

Table of Contents

List of Illustrative Material	xiii	How 'federal' is the EU?	32
List of Abbreviations	xv	The dynamics of federalism and their consequences for policies and policy processes	32
Preface	xix	Federalism as a way of thinking	32
		Federalism as a process	32
		Differentiation and experimentation are common where the federal government does not have policy authority	33
		Federal decision-making systems have multiple points of entry, facilitating more pluralist (as opposed to majoritarian) forms of governing	34
		The federal government is strengthened during crises	35
		Many of the same policies are 'federalized' throughout federal systems	36
		The federal government uses carrots and sticks to induce desirable 'behaviour' among constituent units	37
		Conclusions	37
Introduction to the Second Edition	xxi		
1 The policy portfolio	1	4 The principal policy institutions	39
A continually expanding portfolio	1	The Commission	40
The nature of policy expansion	1	Policy roles and functions	40
The variable pace of policy expansion	2	Initiator and proposer	41
An increasingly broad portfolio	4	Mediator and broker	41
The varying extents of EU policy involvement	5	Executive functions	42
The varying legal statuses of EU policies	7	Is the Commission a policy leader?	42
The differing purposes of EU policies	8	Is the Commission a <i>political</i> policy leader and actor?	44
Regulatory policies	8	Power resources	46
Redistributive policies	9	The European Council	46
Distributive policies	10	Policy roles and functions	46
Increasing differentiation	11	Policy initiator, promoter and driver	48
À la carte differentiation	11	Contributor to the co-ordination of EU policies	48
Multi-speed differentiation	12	Final decision-taker	49
Conclusions	13		
2 Traditional and critical theoretical approaches	14		
The classical theories of European integration	15		
Neofunctionalism/supranationalism	15		
Liberal intergovernmentalism	17		
Critical approaches	20		
Conclusions	24		
3 The federal integration approach	26		
Economic integration theory	27		
Shortcomings of economic integration theory	29		
Federal theory	31		
The development of federalist thinking in (and about) Europe	31		

Forum at the highest political level for building mutual understanding and confidence between the governments of the EU member states	49	Why has there been a growth in the number of policy processes?	79
The Council of the European Union	50	Increased policy responsibilities	79
Policy roles and functions	50	An increased number of types of decisions	80
Legislator	50	An increased number of member states	80
Executive	51	How many EU policy processes are there?	83
Policy forum	51	The complexity of policy processes	83
Council decision-making	52	The varying mixtures of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism	84
The European Parliament	54	Policy processes are designed to ensure that member states have confidence in the EU system	84
Policy roles and functions	54	The dispersal of leadership	85
Policy- and law-maker	55	Sources of leadership	85
The Court of Justice of the European Union	56	The dispersed and shifting nature of leadership	86
Policy roles and functions	57	A need for stronger leadership?	87
Influencing the policy portfolio	58	The consensual nature of (most) policy processes	87
Influencing policy processes	58	The production of policy outputs	89
Conclusions	59	Variations in the speed of policy processes	90
5 Other important policy actors	61	How are decisions reached with so many differences between policy actors?	91
Representational institutions	61	Conclusions	92
European agencies	62	7 The policy cycle	93
Policy interests	65	The concept of the policy cycle	94
The level of policy interest activity, and its nature	65	Agenda-setting	94
The reasons for the high level of policy interest involvement in EU policy activities	67	Who are the agenda-setters?	95
The policy activities of policy interests	67	How, and in what ways, do issues come to be established on the policy agenda?	95
The influence exercised by policy interests	68	Multiple streams analysis	96
A special type of, but an increasingly important, policy interest: the governments of non-member states	70	Punctuated equilibrium theory	97
The member states	70	The advocacy coalition framework	97
The member states and the EU institutions	70	Policy formulation	98
Opportunities for national policy actors to exercise EU policy roles	71	Decision-making	100
National parliaments	71	Policy implementation	100
Subnational levels of government	72	The range and multifaceted nature of the EU's implementation arrangements	100
Member state influence: the importance of size	72	A policy networks approach to policy implementation	101
The one member state to have left the EU: the United Kingdom	73	Transposition	102
Conclusions	76	The passing of administrative legislation	103
6 Key features of policy processes	78	The application and enforcement of EU policies	104
The large and increasing number of policy processes	78	Variations between member states	104
The growth in policy processes	78		

