

CONTENTS

| | | |
|----------|--|-----------|
| 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| | <i>A Story of Integration—and Differentiation</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Differentiated Integration in EU Studies</i> | 7 |
| | <i>The How and Why of Differentiated Integration: A Preview</i> | 8 |
| | <i>Structure of the Book</i> | 17 |
| | <i>References</i> | 19 |
| 2 | The European Union as a System of Differentiated Integration | 21 |
| | <i>Between International Organization and State</i> | 22 |
| | <i>Membership</i> | 22 |
| | <i>Delimitation</i> | 24 |
| | <i>Authority</i> | 25 |
| | <i>Governance Capacity</i> | 26 |
| | <i>Legitimacy</i> | 27 |
| | <i>Differentiated Integration</i> | 29 |
| | <i>Measuring Differentiated Integration</i> | 33 |
| | <i>Mapping Differentiated Integration</i> | 40 |
| | <i>Differentiation: A Persistent Feature of European Integration</i> | 46 |
| | <i>References</i> | 48 |

Part I Theory

| | | |
|----------|---|-----------|
| 3 | Intergovernmentalism | 63 |
| | <i>From Realist to Liberal Intergovernmentalism</i> | 63 |
| | <i>Rationalist Institutionalism</i> | 66 |
| | <i>General Assumptions: International Interdependence and Rational Choice</i> | 66 |
| | <i>Explanatory Theories: The Functional Theory of Institutions, Endogenous Trade Theory, Bargaining Theory, and Club Theory</i> | 67 |
| | <i>Intergovernmentalism and European Integration</i> | 70 |
| | <i>National Preferences</i> | 70 |
| | <i>Interstate Bargaining</i> | 72 |
| | <i>Institutional Choice</i> | 74 |
| | <i>General Hypotheses</i> | 75 |
| | <i>Intergovernmentalism and Differentiated Integration</i> | 77 |
| | <i>Realist Intergovernmentalism: Autonomy-Driven Differentiated Integration</i> | 78 |
| | <i>Liberal Intergovernmentalism: Heterogeneity of Interdependence, Interests, and Capacities</i> | 79 |
| | <i>The Supply Side of Differentiated Integration: Size, Externalities and Bargaining Power</i> | 82 |
| | <i>Conjectures</i> | 84 |
| | <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 85 |
| | <i>Further Reading</i> | 86 |
| | <i>References</i> | 87 |
| 4 | Supranationalism | 89 |
| | <i>General Assumptions: Boundedly Rational Actors in a Path-Dependent Process of Institutionalization</i> | 91 |
| | <i>Explaining the Dynamics of Integration</i> | 94 |
| | <i>Supranationalism and European Integration</i> | 97 |
| | <i>Spillover</i> | 98 |
| | <i>The Constitutionalization of the Treaties</i> | 100 |
| | <i>European Integration and Path Dependence</i> | 103 |
| | <i>General Hypotheses</i> | 104 |
| | <i>Supranationalism and Differentiated Integration</i> | 106 |
| | <i>Intensity of Transnational Exchange</i> | 107 |
| | <i>Capacity and Preferences of Supranational actors</i> | 110 |
| | <i>Conjectures</i> | 111 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----|
| | <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 112 |
| | <i>Further Reading</i> | 113 |
| | <i>References</i> | 113 |
| 5 | Constructivism | 117 |
| | <i>General Assumptions: Ideas and Appropriateness</i> | 119 |
| | <i>Explanatory Theories: Community Institutions, Argumentation, and Socialization</i> | 121 |
| | <i>Constructivism and European Integration</i> | 124 |
| | <i>Ideas and Integration Preferences</i> | 125 |
| | <i>Negotiations in a Community Environment</i> | 128 |
| | <i>Integration and Socialization</i> | 131 |
| | <i>General Hypotheses</i> | 133 |
| | <i>Constructivism and Differentiated Integration</i> | 135 |
| | <i>Conditions</i> | 135 |
| | <i>Conjectures</i> | 137 |
| | <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 138 |
| | <i>Further Reading</i> | 139 |
| | <i>References</i> | 139 |
| 6 | Postfunctionalism | 143 |
| | <i>Multi-Level Governance and the Democratic Politics of Regional Integration</i> | 145 |
| | <i>Multi-Level Governance</i> | 146 |
| | <i>Democratic Mass Politics</i> | 149 |
| | <i>Postfunctionalism and European integration</i> | 152 |
| | <i>Integration Progress</i> | 153 |
| | <i>Cleavage Transformation and Party Competition</i> | 155 |
| | <i>Identity Politics</i> | 157 |
| | <i>Negotiations in the Shadow of National Democratic Politics</i> | 158 |
| | <i>General Hypotheses</i> | 161 |
| | <i>Postfunctionalism and Differentiated Integration</i> | 162 |
| | <i>Conjectures</i> | 164 |
| | <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 165 |
| | <i>Further Reading</i> | 165 |
| | <i>References</i> | 166 |

