

Glossary

1992 Programme The Commission's programme and timetable for implementation of the internal market. In its 1985 White Paper, the Commission listed some 300 legislative measures to be taken to implement the single market programme. These included the elimination of physical, technical, and tax frontiers. *See* single market (programme); Single European Act.

à la carte A non-uniform method of integration that would allow member states to select policies as if from a menu.

accession The process of joining the EU.

accession treaty An international agreement concluded between the EU member states and the acceding country. It defines the accession conditions of the new member state, and the subsequent adaptations and adjustments of the EU Treaty.

accountability The requirement for representatives to answer to the represented on how they have performed their duties and powers, and for them to act upon criticisms and accept responsibility for failure, incompetence, or deceit.

acquis communautaire A French term that refers literally to the Community patrimony. It is the cumulative body of the objectives, substantive rules, policies, and, in particular, the primary and secondary legislation and case law—all of which form part of the legal order of the EU. It includes the content of the treaties, legislation, judgments by the Court of Justice of the European Union, and international agreements. All member states are bound to comply with the *acquis communautaire*.

Activism *See* judicial activism.

advocacy coalition (or advocacy network) A network of institutional and non-institutional actors that interact together to defend a common cause.

African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries Those developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific that have entered into partnership with the EU through the Lomé and Cotonou Conventions.

Agenda 2000 An influential action programme adopted by the Commission on 15 July 1987, which set out the reforms needed for the EU to enlarge in 2004 and in 2007.

agenda-setting The process by which an issue or problem emerges onto the political scene and is framed for subsequent debate.

Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany) A Eurosceptic and conservative political party in Germany founded in 2013. The party won 4.7 per cent of the vote in the 2013 federal election, narrowly missing the 5 per cent electoral threshold, and won seven seats in the 2014 European election, joining the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) group in the chamber.

Altiero Spinelli An important federalist thinker and politician (1907–86), responsible for the influential Ventotene Manifesto of 1941 and for the European Parliament's Draft Treaty on European Union (1984), which helped to shape the European political agenda of the late 1980s.

amending treaty *See* reform treaty.

Amsterdam Treaty Signed in October 1997 and in force from 1 May 1999, the Treaty amended certain provisions of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the European Community treaties.

Arab Spring A series of anti-government uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, beginning in Tunisia in December 2010.

Assent (procedure) *See* consent procedure.

Association Agreement An agreement between the EU and a third country that creates a framework for cooperation in several policy fields such as trade, socio-economic issues, and security, as well as the creation of joint institutional structures.

avis A French term that literally means 'opinion'. In the context of EU enlargement, once a country has formally submitted an application for membership to the Council of the European Union, the Commission is invited to submit its so-called *avis* (or opinion) to the Council. In its *avis*, the Commission presents recommendations about the process, including any conditions for immediate accession talks.

Banking Union At the Euro area summit in June 2012, the European Council agreed to 'break the vicious circle between banks and sovereigns' and decided to create a banking union that would allow for centralized supervision and resolution for banks in the euro area. It is made up of the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) and the Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM), both of which are mandatory for all euro area member states and open to all other countries in the EU.

barrier(s) to trade One of the protectionist technical and fiscal rules, and physical constraints, that carve up or prevent the creation of the internal market.

base rate The rate of interest used by banks as a basis on which to make loans to their customers.

benchmarking One of the mechanisms of the open method of coordination (OMC) that allows for the comparison and adjustment of the policies of member states on the basis of common objectives.

Benelux An economic and political union composed of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, signed in 1944.

benign elitism The neo-functionalist characteristic tendency to assume the tacit support of the European peoples upon which experts and executives rely when pushing for further European integration.

Berlin Republic Is a term that refers to the strengthened and newly defined Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall and reunification.

best practice exchange One of the OMC mechanisms to encourage member states to pool information, to compare themselves to one another, and to reassess policies against their relative performance.

bicameral Involving two chambers. Usually refers to parliaments divided into an upper and lower house.

bipolarity The understanding of the international system before the end of the Cold War as being structured around the two major superpowers—namely, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Black Wednesday Refers to 16 September 1992 when the British Conservative government was forced to withdraw the pound sterling from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) after it was unable to keep the pound above its agreed lower limit in the ERM.

blocking minority Is the number of votes needed on the EU Council to block a decision needing to be made by qualified majority voting (QMV). In the context of the new system of QMV introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, a blocking minority must be composed of at least four member states representing over 35 per cent of the EU population. See dual majority or double majority system of voting.

Bolkestein Directive Directive 2006/123/EC on Services in the Internal Market, which aims to break down barriers to trade in services across the EU. It was controversial because while some believe that it will boost European competitiveness, critics feel that it promotes social dumping.

Bologna Process A series of reforms aimed to make European higher education more compatible and comparable, more competitive, and more attractive for Europeans, and for students and scholars from other continents. It was agreed in the Bologna Declaration of June 1999 by the ministers responsible for higher education in the member states.

Bonn Republic Is a label commonly used to refer to the Federal Republic of Germany or in the period between its creation on 23 May 1949 to German reunification on 3 October 1990.

brake clause One of a number of clauses that have been created in order to enable the ordinary legislative procedure (OLP) to be applied to the measures for coordinating social security systems for migrant workers, judicial cooperation in criminal matters, and the establishment of common rules for certain criminal offences. The OLP is restrained by a braking mechanism: a member state may submit an appeal to the European Council if it considers that the

fundamental principles of its social security system or its criminal justice system are threatened by the draft legislation being proposed.

Bretton Woods agreement Signed by 44 countries in July 1944, this agreement was set up to support an international monetary system of stable exchange rates. Its aim was to make national currencies convertible on current account, to encourage multilateral world trade, and to avoid disruptive devaluations and financial crashes. The Bretton Woods system itself collapsed in 1971, when President Richard Nixon severed the link between the dollar and gold. By 1973, most major world economies had allowed their currencies to float freely against the dollar.

Brexit An abbreviation of 'British exit' and it refers to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU.

Broad Economic Policy Guidelines (BEPGs) The 1993 Treaty of Maastricht first introduced a system for coordinating the economic policies of EU member states. Article 121 TFEU states: 'Member States shall regard their economic policies as a matter of common concern and shall co-ordinate them within the Council.' The BEPGs are adopted by the Council as a reference document guiding the conduct of the whole range of economic policies in the member states. They play a central role in the system of economic policy coordination, setting out economic policy recommendations that give a basis for economic policy in both the member states and the EU as a whole in the current year, and which take into account the particular circumstances of each member state and the different degree of urgency of measures.

Budget rebate (or British rebate) The refund that the UK received on its contribution to the EU Budget, which was negotiated by UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1984. The main reason for the rebate was that a high proportion of the EU Budget was spent on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which benefited the UK much less than other countries.

budgetary deficit A governmental shortfall of current revenue over current expenditure.

bureau-shaping An approach to public sector organization, which originates in the work of Patrick Dunleavy. The approach contends that public officials have preferences for the type of work that they handle, and thus they will develop individual and collective

strategies to pursue these preferences. Collective bureau-shaping strategies are likely to be pursued to shape organizations by a variety of means.

cabotage In road haulage, the transport of loads that have both their origin and their destination in a foreign country.

candidate countries Countries that have applied for membership of the EU and whose application has been accepted by the European Council. (See potential candidate country.)

capabilities catalogue A pool of personnel, expertise, and military equipment pledged by member governments, to be used in EU-led military actions.

Cecchini Report One of the reports published in 1988 in response to the European Commission's 1985 White Paper *Completing the Internal Market*. The report was drafted by a group of experts, chaired by Paolo Cecchini. The report examined the benefits and costs of creating a single market in Europe. According to the report, the single market would lead to lower trade costs and greater economies of scale, as firms exploited increased opportunities; it was also expected that there would be greater production efficiency achieved through market enlargement, intensified competition, and industrial restructuring.

central bank A national bank that provides services for the country's government and commercial banking system. It manages public debt, controls the money supply, and regulates the monetary and credit system.

Charles de Gaulle President of France 1959–69, de Gaulle was responsible for keeping the UK out of the EEC in the 1960s and for the 'empty chair' crisis, which is said to have slowed down the European integration process after 1966. See 'empty chair' crisis.

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union The first formal EU document to combine and declare all of the values and fundamental rights (economic and social, as well as civil and political) to which EU citizens should be entitled. The text of the Charter does not establish new rights, but assembles existing rights that were previously scattered over a range of international sources. It was drafted through a convention and proclaimed at the 2000 Nice European Council. It became binding in December 2009 when the Lisbon Treaty entered into force.

checks and balances The system of building safety mechanisms into government that stems from the idea that no one branch of government should be able to do something without another branch of government reviewing that action and, if necessary, halting it.

citizens' initiative One of the new democratic instruments incorporated into the Lisbon Treaty to enhance democracy and transparency in the EU. The initiative allows 1 million EU citizens to participate directly in the development of EU policies, by calling on the European Commission to make a legislative proposal. The first initiative was registered on 9 May 2012.

civil society An intermediate realm between the state and the individual or family; a particular type of political society rooted in principles of citizenship.

closer cooperation See enhanced cooperation procedure.

co-decision See ordinary legislative procedure (OLP).

co-determination The process by which employees participate in company decision-making through, for example, works councils.

cognitive mobilization The ability of voters to deal with the complexities of politics and to make their own political decisions thanks to the advance of education and the information explosion through the mass media.

cohesion A principle that favours the reduction of regional and social disparities across the EU.

Cohesion Fund An EU fund aimed at member states with a gross national income per inhabitant that is less than 90 per cent of the EU average. It aims to reduce their economic and social shortfall, as well as to stabilize their economies. It is now subject to the same rules of programming, management, and monitoring as the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

collective agreement An agreement reached through collective bargaining between an employer and one or more trade unions, or between employers' associations and trade union confederations. It is normal to divide collective agreements into *procedural agreements*, which regulate the relationships between the parties and the treatment of individual workers (such as disciplinary procedures), and *substantive agreements*, which cover the wages and conditions of the workers

affected, although in practice the distinction between the two is not always clear-cut.

collective bargaining The process of negotiating an agreement on pay or on the working conditions of employees between trade unions and employers or employer associations.

collective good A shared good that cannot be withheld from those who have not paid for its use (such as 'clean air').

collegiality A principle that implies that decisions taken by one are the collective responsibility of all.

comitology (or 'committee procedure') The procedure under which the European Commission executes its implementing powers delegated to it by the legislative branch—that is, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union—with the assistance of so called 'comitology committees' consisting of member state representatives. This delegation of power is now based on Article 290 TFEU.

comitology committee See comitology.

Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper) Committee responsible for preparing the work of the Council of the European Union. It consists of the member states' ambassadors to the European Union ('permanent representatives') and is chaired by the member state that holds the EU Council presidency.

Committee of the Regions (CoR) A Committee set up by the Maastricht Treaty as an advisory body composed of nominated representatives of Europe's regional and local authorities, to ensure that regional and local identities and interests are respected within the EU.

Common Commercial Policy (CCP) The set of principles, procedures, and rules that govern the EU's involvement in international trade and commercial negotiations.

common external tariff A central element of any customs union: a set of common tariffs, agreed by all members, imposed on goods coming into the union from outside its borders.

common market An economic agreement that extends cooperation beyond a customs union, to provide for the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labour.

common market organization (CMO) An organization operating for individual items of agricultural produce that involves public intervention, a price guaranteed for farmers, and levies at the EU's borders.

common position In the context of the EU's CFSP/CSDP, common positions allow member states to define European foreign policy towards a particular third-country or on a particular issue. A common position, once agreed, is binding on all EU states.

common strategy Overall policy guidelines for EU activities within individual non-member countries.

Communitarization The shift of policy activity from the intergovernmental pillars to the Community pillar.

Community method The use of the 'established' process of decision-making, which involves a Commission legislative initiative being agreed by the Council, and now usually the European Parliament. It also implies that the Court of Justice of the EU will have jurisdiction over any decision taken.

Community preference The preference and price advantage from which EU agricultural products benefit in comparison with imported products.

competence The legal capacity to deal with a matter.

Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) Is a free trade agreement between the EU and Canada. The objective of CETA is to increase bilateral trade and investment flows and contribute to growth through the removal of customs duties, the end of limitations in access to public contracts, the creation of predictable conditions for investors, and the prevention of illegal copying of EU innovations and traditional products, amongst other measures. The negotiations ended in August 2014 but the agreement still has to be ratified, so it is not yet binding under international law.

Comprehensive security actor Is an international actor that typically combines a wide range of means to achieve its aims of a fairer, safer world characterized by multilateralism and governed by international law. The EU has been defined as such by the European Security Strategy (ESS). *See* European Security Strategy.

compulsory spending That part of the EU's Budget on which only the EU Council could make a decision. The Lisbon Treaty has done away with the distinction between compulsory and non-compulsory spending.

