

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	page xiii
<i>List of briefings</i>	xiv
<i>List of fact files</i>	xv
<i>List of controversies</i>	xvi
<i>List of tables</i>	xvii
<i>List of figures</i>	xviii
<i>List of abbreviations and acronyms</i>	xix
<i>List of country abbreviations used in tables and figures</i>	xxi
<i>Preface</i>	xxiii

**PART I**  
**Setting the scene: origins, analytical perspectives  
and institutions** 1

<b>1 The historical development of the EU</b>	<b>3</b>
Introduction	3
The origins of European integration	4
A brief historical survey of European integration	8
The 1950s: from one to three Communities	9
The 1960s: progress and setbacks	11
The 1970s: moving out of gridlock, slowly	14
The 1980s: moves towards a single market	16
The 1990s: the road towards European Union	16
The 2000s: Eastern enlargement and difficult treaty revisions	18
What history teaches us about EU politics today	23
Summary	24
Further reading	25
Websites	25
Navigating the EU	26
Appendix	26

Contents

<b>2</b>	<b>Analysing the EU</b>	<b>31</b>
	Introduction	31
	Explaining integration	33
	Neo-functionalism and supranational governance	33
	Intergovernmentalism	37
	Insights	39
	Explaining EU politics	40
	Multi-level governance	41
	Comparative politics approaches to the EU	44
	Questions asked in this book	48
	Summary	49
	Further reading	49
	Websites	50
	Navigating the EU	50
<b>3</b>	<b>The institutional framework</b>	<b>51</b>
	Introduction	51
	The EU institutional framework	53
	Representation of interests	53
	Allocation of powers	55
	The European Council	56
	Tasks	56
	Organization and decision-making	58
	The Council	59
	Tasks	59
	Organization	60
	The Commission	62
	Tasks	63
	Organization	64
	The European Parliament	66
	Powers	67
	Organization	70
	The Court of Justice	73
	Tasks	74
	Organization	75
	Making sense of the institutional framework	76
	Summary	77
	Further reading	78
	Websites	78
	Navigating the EU	78

<b>4 Legislation and decision-making: putting the institutional puzzle together</b>	<b>79</b>
Introduction	79
Types of decisions in the EU	80
Legal instruments in the EU	81
Directives and Regulations	82
Other types of instruments	84
Decision-making procedures in the EU	84
The ordinary legislative procedure	85
The logic behind the ordinary legislative procedure	85
Commission proposal and advisory bodies	86
The first reading	87
The second reading	89
Conciliation and the third reading	91
Informal processes under the ordinary legislative procedure	92
Other decision-making procedures	93
The special legislative procedures	93
The European Council as an ‘appeal body’	94
Decision-making under the CFSP	94
Navigating the maze of EU decision-making	94
Decision-making in the Council	96
How qualified majority voting works	97
Voting and consensus in the Council	98
Member state parliaments and the subsidiarity check	99
The Open Method of Coordination	100
How the Open Method of Coordination works	100
Why the Open Method of Coordination is used	101
Summary	102
Further reading	103
Websites	103
Navigating the EU	104
 <b>PART II</b>	
Key actors in EU politics: citizens, interest groups and political parties	105
 <b>5 Public opinion and political participation</b>	<b>107</b>
Introduction	107
Public opinion, political participation and politics	108

Contents

Public opinion	109
Explaining public opinion	115
A gap between citizens and elites	117
Elections	118
Referendums on European integration	122
The shift from a permissive consensus to a constraining dissensus	124
Summary	125
Further reading	126
Websites	126
Navigating the EU	127
<b>6 Interest groups and interest representation</b>	<b>128</b>
Introduction	128
Interest groups and lobbyists: who are they?	129
The number of interest groups in the EU	129
Types of interest groups in the EU	130
Lobbying through different channels	133
Organizing interest representation: between pluralism and corporatism	134
Systems of interest representation	134
Pluralism and corporatism in the EU	135
Designed pluralism in the EU	137
Interest group strategies	138
Inside lobbying and outside lobbying	138
The choice of strategy by interest groups	139
Inside lobbying and outside lobbying in the EU	141
Lobby routes and coalition formation	142
Do interest groups matter?	143
The influence of interest groups in the EU	144
Resources and interest group characteristics	145
Characteristics of the political system	145
The importance of issues	146
Lobbying and democracy	147
Summary	149
Further reading	150
Websites	150
Navigating the EU	150
<b>7 Political parties and the European Parliament</b>	<b>151</b>
Introduction	151
Political parties in the EU: three levels	152
Political groups in the European Parliament	153
The development of political groups in the EP	153

