

---

# Contents

<i>List of Tables, Figures and Boxes</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Structure of the Book	4
Note on Referencing	6
<b>1 Locating the European Parliament</b>	<b>7</b>
The European Parliament as a Legislature	7
‘Universal’ Functions: Policy Influence, Legitimation and Linkage	11
‘Parliamentary Model’	14
Locating the European Parliament in the European Union’s System of Governance	16
Conclusion	24
<b>2 Historical Evolution: The European Parliament and Ever Closer Union</b>	<b>26</b>
Monnet’s Ambiguous Institutional Legacy	26
Members, Integrationist Aspirations and Interinstitutional Relations	30
The Treaty of Rome and the Establishment of the European Economic Community	32
Formal Structures and Informal Changes, 1957–79	36
A Directly Elected Parliament: Small Steps and Large Strides, 1979–87	39
Formal Treaty Reforms	44
Moving Beyond the SEA	49
The Journey from Maastricht to Amsterdam	51
The Amsterdam Treaty	55
The Road from Amsterdam to Nice	59

The Treaty of Nice	61
Conclusion	64
<b>3 Linkage, Elections and Legitimacy</b>	<b>66</b>
Representative Democracy	66
The European Parliament and Direct Elections	68
1999 Elections	68
Case Study: The 1999 EP Election in the UK	72
Why the Concern with Turnout?	76
Elections, Democracy and Legitimacy	80
Demos or Demoi?	82
Demos, Demoi and EU Governance	84
Dual Legitimation, Dual Deficit: The European Parliament and National Parliaments	87
Multiple Legitimation	88
Conclusion	89
<b>4 Linkage, Representation and MEPs</b>	<b>91</b>
Microcosmic Representation	92
Territorial Constituency	99
Functional/Interest Representation	103
Party Representation	111
The 'How' of Representation: Representative Style	114
Conclusion	115
<b>5 Party Groups in the European Parliament</b>	<b>117</b>
Development of Transnational Party Groups	118
Rules on Size and Formation	119
Parliamentary-specific Activities	122
Composition of Groups	130
National Party Delegations	144
Issue Voting and Intra-group Cohesion	146
Coalition Formation and Party Competition	148
Conclusion	155
<b>6 Internal Organization</b>	<b>157</b>
Seat	158
Speaking in Tongues	163
Formal Parliamentary Leadership	167

---

The Presidency	168
The Vice-Presidents	171
Quaestors	172
The Bureau	173
Conference of Presidents	173
Conference of Committee Chairs and Conference of Delegation Chairs	175
Secretariat	176
Formal Organization: Committees	177
Temporary Committees/Committees of Inquiry	192
Conciliation Committee	194
Rules of Procedure	196
Intergroups	198
Plenary	199
Conclusion	200
<b>7 Formal Powers</b>	<b>202</b>
Legislative Powers	203
Budgetary Powers	213
Appointment and Dismissal	221
Appointments to Other EU Bodies	230
Power of Scrutiny	234
Judicial Review	241
Conclusion	242
<b>8 Influence and Decision-making</b>	<b>245</b>
Assessing Legislative Influence	246
Variable Legislative Influence	266
Formal Models of Legislative Influence	280
Influence over the Executive	285
Conclusion	291
<b>9 A Parliamentary Europe?</b>	<b>293</b>
Introduction	293
The EP and National Parliaments Compared	294
A Europe of Parliaments: The European Parliament and National Parliaments	295
A Second Parliamentary Chamber for Europe	303
Parliamentarization of the EU: Executive–Legislative Roles	306

Parliamentarization of the Commission	310
‘Deeper and Wider Debate about the Future of the European Union’	314
Conclusion	320
<i>References</i>	321
<i>Index</i>	346