In the post-Lisbon context, the European Parliament and the EU Council decide together on the whole EU Budget. The underlying principle and the amount are legally determined by the treaties, secondary legislation, conventions, international treaties, or private contracts. In addition, the Lisbon Treaty simplifies the decision-taking procedure and makes the long-term Budget plan, or financial perspectives, legally binding.

conciliation (procedure) The third stage of the ordinary legislative procedure (OLP), at which point an equal number of representatives of the Parliament and Council get together to try to work out an agreement acceptable to all. The conciliation procedure always applies if the EU Council does not approve all of the amendments of the European Parliament adopted at its second reading.

conciliation committee A committee that, as part of the conciliation procedure, brings together equal numbers of representatives from the European Parliament and the EU Council to broker an inter-institutional agreement on outstanding problems with the proposed legislation. The committee has to be convened within six weeks (which may be extended by two weeks on the initiative of either institution) of the Council's second reading. The Committee has six (or eight) weeks in which to draw up a 'joint text' from the date of its first meeting. Within a period of six (or eight) weeks, the joint text is submitted by the presidents of the Parliament and Council delegations for approval, without any possibility of amendment. If the conciliation committee does not reach an agreement or if the 'joint text' is not approved by the Parliament or the Council, the act is deemed not to have been adopted.

conditionality (EU enlargement) The principle that applicant states must meet certain conditions before they can become EU member states; (EU external relations) provisions that make the granting of EU aid conditional on good governance, observance of human rights, and the introduction of market economics.

confederation A political model that involves a loose grouping of states, characterized by the fact that the centre has fewer powers than the states or regions.

Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFE) Launched on 9 May 2021 by the European Parliament, the Commission, and the Council, the Conference on

the future of Europe aims to give citizens a greater role in shaping EU policies and ambitions, improving the Union's resilience to crises, be it economic or health-related. It will create a new public forum for an open, inclusive, transparent, and structured debate with Europeans around the issues that matter to them and affect their everyday lives.

consensual (decision-making) A type of decision-making that involves the agreement of all, even where this is no formal requirement.

consent (procedure) Was initially introduced by the Single European Act (1986) as the assent procedure. It requires the EU Council to obtain the European Parliament's agreement before certain important decisions are taken. The assent principle is based on a single reading. Parliament may accept or reject a proposal but cannot amend it. If Parliament does not give its assent, the act in question cannot be adopted. As a non-legislative procedure, it usually applies to the ratification of certain agreements negotiated by the European Union, or is applicable most notably in the cases of serious breach of fundamental rights under Article 7 Treaty on European Union (TEU) or for the accession of new EU members or arrangements for the withdrawal from the EU. As a legislative procedure, it is to be used also when new legislation on combating discrimination is being adopted and it now gives the European Parliament a veto when the subsidiary general legal basis is applied in line with Article 352 TFEU.

consolidated treaty A treaty that incorporates all of the amendments made since the original Treaty of Rome.

Constitutional Convention See *Convention (on the Future of Europe)*.

Constitutional Treaty (CT) Sometimes known as the 'EU Constitution', a treaty signed on 24 October 2004. It was not ratified due to negative referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005.

constitutionalization The formalization of the rules of the game, which, in an EU context, might involve a process whereby the treaties become over time—*de jure* or only *de facto*—a constitution.

constructive abstention A provision that allows member states to abstain in the Council on Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) decisions, without blocking a unanimous agreement. This was replaced

by the 'enhanced cooperation' provision in the Lisbon Treaty. See *enhanced cooperation*.

constructivism A theoretical approach that claims that politics is affected as much by ideas as by power. It argues that the fundamental structures of political life are social rather than material.

Constructivist See *constructivism*.

consultation (procedure) A special legislative procedure, under Article 289 TFEU, whereby the European Parliament is asked for its opinion on proposed legislation before the Council adopts it. The Parliament may approve or reject a legislative proposal, or propose amendments to it. The Council is not legally obliged to take account of Parliament's opinion, but in line with the case law of the Court of Justice of the EU, it must not take a decision without having received it.

Convention (on the Future of Europe) A body set up in 2002 to debate alternative models and visions of the EU, and to prepare a draft constitution that could be used as the basis of discussion in the intergovernmental conference of 2004.

convergence criteria The rules that member states have to meet before they could join economic and monetary union (EMU) in 1999.

convertibility (of currencies) The extent to which one currency is freely exchangeable into other currencies.

cooperation Usually implies government-to-government relations (with little supranational involvement).

cooperation procedure A legislative procedure introduced in the Single European Act (Article 252, ex 198c EC), which allowed the European Parliament a second reading of draft legislation. Since Amsterdam, it had been hardly used, because most policies originally falling under cooperation came under the then co-decision procedure (now ordinary legislative procedure, or OLP); the Lisbon Treaty repealed the cooperation procedure.

Copenhagen criteria The criteria that applicant states have to meet in order to join the EU. It was agreed at the Copenhagen European Council meeting in 1993.

cordon sanitaire The refusals to cooperate with other parties politically. Used in the EU to refer to shutting the far-right out of influential positions.

core Europe (or 'hard core') The idea that a small group of countries able and willing to enter into closer cooperation with one another might 'leave behind' the less enthusiastically integrationist members of the EU.

co-regulation The mechanism whereby an EU legal act entrusts the attainment of the objectives defined by the legislative authority to parties that are recognized in the field, such as economic operators, the social partners, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or associations. It is one of the modes of governance developed in the context of the Lisbon Strategy to simplify and improve regulation in the EU.

corporatism A system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive, hierarchically ordered, and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories, in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports.

cosmopolitanism The idea that citizens are 'citizens of the world'.

Council of Europe (CoE) A European political organization founded on 5 May 1949 by ten countries and distinct from the EU. The Council of Europe, based in Strasbourg, has 47 member countries. It seeks to develop, throughout Europe, common and democratic principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and other reference texts on the protection of individuals.

Court of Session in Scotland The Court of Session is Scotland's supreme civil court. It sits in Parliament House, Edinburgh, and is presided over by the Lord President, Scotland's most senior judge.

covered bond scheme Under such a scheme, bonds are issued to free up cash tied up in assets, such as mortgages, for on-lending. Covered bonds allow the issuing bank to raise funds at a lower cost. They are generally fixed-interest instruments, thus the interest rate risk for the issuing bank is known and can be suitably managed.

COVID-19 Infectious coronavirus that led to a global pandemic with national lockdowns from early 2020.

credit boom Part of the credit boom–bust cycle, an episode characterized by a sustained increase in several economic indicators usually followed by a sharp and rapid contraction.

credit condition One of the criteria used for the grant of credit by banks.

critical juncture A period of institutional flux within the historical institutionalist model of institutional development. This literature assumes a dual model characterized by relatively long periods of path-dependent institutional stability and reproduction that are punctuated occasionally by brief phases of institutional flux (the 'critical junctures'), during which more dramatic change is possible. Junctures are critical because they place institutional arrangements on paths or trajectories that are then very difficult to alter.

cueing A form of information flowing from elites to citizens to illustrate mass–elite linkages. These linkages can mainly be structured in two forms. Political elites can be instrumental in helping to determine citizens' attitudes in a top-down approach, or elites can assume a position on European integration that reflects citizens' views, in a bottom-up manner.

current account deficit A negative difference between a country's savings and its investment.

current account surplus A positive difference between a country's savings and its investment.

customs union An economic association of states based on an agreement to eliminate tariffs and other obstacles to trade, and which also includes a common trade policy vis-à-vis third countries, usually by establishing a common external tariff on goods imported into the union.

Danish People's Party (DPP) or *Dansk Folkeparti* (DF) The DPP is a Danish right-wing populist and Eurosceptic party that won the 2014 European Parliament elections in Denmark with 26.6 per cent of the vote. It joined the European Conservatives and Reformists Group in the European Parliament. It received 21.1 per cent of the vote in the June 2015 Danish general election, but did not join the government as part of a coalition but rather agreed to provide tacit parliamentary support to the new Liberal Prime Minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen.

Davignon Report A document issued by EC foreign ministers in 1970, outlining how the Community

might develop its own foreign policy and setting out some initial steps to that end.

decoupling The divorcing of the grant of direct aid to farmers from production in the context of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

deepening An intensification of integration processes and structures.

delegated act A new category of legal act created under the Treaty of Lisbon in which the legislator delegates the power to adopt acts amending non-essential elements of a legislative act to the Commission. Delegated acts may specify certain technical details or they may consist of a subsequent amendment to certain elements of a legislative act. The legislator can therefore concentrate on policy direction and objectives without entering into overly technical debates.

delegated legislation Legislation made usually by executive bodies on behalf of legislatures. It often involves the making of administrative rules and the filling in of gaps in existing legislation.

delegation The handing over of powers by a legitimate political institution to a body that then acts on its behalf.

deliberative democracy A school of thought in political theory that claims that political decisions should be the product of fair and reasonable discussion and debate among citizens. In deliberation, citizens exchange arguments and consider different claims that are designed to secure the public good. Through this conversation, citizens can come to an agreement about what procedure, action, or policy will best produce the public good. Deliberation is a necessary precondition for the legitimacy of democratic political decisions.

deliberative intergovernmentalism A version of contemporary EU intergovernmentalism that stresses the relevance of policy deliberation. It refers to two different dimensions regarding the analysis of intergovernmentalism; the first concerns the question of what makes intergovernmental relations dependent on deliberative processes; the second relates to the question of under what conditions we should expect policy deliberation to flourish in an intergovernmental context and what this would imply.

deliberative supranationalism 'Deliberative supranationalism', a term coined by Christian Joerges and

Jürgen Neyer, is concerned with the interaction of democratic nation states. It is neither the successor of the nation state nor does it aim to establish a democratic polity above it. Its aim is to improve the democratic nation state by adding a supranational layer of governance which helps to correct the functional deficiencies of national governance under conditions of complex interdependence.

Delors Report The report drafted by central bankers in 1989, which later formed the basis of the monetary union section of the Treaty on European Union. The Committee that produced the report was chaired by Jacques Delors, then Commission President.

democratic back sliding This term refers to the possibility of an EU member state reneging its democratic commitments (as defined by the Copenhagen Criteria) and points to the fact that democracy cannot be simply assumed.

democratic deficit The loss of democracy caused by the transfer of powers to the European institutions and to member state executives arising out of European integration. It implies that representative institutions (parliaments) lose out in this process.

Democrats 66 (D66) Is an internationalist and liberal Dutch political party founded in 1966. In the European Party it is part of the liberal Renew Europe Group.

demos The people of a nation as a political unit; a politically defined public community.

dependent variable The object of study; the phenomenon that one is trying to explain.

derogation A temporary exception to legislation.

Die Linke Literally, 'The Left', a democratic socialist political party in Germany, founded in 2007.

differentiated integration See differentiation.

differentiation The idea that subsets of member states might engage in European integration projects that do not involve all existing members; contrasts with the notion of the EU as a uniform Community.

diffuse interest group A type of interest group that is characterized by its broad scope and lack of clear membership. These include, for example, religious, social, human rights, consumer, and environmental groups.

direct action A case brought directly before the Court of Justice of the EU.

direct effect A principle of EU law by which provisions of EU law are to be enforced in national courts, and which imposes obligations on those against whom they are enforced.

direct implementation The putting into effect of European legislation by the European institutions rather than by national governments.

direct support In the context of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the agricultural subsidies given directly to farmers, decoupled from production.

directive A legislative instrument that lays down certain end results that must be achieved in every member state. National authorities have to adapt their laws to meet these goals, but are free to decide how to do so. Directives may concern one or more member states, or all of them.

dirigiste *See* interventionist.

Doha Development Round The latest round of trade negotiations among the World Trade Organization (WTO) membership, aiming to achieve major reform of the international trading system through the introduction of lower trade barriers and revised trade rules. The work programme covers some 20 areas of trade and its agenda is fundamentally to improve the trading prospects of developing countries.

domestic proxy A representative or an agent authorized to act on behalf of others. In the political context, a national government is authorized to act on behalf of citizens.