Part II Policies

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| 7 | The Single Market | 177 |
| | <i>The Development of the Single Market</i> | 180 |
| | <i>The Treaties of Rome</i> | 180 |
| | <i>The Single European Act</i> | 181 |
| | <i>After the SEA</i> | 185 |
| | <i>Horizontal Integration</i> | 186 |
| | <i>Conclusion of the Historical Overview</i> | 188 |
| | <i>Intergovernmentalism</i> | 190 |
| | <i>The Beginnings of Integration: Post-World War II</i> | |
| | <i>Europe, Economic Interdependence</i> | 191 |
| | <i>Integrative Dynamics: Growing Interdependence</i> | |
| | <i>and Preference Convergence Before the SEA</i> | 193 |
| | <i>(Differentiated) Horizontal Integration</i> | 195 |
| | <i>Supranationalism</i> | 200 |
| | <i>The Beginnings of Integration: Transnational Exchanges</i> | |
| | <i>and the EEC Treaty</i> | 201 |
| | <i>Explaining the Single Market Programme:</i> | |
| | <i>Transnational Exchanges, Institutionalization,</i> | |
| | <i>and Spillover</i> | 203 |
| | <i>Horizontal Integration and Differentiation</i> | 205 |
| | <i>Constructivism</i> | 206 |
| | <i>The Beginnings of Integration: Ideas Matter</i> | 206 |
| | <i>Integrative Dynamics: Shared Understandings</i> | |
| | <i>of Common Challenges</i> | 207 |
| | <i>(Differentiated) Horizontal Integration: Constructivism</i> | 209 |
| | <i>Postfunctionalism</i> | 210 |
| | <i>Postfunctionalism and the Single Market</i> | 211 |
| | <i>Conclusion</i> | 214 |
| | <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 217 |
| | <i>Further Reading</i> | 218 |
| | <i>References</i> | 218 |
| 8 | Economic and Monetary Union | 223 |
| | <i>The Development of Monetary and Fiscal Integration</i> | 225 |
| | <i>The Bretton Woods system</i> | 225 |
| | <i>The Snake and the European Monetary System</i> | 227 |
| | <i>Economic and Monetary Union</i> | 230 |
| | <i>The Eurozone Crisis and the Reform of EMU</i> | 233 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 238 |
| <i>Intergovernmentalism</i> | 239 |
| <i>Realist Intergovernmentalism: Monetary Integration to Increase State Autonomy?</i> | 240 |
| <i>Liberal Intergovernmentalism: Interdependence, Preference Convergence, and Credible Commitments</i> | 242 |
| <i>Differentiated Horizontal Integration</i> | 246 |
| <i>Differentiated Vertical Integration</i> | 249 |
| <i>Integration in the Eurozone Crisis</i> | 250 |
| <i>Supranationalism</i> | 253 |
| <i>EMU: Spillover and Transnational Networks</i> | 254 |
| <i>Horizontal and Vertical Differentiation</i> | 256 |
| <i>From Differentiation to Uniformity?</i> | 258 |
| <i>Transnational Interdependence and Supranational Capacity in the Eurozone Crisis</i> | 259 |
| <i>Constructivism</i> | 262 |
| <i>EMU: Macroeconomic Policy Consensus</i> | 263 |
| <i>Differentiated Integration</i> | 265 |
| <i>Vertical Integration in the Eurozone Crisis: Socialization and Learning?</i> | 266 |
| <i>Postfunctionalism</i> | 268 |
| <i>Integration and Differentiation in Macroeconomic Policies</i> | 269 |
| <i>Postfunctionalism and Integration in the Eurozone Crisis</i> | 271 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 273 |
| <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 277 |
