	260	121	46.5	19	13	68.4
10	543	267	49.2	74	53	71.6
11	616	304	49.4	73	62	84.9
12	731	365	49.9	163	120	73.6
13	814	400	49.1	182	124	68.1
14	778	370	47.6	235	176	74.9
15	552	247	44.7	211	137	64.9
Total	4,746	2,355	49.6	1,018	742	72.9

Legislative period	Government initiatives					
	Issued	No impulse Adopted	Rate	Issued	Impulse Adopted	Rate
8	268	231	86.2	60	56	93.3
9	139	96	69.1	18	13	72.2
10	238	203	85.3	52	44	84.6
11	268	231	86.2	57	53	93.0
12	293	264	90.1	114	100	87.7
13	307	282	91.9	123	108	87.8
14	288	255	88.5	165	155	93.9
15	219	166	75.8	144	121	84.0
Total	2,020	1,728	85.5	733	650	88.7

Legislative period	Other initiatives					
	Issued	No impulse Adopted	Rate	Issued	Impulse Adopted	Rate
8	184	50	27.2	1	1	100.0
9	121	25	20.7	1	0	0.0
10	305	64	21.0	22	9	40.9
11	348	73	21.0	16	9	56.3
12	438	101	23.1	49	20	40.8
13	507	118	23.3	59	16	27.1
14	490	115	23.5	70	21	30.0
15	333	81	24.3	67	16	23.9
Total	2,726	627	23.0	285	92	32.3

The effect of European impulses on the adoption rate is illustrated by figure 1 which plots the adoption rates of governmental and non-governmental proposals with and without European impulses. This figure distinguishes between governmental proposals with and without European impulse as well as other proposals with and without European impulse. According to Figure 1 the inclusion of a European impulse has almost no impact on the adoption rate of governmental proposals, but it significantly increases the likelihood of legislative success for non-governmental proposals for all legislative periods, except the 9<sup>th</sup> abbreviated term.

Figure 1: Adoption rates of governmental and nongovernmental proposals with and without EU impulse across legislative periods (8<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> term)

This does not confirm the prediction of the Europeanization literature on an increased agenda-setting power of governmental actors in the event of a European impulse. By contrast, the numbers suggest that initiatives from non-governmental actors have a significant higher adoption rate than they usually have in domestic politics.

Table 2: Amendment rate of legislative initiatives in the time period from 1978 to 2005 (8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> term)

Legislative period	Initiatives					
	No impulse			Impulse		
	Not amended	Amended	Rate	Not amended	Amended	Rate
8	452	157	34.7	61	35	57.4
9	260	69	26.5	19	8	42.1
10	543	166	30.6	74	40	54.1
11	616	195	31.7	73	45	61.6
12	731	231	31.6	163	77	47.2
13	814	197	24.2	182	60	33.0
14	778	222	28.5	235	111	47.2
15	552	116	21.0	211	95	45.0
Total	4,746	1,353	28.5	1,018	471	46.3

Legislative period	Government initiatives					
	No impulse			Impulse		
	Not amended	Amended	Rate	Not amended	Amended	Rate
8	268	120	44.8	60	35	58.3
9	139	44	31.7	18	8	44.4
10	238	119	50.0	52	32	61.5
11	268	147	54.9	57	38	66.7
12	293	134	45.7	114	56	49.1
13	307	82	26.7	123	43	35.0
14	288	104	36.1	165	90	54.5
15	219	61	27.9	144	79	54.9
Total	2,020	811	40.1	733	381	52.0

Legislative period	No impulse			Other initiatives		
	Not amended	Amended	Rate	Not amended	Amended	Rate
8	184	37	20.1	1	0	0.0
9	121	25	20.7	1	0	0.0
10	305	47	15.4	22	8	36.4
11	348	48	13.8	16	7	43.8
12	438	97	22.1	49	21	42.9
13	507	115	22.7	59	17	28.8
14	490	118	24.1	70	21	30.0
15	333	55	16.5	67	16	23.9
Total	2,726	542	19.9	285	90	31.6

Regarding the amendment rates for legislative proposals with and without European impulse, we also distinguish between governmental and nongovernmental proposals. According to our results, displayed in Table 2, legislative initiatives with European impulses have a higher likelihood of parliamentary action than initiatives without impulses. This finding contrasts with our first hypothesis but does partly confirm our expectation from the parliamentary scrutinizing approaches. However the positive effect of Europeanization on the parliamentary amendment rate is constant for both types of initiators. Regardless whether we consider governmental or nongovernmental proposals, the parliamentary amendment rates are considerable higher for initiatives with European impulse. These findings suggest that Europeanization raises the attention of parliament which scrutinizes these initiatives more frequently.

#### **4. Discussion: Overall and domain-specific reasons for change**

Our explorative analysis shows that Europeanization affects the German national legislative process. However, the adoption rate of initiatives indicates that there is no evidence for a change in the power distribution between government and parliament. While governmental proposals always have a very high adoption rate in the German legislative process, only the adoption rate of nongovernmental initiatives increases by European impulses. This suggests that other initiators may perhaps more benefit than government from Europeanization.

On closer inspection of these numbers, tables 4 to 6 take a closer look at the domain-specific adoption and amendment rates across nine policy areas, namely Employment and Social Policy, Foreign affairs, Agriculture, Finance, Interior, Justice Environment, Economy, and proposals from other policy areas. According to table 4 we find significant variation between these policy areas. Except of the policy area of Foreign affairs the adoption rate of all initiatives with European impulse is considerably higher in the remaining eight policy areas. While government initiatives with European impulses are more often adopted in the areas of Finance, Internal and Justice, nongovernmental proposals with European impulses have a considerable high adoption rate in the policy areas of Agriculture, Justice, and Economy.