Dooge Committee A committee set up after the Fontainebleau European Council in 1984 to discuss the institutional reforms required to complete the internal market and to solve the paralysis provoked by the excessive use of unanimity in the Council. It submitted its final report to the European Council in March 1985, which identified a number of priority objectives necessary to deepen integration, such as restricting the use of unanimity in the Council, strengthening the legislative role of the European Parliament, and giving more executive power to the Commission. The Committee conclusions paved the way to the Single European Act.

dual majority (or double majority) (system of voting) A voting system that takes into consideration

the number of votes and population necessary to achieve a majority. The Treaty of Lisbon simplifies the system with a view to improving its efficiency. It abolishes the weighting of votes and establishes a dual majority system for adopting decisions. Thus a qualified majority is achieved if it covers at least 55 per cent of member states representing at least 65 per cent of the population of the EU. Where the Council does not act on a proposal from the Commission, the qualified majority should cover at least 72 per cent of member states representing at least 65 per cent of the population. The Treaty of Lisbon also provides for a blocking minority composed of at least four member states representing over 35 per cent of the EU population. This new system of qualified majority voting (QMV) applied with effect from 1 November 2014. However, until 31 March 2017, any member state could request, on a case-by-case basis, that a decision is taken in accordance with the rules in force before 1 November 2014 (that is, in accordance with the qualified majority, as defined by the Treaty of Nice).

Dublin Regulation The Dublin Regulation (sometimes referred to as Dublin III) determines which EU country is responsible for examining an asylum application (*see* Dublin system).

Dublin system The EU agreement which helps identify which country is responsible for processing the asylum application of a non-EU or stateless person. Introduced in the early 1990s, the basic principle of the Dublin system was that the country of first arrival for an asylum applicant would be the member state in which they made their claim for refugee status and that any decision would be valid for the whole EU. This would prevent applications being made in more than one member state. Member states' disagreement over forms of solidarity that would involve relocating asylum seekers required reforming the system. Thus it was replaced by the Dublin II Regulation in 2003; that Regulation was in turn replaced by the Dublin III Regulation in 2013. The Commission proposed a new Regulation in 2016, but it has not been agreed yet (*see also* Dublin Regulation).

dumping Selling at below cost, often to force competition out of the market.

economic and monetary union (EMU) A form of integration that combines the features of the economic union (which implies the existence of a single market, but also a high degree of coordination of the most

important areas of economic policy and market regulation, as well as monetary policies and income redistribution policies) and the monetary union, which implies further integration in the area of currency co-operation. The process involves three stages and the fulfilment of the so-called 'convergence criteria' by all participating countries.

economic union A form of integration that implies the existence of a single market (and therefore free movement of goods, services, labour, and capital among the participating states and common rules, tariffs, and so on, vis-à-vis third countries), but also a high degree of coordination of the most important areas of economic policy and market regulation, as well as monetary policies and income redistribution policies.

Economist An advocate of one of the possible economic strategies with which to achieve economic and monetary union (EMU); in the 1960s and 1970s, the Economist camp postulated that economic policies needed to be coordinated before fixing exchange rates or introducing a single currency. *See* Monetarist.

efficiency The ratio of output to input of any system.

elite pluralism A system of interest mediation in which access to the EU consultative institutions is open, but competitive, resulting in biased access patterns.

elite socialization Closely related to the neo-functional idea of political spillover, this theory posits that European integration promotes shifts of loyalty among civil servants and other elite actors; thus members of the European Parliament (MEPs) will tend to become more European in their outlook, although this may be disputed empirically.

elitist A characteristic describing the tendency of neo-functionalists to see European integration as driven by functional and technocratic needs. Although not apolitical, it sees little role for democratic and accountable governance.

embedded liberalism A term introduced by John Ruggie to describe the policy orientation of the interwar international economic order and to explain the social conditions upon which it rested. This order was based on two doctrines: the first is that states should cooperate in devising and implementing international economic institutions to facilitate international market integration and to preserve international

economic stability; the second is that states should retain sufficient autonomy to pursue economic and social objectives domestically.

emergency brake *See* brake clause.

'empty chair' crisis The crisis that affected the European Community after July 1965 when France boycotted the meetings of the Council in opposition to Commission proposals addressing the financing of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). France insisted on a political agreement that would clarify the role of the Commission and majority voting if it were to participate again. This crisis was resolved in the Luxembourg Compromise in January 1966. *See* Luxembourg Compromise.

enforcement The process of ensuring that EU rules are implemented. It may involve taking action in the Court of Justice of the EU.

engrenage The enmeshing of EU elites, which may arise out of a process of socialization in Brussels.

enhanced cooperation (procedure) Initially established by the Amsterdam Treaty as 'closer cooperation' and renamed 'enhanced cooperation' by the Lisbon Treaty, a procedure that allows groups of member states that wish to integrate further than provided for in the treaties to do so, with the exception of areas of exclusive Union competence. The Commission will assess the request and it may submit a proposal to the Council in this respect. If the Commission decides not to present a proposal, it will explain its reasons to the member states concerned.

enlargement The process of expanding the EU geographically to include new member states.

Environmental Action Programme (EAP) Since 1973, a document defining the future orientation of EU policy in the environmental field and suggesting specific proposals that the Commission intends to put forward over the coming years.

epistemic community A network of knowledge-based experts or groups with an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within the domain of their expertise.

epistemology The theory of knowledge, which accounts for the way in which knowledge about the world is acquired.

Erasmus The European Commission's flagship programme for higher education students, teachers,

and institutions, intending to encourage student and staff mobility for work and study, and promoting trans-national cooperation projects among universities across Europe.

euro area (or eurozone) The economic area that covers those countries that have so far joined the EU's single currency.

euro bond A government bond issued in euros jointly by all of the euro area member states. This is a debt investment whereby an investor loans a certain amount of money, for a certain amount of time, with a certain interest rate, to the eurozone as a whole, which then forwards the money to individual governments. Euro bonds were suggested as an effective way in which to tackle the sovereign debt crisis, and later the COVID-19 crisis, although they remain controversial.

Euro Plus Pact As agreed by the euro area heads of state or government, and joined by Bulgaria, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania, this agreement further strengthens the economic pillar of economic and monetary union (EMU) and achieves a new quality of economic policy coordination, with the objective of improving competitiveness and thereby leading to a higher degree of convergence, reinforcing the EU's social market economy. The Pact remains open for other member states to join. The Pact fully respects the integrity of the Single Market.

Euro Summit Under the Fiscal Compact signed in March 2010, it was agreed that the heads of state or government would meet informally at least twice a year to discuss issues related to economic and monetary union (EMU) and to provide 'strategic orientations for the conduct of economic policies'. Euro summits, it was further agreed, would be chaired by a president, who would be elected by simple majority for a two-and-a-half-year term of office. The new Euro Summits reign supreme over the Eurogroup.

Euroalternativism Term coined by John FitzGibbon that refers to pro European Union views that contest integration and offer alternative policies or institutional reform.

Eurobarometer A European Commission publication and website monitoring and analysing public opinion in the member states since 1973.

Eurogroup An informal group comprising those member states of ECOFIN that are members of the

single currency; (also) an interest group operating at the EU level, typically organized as a federation of national interest groups.

Europe 2020 The EU's growth strategy for the coming decade. It has five objectives on employment, innovation, education, social inclusion, and climate/energy to be reached by 2020. Each member state has adopted its own national targets in each of these areas. Concrete actions at EU and national levels underpin the strategy.

Europe agreement One of the agreements that constituted the legal framework of relations between the EU and the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, adapted to the specific situation of each partner state while setting common political, economic, and commercial objectives. In the context of accession to the EU, they formed the framework for implementation of the accession process.

European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex) Set up in 2004 to reinforce and streamline cooperation between national border authorities, Frontex has several operational areas of activity, including training, risk analysis, research, and rapid response capability via the European Border Guard Teams (EBGT). It also helps member states in joint return operations involving foreign nationals staying illegally, and provides information systems and an information-sharing environment regarding the current state of affairs at the external borders.

European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) One of the funds supporting the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The EAGGF is composed of two sections, the guidance section and the guarantee section. Within the framework of European economic and social cohesion policy, the EAGGF supports rural development and the improvement of agricultural structures.

European Arrest Warrant (EAW) A system that replaces the lengthier extradition procedures among EU member states, simplifying the arrest and return of suspected criminals across the Union; introduced after the terrorist attacks on the USA of 11 September 2001 ('9/11').

European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom, or EAEC) The Euratom Treaty was signed on

25 March 1957 by six states—namely, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany—to coordinate their research programmes for the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The Treaty today helps in the pooling of knowledge, infrastructure, and funding of nuclear energy. It ensures the security of atomic energy supply within the framework of a centralized monitoring system.

European Central Bank (ECB) Established in Frankfurt in 1999, the central bank is responsible for the single monetary policy of the euro area.

European (or EU) citizenship A status conferred directly on every EU citizen under the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)—that is, any person who holds the nationality of an EU country is automatically also an EU citizen. EU citizenship is additional to, and does not replace, national citizenship.

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Established by six states in April 1951 by the Treaty of Paris, the ECSC allowed for the pooling of authority over coal and steel industries. Because it was based on a 50-year treaty, the ECSC ceased to exist on 23 July 2002.

European Committee for Electrotechnical Standardization (CENELEC) The body responsible for standardization in the electro-technical engineering field, it prepares voluntary standards, which help to facilitate trade between countries, to create new markets, to cut compliance costs, and to support the development of a single European market.

European Committee for Standardization (CEN) Officially created as an international non-profit association based in Brussels on 30 October 1975, CEN is a business facilitator in Europe, removing trade barriers for European industry and consumers. Its mission is to foster the European economy in global trading, and the welfare of European citizens and the environment. It provides a platform for the development of European standards and other technical specifications.

European Company Statute A statute that refers to a regulatory framework aiming to create a 'European company' with its own legislative framework, which will allow companies incorporated in different member states to merge or to form a holding company or joint subsidiary, while avoiding the legal and practical constraints arising from the existence of

different legal systems. This legislative framework also provides for the involvement of employees in European companies, giving due recognition to their place and role in the business.

European Convention *See* Convention (on the Future of Europe).

European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) An international treaty to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms in Europe. Drafted in 1950 by the then newly formed Council of Europe, the Convention entered into force on 3 September 1953. All Council of Europe member states are party to the Convention and new members are expected to ratify the Convention at the earliest opportunity. The Convention established the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). *See* European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR).

European Council A body that defines the general political direction and priorities of the EU. With the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon on 1 December 2009, it became an institution, with its own president.

European Council of Economics and Finance Ministers (ECOFIN) Composed of the economics and finance ministers of the member states, as well as budget ministers when budgetary issues are discussed, ECOFIN meets once a month to discuss EU policy in a number of areas, including economic policy coordination, economic surveillance, monitoring of member states' budgetary policy and public finances, the euro (legal, practical, and international aspects), financial markets and capital movements, and economic relations with third countries. ECOFIN also prepares and adopts every year, together with the European Parliament, the Budget of the European Union. *See* Eurogroup.

European Court of Auditors (ECA) Established by the Treaty of Brussels of 1975, the Court carries out the audit of EU finances. Thus it assesses the collection and spending of EU funds, it examines whether financial operations have been properly recorded and disclosed, and legally and regularly executed and managed, and it assists the European Parliament and the EU Council in overseeing the implementation of the EU Budget.

European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) An international court set up in 1959, which rules on

individual or state applications alleging violations of the civil and political rights set out in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). Since 1998, it has sat as a full-time court and individuals can apply to it directly. See European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR).

European currency unit (ecu) The unit of account under the European Monetary System (EMS), composed of a 'basket of currencies'; replaced by the euro.

European Defence Agency (EDA) Is an agency of the EU assisting the member states in their efforts to improve European defence capabilities in support of the Common Security and Defence Policy of the Union. The EDA was set up in 2004 and is based in Brussels.

European Defence Community (EDC) The first attempt by western European powers, with United States support, to counterbalance the overwhelming conventional military ascendancy of the Soviet Union in Europe by creating a European army, with the eventual involvement of German units, to be placed under a single military and political European authority. This proposal sparked fierce debate in France. Although it was accepted by most Western countries, the plan for a European Defence Community was rejected by the French National Assembly in August 1954.

European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) A tripartite advisory body composed of individual members, who are nominated by the EU member states and who represent employers, workers, and other interests, such as environmental organizations or farmers.

European Economic Community (EEC) A body created by the 1957 Treaty of Rome, its aim being to bring about economic integration, including a common market, among its six founding members: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

European Employment Strategy (EES) A 'soft' law mechanism designed to coordinate the employment policies of the EU member states. While the objectives, priorities, and targets are agreed at EU level, the national governments are fully responsible for formulating and implementing the necessary policies.

European External Action Service (EEAS) A body formed to assist the High Representative, comprising

staff from the European Commission, the General Secretariat of the Council (GSC), and the diplomatic services of EU member states.

European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) A facility created by the euro area member states following the decisions taken on 9 May 2010 within the framework of ECOFIN, with a mandate to safeguard financial stability in Europe by providing financial assistance to the euro area. The EFSF is a part of the wider safety net, alongside the European Financial Stability Mechanism (EFSM). The EFSM and the EFSF can be activated only after a request for financial assistance has been made by the concerned member state and a macroeconomic adjustment programme, incorporating strict conditionality, has been agreed with the Commission, in liaison with the European Central Bank (ECB).

