## Contents

( 7 11

1 ...

Lis	t of Lables and Figures	XIV
Pre	face	xvii
Ab	breviations	xx
1	Introduction: Explaining the EU Political System	1
	The EU: a political system but not a state	2
	How the EU political system works	5
	Actors and institutions: the basics of modern political science	9
	Theories of European integration: the neo-functionalist legacy	14
	Structure of the book	16

## PART I GOVERNMENT

2	Executive Politics	21
	Theories of executive power, delegation and discretion	21
	Government by the Council and the member states Treaties and treaty reforms: deliberate and unintended	25
	delegation	26
	Political leadership by the European Council and the	
	Council	28
	Administrative 'fusion: natural coordination of EU policy	30
	Government by the European Commission	32
	A cabinet: the EU core executive	32
	A bureaucracy: the EU civil service	36
	A regulator: the EU quango(s)	39
	Comitology: the interface of the EU dual-executive	41
	The committee procedures	42
	Interinstitutional conflict	44
	Democratic control of the EU executive	45
	Political accountability: selection and censure of the	
	Commission	46
	Administrative accountability: parliamentary scrutiny and	
	transparency	48

	Explaining the organization of executive power in the EU Demand for EU government: selective delegation by the	50
	member states	50
	Supply of EU government: Commission preferences,	
	entrepreneurship and capture	52
	Conclusion: the politics of a dual-executive	54
3	Legislative Politics	56
	Theories of legislative coalitions and organization	56
	Development of the legislative system of the EU	60
	Legislative politics inside the Council	63
	Agenda organization: the presidency, sectoral councils and committees	63
	Voting and coalition politics in the Council	68
	Legislative politics inside the European Parliament	74
	MEP behaviour: reelection versus promotion and policies	75
	Agenda organization: leaderships, parties and committees	75
	Coalition formation in the Parliament	79
	Legislative bargaining between the Council and the EP	84
	Theoretical models of EU bicameralism: Tsebelis and his	01
	critics	88
	Empirical evidence of EP power	94
	Conclusion: complex but familiar politics	96
4	Judicial Politics	99
	Political theories of constitutions and courts	99
	The EU legal system and the European Court of Justice	103
	Composition and operation of the European Court of	
	Justice	104
	Jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice	106
	'Constitutionalization' of the European Union	107
	Direct-effect: EU law as 'the law of the land' for national	
	citizens	108
	Supremacy: EU law as 'the higher law of the land'	109
	'Integration through law' and 'economic constitutionalism'	110
	State-like properties: external sovereignty and internal	
	coercion	111
	Penetration of the EU constitution into national legal systems Quantitative: national courts' use of ECJ preliminary	113
	rulings	113
	Qualitative: national courts' acceptance of the EU legal	
	systems	115

Explanations of the development of the EU constitution	118
Legal formalism and legal cultures	118
'Activism' by the European Court of Justice	120
Strategic national courts: judicial empowerment, national	
political contexts and inter-court competition	121
Transnational litigants and lawyers: the other	
'interlocutors' of the ECJ	124
Strategic member-state governments	125
Conclusion: 'unknown destination' or 'emerging	
equilibrium'?	127

## PART III POLITICS

5	Public Opinion and Political Cleavages	133
	Theories of the social bases of politics	133
	Mass support for the European Union	134
	End of the 'permissive consensus'?	134
	Easton's theory of affective and utilitarian support	138
	More or less integration: 'Europe - right or wrong?'	140
	National cultures, interests and politics: the national	
	cleavage	140
	Transnational economic interests: the class cleavage	144
	'New' transnational divisions: generation, education,	
	knowledge, region	148
	What the EU should do: 'Europe - right or left?'	154
	The 'electoral connection': strategic dilemmas for Euro-elites	158
	Conclusion: a politicized plural society	164
6	Parties, Elections and EU Democracy	166
	Theories of elections: choosing parties, leaders and policies	166
	The European Union party system	168
	Party organization at the European level	173
	Party behaviour and cohesion in the European Parliament	176
	Party leaders' summits and the European Council	178
	European Parliament elections: second-order national	
	contests	180
	Alternative mechanisms: direct democracy and	
	presidentialism	184
	Euro-referendums?	184
	Election of the Commission president?	185
	Conclusion: towards representative government?	186