Minimizing national variations	105	Services	138
Direct implementation		Capital	140
by the Commission	105	Persons	141
A note on the new member states	105	Implementation of the four freedoms	142
Evaluation	107	Beyond the focus on the four	
Ex ante evaluation	108	freedoms	142
Mid-term evaluation	108	Conclusions	143
Ex post evaluation	109		
Conclusions	109		
8 Policymaking modes	111	10 Competition policy	145
Classifying EU policy processes	111	The development of competition	
The Community method	113	policy	145
The development and nature		The supranational, but also the	
of the Community method	113	highly political, character of	
The Community method and		competition policy	147
the EU's legislative procedures	114	Competition policies	148
The consultation procedure	115	Antitrust policy	148
The ordinary legislative procedure	116	Anti-competitive mergers	150
The consent procedure	118	State aid	151
Inter-institutional dynamics		Conclusions	152
within the Community method	118		
The decline of the Community		11 Agriculture policy	155
method?	119	The development of EU agriculture	
Intensive transgovernmentalism	120	policy	156
Supranational centralization	122	Member states	156
New modes of governance	122	Interest groups and social	
What are the new modes of		movements	158
governance?	122	Institutional power	159
The nature of the Open		The treaty-based objectives and	
Method of Coordination	124	principles of the Common Agricultural	
The applicability and the uses		Policy	160
and limitations of new modes of		CAP reforms	161
governance	125	Reform pressures	161
Relations between policy process		Reforms 1980s–2013	163
modes and policy areas	127	Proposed reforms: 2021–2027	164
Conclusions	127	Conclusions	166
9 The internal market	129	12 Environment policy	168
A constantly ongoing process	129	The development of environmental	
The rationale for the internal market	130	policy	169
The development of the		Policy leaders among EU member	
internal market	131	states	170
Early progress and difficulties	131	Key features of environmental policy	171
The White Paper 're-launch'	132	Objectives and principles	171
An evolving and broadening		Environmental action programmes	171
internal market agenda	132	Global leadership	172
Methods used for reducing barriers		Environment policy processes	172
to free movement	133	Policy decision-making	172
Liberalization	133	Interest articulation	173
Approximation	134	Innovative policy instruments	173
Mutual recognition	135	Policy implementation and	
Establishing the four freedoms	137	evaluation	174
Goods	138	Climate change and the European	
		Green Deal	176
		Conclusions	178

