

Contents

List of figures	xi
List of tables	xii
List of boxes	xiii
Acknowledgements	xiv

1 Introduction

1 An original construction, an undeniable success	1
2 An integration experience faced with a crisis of trust and growth	2
3 A political system under constraints	6
4 The importance of taking Euroscepticism seriously	11
5 The pitfalls of a political analysis of the European Union	12

18 A political system forged by history

1.1 Motivations for European integration: returning to an old idea	19
1.1.1 Peace	19
1.1.2 Prosperity	19
1.1.3 Europe	20
1.2 A reasoned chronology of European integration	23
1.2.1 1946-1958: in search of a method of integration	23
1.2.2 1958-1966: the triumphant start	26
1.2.3 1966-1974: the return of intergovernmentalism	27
1.2.4 1974-1986: Europe in search of a second wind	27
1.2.5 1986-1995: deepening European integration	29
1.2.6 1996-2009: the unification of the continent and the constitutional process	31
1.2.7 2009-2018: facing crises and new institutional developments	33

2 The main theoretical approaches in EU studies

- 2.1 The grand theories of European integration: neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism and federalism 50

- 2.1.1 Neo-functionalism 50

- 2.1.2 Intergovernmentalism 52

- 2.1.3 Federalism 53

- 2.1.4 Grand theories of European integration and the post-Maastricht era 53

- 2.2 A 'normalization' of EU studies 55

- 2.2.1 New institutionalism and the EU 55

- 2.2.2 Sociological approaches to European integration 56

- 2.2.3 The constructivist turn in EU studies 56

- 2.2.4 The governance approach 57

- 2.2.5 Others' approaches: sociology of international relations and new regionalism 58

- 2.3 Europeanization 59

- 2.3.1 A vast trend in EU studies 59

- 2.3.2 Four approaches of Europeanization 59

- 2.3.3 Europeanization and theoretical debates 61

- 2.3.4 Recent developments 62

- 2.3.5 Europeanization and the study of EU functioning 63

- 2.4 How can we theorize the EU institutional system? 64

3 Executive power

- 3.1 The European Council: the impetus 76

- 3.1.1 The role of the European Council 77

- 3.1.2 The composition of the European Council 78

- 3.1.3 The activities of the European Council 80

- 3.2 The European Commission, a central actor after all? 82

- 3.2.1 The composition of the Commission 83

- 3.2.2 The powers of the Commission 92

- 3.2.3 The functioning of the Commission 93

- 3.2.4 The uncertain nature of the Commission: government, secretariat or agency? 97

- 3.2.5 The crisis of the Commission's growth 105

4 The legislative power

- 4.1 The Council of the Union: between Community and intergovernmental logic 115

- 4.1.1 Organization of the Council 116

- 4.1.2 The powers of the Council 130

- 4.1.3 The activities and operations of the Council 131

4.2	The European Parliament: from <i>decurum</i> to co-decision	138
4.2.1	The composition of the European Parliament	139
4.2.2	Functions and powers of the European Parliament	158
4.2.3	The EP and the new 'Spitzenkandidaten' procedure for selecting the President of the Commission	162
4.2.4	The nature of the European Parliament: true Parliament or International Assembly?	165
5	Organs of control	174
5.1	The Court of Justice of the European Union	174
5.1.1	Composition and powers	174
5.1.2	The role of the Court in EU integration	175
5.2	The Court of Auditors	179
5.3	The European Ombudsman	180
5.4	The European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF)	181
6	Other organs involved in EU policy making	189
6.1	The consultative bodies	189
6.1.1	The European Economic and Social Committee	190
6.1.2	The Committee of the Regions	190
6.2	Financial agencies	191
6.2.1	European Investment Bank	191
6.2.2	European Central Bank	191
6.3	EU agencies	194
6.4	National parliaments and European integration	200
6.4.1	The development of the means of unilateral information from national parliaments	201
6.4.2	Bilateral parliamentary cooperation between national chambers and the European Parliament	202
6.4.3	The Conference of Presidents of Parliaments	202
6.4.4	The Conference of the Parliaments	203
6.4.5	The COSAC	203
6.4.6	The Early Warning System	205
6.4.7	National parliaments and treaty reform	209
6.5	Non-institutional actors in the EU	211
	Conclusion	217
7	Decision-making in the European Union	223
7.1	The EU's competences	225
7.1.1	A historically confused division of competences	225
7.1.2	EU competences after the Lisbon Treaty	227
7.1.3	A growing differentiated integration	231

327	Bibliography
321	Index
311	Conclusion A political system with structural difficulties of legitimization 311 The European Union and sovereignty 313 The preserved influence of EU states 314 The European Union: a sustainably ambiguous and ambivalent concept 316
284	9 The EU decision-making process from a public policy network perspective 9.1 A sequential analysis of public policies 284 9.2 Communities and networks of actors 288 9.2.1 Policy communities 288 9.2.2 Policy networks 290 9.2.3 Thematic and issue networks 292 9.3 Emergence of consensus in a network: advocacy coalitions 294 9.4 EU decision-making: between openness and conservatism 298 9.4.1 Open and uncertain agenda-setting 298 9.4.2 Three characteristics of the European Agenda 300 9.4.3 Very conservative policy 'formulation' 304 Conclusion 305
263	8 EU decision-making models 8.1 The plurality of decision-making styles 264 8.1.1 The Community method 267 8.1.2 Intergovernmental cooperation 269 8.1.3 Open coordination 271 8.1.4 Centralized regulation 273 8.1.5 Enhanced cooperation 274 8.2 Two distinctive features of EU decision-making 276 8.2.1 The segmentation of European policy making 276 8.2.2 From 'co-option' to civil European dialogue: the omnipresence of interest groups 279