

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> xiii
<i>List of Maps</i>	xiv
<i>List of Tables</i>	xv
<i>List of Briefings</i>	xvi
<i>List of Fact Files</i>	xvii
<i>List of Controversies</i>	xviii
<i>Preface</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxii
<i>List of Abbreviations and Acronyms</i>	xxiii
<i>List of Country Abbreviations Used in Tables and Figures</i>	xxvi

PART I
Setting the Scene: Origins, Analytical Perspectives
and Institutions

1 The Historical Development of the EU	3
Introduction	3
The Origins of European Integration	4
A Brief Historical Survey of European Integration	8
The 1950s: From One to Three Communities	8
The 1960s: Progress and Setbacks	10
The 1970s: Moving Out of Gridlock, Slowly	13
The 1980s: Moves towards a Single Market	14
The 1990s: The Road towards European Union	15
The 2000s: Further Enlargements and Difficult Treaty Revisions	18
The 2010s: A String of Crises Tests the EU’s Resilience	20
What History Teaches Us about EU Politics Today	24
Summary	25
Further Reading	26
Websites	26
Navigating the EU	27

Contents

2 Analysing the EU	28
Introduction	28
Explaining Integration	29
Neo-functionalism	30
Intergovernmentalism	33
Postfunctionalism	35
Explaining EU Politics	37
Multi-level Governance	38
Comparative Politics Approaches to the EU	40
Studying EU Politics: Citizens, Political Parties and Interest Groups	41
Comparative Federalism	42
Questions Asked in This Book	43
Summary	43
Further Reading	44
Websites	44
Navigating the EU	45
 3 The Institutional Framework	 46
Introduction	46
The EU Institutional Framework	47
Representation of Interests	48
Allocation of Powers	49
The European Council	50
Tasks	50
Organization	51
The Council	53
Tasks	54
Organization	54
The Commission	56
Tasks	56
Organization	57
The European Parliament	59
Powers	59
Organization	63
The Court of Justice	66
Tasks	66
Organization	67
The European Central Bank	68
Tasks	68
Organization	68

The European Court of Auditors	69
Tasks	69
Organization	69
Making Sense of the Institutional Framework	70
Summary	71
Further Reading	72
Websites	72
Navigating the EU	72
4 Legislation and Decision-Making: Putting the Institutional Puzzle Together	73
Introduction	73
Types of Decisions in the EU	74
Legal Instruments in the EU	75
Directives and Regulations	76
Other Types of Instruments	78
Decision-Making Procedures in the EU	78
The Ordinary Legislative Procedure	79
The Logic behind the Ordinary Legislative Procedure	79
Commission Proposal and Advisory Bodies	80
The First Reading	81
The Second Reading	83
Conciliation and the Third Reading	84
Informal Processes under the Ordinary Legislative Procedure	84
Other Decision-Making Procedures	87
The Special Legislative Procedures	88
The European Council as an ‘Appeal Body’	88
Decision-Making under the CFSP	88
The Open Method of Coordination	89
Navigating the Maze of EU Decision-Making	89
Decision-Making in the Council	91
How Qualified Majority Voting Works	91
Voting and Consensus in the Council	93
Member State Parliaments and the Subsidiarity Check	93
Towards a Differentiated EU?	96
Examples of Differentiation	96
The Arguments for and against Differentiated Integration	98
Summary	99
Further Reading	100
Websites	100
Navigating the EU	100

Contents

PART II
Key Actors in EU Politics: Citizens, Interest Groups and Political Parties

5 Public Opinion and Political Participation	103
Introduction	103
Public Opinion and Political Participation	104
Public Opinion	105
Explaining Public Opinion	107
Benefits	108
Beliefs	108
Benchmarks	109
Comparing Citizens and Elites	111
Elections	111
Referendums on European Integration	114
The Shift from a Permissive Consensus to a Constraining Dissensus	116
Summary	117
Further Reading	117
Websites	118
Navigating the EU	118
6 Interest Groups and Interest Representation	119
Introduction	119
Interest Groups and Lobbyists: Who Are They?	120
The Number of Interest Groups in the EU	120
Types of Interest Groups in the EU	121
Lobbying through Different Channels	123
Organizing Interest Representation: Between Pluralism and Corporatism	125
Systems of Interest Representation	125
Pluralism and Corporatism in the EU	127
Designed Pluralism in the EU	128
Interest Group Strategies	129
Inside Lobbying and Outside Lobbying	129
The Choice of Strategy by Interest Groups	130
Inside Lobbying and Outside Lobbying in the EU	131
Lobbying Routes and Coalition Formation	132
Do Interest Groups Matter?	133
The Influence of Interest Groups in the EU	133
Resources and Interest Group Characteristics	134
Characteristics of the Political System	135
The Importance of Issues	136
Lobbying and Democracy	136
Summary	138
Further Reading	139