European Financial Stability Mechanism (EFSM) This mechanism provides financial assistance to EU member states in financial difficulties. The EFSM reproduces for the EU27 the basic mechanics of the existing balance-of-payments regulation for non-euro area member states. The EFSM is a part of the wider safety net alongside the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF). The EFSM and the EFSF can be activated only after a request for financial assistance has been made by the concerned member state and a macroeconomic adjustment programme, incorporating strict conditionality, has been agreed with the Commission, in liaison with the European Central Bank (ECB).

European Free Trade Association (EFTA) An international organization set up in 1960 to promote free trade among its members. Most of its original members have since joined the European Union.

European Globalization Adjustment Fund (EGF) A financial tool aiming towards the effective re-entry into the labour market of those workers who have lost their jobs. The EGF provides individual support for a limited period of time to workers who are affected by trade-adjustment redundancies. All member states can apply for support according to specific criteria.

European integration The process of political and economic (and possibly also cultural and social) integration of the states of Europe into a unified bloc.

European Investment Bank (EIB) Created by the Treaty of Rome in 1958 as the long-term lending bank

of the EU, its task is to contribute towards the integration, balanced development, and economic and social cohesion of the EU member states.

European Monetary System (EMS) A regulated exchange rate system established in the EC in 1979 after failures to set up economic and monetary union earlier in the decade, the EMS aimed to promote monetary cooperation and exchange rate stability.

European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) Developed in 2004 by the European Commission to frame the bilateral policy between the EU and each partner country, the policy aims to avoid the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbours, and to strengthen prosperity, stability, and security.

European Ombudsman An independent body that investigates complaints about maladministration in the institutions and agencies of the European Union.

European partnership Within the framework of the stabilization and association process with the countries of the Western Balkans, the European Union has set up such partnerships with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia, including Kosovo, as defined by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999. The partnership establishes a framework of priority action and a financial structure to improve the stability and prosperity of the country, with a view to greater integration with the EU, because the state is recognized as a potential candidate for membership.

European Police Office (Europol) The European law enforcement agency, which aims to make Europe safer by assisting EU member states in their fight against serious international crime and terrorism.

European Political Community (EPC) The idea of a European Political Community was developed in parallel with negotiations on the shape of the European Defence Community (EDC). The original Six sought to develop a political statute affording leadership and democratic control over the future European army. With a clear federalist goal, the plan proposed the establishment of a bicameral parliament, comprising a Chamber of the Peoples elected by direct universal suffrage, and a European Senate appointed by the national parliaments. It also proposed the establishment of an Executive Council, which would effectively be

the government of the Community, a Court of Justice and an Economic and Social Council. The refusal of the French National Assembly on 30 August 1954 to ratify the Treaty establishing the EDC led to the plan for a European Political Community being abandoned. *See* European Defence Community (EDC).

European political cooperation (EPC) A form of foreign policy cooperation prior to Maastricht, set up after 1970 and formalized by the Single European Act.

European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) A fund that aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion in the EU by correcting imbalances between its regions. The ERDF finances: direct aid to investments in companies (in particular small and medium-sized enterprises, or SMEs) to create sustainable jobs; infrastructures linked notably to research and innovation, telecommunications, environment, energy, and transport; financial instruments to support regional and local development, and to foster cooperation between towns and regions; and technical assistance measures. The ERDF can intervene in the three objectives of regional policy—namely, convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, and European territorial cooperation.

European Securities Markets Programme (SMP) One of the programmes of the European Central Bank (ECB) that correspond to the strategies that it pursues on a temporary basis to deal with specific monetary problems, often concerned with liquidity shortages in the inter-banking market and their negative impact on the transmission of monetary policy. Through the SMP, the ECB purchases government bonds, in secondary markets, in order to provide liquidity to alleviate pressures from sovereign debt risk.

European Security Strategy (ESS) Is a comprehensive document that analyses and defines the EU's security environment, identifying key security challenges and subsequent political implications for the EU. It was adopted by the European Council on 12–13 December 2003.

European Semester A cycle of economic policy coordination, this is an additional instrument for the EU's preventive surveillance of the economic and fiscal policies of its member states. The main new aspect is that the enforcement of economic policy coordination is now extended right through to the budgetary process of every member state. The European semester

is based on a coordination process lasting several months, with fixed calendar deadlines.

European Social Dialogue A joint consultation procedure involving social partners at EU level, aiming to discuss and negotiate agreements where relevant.

European Social Fund (ESF) Set up in 1957, a fund that aims to sustain and improve mobility in the European labour market through education and requalification initiatives for workers in areas experiencing industrial decline.

European Stability Mechanism (ESM) A permanent rescue funding programme to succeed the temporary European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and European Financial Stabilization Mechanism. The European Stability Mechanism (ESM) came into force on 8 October 2012, following an amendment to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) and the signing of an ESM Treaty by the euro area countries.

European System of Central Banks (ESCB) A system that brings together the national central banks, together with the European Central Bank (ECB).

European Telecommunications Standards Institute (ETSI) Recognized as an official European standards organization by the EU, a body that produces globally applicable standards for information and communications technology (ICT).

European Transparency Initiative (ETI) Launched by the European Commission in 2005, the ETI aimed to increase the financial accountability of EU funding, strengthen the personal integrity and independence of the EU institutions, and impose stricter controls on lobbying.

European Working Time Directive (EWTD) A directive aiming to protect the health and safety of workers in the European Union. It lays down minimum requirements in relation to working hours, rest periods, annual leave, and working arrangements for night workers.

Europeanization The process of European integration itself, or a shorthand for the incorporation of European characteristics into domestic institutions, politics, and identities (see Chapter 8).

Eurosceptic Someone who is opposed to European integration, or is sceptical about the EU and its aims.

Euroscepticism Indicates opposition to the process of European integration. According to Taggart and Szczesbiak, whereas policy Euroscepticism refers to opposition to specific policies and extension of EU competences, national interest Euroscepticism involves employing the rhetoric of defending or standing up for the national interest in the context of debates about the EU.

Eurosclerosis A word used to characterize the period of EC history between 1966 and the early 1980s, during which the process of integration appeared to have slowed down and the common market objective was not implemented.

Eurostat Established in 1953, the statistical office of the European Union. Its task is to provide the EU with statistics at the European level that enable comparisons between countries and regions.

Eurosystème Is the collection of national central banks of countries that have adopted the euro plus the European Central Bank (ECB). Those national central banks are merely 'branches' of the new ECB.

eurozone See euro area.

EU–Turkey Statement Signed on 18 March 2016, this intergovernmental agreement between the EU member states and Turkey aims to end the flow of irregular migration from Turkey to the EU. Under the agreement, all new irregular migrants or asylum seekers crossing from Turkey to the Greek islands will be returned to Turkey after their asylum claims have been assessed. For every Syrian returned to Turkey, another Syrian will be resettled to the EU from Turkey directly. Through a new financial tool, the Facility for Refugees in Turkey, the EU supported Syrian refugees and host communities in Turkey with €3 bn between 2016 and 2017.

EU Withdrawal Bill A bill to repeal the European Communities Act 1972 and make other provision in connection with the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU. The bill became the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018, having been given royal assent on 26 June 2018.

excessive deficit procedure (EDP) The procedure under monetary union (EMU) that can be used to sanction those member states who fail to control their budget deficits.

exchange rate mechanism (ERM) The main element of the European monetary system, a mechanism that

aimed to create a zone of monetary stability within Western Europe.

exclusive competence or exclusive Union competence One of the specific areas in which only the EU is able to legislate and adopt legally binding acts. The member states may intervene in the areas concerned only if empowered to do so by the Union or in order to implement Union acts (*see* shared competence).

executive The branch of government responsible for implementing laws made by parliament.

executive federalism Decision-making in the European Union has been described as being multi-layered and federal in structure and thus constituting a system of executive federalism. This system is characterized by three elements: (i) interwoven competencies: making laws is the domain of the supranational level, but implementing these laws is the domain of the national level; (ii) the Council as federal chamber: a central institution of this federal system a meeting point for actors from the national and supranational level, a meeting point for politicians and bureaucrats, a place to negotiate, legislate, and implement, and the consensual form of decision-making; (iii) consensual decision-making—solutions are sought through ongoing negotiations, openness to compromise, and the incorporation of as many parties as possible. This method is based on mutual trust and the expectation of gaining more by giving in to a certain extent, and being repaid in another round. And based on the secrecy and confidentiality of the negotiations in the Council.

extraordinary rendition The handing over or surrender of a fugitive from one state to another, in contravention of national and international law, such as when a suspect is handed over without the permission of a judicial authority or, after the transfer, that person is tortured or held in breach of his or her human rights.

falsifiable hypothesis A hypothesis that can be tested and which may thus be proven false. It is relatively easy to gather evidence for just about any idea, but a hypothesis is essentially worthless unless it makes predictions that evidence could contradict.

Federal *See* federalism and federation.

Federal Reserve (the Fed) The United States' central bank.

federalism An ideological position that suggests that everyone can be satisfied by combining national and regional/territorial interests in a complex web of checks and balances between a central government and a multiplicity of regional governments. In an EU context, it tends to imply an ideological approach that advocates the creation of a federal state in Europe.

federation A way of organizing a political system, which involves the constitutionally defined sharing of functions between a federal centre and the states. A federation will usually have a bicameral parliament, a constitutional court, and a constitution.

Fidesz The Federation of Young Democrats–Hungarian Civic Alliance is a Hungarian populist centre-right political party founded in 1988. Since 2006 and under the leadership of Viktor Orbán, Fidesz has governed Hungary with the support of the Christian Democratic People's Party. In 2021 Fidesz left the European People's Party in the European Parliament as the Hungarian party was about to be suspended over breaches of rule of law and media freedom, and democratic backsliding in Hungary.

finalité politique The EU's final constitutional settlement.

Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG) An instrument that aims to contribute to achieving the objectives of the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). It supports structural measures in fisheries, aquaculture, and the processing and marketing of fishery and aquaculture products. It aims to promote the restructuring of the sector by putting in place the right conditions for its development and modernization.

financial perspective The EU's multi-annual spending (budget) plan.

financial solidarity The sharing of financial burdens across the EU members.

Fiscal Compact *See* Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union.

fiscal crisis An inability of the state to raise enough tax revenue to pay for its expenditure.

fiscal discipline A notion dealing with the specific externalities associated to the adverse spillover effects of excessive deficits leading to potentially unsustainable

debt accumulation in member countries. Among economists and policy-makers, there is not much disagreement either on the risk that irresponsible fiscal behaviour creates for monetary union, or on the need for common rules or mechanisms that ensure fiscal discipline. There is, however, disagreement on the proper design of those rules and mechanisms. Hence, the discussion focuses on issues of design rather than of principle.

fiscal hangover An expression referring to the end of the happy days of economic and monetary union (EMU) and how the financial crisis has to change the rules of the game regarding financial transactions, the regulation of banks, and how states manage their debts.

fiscal policy The means by which a government adjusts its levels of spending in order to monitor and influence a nation's economy.

fiscal stimulus package An energizing plan that provides tax rebates directly to taxpayers.

fiscal transfer A financial transfer from a central authority to a subsidiary in a federal system, or to a member of a fiscal union. *See* fiscal union.

fiscal union The integration of the fiscal policy of nations or states, under which decisions about the collection and expenditure of taxes are taken by common institutions and shared by the participating governments.

Five Star Movement (M5S) An anti-establishment, populist, Eurosceptic and environmentalist political party set up by Beppe Grillo in Italy. At the 2013 general election, M5S was the third largest political party with 25.6 per cent of the vote in the Chamber of Deputies and obtained 109 deputies. In the European Parliament it is part of the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD) group.

flexibility One of the mechanisms, first introduced in the Amsterdam Treaty, which allows the EU to pursue differentiated integration. The Lisbon Treaty incorporates changes to its application under the enhanced cooperation procedure. *See* enhanced cooperation procedure.

fonctionnaire A French term that means 'civil servant'. In the EU context, this term is used to refer to the civil servants working for the EU institutions.

'Fortress Europe' In the context of the EU, the strengthening of the EU's external borders to promote the territorial integrity and security of the Union, and the effect that it has on limiting the access of migrants into the EU.