The ideological underpinning of the EP's political groups	154
Ideological cohesiveness in the EP's political groups	156
Level of organization	158
The benefits of forming a political group	158
MEPs: between political group and member state	162
Do political groups vote as blocks?	162
Conflict dimensions in the EP	163
Coalitions between political groups in the EP	164
Political parties outside the European Parliament	165
The development of European political parties	166
The ten European political parties	169
The roles and functions of European political parties	171
Summary	174
Further reading	175
Websites	175
Navigating the EU	175
 <b>Part III</b>	
EU policies: agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation	177
 <b>8 An overview of EU policy-making</b>	<b>179</b>
Introduction	179
What does the EU do?	180
The limits of (re-)distributive policies in the EU	182
Types of policy in the EU	182
Where the EU gets its money from	183
What the EU spends its money on	185
Budgetary politics in the EU	187
Regulatory policies in the EU: the internal market and beyond	189
Regulation aimed at market integration: negative integration and positive integration	189
Regulation aimed at mitigating the negative impacts of economic activity	192
Regulation not (directly) related to economic activities	192
The regulatory output of the European Union	193
Europeanization: the impact of the EU on member state policies	196
Three mechanisms of Europeanization	196
European integration and domestic policy choices	198

Contents

Towards a Europe of multiple speeds?	200
Examples of ‘multi-speed Europe’	200
The arguments for and against enhanced cooperation	201
Summary	203
Further reading	204
Websites	204
Navigating the EU	204
<b>9 Agenda-setting</b>	<b>205</b>
Introduction	205
The political importance of agendas	206
Types of agendas and agenda dynamics	208
The political agenda, the media agenda and the public agenda	208
Linkages between the types of agendas	208
Agenda-setting dynamics in the EU	209
Why do political actors attempt to bring issues to the EU agenda?	211
Tackling cross-border issues	211
Political motives	212
Economic motives	213
Universalistic motives	213
Institutional motives	213
Combinations of motives	214
From idea to proposal: the process of agenda-setting in the EU	214
The steps in a typical EU agenda-setting process	214
The steps in the agenda-setting process around obesity	217
Why do issues make it on to the EU agenda?	218
Issue framing	220
Institutional structures	222
Timing	224
Summary	225
Further reading	226
Websites	226
Navigating the EU	227
<b>10 Decision-making</b>	<b>228</b>
Introduction	228
Levels of decision-making in the EU	229
History-making decisions in the EU	231
Treaty change and high politics	231
What is at stake in negotiations?	232
Bargaining tactics in negotiations	234
Policy-setting and policy-shaping in the EU	238
Low politics and high politics in EU policy-making	238

Interinstitutional dynamics in EU decision-making	240
Policy networks in policy-making decisions	242
Technocracy and politics in the EU	244
Technocracy in EU decision-making	244
The politics of technocracy	246
Flexibility and inertia in EU decision-making	247
Summary	249
Further reading	250
Websites	250
Navigating the EU	251
<b>11 Implementing policies</b>	<b>252</b>
Introduction	252
The three phases of implementation	253
Legal implementation	253
From EU law to national law: transposing directives	254
From formal laws to operative rules: comitology	255
Practical implementation: enacting policies	257
Monitoring implementation	260
Monitoring via the Commission: infringement proceedings	261
Monitoring via national courts	265
Agencies	267
Summary	272
Further reading	272
Websites	273
Navigating the EU	273
<b>Conclusions and reflections</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>12 Reflecting on the EU as a political system</b>	<b>277</b>
Introduction	277
Deepening the EU: towards ‘ever closer Union’?	278
Internal sources of institutional and policy developments	279
External sources of institutional and policy development	280
Lessons for the future?	281
Enlarging the EU: towards an ever wider Union?	283
Democracy and the European Union	285
Should the EU be democratic?	285
How democratic is the EU?	288
Assessing the democratic deficit in the EU	289

*Contents*

Between state and international organization: the EU in comparative perspective	291
The scope of policies	292
The role of the EU's supranational institutions	293
Citizens and the salience of EU politics	294
Voting in the Council of Ministers	294
EU law and member state law	295
Putting the threads together?	296
Summary	297
Further reading	297
Navigating the EU	298
 <i>Key terms and concepts</i>	 299
<i>Index</i>	304