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ope

In fact, the average implementation rate for 2019-2020 CSRs (which were incorporated in the NRRPs) increased little. Where it did, it was mainly attributable to easier fiscal recommendations. The implementation of 2022-2023 CSRs remains low. The implementation rate for 2020, and especially 2021, fiscal recommendations increased significantly partly because some of the recommendations were relatively easy to comply with, because they required what countries were doing anyway: addressing the adverse effects of the pandemic. However, there was no increase in difficult reform areas for which pre-pandemic implementation rates were low.

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Thus, only fiscal recommendations were made in 2021, and addressing them seems not to have been difficult.

Impl m ntat on by pol cy ar a

The Commission classifies CSRs into 63 policy areas, some of which overlap. To facilitate analysis of their implementation rates, we have classi

Maatsch, A. (2017) 'Effectiveness of the European Semester: Explaining domestic consent and contestation', *P A* 70(4): 691-709, available at https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsx021

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The European Commission's CSR database included 30,390 records when accessed on 26 J une 2024. Each record includes information about the year of recommendation, its number, content, policy area, whether it is rela reduction & social inclusion; Poverty, social inclusion & social protection.

- 8. : Education; Skills & life-long learning; Skills, Vocational Education and Training & adult learning.
- 9. : Research & innovation.
- 10. : Digital connectivity, infrastructure & market functioning; Digitalisation of public administration and public services; Digitalisation of businesses.
- 1/1 BUF provide the provide the second secon
- 12. : Competition & regulatody framework; Cor n

CSRs often have sub-components. For example, in 2023, Austria's first CSR had eight subcomponents (which belong to four of the 63 policy areas classified by the Commission), while Austria's second CSR included only one. In our calculations, we included all sub-components (and only the sub-components), because each of these corresponds to a specific recommendation and the subcomponents are evaluated separately.

Table 1 shows the number of recommendations from 2011 to 2023 according to whether implementation evaluation is included in the dataset or not, and among recommendations with an evaluation, the main policy areas. Since the dataset includes the evaluations of high graft graft



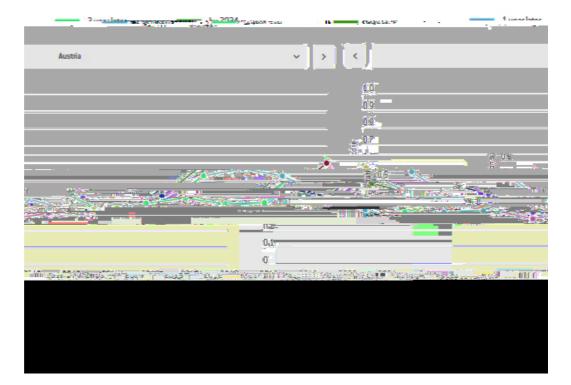


Figure 3. Implementation of CSRs (bu countries all policy argae)



Endnot s

- Deroose and Griesse (2014) argued that the difficulty of recommendations might increase over time, because countries might implement the 'easier' reforms first and postpone the more difficult. Implemented recommendations were not repeated in later years, but several non-fully implemented reforms were recommended again.
- 2. Romania was the only country subject to an excessive deficit procedure.
- 3. The single recommendation to Romania was: "Pursue fiscal policies in line with the Council Recommendation of 18 J une 2021 with a view to bringing an end to the

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