Fouchet Plan A plan proposed in 1961 and pushed by the French government, which would have led to the creation of a European intergovernmental defence organization, but which was rejected by the EC's member states.

founding fathers The principal male architects of European integration following the end of the Second World War, including Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, Alcide de Gasperi, Walter Hallstein, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Paul-Henri Spaak, and Altiero Spinelli.

framework directive Incorporated into the 2001 White Paper on European Governance (WPEG) as part of the Commission's strategy for better and faster regulation, these are legal instruments that offer flexible implementation, and which tend to be agreed more quickly by the EU Council and the European Parliament.

framework-type legislation Legislation that does not involve legally enforceable rules, but which rests on mechanisms such as sharing ideas, benchmarking, and naming and shaming.

framing An important component of how the media can affect public opinion. A frame is an emphasis in salience of certain aspects of a topic.

Franco-German axis The relationship between France and Germany that is often said to lie at the heart of the European integration process.

Frankfurt School The Frankfurt School was set up by a group of Marxist intellectuals in Germany in 1923, affiliated to the University of Frankfurt and independently of the Communist Party, which has been influential in the development of Marxist theory ever since.

free trade area (FTA) A group of countries that agree progressively to reduce barriers to trade, such as quotas and tariffs, which are often imposed at borders.

freeriding Reaping the benefits of a collective agreement without having participated in efforts to forge the agreement or to implement it. *See* collective good.

Friends of the Constitution In January 2007, the Spanish and Luxembourg governments convened a ministerial-level meeting of member states that had ratified the Constitution to discuss how the EU might proceed on the basis of the 2004 Constitution.

Front National See *Rassemblement Nationale*

Frontex See European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union

full economic union (FEU) The complete unification of the economies of the participating member states and common policies for most economic matters.

full political union (FPU) The term used when, in addition to full economic union (FEU), political governance and policy-making have moved to the supra-national level. Effectively, political union occurs when the final stage of integration has taken place and a new confederation or federation has been created.

functional spillover The knock-on effect of integration in one sector, which is said by neo-functionalists to provoke integration in neighbouring sectors.

G20 The group of 20 leading industrialized nations.

game theory An interdisciplinary rational approach to the study of human behaviour in which 'games' are a metaphor for a wide range of human interactions. It analyses the strategic interaction among a group of rational players (or agents) who behave strategically. A strategy of a player is the predetermined rule by which a player decides his or her course of action during the game. Each player tries to maximize his or her pay-off irrespective of what other players are doing.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) First signed in 1947, the agreement was designed to provide an international forum that encouraged free trade between member states by regulating and reducing tariffs on traded goods, and by providing a common mechanism for resolving trade disputes. It lasted until the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on 1 January 1995.

geopolitical A characteristic referring to the relationship between geography, politics, and international relations.

global imbalance A situation in which there are large trade deficits and large trade surpluses in different

parts of the world, which is perceived to be unsustainable and in need of rebalancing.

globalization A contested concept that usually refers to the growing economic interdependence of states and non-state actors worldwide. Often associated with increased capital mobility and the spread of neo-liberal ideas, it implies that market authority is enhanced at the cost of formal political authority.

Golden Dawn Populist far-right Greek political party that in the 2015 parliamentary elections managed to secure 18 seats in the Greek parliament.

Good Friday Agreement Signed on 10 April 1998, the Good Friday Agreement brought to an end the 30 years of sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland. The agreement set up a power-sharing assembly to govern Northern Ireland by cross-community consent.

the Six See original six.

good governance A concept that encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators function and in determining the distribution of benefits, as well as the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. It is typically defined in terms of the mechanisms thought to be needed to promote it. Thus governance is associated with democracy and civil rights, with transparency, with the rule of law, and with efficient public services.

governance The intentional regulation of social relationships and the underlying conflicts by reliable and durable means and institutions, instead of the direct use of power and violence.

governance turn The shift in interest in EU studies that included the increased application of theories of governance, comparative politics, and public policy, as well as the study of the EU as a political system in its own right.

grand theory A theory that tries to explain the entirety of a political process, such as European integration.

gross domestic product (GDP) The market value of all officially recognized final goods and services produced within a country in a given period.

gross national product (GNP) A measure of the country's total economic activity.

guarantee price (or intervention price) In the context of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the (agricultural) price at which member states intervene in the market to buy up produce.

Hague Programme Adopted at the November 2004 Brussels European Council, the Hague Programme was an ambitious five-year plan aimed at strengthening freedom, security, and justice within the, then, 25 member states of the EU.

hard ecu proposal One of the alternatives to introduce a single currency into the EU, this proposal foresaw the introduction of a common currency in parallel to the existing national currencies. This suggestion was not implemented.

hard law Another way of saying 'the law', emphasizing its enforceability (*see* soft law).

harmonization The act of setting common European standards from which states are unable to deviate (either upwards or downwards).

headline goal(s) Initially, a political commitment agreed at the Helsinki European Council in 1999 to deploy, by 2003, 50,000–60,000 troops in 60 days, sustainable for a year (a 'Rapid Reaction Force') to meet the requirements of the Petersberg tasks. It has since been superseded by a new headline goal.

health check A review of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) as part of the overall review of the EU Budget. The reason for doing this in parallel is that the CAP forms a significant part of the EU Budget and, without looking at this policy, there is significantly less scope for reforms in the overall Budget.

hegemony Power, control, or influence exercised by a leading state over other states.

High Authority The original name given to the (now) European Commission in the 1950 Schumann Declaration and subsequently incorporated into the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty.

High Representative (HR) for the CFSP or High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy The Amsterdam Treaty created the post of 'High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy'; the Lisbon Treaty renames the position the 'High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy' and extends his or her responsibilities by assigning the High Representative

the functions of Council presidency in matters of foreign affairs, of Commissioner responsible for External Relations, and of High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The High Representative is one of the five vice-presidents of the European Commission and presides over the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC). The role was renamed 'High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy' by the Lisbon Treaty.

housing bubble An increase in housing prices fuelled by demand and speculation. The bubble is said to burst when demand decreases or stagnates while supply increases, resulting in a sharp drop in prices.

impact assessment An evaluation intended to provide a detailed and systematic appraisal of the potential impacts of a new regulation in order to assess whether the regulation is likely to achieve the desired objectives.

implementing acts The Treaty of Lisbon authorizes the Commission to adopt implementing acts relating to the carrying out of European measures that require uniform implementation across the EU (*see* also comitology).

independent variable A factor contributing to an explanation of a phenomenon (a dependent variable).

individual direct payment An agricultural subsidy paid directly to individual farmers.

infringement actions An action for breach of European law that may result in a court case.

infringement proceedings *See* infringement actions.

input legitimacy One part of a concept that follows Scharpf's distinction between input-oriented and output-oriented legitimacy. On the input side, democratic legitimacy requires mechanisms or procedures to link political decisions with citizens' preferences. In modern democracies, these mechanisms are reflected in representative institutions in which political decision-makers can be held accountable by the means of elections. *See* legitimacy; output legitimacy.

institutional balance In the EU context, a concept meaning that each institution has to act in accordance with the powers conferred on it by the treaties.

institutional isomorphism A term used by DiMaggio and Powell (1991) to denote the tendency for

institutions within a similar environment to come to resemble each other.

institutionalist *See* new institutionalism.

integration The combination of parts of a unified whole—that is, a dynamic process of change. European integration is usually associated with the intensely institutionalized form of cooperation found in Europe after 1951.

integration theory Sometimes used generally as a shorthand for all theoretical and conceptual approaches that discuss European integration; otherwise it refers more specifically to supranational (especially neo-functional) theories of European integration.

interdependence The extent to which the actions of one state impact upon others.

interest group Any group of individuals or associations that is organized, with shared political interests and informality, and which does not aspire to public office or to compete in elections, but rather to the pursuit of goals through frequent informal interactions with politicians and bureaucrats.

interest intermediation The process of translating interests into policy, through the medium of interest organizations.

interest rate The rate of return on savings, or the rate paid on borrowings.

intergovernmental (cooperation) Cooperation that involves sovereign states and which occurs on a government-to-government basis, without the extensive involvement of supranational actors.

intergovernmental conference (IGC) A structured negotiation among the EU's member states, which usually leads to treaty revision. *See* simplified revision procedure.

intergovernmental treaty A treaty that formally sits outside of the EU framework (in other words, not an EU Treaty), such as the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance.

intergovernmentalism A theory of European integration that privileges the role of states. When conceptualizing decision-making mechanisms in the context of the EU, this refers to decisions being made by the member states only, without involvement of the supranational institutions.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) Conceived in 1944, an organization of 188 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, to secure financial stability, to facilitate international trade, to promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and to reduce poverty around the world. *See* Bretton Woods agreement.

interpretivism A tradition that developed largely as a criticism of the dominant theory of positivism. Interpretivists argue that the positivist idea of a chain of causation is quite logical in the natural world, where a particular stimulus consistently produces a given effect, but does not apply in the social world. People do not merely react to stimuli; rather, they actively interpret the situations in which they find themselves and act on the basis of these interpretations.

intervening variable A variable that explains the relationships between independent and dependent variables.

intervention price *See* guarantee price.

interventionism/interventionist The concept that governments involve themselves in the regulation of markets, through policy, rather than leave markets to regulate themselves.

Ioannina Compromise A negotiated compromise that took its name from an informal meeting of foreign ministers in the Greek city of Ioannina on 29 March 1994. The resulting compromise lay down that if members of the Council representing between 23 votes (the old blocking minority threshold) and 26 votes (the new threshold) expressed their intention to oppose the taking of a decision by the Council by qualified majority, the Council would do all within its power, within a reasonable space of time, to reach a satisfactory solution that could be adopted by at least 68 votes out of 87. The Lisbon Treaty (Article 16 TEU) introduces a new definition of the rule of qualified majority that applied from 1 November 2014 onwards. *See* dual majority (voting); qualified majority voting.

Jean Monnet One of the founders of the European integration project. The driving force behind the 1950 Schuman Plan, which led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), Monnet became the first head of the ECSC's High Authority. He continued to play an active role in European integration throughout his life, although often behind the scenes.

joint action Coordinated action by member states to commit resources for an agreed (foreign policy) objective. They require a unanimous vote in the Council.

joint-decision trap The idea promoted by Fritz Scharpf in 1988 that while it might be increasingly difficult in future for further integration to take place, it will also be impossible for states to go back on agreements already made; as such, states are 'trapped' within the European integration process.

Joint Transparency Register (JTR) The JTR has been set up by the European Parliament and the European Commission as a 'one-stop shop' where organizations representing particular interests at EU level register and provide up-to-date information about who or what they represent as well as their budgets. The JTR also incorporates a code of conduct governing relations of interest representatives with the EU institutions and a mechanism for complaints.

judicial activism In the context of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), this refers to the way in which the Court exploits the gaps and vagueness existing in areas of EU law so as to expand its powers and role. The Court has been criticized on the basis that its activism exceeds its judicial powers and falls into the area of policy-making.

judicial review The right of a court to review a law or other act for constitutionality or its violation of some fundamental principle.

Keynesian A position that supports J. M. Keynes' economic theory and which has as its starting point the assumption that state finances should be used to counteract cyclical economic downturns. The argument implies that governments should focus on issues of employment and economic growth, rather on variables such as inflation.

Konrad Adenauer The first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany after the end of the Second World War, Adenauer held office for 14 years and was responsible for overseeing the reconstruction of Germany in the 1950s, particularly in the context of European integration, of which he was a key supporter.

Laeken Declaration Adopted by the European Council in December 2001, the Laeken Declaration provided the parameters for the next stage of treaty reform. It contained more than 50 questions for consideration as part of the 'Future of Europe' debate.

The topics covered included the democratic legitimacy of the EU, the future of the pillar structure and cooperation in the area of social exclusion.

laissez-faire An economic position that argues that the state (governments) should play only a minimal regulatory role in economic affairs, with decisions left mainly to the market.

Law and Justice Party (PiS) *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (PiS) is a Polish right-wing populist party. It has been in power since 2015, winning re-election in 2019. Over time it has been accused of authoritarian tendencies because of its disregard for the constitution, the rule of law, parliamentary procedures, and citizens' rights.

LEADER This EU programme is designed to support local businesses, farmers, foresters, community groups, those involved in tourism, and a range of rural enterprises. The fund can cover 50 per cent of the cost of a project. If the project is a farm diversification, the programme may be able to offer a grant covering up to 100 per cent of costs.

League of Nations An international organization set up in 1922 that had as its rationale the maintenance of peace in Europe.

Lega Populist, Eurosceptic, radical right-wing Italian political party.

legal basis See treaty base.

legitimacy The extent to which a regime's procedures for making and enforcing laws are acceptable to all of its subjects; the right to rule. See input legitimacy; output legitimacy.

lender of last resort An institution, usually a country's central bank, that lends money to commercial banks and other financial institutions when they have no other means to raise funds.