| <i>Further Reading</i> | 278 |
| <i>References</i> | 278 |
| 9 Security and Defence | 281 |
| <i>The Development of Security and Defence Policy in the EU</i> | 282 |
| <i>A Bold Move: The Pleven Plan and the EDC</i> | 283 |
| <i>De Gaulle's 'certaine Idée' and the Fouchet Plans</i> | 286 |
| <i>Informal Intergovernmental Coordination: The EPC</i> | 288 |
| <i>Picking up Speed: Maastricht, Amsterdam, and the CFSP</i> | 290 |
| <i>Change of Tide: St Malo, ESDP, and CSDP</i> | 292 |
| <i>The 2010s: Times of External and Internal Turbulence</i> | 295 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 299 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Explaining the European Defence Community and Its Failure</i> | 300 |
| <i>Intergovernmentalism</i> | 301 |
| <i>Supranationalism</i> | 307 |
| <i>Constructivism</i> | 308 |
| <i>Postfunctionalism</i> | 311 |
| <i>The Return of Defence Policy</i> | 313 |
| <i>Intergovernmentalism</i> | 314 |
| <i>Supranationalism</i> | 320 |
| <i>Constructivism</i> | 323 |
| <i>Postfunctionalism</i> | 326 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 328 |
| <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 330 |
| <i>Further Reading</i> | 331 |
| <i>References</i> | 332 |
| 10 The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice | 337 |
| <i>The Development of the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice</i> | 338 |
| <i>Early Intergovernmental Beginnings</i> | 339 |
| <i>Integration of Justice and Home Affairs into the EU: Maastricht and Beyond</i> | 341 |
| <i>The Refugee Crisis as a Turning Point</i> | 343 |
| <i>Horizontal Integration</i> | 348 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 350 |
| <i>Intergovernmentalism</i> | 351 |
| <i>Formation and Development of the AFSJ: Sovereignty, Interdependence, Member State Preferences, and Bargaining</i> | 352 |
| <i>Differentiated Horizontal Integration</i> | 354 |
| <i>Supranationalism</i> | 356 |
| <i>Formation and Development of the AFSJ: Transnational Networks and Spillover</i> | 357 |
| <i>Horizontal and Vertical Differentiation</i> | 362 |
| <i>From Differentiation to Uniformity?</i> | 363 |
| <i>Constructivism</i> | 364 |
| <i>Formation and Development of the AFSJ: Shared Ideas and Inclusive Identities</i> | 365 |
| <i>Differentiated Horizontal Integration</i> | 366 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Postfunctionalism</i> | 368 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 369 |
| <i>Self-Test and Discussion Questions</i> | 372 |
| <i>Further Reading</i> | 372 |
| <i>References</i> | 373 |
| 11 Conclusion: Integration and Differentiation in the European Union | 377 |
| <i>Differentiated Integration in the European Union</i> | 380 |
| <i>Evaluating the Theories</i> | 381 |
| <i>Assumptions and Expectations</i> | 382 |
| <i>Vertical Integration and Differentiation</i> | 383 |
| <i>Horizontal Integration and Differentiation</i> | 390 |
| <i>A Synthetic Framework</i> | 394 |
| <i>Common Ground</i> | 395 |
| <i>Scope Conditions</i> | 398 |
| <i>Summary</i> | 401 |
| <i>Where Do We Go from Here?</i> | 403 |
| <i>References</i> | 404 |
| References | 407 |
| Index | 429 |