Websites	140
Navigating the EU	140
7 Political Parties and the European Parliament	141
Introduction	141
Political Parties and Political Groups in the EU	142
Political Groups in the European Parliament	143
The Development of Political Groups in the EP	143
The Ideological Underpinning of the EP’s Political Groups	145
The Ideological Profile of the EP’s Political Groups	145
The Benefits of Forming a Political Group	147
MEPs: Between Political Group and Political Party	150
Do Political Groups Vote as Blocks?	151
Conflict Dimensions in the EP	153
Coalitions between Political Groups in the EP	154
Political Parties outside the European Parliament	156
The Development of European Political Parties	157
The Ten European Political Parties	158
The Roles and Functions of European Political Parties	159
Comparing European and Domestic Political Parties	161
Summary	163
Further Reading	164
Websites	164
Navigating the EU	164
PART III	
EU Policies: Agenda-Setting, Decision-Making and Implementation	
8 An Overview of EU Policy-Making	167
Introduction	167
What Does the EU Do?	168
The Limits of (Re)distributive Policies in the EU	170
Types of Policy in the EU	170
Where the EU Gets Its Money from	171
What the EU Spends Its Money on	172
Budgetary Politics in the EU	175
Regulatory Policies in the EU: The Internal Market and Beyond	177
Regulation Aimed at Market Integration: Negative Integration and Positive Integration	177
Regulation Aimed at Mitigating the Negative Impacts of Economic Activity	179
Regulation Not (Directly) Related to Economic Activities	180

Contents

The Regulatory Output of the European Union	180
Economic and Monetary Union	183
The Creation of EMU	183
The Euro after 2008	184
The Future of Economic Governance in the EU	186
EU Foreign Policy	188
Soft Power EU	189
The Incremental Development of EU Foreign Policy	190
Summary	191
Further Reading	192
Websites	193
Navigating the EU	193
9 Agenda-Setting	194
Introduction	194
The Political Importance of Agendas	195
Types of Agendas and Agenda Dynamics	197
The Political Agenda, the Media Agenda and the Public Agenda	197
Linkages between the Types of Agendas	197
Agenda-Setting Dynamics in the EU	198
Why Do Political Actors Attempt to Bring Issues to the EU Agenda?	200
Tackling Cross-Border issues	201
Political Motives	201
Economic Motives	202
Universalistic Motives	202
Institutional Motives	203
Combinations of Motives	203
From Idea to Proposal: The Process of Agenda-Setting in the EU	203
The Steps in a Typical EU Agenda-Setting Process	203
The Steps in the Agenda-Setting Process around Artificial Intelligence	207
Why Do Issues Make It onto the EU Agenda?	208
Issue Framing	208
Institutional Structures	210
Timing	211
Summary	212
Further Reading	213
Websites	213
Navigating the EU	214
10 Decision-Making	215
Introduction	215
Levels of Decision-Making in the EU	217
History-Making Decisions in the EU	219

Treaty Change and High Politics	219
What Is at Stake in Negotiations?	219
Bargaining Tactics in Negotiations	221
Policy-Setting and Policy-Shaping in the EU	225
Low Politics and High Politics in EU Policy-Making	225
Interinstitutional Dynamics in EU Decision-Making	227
Policy Networks in Policy-Making Decisions	229
Technocracy and Politics in the EU	231
Technocracy in EU Decision-Making	231
The Politics of Technocracy	232
Flexibility and Inertia in EU Decision-Making	233
Summary	236
Further Reading	236
Websites	237
Navigating the EU	237
11 Implementing Policies	238
Introduction	238
Implementation: Three Phases in a Multi-level System	239
Legal Implementation	240
From EU Law to National Law: Transposing Directives	240
From Formal Laws to Operative Rules: Delegated and Implementing Acts	242
Practical Implementation: Applying and Enforcing Policies	245
Practical Implementation at the EU Level	245
Practical Implementation by the Member States	246
Monitoring Implementation	247
Monitoring via the Commission: Infringement Proceedings	248
Monitoring via National Courts	250
Agencies and European Regulatory Networks	252
Summary	256
Further Reading	257
Websites	258
Navigating the EU	258
Conclusions and Reflections	
12 Reflecting on the EU as a Political System	261
Introduction	261
What Crises Tell Us about the EU's Functioning	262
The Dynamics of Crises	263
Formal Rules and Informal Behaviour	264
The Importance of Daily Politics	264

Contents

Between State and International Organization: The EU in Comparative Perspective	265
The Scope of Policies	266
Supranational and Intergovernmental Institutions	266
Voting in the Council of Ministers	267
Citizens and Their Linkages to EU Politics	268
EU Law and Member State Law	268
Evaluating the EU as a Democracy	270
Does the EU Suffer from a Democratic Deficit?	270
The EU as a Community of Values	273
Putting the Threads Together	276
Summary	276
Further Reading	277
Navigating the EU	277
<i>Key Terms and Concepts</i>	278
<i>Index</i>	284