Leo Tindemans A former Belgian prime minister who in 1975 wrote the influential Tindemans Report. The report advocated consolidation of the existing institutions and the development of common policies. The report also called for a 'people's Europe' and advocated European economic and monetary integration and greater coordination of Europe's foreign and defence policies.

liberal intergovernmentalism Andrew Moravcsik's update on classical intergovernmentalism (see Chapter 5).

liberal-democratic A system of representative government that is characterized by universal adult suffrage, political equality, majority rule, and a constitutional check on the power of rulers.

liberalization of capital markets The removal of exchange controls by states, allowing capital to flow freely across state borders.

liberalization of services The removal of barriers to the establishment and provision of services across state borders.

liquidity The ability to convert an asset to cash quickly.

Lisbon Agenda (or Lisbon Process, or Lisbon Strategy) The EU strategy intended to turn the Union into the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world by 2010.

Lisbon Treaty Revising the Nice version of the TEU, the Lisbon Treaty was signed in 2007 and entered into force in December 2009 after a protracted ratification. See Treaty on the European Union (TEU); Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU).

list system A method of voting for several electoral candidates, usually members of the same political party, with one mark of the ballot. Electors vote for one of several lists of candidates usually prepared by the political parties.

lock-out A situation in which employers lock employees out of their place of work as a consequence of a labour dispute.

Luxembourg Compromise An intergovernmental agreement arrived at in January 1966 between the member states that solved the 'empty chair' crisis. It states that when vital interests of one or more countries are at stake, members of the Council will endeavour to reach solutions that can be adopted by all, while respecting their mutual interests.

Maastricht Treaty See Treaty on the European Union (TEU).

Maastricht Treaty ratification The process that led to the approval—in both national parliaments and in some cases in referenda—of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU), which came into force in 1993.

macro-economic imbalance (procedure) A new tool that helps to detect and correct risky economic

developments as part of the 'macro-economic surveillance' leg of the EU's new rules on economic governance (the so-called 'six pack'). See 'six pack'.

macro-economic policy An economic policy that deals with aggregates such as national income and investment in the economy.

Maghreb A region of North Africa bordering the Mediterranean Sea that comprises the Atlas Mountains and the coastal plain of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

majoritarian Characterized by the application of majority rule; the principle that the majority should be allowed to rule the minority.

market citizenship The concept introduced to the EC in the 1950s whereby citizens of member states became endowed with certain rights as workers within the European Community.

market integration The breaking down of barriers to trade among the EU's member states, plus any regulation necessary to ensure the smooth running of the single market. It does not involve an explicitly political dimension.

market unity The removal of protection across the Union, allowing agricultural produce to move freely across borders.

market-making measure A measure that involves the prohibition of certain types of market behaviour.

market-shaping measure A measure that lays down an institutional model that shapes market behaviour.

Mercosur An economic and political bloc comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela. It was created in 1991 with the signing of the Treaty of Asuncion, an accord calling for the free movement of goods, services, and factors of production between countries. The Mercosur countries have eliminated customs duties and set up a common external tariff (CET).

Messina conference Attended by the foreign ministers of the six member states of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the Messina conference took place from 1 to 3 June 1955. The six ministers agreed on '*une relance européenne*', a re-launch of the integration process, through a customs union as well as integration in specific economic sectors.

middle-range theory A theory that aims to explain only part of a political process and which does not have totalizing ambitions.

Millennium Development Goals (MDG) The Millennium Development Goals are the world's time-bound and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions by 2015. The eight goals were agreed by world leaders at the Millennium Summit in September 2000 and range from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education.

modulation The transfer of agricultural subsidies to agri-environmental and other rural development projects.

modus operandi A Latin expression meaning 'method of operating or proceeding'.

Monetarist An advocate of one of the possible economic strategies with which to achieve economic and monetary union (EMU); in the 1960s and 1970s, the Monetarist camp postulated that, by fixing the exchange rate, the necessary cooperation of the adjacent economic policies would naturally start to occur (see Economist).

monetary union A form of integration that usually contains a single market (and therefore free movement of goods, services, labour, and capital among the participating states and common rules, tariffs, and so on, vis-à-vis third countries) and has further integration in the area of currency cooperation. A monetary union either has irrevocably fixed exchange rates and full convertibility of currencies, or a common or single currency circulating within the monetary union. It also requires integration of budgetary and monetary policies.

money supply The stock of liquid assets in an economy that can be freely exchanged for goods and services.

Monnet method See Community method.

Monti Report On the invitation of Commission President Barroso, Mario Monti delivered on 9 May 2010 a report concluding that the economic crisis had opened a window of opportunity for Europe to become more pragmatic and in which it could relaunch the Single Market.

Movimento 5 Stelle See Five Star Movement (M5S).

multifunctionality The notion in agricultural policy that the policy can be used to serve a range of functions, including environmental protection and rural development.

multilateral budgetary surveillance Against the background of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), a monitoring mechanism that aims to ensure that national economic policy is broadly consistent with the SGP and thus with the proper functioning of economic and monetary union (EMU).

multilevel governance An approach to the study of EU politics that emphasizes the interaction of the many different actors who influence European policy outcomes.

multi-speed (Europe/EU) A characteristic of differentiated integration whereby common objectives are pursued by a group of member states able and willing to advance further than others in the integration process.

mutual recognition The principle that an economic product sold in one member state should not be prohibited from sale anywhere in the EU. This was upheld in the famous *Cassis de Dijon* (1979) case brought to the Court of Justice of the EU. Exceptions can be made in cases of public health and safety, however.

n=1 problem The situation in which the object under scholarly scrutiny cannot be compared to other cases. This renders generalization beyond the case impossible (because there are no other instances of what is being studied).

national action plan (NAP) A key element of the European Employment Strategy, an annual report supplied by each member state to the Commission and the Council on the principal measures taken to implement its employment policy in the light of the guidelines for employment drawn up each year by the Council under Article 148 (3) TFEU.

national envelope In the context of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), a de facto national allocation paid to a member state from the EU Budget, and which each state can distribute to its farmers to target specific national and/or regional priorities.

National Front See *Rassemblement Nationale*.

National Rally See *Rassemblement Nationale*.

national sovereignty The doctrine that sovereignty belongs to and derives from the nation, an abstract

entity normally linked to a physical territory, and its past, present, and future citizens.

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

negative integration A form of integration that involves the removal of barriers between the member states.

negotiating directive A directive that sets out the terms on which the Commission negotiates in international trade and other contexts, establishing the boundaries of the negotiating mandate and providing for monitoring of the negotiations and their outcomes.

neighbourhood country (countries) This term refers to the EU's immediate neighbours by land or sea whose relationship with the EU is governed by the European Neighbourhood Policy. *See* European Neighbourhood Policy.

neo-corporatism A model of policy-making that links producer interests to the state and in which interest organizations are incorporated into the system. The 'neo-' prefix was added in the 1970s to distinguish this from corporatism in the past—particularly in the fascist era.

neo-functionalism A theory of European integration that views integration as an incremental process, involving the spillover of integration in one sector to others, ultimately leading to some kind of political community. *See* spillover.

neo-liberalism An economic school that advocates the reduction of state influence in the market, the liberalization of the economy, the privatization of state-owned firms, and the tight control of money supply, and which supports a general trend towards deregulation.

neo-neo-functionalism Through the concept of neo-neo-functionalism, Philippe Schmitter revises some of the neo-functional assumptions and adapts them to recent development in the integration process. This revised version of the theory acknowledges that integration does not happen 'automatically', as in the original model, and that it requires a considerable amount of political action that is usually associated with a crisis in the integration process. It also recognizes that there might be instances of 'spill back' whereby national actors can decide to withdraw from joint obligations.

neo-realism An international relations theory, associated with the work of Kenneth Waltz, which claims that the international state system is anarchic and that, as such, state uncertainty is a given. States will want to maintain their independence and survival will be their primary objective, but they may nonetheless engage in European integration if this serves their ends.

neo-realist *See* neo-realism.

net contributor A country that receives less from the EU Budget than it contributes.

net recipient A country that receives more from the EU Budget than it contributes.

new approach A novel approach to regulating internal market rules, as established in the Commission's White Paper on Completing the Internal Market (1985) in which legislative acts would set out only the main objectives and detailed rules would be adopted through private standardization bodies.

new institutionalism A conceptual approach to the study of politics that restates the importance of institutional factors in political life. It takes a number of very different forms, from rational institutionalism and historical institutionalism, to sociological institutionalism.

new intergovernmentalism A recent attempt to re-theorize intergovernmentalism that tries to explain in very broad terms the latest phase in European integration by identifying the causal mechanisms that mediate between political economy, domestic politics changes, and the EU.

new mode of governance (NMG) In contrast to the traditional Community method, which relies on the proposal, adoption, and implementation of legislation by the EU's main institutions, the policy goals of an NMG are achieved through a novel mechanism that involves explicit, but not legally binding, commitments from the member states. In a formalized process, each government commits itself to certain goals in areas such as education policy, innovation, or labour market reform. The European Commission is involved both in the design stage of specific policies and in a monitoring function overseeing subsequent implementation.

new regionalism Is a broad, open-ended framework for analysing regionalization in a multilevel and comparative perspective.

Nice Treaty A treaty revision agreed at Nice in December 2000, signed in February 2001, and ratified in 2002. It introduced a number of institutional reforms that paved the way for the enlargement of the Union in 2004 and afterwards.

no cooperation Implies the absence of government-to-government collaboration or coordination on a particular policy.

non-compulsory spending *See* compulsory spending.

non-majoritarian (institution) A governmental entity that possesses and exercises specialized public authority, separate from that of other institutions, but is neither directly elected by the people nor directly managed by elected officials.

non-state actor Usually, any actor that is not a national government; often refers to transnational actors, such as interest groups (rather than to international organizations).

non-tariff barriers *See* barrier to trade.

normative Of value judgements—that is, 'what ought to be', as opposed to positive statements about 'what is'.

Normative Power Europe (NPE) An approach that understands the EU as normative in two ways. It is normative by virtue of its hybrid character, and as such it sets new standards for what an international actor can and should be. And second, it is normative in its outlook as its foreign and security policy is driven by principles, such as universal human rights, democracy, and international law.

Ombudsman *See* European Ombudsman.

ontology An underlying conception of the world—that is, of the nature of being; that which is being presupposed by a theory.

open method of coordination (OMC) An approach to EU policy-making that is an alternative to regulation and which involves more informal means of encouraging compliance than 'hard' legislation.

opportunity structure *See* political opportunity structure.

opt in The practice whereby one or more member state, having opted out of a particular policy area, decide at a later date to cooperate with those other member states that have proceeded despite the earlier opt-out(s) (*see* opt out).

opt out The practice whereby one or more member states refuse to cooperate in a particular policy area despite the fact that the majority of member states wish to commit themselves to do so. To allow for progress among those who wish to proceed, the reluctant member states may 'opt out', which usually occurs in the context of a treaty revision. Member states that opt out may opt in at a later stage (*see* opt in).

optimum currency area (OCA) A theoretical notion that implies that monetary union will work effectively only when the states participating are economically very similar.

orange card (system) After the yellow card system has been set in motion and the European Commission has proposed a law again, national parliaments can still block the law if half of the national parliaments oppose it (rather than just the one third required for a yellow card). For the law to be repealed, 29 reasoned opinions from national parliaments are required, as well as either a majority of government or MEPs agreeing that the orange card wielded by the national parliaments is justified. *See* subsidiarity and yellow card system.

ordinary legislative procedure (OLP) The main procedure for adopting legislation in the European Union, known before the Lisbon Treaty entered into force as 'co-decision'. The OLP makes the Parliament an equal co-legislative partner with the Council. While agreement is normally concluded at first reading following informal negotiations, under the OLP the EP has the right to hold up to three readings of legislation, to reject the legislation, and to hold conciliation meetings with the Council to negotiate a compromise agreement (Article 294 TFEU).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Established in 1961 and based in Paris, the mission of this body is to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world.

Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) Forerunner to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), it was established in 1948 to run the US-financed Marshall Plan for European reconstruction. By making individual governments recognize the interdependence of their economies, it paved the way for a new era of cooperation that was to change the face of Europe.

Encouraged by its success and the prospect of carrying its work forward on a global stage, Canada and the USA joined OEEC members in signing the new OECD Convention on 14 December 1960. *See* Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

original six The original signatories of the Treaty of Rome—namely, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

output legitimacy Following Scharpf, democratic legitimacy is a two-dimensional concept, which refers to both the inputs as well as the outputs of a political system. Scharpf argues that democracy would be an empty ritual if the democratic procedure were not able to produce effective outcomes—that is, to achieve the goals about which citizens care collectively. *See* legitimacy; input legitimacy.

Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) OMT is a bond-buying programme that was announced by Mario Draghi, president of the European Central Bank (ECB), in September 2012. Under the OMT programme the ECB would offer to purchase euro area countries' short-term bonds to bring down the market interest rates faced by countries subject to speculation that they might leave the euro.

package deal The exchange of loss in some issues for benefits in others, resulting in mutual overall gain between actors with different interests. EU decision-making presents legislators with multiple issues for consideration, and their repeated interactions in the EU legislative process create opportunities for package deals and exchange of support.

Paris Agreement The Paris Agreement is a legally binding international treaty on climate change. It was adopted by 196 Parties in Paris, on 12 December 2015 and entered into force on 4 November 2016. Its goal is to limit global warming to well below 2, preferably to 1.5 degrees Celsius, compared to pre-industrial levels (*see also* Paris UN meeting).

Paris UN meeting The governments of more than 190 nations gathered in Paris from 30 November to 12 December 2015 and agreed the Paris Agreement, a new global agreement on climate change, aimed at reducing global greenhouse gas emissions and thus avoiding the threat of dangerous climate change (*see also* Paris Agreement).

parity Equality in amount, status, or character.

parliamentarization In the EU, parliamentarization of decision-making primarily manifests itself in the increase in the EP's right to exercise a range of legislative powers. The EP has become increasingly involved in areas that are traditionally intergovernmental, especially since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, so that it is now involved in nearly all policy areas.

parsimony The characteristic of a theory that provides an extremely simplified depiction of reality.

partial theory A theory that only purports to address or explain an aspect of a specific political phenomenon.

participation *See* participatory democracy.

participatory democracy A theory of democracy that stresses the importance of more regular and direct citizen involvement in collective decision-making, such as via referenda or via more decentralized governance mechanisms.

Passerelle clause A clause that allows for derogation from the legislative procedures initially specified under the treaties. Specifically, and under certain conditions, a Passerelle clause makes it possible to switch from the special legislative procedure to the ordinary legislative procedure (OLP) in order to adopt an act, and to switch from voting by unanimity to qualified majority voting (QMV) in a given policy area. Activating a Passerelle clause depends on a decision being adopted unanimously by the Committee or by the European Council.

path-dependence The idea that decisions taken in the past limit the scope of decisions in the present (and future).

Pegida (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the West) in German *Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* An anti-Muslim group initially set up in Dresden in the Autumn of 2014 that claims to defend Judeo-Christian values and refuses to allow the spread of activities by groups such as ISIS and al-Qaeda in Europe.

permanent representation The diplomatic delegation of any member state vis-à-vis the EU in Brussels.

permanent structured cooperation (PESCO) According to Article 42 TEU, the cooperation that must be established within the Union framework by those member states with military capabilities that fulfil higher criteria and which have made more binding

commitments to one another in this area. See enhanced cooperation.

permissive consensus The political context that allowed elites in the post-1945 period to engage in European integration, without involving Europe's citizens.

Petersberg tasks An integral part of the then European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)/Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). They define the spectrum of military actions and functions that the European Union can undertake in its crisis management operations.

pillars Prior to the Treaty of Lisbon, the structure of the European Union was akin to a Greek temple consisting of three pillars—namely Pillar 1, Pillar 2, and Pillar 3. With the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon on 1 December 2009, the pillars disappeared. *Pillar 1* comprised the original communities and was typically supranational. *Pillar 2* comprised intergovernmental cooperation in foreign and security policy. *Pillar 3* comprised intergovernmental cooperation in police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters (PJCCM).

Plan 'D' Commissioner Margot Wallström's communication strategy, emphasizing democracy, dialogue, and debate.

pluralism A general approach that implies that organized groups play an important role in the political process.

plurality system A type of electoral system that awards the seat to the candidate who receives the most votes regardless of whether the candidate receives a majority of votes.

Podemos Meaning 'we can' in English, *Podemos* is a left-wing, populist, anti-system Spanish political party founded in 2014. It became the fourth most voted political party in the 2014 European elections in Spain.

policy convergence The tendency for policies (in different countries) to begin to take on similar forms over time.

policy network A set of actors who are linked by relatively stable relationships of a non-hierarchical and interdependent nature. These actors share common interests with regard to a policy and exchange resources to pursue these shared interests, acknowledging that cooperation is the best way in which to achieve common goals.

policy style A set of characteristics that describe different ways of policy-making (for example, in a particular sector or across a particular country).

policy transfer The replication of policies pursued in one context (country, sector) to others.

political codetermination A political model of codetermination in which a complex set of legal and social institutions shape employee participation in company decision-making through works councils and representation in the supervisory boards of large firms.

political opportunity structure The various characteristics of a political system, such as political institutions, political culture, and the structure of opponents and allies, which influence elements within it, such as social movements, organizational forms, and the way in which political actors behave.

politicization Is the process that manifests itself in (a) the growing salience of European politics, involving (b) a polarization of opinion, and (c) an expansion of actors and audiences engaged in monitoring EU affairs.

polity A politically organized society.

pooling and sharing The concept refers to initiatives and projects to pool and share more military capabilities among EU Member States. In November 2011 the European Defence Agency (EDA) proposed and Defence Ministers adopted an initial list of 11 pooling and sharing priorities. Among these projects are Air-to-Air Refuelling, the Helicopter Training Programme, maritime surveillance, and the European Satellite Communications Procurement Cell.

positive integration A form of integration that involves the construction of policies and/or institutions.

positive-sum outcome An outcome that constitutes more than the sum of its parts. It is often talked of in EU terms as an 'upgrading of the common interest'.

post-national A form of governance beyond the nation state.

post-neutral states Some European states such as Sweden and Switzerland, have a long tradition of neutrality during conflict, and stayed neutral during the Second World War, as did Ireland. After the Second World War Austria and Finland joined these countries pursuing a policy of neutrality. The states refrained from aligning with neither the West/NATO nor the

East/Warsaw pact. Since then Ireland, Austria, Finland, and Sweden have joined the EU, retained their non-aligned status, but are no longer regarded as neutral, but rather as post-neutrals, as they are part of the EU's security and defence policy.

potential candidate country A country that has been promised the prospect of joining the EU when it is ready (*see* candidate countries).

power The ability to control outcomes; the capacity of A to force B to do something in A's interest.

Praesidium In the context of the 2002 Convention on the Future of Europe, the Praesidium was the steering group responsible for setting the Convention's agenda and overseeing its progress. *See* Convention on the Future of Europe.

preliminary ruling (procedure) A judgment of the Court of Justice of the EU that arises as a response to a question of European law posed in a domestic court.

presidency of the EU Council A leadership position that is held on a six-monthly basis by member states in rotation. Since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force, the European Council has its own appointed President.

price support The system of agricultural support that involves keeping food prices higher than the market price, to give farmers a higher and more stable income.

primus inter pares A Latin expression meaning 'first among equals'.

primus super pares A Latin expression that means 'first above equals'.

proportional representation (PR) A form of electoral system that attempts to match the proportion of seats won by a political party with the proportion of the total vote for that party.

proportionality A principle that implies that the means should not exceed the ends; applies to decision-making and the legislative process.

pro-systemic opposition In the context of conceptual debates about Euroscepticism, this term has been used by FitzGibbon to refer to critiques of the integration process that, rather than being sceptical about it, propose alternative models of integration.

public debt The amount of money owed by the state.

public goods theory A branch of economics that studies, from the perspective of economic theory, how voters, politicians, and government officials behave.

public sphere A space or arena for broad public deliberation, discussion, and engagement in societal issues. According to Habermas, the democratic deficit can be eliminated only if a European public sphere comes into existence in which the democratic process is incorporated.

qualified majority voting (QMV) A system of voting based on the qualified majority, which is the number of votes required in the Council for a decision to be adopted when issues are being debated on the basis of Article 16 TEU and Article 238 TFEU. Under the ordinary legislative procedure (OLP), the Council acts by qualified majority in combination with the European Parliament. With the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, a new system known as 'double majority' was introduced. *See* dual majority; ordinary legislative procedure (OLP).

quantitative easing The process whereby, when lower interest rates have been used to encourage people to spend, not save, and interest rates can go no lower, a central bank pumps money into the economy directly, by buying assets or simply by printing money.

Rapid Reaction Force A transnational military force managed by the European Union.

rapporteur A member of the European Parliament (MEP) responsible for drafting legislative opinions.

Rassemblement Nationale Populist, Eurosceptic, radical right-wing French political party. Until June 2018 it was known as the *Front National* or National Front.

ratification Formal approval. In the EU context, it implies approval of Treaty revisions by national parliaments and sometimes also by popular referendum.

ratification crisis (1992) The crisis provoked by the Danish 'no' vote in their 1992 referendum on the Maastricht Treaty (2005). The crisis provoked by the negative referendums on the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands in May and June 2005.

rational choice *See* rationalism.

rational utilitarianism The idea that opinions stem from calculations involving the weighing up of costs and benefits.

rationalism A theory that assumes that individuals (or states) are able to rank options in order of preference and to choose the best available preference.

realism A rationalist theory of international relations.

recession A temporary depression in economic activity or prosperity, which is, specifically, three consecutive quarters of negative growth.

redistributive The characteristic of a policy that transfers wealth from one group to another.

reference See preliminary ruling.

reference currency A tool for settling trade transactions.

reference value A baseline measure against which economic progress can be assessed.

reflection group A group established prior to an intergovernmental conference (ICG) to prepare preliminary papers on relevant issues.

reflectivism A perspective that centres on ontological and epistemological questions not answered to a satisfactory degree by the rationalist, behaviourist, or positivist perspectives, such as the nature of knowledge, its objectivity or subjectivity, and the nature of international politics. Reflectivism questions the existence of objective truth and our ability to discover such truths.

reform treaty A Treaty that amends the provisions of existing EU treaties. The difference between a reform treaty (operating within the framework of existing treaties) and a constitution (which would consolidate all of the rules governing the EU and give rise to a new set of legal principles) shaped the debates over the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and member states' justification not to hold referenda.

refoulement The act of forcing a refugee or asylum seeker from a place where they can claim asylum to a country or territory where he or she is likely to face persecution or other threats.

regime The framework of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations occur. An international regime is usually considered to take the form of an international organization. It is a concept associated with neo-realism.

regulation The rules or legislation made in order to provoke certain policy outcomes; one of the

legislative instruments used by the EU. EU regulations are directly effective, spelling out not only the aims of legislation, but also what must be done and how (see directive).

regulatory competition A situation in which a country tries to offer a regulatory environment that will attract business from abroad. This may involve deregulation.

regulatory impact assessment (RIA) An evaluation intended to provide a detailed and systematic appraisal of the potential impacts of a new regulation in order to assess whether the regulation is likely to achieve the desired objectives.

regulatory state The expansion in the use of rule-making, monitoring, and enforcement techniques and institutions by the state, and a parallel change in the way in which its positive functions in society are being carried out.

representation The principle by which delegates are chosen to act for a particular constituency (group of electors).

representative democracy A form of democracy founded on the principle of elected individuals representing the people. People allow representatives who form an independent ruling body to represent them in the various forms of democratic process such as legislating.

res publicae composita A composite union comprising diverse publics.

right of association The democratic right of people to form groups such as trades unions.

Robert Schuman Former French Foreign Minister and one of the 'founding fathers' of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), through his Schuman Plan of 1950.

rule of law Refers to the independence, quality and efficiency of national justice systems. The rule of law is one of the fundamental values of the Union, enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union.

run on a bank Crisis that occurs when a large number of customers withdraw their deposits from a financial institution and either demand cash, or transfer those funds into government bonds or a safer institution, because they believe that financial institution is, or might become, insolvent.

rural development policy The EU's common rural development policy aims to address the challenges faced by rural areas and to unlock their potential. Rural development addresses three key areas: improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and forestry sector; improving the environment and the countryside; and improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging diversification of the rural economy.

safeguard clause A traditional trade liberalization measure which protects against future problems.

Schengen Agreement An agreement to create a border-free European Community. It was originally outside the treaties, but was incorporated at Amsterdam.

Schengen Area The border-free Schengen Area guarantees free movement across most EU states, except for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, and Romania. However, Bulgaria and Romania are currently in the process of joining the Schengen Area. Of non-EU states, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein have joined the Schengen Area.

Schengen Information System (SIS) The largest shared database on maintaining public security, supporting police and judicial cooperation, and managing external border control in Europe. Participating states provide entries ('alerts') on wanted and missing persons, lost and stolen property, and entry bans. It is immediately and directly accessible to all police officers at street level, and other law enforcement officials and authorities who need the information to carry out their roles in protecting law and order and fighting crime.