Regarding the amendment rate of proposals with European impulses we find considerably higher rates for all of our nine policy areas. Parliamentary scrutiny is almost 50% higher than for initiatives without European impulse. Table 5 further reveals that the amendment rate for governmental proposals with European impulses is especially high in the policy area of Finance and Environment, while nongovernmental proposal are most often scrutinized by parliament in the policy areas of Foreign affairs, Finance, and Economy.

Compared to the literature on Europeanization, our findings draw a different picture about the impact on the German legislative process. While most authors provide a very sceptical view and predict an erosion of democratic checks-and-balances with an executive dominance, we do neither find a significant transformation nor an empowerment of the government by Europeanization. The government remains a significant agenda-setter in German legislation but can hardly gain additional power resources by the indication of a European impulse. Rather, other (parliamentary) initiators are more successful when they propose legislation with European impulse. Furthermore, Europeanization does not weaken parliament by introducing a closed rule which would exclude parliamentary amendments. By contrast, proposals with European impulses are more often scrutinized and amended by parliament. Our closer inspection of the domain-specific impact, we find that some of these results vary across policy domains. Therefore, our explorative analysis only provides first insights into the impact of Europeanization on the power distribution within the national legislative process but a more thorough analysis is warranted which tests the explanatory power of the various variables.

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## Appendix: Tables 4-6

Table 4: Adoption rate of legislative initiatives in the time period from 1978 to 2005 (8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> term) across policy areas

Policy area	Initiatives					
	Issued	No impulse Adopted	Rate	Issued	Impulse Adopted	Rate
Employment and Social Policy	586	268	45.7	75	43	57.3
Foreign affairs	101	91	90.1	23	19	82.6
Agriculture	126	79	62.7	114	84	73.7
Finance	654	358	54.7	150	112	74.7
Interior	718	323	45.0	80	60	75.0
Justice	1055	366	34.7	234	172	73.5
Environment	105	63	60.0	75	48	64.0
Economy	354	229	64.7	99	75	75.8
Other	1047	578	55.2	168	129	76.8
Total	4746	2355	49.6	1018	742	72.9

Policy area	Government initiatives					
	Issued	No impulse Adopted	Rate	Issued	Impulse Adopted	Rate
Employment and Social Policy	215	184	85.6	46	39	84.8
Foreign affairs	91	87	95.6	17	16	94.1
Agriculture	68	60	88.2	64	58	90.6
Finance	326	293	89.9	108	103	95.4
Interior	226	184	81.4	60	53	88.3
Justice	311	231	74.3	185	158	85.4
Environment	60	56	93.3	48	45	93.8
Economy	224	203	90.6	75	66	88.0
Other	499	430	86.2	130	112	86.2
Total	2020	1728	85.5	733	650	88.7

Policy area	Other initiatives					
	Issued	No impulse Adopted	Rate	Issued	Impulse Adopted	Rate
Employment and Social Policy	371	84	22.6	29	4	13.8
Foreign affairs	10	4	40.0	6	3	50.0
Agriculture	58	19	32.8	50	26	52.0
Finance	328	65	19.8	42	9	21.4
Interior	492	139	28.3	20	7	35.0
Justice	744	135	18.1	49	14	28.6
Environment	45	7	15.6	27	3	11.1
Economy	130	26	20.0	24	9	37.5
Other	548	148	27.0	38	17	44.7
Total	2726	627	23.0	285	92	32.3

Table 5: Amendment rates of legislative initiatives in the time period from 1978 to 2005 (8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> term)

Policy area	Initiatives					
	Not amended	No impulse Amended	Rate	Not amended	Impulse Amended	Rate
Employment and Social Policy	586	186	31.7	75	30	40.0
Foreign affairs	101	18	17.8	23	6	26.1
Agriculture	126	47	37.3	114	55	48.2
Finance	654	224	34.3	150	94	62.7
Interior	718	206	28.7	80	33	41.3
Justice	1055	280	26.5	234	112	47.9
Environment	105	14	13.3	75	35	46.7
Economy	354	87	24.6	99	32	32.3
Other	1047	291	27.8	168	74	44.0
Total	4746	1353	28.5	1018	471	46.3

Policy area	Government initiatives					
	Not amended	No impulse Amended	Rate	Not amended	Impulse Amended	Rate
Employment and Social Policy	215	109	50.7	46	24	52.2
Foreign affairs	91	15	16.5	17	3	17.6
Agriculture	68	32	47.1	64	36	56.3
Finance	326	159	48.8	108	76	70.4
Interior	226	116	51.3	60	29	48.3
Justice	311	148	47.6	185	97	52.4
Environment	60	8	13.3	48	31	64.6
Economy	224	66	29.5	75	24	32.0
Other	499	158	31.7	130	61	46.9
Total	2020	811	40.1	733	381	52.0

Policy area	Other initiatives					
	Not amended	No impulse Amended	Rate	Not amended	Impulse Amended	Rate
Employment and Social Policy	371	77	20.8	29	6	20.7
Foreign affairs	10	3	30.0	6	3	50.0
Agriculture	58	15	25.9	50	19	38.0
Finance	328	65	19.8	42	18	42.9
Interior	492	90	18.3	20	4	20.0
Justice	744	132	17.7	49	15	30.6
Environment	45	6	13.3	27	4	14.8
Economy	130	21	16.2	24	8	33.3
Other	548	133	24.3	38	13	34.2
Total	2726	542	19.9	285	90	31.6