13 Social and cohesion policies	180	The treaties	213
Social Policy	181	Action and related programmes	214
The nature of EU social policy	181	A federalizing impetus	214
The development of social policy	182	Institutional actors and policy processes	215
Policy processes	183	Institutional actors	215
Examples of EU social policies	184	Policy instruments and policy processes	217
Employment policy	184	AFSJ policies	218
Employment regulation	184	Internal borders: Schengen	218
Employment promotion	185	Judicial cooperation in civil matters	220
Anti-discrimination	186	Police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters	221
Gender	186	The Security Union	222
Discrimination based on age, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity, religion, disability	187	Data protection and privacy	223
What does the future hold for anti-discrimination policy?	187	The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	225
Social inclusion	188	Why is the EU involved with fundamental rights?	225
Poverty and social inclusion	188	The contents of the Charter	227
Cohesion policy	189	The status of the Charter	227
The evolution of cohesion policy	189	Conclusions	228
Key features and core objectives of cohesion policy	190		
Conclusions	192		
14 Economic and Monetary Union	194	16 Migration and border control policies	229
Why a single currency?	195	Migration levels	230
The building of Economic and Monetary Union	196	The European Agenda on Migration	231
The European Monetary System	196	Reducing incentives for irregular migration	231
The Maastricht's Treaty's three-stage plan	197	The root causes of migration	232
Introduction of the Euro	197	Combatting smuggling networks	232
Since the launch of the Euro	198	Returns	233
EMU institutions	199	Border management	234
The debate over the appropriateness of fiscal and monetary union	200	A tumultuous neighbourhood	234
Monetary policy	202	Separation between internal and external border control policy	235
The European Banking Union	203	Agencification and Common Security and Defence Policy operations: the trade-off between external border security and humanitarianism	235
Central supervision	204	Frontex – the European Border and Coast Guard Agency	236
Resolution	205	Common Security and Defence Policy operations	236
Deposit insurance	205	The Common European Asylum System	237
Fiscal policy	205	Derived from international and regional treaties and conventions	238
The Stability and Growth Pact	205	EU law on asylum	238
The eurozone sovereign debt crisis	206	Evolution of the Dublin Regulation	240
Fiscal policy reforms designed to stabilize the Euro area	208	Post-migration crisis round of CEAS reforms, 2016	240
Rescue funds	208	Von der Leyen Commission, 2020–2021 Reforms	244
Strengthening fiscal discipline	208		
Conclusions	210		
15 The area of freedom, security and justice	212		
The rationale for AFSJ	212		
The development of AFSJ	213		

Legal immigration and integration	245	The European External Action Service	280
Difficulties in building an EU-wide immigration policy	245	The Commission and the EP	280
Policies achieved for legal immigration	247	Policy processes	281
Migration integration	248	Many voices	281
Conclusions	250	Intensive transgovernmentalism	281
		Flexibility	282
17 Trade policy	253	Foreign policy	283
Why does the eu have a common trade policy?	254	The EU and Russia	284
The customs union	254	The EU at the United Nations	286
Opening up foreign markets to trade and investment	255	External security policy: towards a European defence and security union	287
Tying trade to other EU policy goals	256	Policy goals	287
The volume and (changing) nature of EU external trade	256	Policy capability	288
The geographical scope of external trade	257	PESCO	289
The product composition of external trade's impact on PTA negotiations	257	EU–NATO relationship	289
Policy actors and policy processes	259	Conclusions	291
The making of trade legislation	260		
The making of trade agreements	260	19 The EU's budget	294
Political lobbying and coalition-building	262	Evolution of the budget	295
Business interests	262	Budgetary components	297
Member state governments	263	Revenue sources	297
Societal interests: civil society organizations and labour unions	264	Tariffs	297
Civil society organizations	264	Value added tax	298
Labour unions	265	GNI-based resource	299
Trade policy implementation	266	Other revenues	301
The main strands of eu trade relations	267	The debate on revenue sources	301
Multilateralism	267	Expenditure	302
WTO rounds	268	Budgetary 'winners' and 'losers'	303
Trade in services agreement	268	Budgetary-making processes	305
Bilateralism	268	Multi-annual financial frameworks	305
Unilateralism	270	Key features in the making of MFFs	305
Conclusions	270	The 2021–27 MFF	306
		Annual budgets	310
18 Foreign and external security policy	272	Implementation of the budget	312
The development of CSFP and CSDP	273	Conclusions	312
The early post-war years	273		
European Political Cooperation	273	20 Conclusions and future challenges	314
The Maastricht Treaty	274	Policy achievements, policy challenges and policy prospects	315
From Maastricht to the Lisbon Treaty	275	The customs union and Brexit	315
Since Lisbon	277	The voracious internal market	318
The key policy institutions	278	Climate change policy	319
The European Council	278	Monetary union	320
The Foreign Affairs Council	278	Area of freedom, security and justice	322
The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy	279	Foreign and external security policies	324
		Public perception of the EU as policymaker	325
		Prospects for EU policies and policy processes	326
		References	329
		Index	355