Contents

List of Figures, Tables and Boxes		x xii
Pre	Preface	
List of Abbreviations		xiv
1	The European Union as a System of Differentiated Integration	1
	Between International Organization and State	2
	Membership	2 3
	Delimitation	3
	Authority	4
	Governance capacity	5
	Legitimacy	6
	Differentiated Integration	7
	Measuring Differentiated Integration	11
	Mapping Differentiated Integration	19
	Differentiation: A Persistent Feature of European	
	Integration	26
PA	RT I THEORY	
Int	roduction to Part I	29
2	Intergovernmentalism	40
	From Realist to Liberal Intergovernmentalism	40
	Rationalist Institutionalism	42
	General assumptions: international interdependence	
	and rational choice	42
	Explanatory theories: the functional theory of institutions, endogenous trade theory, bargaining theory, and club	
	theory	43
	Intergovernmentalism and European Integration	46
	National preferences	46
	Interstate bargaining	48
	Institutional choice	50
	General hypotheses	52

	Intergovernmentalism and Differentiated Integration	53
	Realist intergovernmentalism: autonomy-driven differentiated integration	54
	Liberal intergovernmentalism: interest divergence and	55
	externalities of differentiation	59
	Conjectures	59
	Conjecture 1 Conjecture 2	60
3	Supranationalism	62
	From Neofunctionalism to Supranationalism	62
	Historical Institutionalism	64
	General assumptions: rational actors in a path-dependent	
	process of institutionalization	64
	Explanatory theories of integrative dynamics	66
	Supranationalism and European Integration	69
	Spillover	70
	Institutionalization and path dependence in European	72
	integration	75
	General hypotheses	77
	Supranationalism and Differentiated Integration	78
	Intensity of transnational exchange	80
	Capacity and preferences of supranational actors	81
	Conjectures	82
	Conjecture 1	83
	Conjecture 2	
4	Constructivism	84
	A New Emphasis on Ideas	84
	Sociological Institutionalism	85
	General assumptions: ideas and appropriateness	85
	Explanatory theories: community institutions,	87
	argumentation, and socialization	90
	Constructivism and European Integration	91
	Ideas and integration preferences	93
	Negotiations in a community environment	95
	Integration and socialization	98
	General hypotheses	99
	Constructivism and Differentiated Integration	99
	Conditions	102
	Conjectures	102
	Conjecture 1 Conjecture 2	103
	Competitie	100

157

161

PART II POLICIES 105 Introduction to Part II 111 5 The Single Market 113 The Development of the Single Market 113 The Treaties of Rome 114 The Single European Act 117 After the SEA 118 Horizontal integration 120 Conclusion of historical overview 122 Intergovernmentalism The beginnings of integration: post-World War II Europe, 123 economic interdependence Integrative dynamics: growing interdependence and 125 preference convergence before the SEA 127 Differentiated integration 131 Supranationalism The beginnings of integration: transnational exchanges 131 and the EEC Treaty Explaining the single market programme: transnational 133 exchanges, institutionalization, and spillover 135 Horizontal integration and differentiation 136 Constructivism 136 The beginnings of integration: ideas matter Integrative dynamics: shared understandings of common 137 challenges 139 Differentiated integration: constructivism 140 Conclusion 142 **Economic and Monetary Union** The Development of Monetary and Fiscal Integration 143 143 The Bretton Woods system 145 The Snake and the European Monetary System 147 Economic and monetary union 150 The debt crisis and the reform of EMU 152 Conclusion 155 Intergovernmentalism Realist intergovernmentalism: monetary integration to 156 increase state autonomy? Liberal intergovernmentalism: interdependence, preference

convergence, and credible commitments

Differentiated horizontal integration

	Differentiated vertical integration	164
	Centralization of fiscal policy in the debt crisis:	
	intergovernmental bargaining	165
	Intergovernmental ourganism	166
	Supranationalism EMU: spillover and transnational networks	167
	EMU: Spillover and transmission	169
	Horizontal differentiation	170
	Vertical differentiation	171
	From differentiation to uniformity? Functional spillover and supranational autonomy in the	
		172
	debt crisis	173
	Constructivism	174
	EMU: macroeconomic policy consensus	176
	Differentiated integration The centralization of fiscal policy: socialization and	170
		178
	solidarity?	179
	Conclusion	180
	Interdependence	180
	Convergence of policy preferences	181
	German power	101
7	Security and Defence	184
	Approximation of the contract	404
	The Development of Security and Defence Policy in the EU	184
	A bold move: the Pleven Plan and the EDC	186
	De Gaulle's 'certaine idée' and the Fouchet Plans	188
	Informal intergovernmental coordination: the EPC	189
	Picking up speed: Maastricht, Amsterdam, and the CFSP	191
	Change of tide: St Malo, ESDP, and CSDP	194
	Conclusion	196
	Explaining the European Defence Community and its	
	Failure	198
	Intergovernmentalism	198
	Supranationalism	204
	Constructivism	205
	Explaining St Malo: The Return of Defence Policy	209
	Intergovernmentalism	209
	Supranationalism	213
	Constructivism	215
	Conclusion	218
8	The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	221
	The Development of the Area of Freedom, Security and	
	Justice	221
	Early intergovernmental beginnings	222

	Integration of justice and home affairs into the EU:	22.4
	Maastricht and beyond	224
	Horizontal integration	226
	Conclusion	228
	Intergovernmentalism	229
	Formation and development of the AFSJ: sovereignty,	
	interdependence, member state preferences, and	
	bargaining	229
	Differentiated horizontal integration	230
	Supranationalism	233
	Formation and development of the AFSJ: transnational	
	networks and spillover	233
	Horizontal and vertical differentiation	237
	From differentiation to uniformity?	238
	Constructivism	239
	Formation and development of the AFSJ: shared ideas	
	and inclusive identities	239
	Differentiated horizontal integration	240
	Conclusion	243
9	Conclusion: Integration and Differentiation in the	
	European Union	245
	Differentiated Integration in the European Union	247
	Evaluating the Theories	249
	Assumptions and expectations	249
	Vertical integration and differentiation	251
	Horizontal integration and differentiation	255
	A Synthetic Framework	259
		259
	Common ground Scope conditions	262
	Summary	265
	Where Do We Go From Here?	267
	where Do we do From fiere.	207
References		269 283
Ind	Index	