## x Contents

7	Interest Representation	188
	Theories of interest intermediation	188
	Lobbying Europe: interest groups and EU policy-making	191
	Business interests: 'the large firm as a political actor'	193
	Trade unions, public interests and social movements	195
	Territorial interests: at the heart of 'multi-level governance'	198
	National interests and the consociational cartel	201
	Explaining the pattern of interest representation	204
	Demand for representation: globalization and	
	Europeanization	204
	Supply of accommodation: policy expertise and legislative	
	bargaining	206
	Conclusion: a mix of representational styles	207
PA	RT III POLICY-MAKING	
8	Regulation of the Single Market	211
	Theories of regulation	211
	Deregulatory policies: negative integration	215
	The single market: the '1992 programme' and beyond	215
	Competition policies	217
	Impact of the single market: liberalization and regulatory competition	221
	Reregulatory policies: positive integration	223
	Environmental policy	224
	Social policy	226
	The EU's reregulatory regime: between harmonization and	220
	voluntarism	230
	Explaining EU regulatory policies	232
	Demand for regulation: intergovernmental bargaining	232
	Demand for regulation: private interests and	
	Euro-pluralism	234
	Supply of regulation: policy entrepreneurship and	
	decision-framing	235
	Institutional constraints: legislative rules and political	_
	structure	237
~	Conclusion: neo-liberalism meets the social market	238
9	Redistributive Policies	241
	Theories of public expenditure and redistribution	241
	The budget of the European Union	244
	Revenue and the own-resources system	246
	Expenditure	246

The annual budget procedure: the 'power of the purse'	248
The Common Agricultural Policy	250
Objectives and operation of the CAP	250
Problems	251
Reform of the CAP: towards a new type of (welfare) policy	252
Making agricultural policy: can the iron triangle be broken?	253
Cohesion policy	256
Operation of the policy	257
Impact: a supply-side policy with uncertain convergence	
implications	260
Making cohesion policy: Commission, governments and	
regions	262
Other internal policies	264
Research and development	264
Infrastructure	267
Social integration and a European civil society	268
Explaining EU redistributive policies	269
Intergovernmental bargaining: 'national' cost-benefit	
calculations	269
Private interests: farmers, regions, scientists and	
'Euro-pork'	272
Commission entrepreneurship: promoting 'multilevel	
governance'	273
Institutional rules: unanimity, majority and	
agenda-setting	274
Conclusion: a series of welfare bargains	276
Economic and Monetary Union	278
The theory of monetary union	278
Development of economic and monetary union in Europe	282
The Delors Report	282
The Maastricht Treaty design	284
Who qualifies? meeting (and fudging) the convergence	
criteria	285
Resolving other issues: appeasing an unhappy French	200
government	286
Explaining economic and monetary union	289
Economic rationality: economic integration and	
a core OCA	291
Inter-state bargaining: a Franco-German deal	292
Agenda-setting by non-state interests: the Commission and	
central bankers	293
The power of ideas: the neo-liberal policy consensus	295

10

	Making monetary and economic policy in EMU	297
	Independence, credibility and reputation of the ECB	297
	Interest-rate policy of the ECB: accountability versus	
	political bargaining	298
	Labour mobility and labour-market flexibility	299
	Fiscal policies: national deficits, fiscal federalism and tax	
	harmonization	301
	The external impact of EMU	303
	Conclusion: political commitment and political flexibility	304
11	Citizen Freedom and Security Policies	307
	Theories of citizenship and the state	307
	Freedom and security policies of the EU	310
	Freedom movement of persons: towards open borders	310
	Citizenship: from economic to political rights	312
	Immigration policies: third-country nationals and refugees	314
	Police and judicial cooperation: fighting 'drugs and thugs'	316
	Explaining EU freedom and security policies	318
	Exogenous pressure: immigration and international crime	319
	Governments' interests: high politics, regulatory failure,	
	voters' concerns	322
	Bureaucrats' strategies: bureau-shaping and the 'control'	
	paradigm	325
	Supranational entrepreneurship: supplying credibility and	
	accountability	327
	Conclusion: skeleton of a pan-European state	329
	conclusion. section of a pair European state	
12	Global Policies	331
	Theories of international relations/political economy	331
	External economic policies: free trade or 'fortress Europe'?	334
	The pattern of EU trade	334
	The Common Commercial Policy	336
	Multilateral trade agreements: GATT and the WTO	338
	Bilateral preferential trade agreements	339
	Development policies: trade and aid	340
	External political relations: a common foreign policy?	341
	Development of foreign policy cooperation and	
	decision-making	341
	Policy success and failure: the 'capability-expectations' gap	346
	Explaining the global policies of the EU	348
	Global economic and geopolitical (inter)dependence	348

	Security identity/interests of the western European	
	nation-states	350
	'Domestic' economic interests: EU governments and	
	multinational firms	351
	Supranational institutional context: decision-rules and	
	agenda-setting Conclusion: economic heavyweight but political lightweight	353
	Conclusion: economic heavyweight but political lightweight	355
13	Conclusions: Rethinking the European Union	357
	What does political science teach us about the EU?	357
	Operation of government, politics and policy-making	
	in the EU	357
	Connections between government, politics and	
	policy-making in the EU	360
	What does the EU teach us about political science?	363
Ap	pendix: Decision-making Procedures of the European Union	366
י- ה:ר	l'anna fai	276
D10	liography	376
Ind	ex	417