# TABLE OF CONTENTS

*Acknowledgements ................................................................. v
List of Abbreviations ............................................................... vii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ................................................. 1
  1.1 DIVERSITY AND CONVERGENCE: BEYOND A COMPARATIVE APPROACH ................. 3
  1.2 TREMBLING COWS, SHAKY BOUNDARIES: THE STATUS OF FOOD (SAFETY) IN THE EU
    1.2.1 The status ante quo ................................................................. 5
    1.2.2 What's in a border? The transgression of two boundaries ............................... 8
    1.2.3 Crisis after crisis: An overview of major food scares ........................................... 11
  1.3 THE APPROACH ........................................................................ 13
    1.3.1 A new lens: The importance of meaning .............................................................. 13
    1.3.2 Case selection ...................................................................................... 14
  1.4 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY .............................................................. 15

CHAPTER TWO: FOOD SAFETY AS AN OBJECT OF INQUIRY: LOGICS OF CONTESTATION .................................................. 19
  2.1 INTRODUCTION: FOOD (SAFETY) AS A CONTESTED ISSUE ........................................ 19
  2.2 THE LITERATURE ON EUROPEANIZATION ................................................................. 20
    2.2.1 From EU Integration to Europeanization .............................................................. 20
    2.2.1 Moving beyond the Europeanization literature ...................................................... 24
  2.3 THE EUROPEANIZATION OF FOOD (SAFETY): CRISIS AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT ................................................................. 28
    2.3.1 Food (safety) as a Europeanizing object of inquiry ................................................ 28
    2.3.2 Food scares as institutional crisis ........................................................................ 29
  2.4 THE ROLE OF SCIENCE IN FOOD (SAFETY) GOVERNANCE ...................................... 34
  2.5 THE CONSUMER IN FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY .......................................................... 38
  2.6 TRUST IN FOOD, POLITICS, AND SCIENCE ............................................................... 40
  2.7 FOOD (SAFETY) AS A COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE OF RISK ....................................... 44
  2.8 CONCLUSIONS .................................................................................. 47

CHAPTER THREE: A DISCOURSE-ANALYTICAL APPROACH ................ 49
  3.1 INTRODUCTION .............................................................................. 49
  3.2 THE CENTRAL UNDERPINNINGS OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ..................................... 52
  3.3 FROM STRUCTURALIST LINGUISTICS TO POSTSTRUCTURALIST DISCOURSE THEORY ........ 58
    3.3.1 Saussurean linguistics and deconstruction ......................................................... 58
    3.3.2 Towards a delimitation of poststructuralism ....................................................... 61
    3.3.3 Key terms in discourse theory ............................................................................ 62
  3.4 POSTSTRUCTURALISM AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS: BUILDING BRIDGES .................. 65
    3.4.1 Policy, discourse, and practice ........................................................................... 65
CHAPTER FOUR: MAD COWS AND ANGRY CONSUMERS. THE REINVENTION OF FOOD (SAFETY) AND FARMING IN ENGLAND

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.2 A HISTORY OF FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY IN ENGLAND

4.2.1 Food (safety) since the nineteenth century

4.2.2 Post-war food (safety) policy

4.2.3 From productionism to the ‘new food movement’

4.3 THE CHANGING GOVERNANCE OF FOOD (SAFETY)

4.3.1 The history of BSE

4.3.2 BSE and initial institutional interventions

4.3.3 The meaning of FMD and continuing institutional rearrangements

4.4 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY DISCOURSE IN ENGLAND

4.4.1 Good Governance

4.4.2 Consumer protection

4.4.3 Public health

4.4.4 Environmental sustainability

4.4.5 Market efficiency

4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

TABLE 3.1 POLICY DISCOURSE ACROSS CONTEXTS: CLUSTERS OF PRACTICE

3.5 HOW TO ANALYZE MEANING: FROM CONCEPTS TO METHODS

3.5.1 Research questions

3.5.2 Data collection

3.5.3 Ordering the data

3.5.4 Identification of discourses

3.5.5 Analysis as an iterative process

3.5.6. Challenges and reflections

TABLE 4.1 ENGLISH FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY DISCOURSE: KEY NOTIONS

CHAPTER FIVE: ‘NATURE’ IN CRISIS. FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY IN GERMANY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

5.2 A HISTORY OF FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY IN GERMANY

5.2.1 Food (safety) since the nineteenth century

5.2.2 Post-war food (safety) policy

5.3 THE CHANGING GOVERNANCE OF FOOD (SAFETY)

5.3.1 BSE as an external problem

5.3.2 The discovery and interpretation of BSE

5.3.3 Institutional Interventions

5.4 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN GERMAN FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY DISCOURSE
CHAPTER SIX: FROM ‘POLITICS IN THE STABLE’ TO STABLE POLITICS: FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY IN THE NETHERLANDS

6.1 INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 210
6.2 A HISTORY OF FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY IN THE NETHERLANDS ........................................... 211
   6.2.1 Food (safety) in the 19th century ................................................................................................. 211
   6.2.2 Post-war food (safety) policy ....................................................................................................... 214
6.3 THE CHANGING GOVERNANCE OF FOOD (SAFETY) ................................................................... 217
   6.3.1 BSE and other domestic food scares ............................................................................................ 217
   6.3.2 Institutional rearrangements and (non-)interventions ............................................................... 223
   6.3.3 Continuing institutional rearrangements ..................................................................................... 225
6.4 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN DUTCH FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY DISCOURSE .................... 226
   6.4.1 Good governance ......................................................................................................................... 227
   6.4.2 Market efficiency ........................................................................................................................ 233
   6.4.3 Environmental sustainability ...................................................................................................... 239
   6.4.4 Consumer protection .................................................................................................................. 247
   6.4.5 Public health ............................................................................................................................... 252
6.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS ............................................................................................................... 257

TABLE 6.1 DUTCH FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY DISCOURSE: KEY NOTIONS ........................................ 258

CHAPTER SEVEN: THOUGHT FOR FOOD (SAFETY) AT THE LEVEL OF THE EU

7.1 INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................................... 262
7.2 THE INCREMENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF AN EU APPROACH ....................................................... 263
   7.2.1 Food (safety) as national matter and the free market principle ............................................. 263
   7.2.2 The expert-based policy approach ........................................................................................... 265
7.3 THE CHANGING GOVERNANCE OF FOOD (SAFETY) ................................................................ 266
   7.3.1 The Medina Report and the role of the European Parliament ................................................. 266
   7.3.2 A first proposal for a European agency .................................................................................... 268
   7.3.3 (Green and White) paper work at the European Commission .............................................. 269
   7.3.4 General Food Law: From farm to fork ..................................................................................... 271
7.4 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN EU FOOD (SAFETY) POLICY DISCOURSE ............................. 272
   7.4.1 Good governance ....................................................................................................................... 273
   7.4.2 Environmental Sustainability ................................................................................................... 280
   7.4.3 Market efficiency ....................................................................................................................... 285
   7.4.4 Consumer protection ............................................................................................................... 289
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.4.5 Public Health</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAPH 7.1 NODAL POINTS AND EUROPEANIZING ACTOR CONSTELLATIONS</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Recapitulating: From Puzzle to Approach</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Dynamics of Discursive Change and Continuity</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1 Good governance</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.2 Environmental sustainability</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.3 Market efficiency</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.4 Consumer protection</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.5 Public health</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 Contributions, Limitations, and Further Avenues for Research</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying institutions</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying Europeanization</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Policy) discourse analysis</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY SOURCES</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: CONSULTATION OF NEWSLETTERS</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C: DISCURSIVE CLUSTERINGS IN POLICY DISCOURSE</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>