Schuman Plan Signed on 9 May 1950, it led to the setting up of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

secession The act of withdrawing from an organization, union, or a political entity.

secessionist movement *See* secession.

second-order elections European elections are often said to be second-order in character (Reif and Schmitt, 1980). This means that most electors consider the European political arena to be less important than the national one and that they, accordingly, use their votes in EP elections to express feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with domestic parties or to bring about political change in their own country.

sectoral integration A description of, or strategy for, integration that involves an incremental sector-by-sector approach. *See* spillover.

securitization The financial practice of pooling various types of contractual debt, such as residential mortgages, commercial mortgages, auto loans, or credit card debt obligations, and selling that consolidated debt as bonds to various investors.

separation of powers A condition of democratic political systems under which the executive, legislature, and judiciary are separate, providing a system of checks and balances that serve to prevent abuses of power.

set-aside A characteristic of land, which farmers are not allowed to use for any agricultural purpose. It was introduced by the EU in 1992 as part of a package of reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) to prevent over-production. It applies only to farmers growing crops.

shared competence A specific area in which the member states and the EU have powers to legislate and adopt legally binding acts. The member states exercise their powers in so far as the Union has not exercised, or has decided to stop exercising, its competence. Most of the EU's competences fall into this category. *See* exclusive competence.

Silk Road China's Belt and Road Initiative, reminiscent of the Silk Road, was launched in 2013 by President Xi Jinping. It incorporates a vast collection of development and investment initiatives that would stretch from East Asia to Europe, significantly expanding China's economic and political influence.

simplified revision procedure The Treaty of Lisbon creates a simplified procedure for the amendment of policies and internal actions of the EU. The government of any member state, the Commission, or the European Parliament can submit proposals for amendments to the European Council. The European Council then adopts a decision laying down the amendments made to the treaties. The European Council acts by unanimity after consulting the Commission, the Parliament, and the European Central Bank (ECB) if the amendment concerns monetary matters. New provisions of the treaties enter into force only after they have been ratified by all member states pursuant to their respective constitutional

requirements. This procedure avoids the convening of a convention and an IGC. However, the competences of the EU may not be extended by means of a simplified revision procedure.

Single European Act (SEA) The first of the large-scale Treaty revisions, signed in 1986. It came into force in 1987 and served as a 'vehicle' for the single market programme.

single European market *See* single market (programme).

Single Farm Payment (SFP) A unique direct payment under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), aimed at achieving a complete decoupling of support and production. Under this system, even a farmer who decides to grow nothing is eligible to receive this payment, as long as he or she complies with environmental, food safety, animal welfare, and occupational safety standards.

single market (programme) The goal of one unified internal EU market, free of (national) barriers to trade. While the idea was included in the Treaty of Rome, the Single Market is usually associated with the revitalization of the Community from the mid-1980s.

Single Market Act I and II Adopted by the European Commission in April 2011, the Single Market Act I aimed to deliver 12 instruments to relaunch the Single Market for 2012. These 12 instruments of growth, competitiveness, and social progress ranged from worker mobility, to small and medium-sized enterprise (SME) finance and consumer protection, via digital content, taxation, and trans-European networks. In October 2012 the Commission proposed a second set of actions (Single Market Act II) to further develop the Single Market and exploit its untapped potential as an engine for growth. It included actions on transport and energy networks; citizens and business mobility; the digital economy and social entrepreneurship, cohesion and consumer confidence.

single monetary policy Common monetary policy across the euro area. *See* economic and monetary union (EMU).

Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM) One of the components of the Banking Union in the eurozone. Its purpose is to ensure an orderly resolution of failing banks with minimal costs for taxpayers and to the real economy. It applies to banks covered by the SSM. In

the cases when banks fail despite stronger supervision, the mechanism will allow bank resolution to be managed effectively through a Single Resolution Board and a Single Resolution Fund, financed by the banking sector. *See* Banking Union.

Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) One of the components of the Banking Union in the eurozone. Under the SSM, which became operational in November 2014, the European Central Bank (ECB) has become the banking supervisor for all banks in the euro area, directly responsible for supervising the approximately 123 largest banking groups. *See* Banking Union.

Sinn Féin An Irish Republican party seeking to end British rule in Northern Ireland.

'six pack' The five regulations and one directive that entered into force on 13 December 2011. It applies to all member states with some specific rules for euro area member states, especially regarding financial sanctions. Not only does it cover fiscal surveillance, it also includes macro-economic surveillance under the new macro-economic imbalance procedure.

'snake' A system aimed to stabilize exchange rates within the EC in the 1970s.

Social Chapter Agreed at Maastricht, the Social Chapter establishes minimum social conditions within the EU.

social constructivism *See* constructivism.

social dumping The undercutting of social standards in order to improve competitiveness.

social partner(s) The social partners are the bodies representing the two sides of industry: the employers and the employees.

social partnership The partnership of labour (the unions) and capital (employers) acting together and enjoying a privileged position in the EU policy process.

social spillover A recent neo-functionalist concept that explains the learning and socialization processes that help to drive European integration.

soft law Those documents that are not formally or legally binding, but which may still produce political effects. *See* hard law.

sovereign debt crisis A crisis that arises when national governments are unable to guarantee repayment of

debt that they have issued—even though sovereign debt is theoretically considered to be risk-free, because the government can employ different measures to guarantee repayment, by increasing taxes or printing money.

sovereignty The supremacy of a state, which is not subject to any higher authority; supreme, unrestricted power (of a state).

Spaak Report Following the Messina Conference, Belgian socialist politician Paul-Henri Spaak was appointed to prepare a report on the creation of a common European market. The 1956 Spaak Report recommended greater economic union and the union of nuclear energy production. *See also* Venice conference.

'special legislative procedures' There are two types of special legislative procedures. Consent: the European Parliament has the power to accept or reject a legislative proposal by an absolute majority vote, but cannot amend it. And consultation: the European Parliament may approve, reject, or propose amendments to a legislative proposal.

specific interest group A type of interest group that is characterized by its broad scope and lack of clear membership. These include, for example, religious, social, human rights, consumer, and environmental groups (*see also* diffuse interest group).

spillback A mechanism identified by neo-functional-ist theorists. According to Schmitter, spillback occurs in regional integration when, in response to tensions, actors withdraw from their original objective, downgrading their commitment to mutual cooperation. *See* spillover.

spillover A mechanism identified by neo-functional-ist theorists who claimed that sectoral integration in one area would have knock-on effects in others and would 'spill over', thereby increasing the scope of European integration. *See* neo-functionalism.

Spinelli Report On 14 February 1984, the European Parliament adopted a draft Treaty on European Union (TEU), also known as the 'Spinelli Report' because it was written by Altiero Spinelli. The aim of the report was to bring about a reform of the Community institutions. The report was soon buried by the governments of the member states, but it provided an impetus for the negotiations that led to the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty. *See* Altiero Spinelli.

Spitzenkandidat/Spitzenkandidaten is a German word that means top candidate or party list leader. The term refers to the European Parliament's interpretation of the Lisbon Treaty's provision that stipulates that the European Council shall nominate a candidate for European Commission President 'taking into account the elections to the European Parliament', by qualified majority, and the parliament in turn must 'elect' the nominee with an absolute majority (Article 17 TEU). Thus for the 2014 European elections European-level political parties proposed rival candidates for the post of Commission President.

St Malo summit At the Franco-British Summit held in St Malo on 3 and 4 December 1998, the Heads of State or Government of the United Kingdom and France agreed on the need to give the European Union (EU) the capacity for autonomous decision-making and action, backed up by credible military forces, in order to respond to international crises when the Atlantic Alliance is not involved. To avoid unnecessary duplication, it was decided that the EU should take into account the assets of Western European Union (WEU).

Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) An agreement of the EU member states concerning conduct over their fiscal policy, which aimed to ensure that the constraints on member states prior to the introduction of the single currency would continue after economic and monetary union (EMU) was in place.

Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) A framework for the implementation of the stabilization and association process between the EU and the Western Balkan countries. Each agreement is adapted to the specific situation of each partner country, while establishing common political, economic, and commercial objectives and encouraging regional cooperation. *See* Stabilization and Association Process (SAP).

Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) The main framework for EU relations with the Western Balkan region (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244). In addition to the political, economic, and institutional criteria established at the Copenhagen European Council in 1993, the SAP added five further specific criteria for the Western Balkans: full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), respect for human and minority rights, the creation of real opportunities for refugees

and internally displaced persons to return, and a visible commitment to regional cooperation.

stakeholder A person, group, organization, member, or system who affects or can be affected by an organization's actions.

state-centrism A conceptual approach to understanding European integration that gives primacy to the role of state actors within the process.

statehood The condition of being a state. *See* *stateness*.

stateness The quality of being a state—that is, a legal territorial entity with a stable population and a government.

Stockholm Programme As the follow-up to the Hague Programme, the Stockholm Programme provided the guidelines for cooperation in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice for the period 2010–14. It gave policymaking a push by calling for the implementation of a common asylum system, and stressed partnership with countries of origin and/or transit. *See* *Hague Programme*.

Stresa Conference From 3 to 12 July 1958, the delegations of the six founding member states met in Stresa (Italy) with Walter Hallstein, President of the European Commission, and Sicco Mansholt, Commissioner with special responsibility for Agriculture, to discuss the introduction of a common agricultural policy (CAP).

strong currency A situation arising out of relative levels of exchange rate whereby the value of national money is increased. This has the effect of lowering the price of imports (making imported goods cheaper), but also of increasing the price of exports, making exports less competitive in international markets.

Structural Fund(s) A financial instrument aimed at fostering economic and social cohesion in the EU by part-financing regional and horizontal operations in the member states. There are four types of Structural Fund: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF); the European Social Fund (ESF); the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) Guidance section; and the Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG).

structural policy The EU's framework to maintain a sufficient level of economic and social cohesion among member states. It incorporates a number of

programmes and financial instruments, including the Structural Fund, with which to achieve its aims.

subprime mortgage market The market comprising mortgage loans to people who were perceived to be at high risk of defaulting on the repayment schedule. These loans are characterized by higher interest rates and less favourable terms in order to compensate for the higher credit risk. The subprime mortgage crisis arose in the USA as a result of the bundling together of subprime and regular mortgages.

subsidiarity The principle that tries to ensure that decisions are taken as close as possible to the citizen. *See* *yellow card system* and *orange card system*.

Suez crisis The 1956 Suez crisis erupted when Britain, France, and Israel responded to the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company by Egyptian President Nasser (thus potentially threatening the flow of primarily oil from the Persian Gulf to Western Europe) with a combined military operation. This was a key moment in the Cold War period as Nasser's triumph strengthened Arab nationalism, while it demonstrated the decline in French and British international influence as the two countries and Israel were heavily criticized for their invasion of Egyptian territory by the UN, the USA, and the Soviet Union.

superstate A political term that implies that the aim of supporters of European integration is to turn the EU into a state, with connotations of the detachment of elites and the European institutions from ordinary citizens.

supranational Above the national level. It may refer to institutions, policies, or a particular 'type' of cooperation/integration.

supranational integration An intensely institutionalized form of cooperation that may involve institutions or policy-making above the national level.

supranational governance A theory of European integration proposed by Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, which draws on neo-functionalism and provides an alternative approach to Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism.

supranational institution An institution in the EU system of governance to which the member states have delegated sovereignty, such as the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Central Bank (ECB), or the Court of Justice of the European Union.

supranationalism An approach to the study of the EU that emphasizes the autonomy of the European institutions and the importance of common European policies.

sustainability (or 'sustainable development') The ability to meet the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations.

Syriza or Coalition of the Radical Left A left-wing, anti-establishment political party in Greece, originally founded in 2004 as a coalition of left-wing and radical left parties. The party twice won the 2015 parliamentary elections in Greece.

Tampere A city in Finland at which a summit meeting in 1999 agreed to create an 'area of freedom, security and justice' (AFSJ) in Europe.

Tampere European Council At the 1999 Tampere European Council the member state governments agreed to create an 'area of freedom, security and justice' (AFSJ) in Europe.

technical information Refers to economic, legal, administrative, and scientific expertise informing the European Commission about the EU wide effects of its policy proposals (*see also* political information).

teleological In the context of the EU's legal doctrine, the characteristic of an argument drawn from the objectives or purpose of EU law, rather than its causes. A typical teleological argument is the reference to the need to achieve a single European market.

third-country national (TCN) A citizen of a country outside the European Union.

three-pillar structure *See* pillars.

Trade and Cooperation Agreement between the UK and the European Union (TCA) The EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement concluded between the EU and the UK sets out preferential arrangements in areas such as trade in goods and in services, digital trade, intellectual property, public procurement, aviation and road transport, energy, fisheries, social security coordination, law enforcement and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, thematic cooperation, and participation in Union programmes. It is underpinned by provisions ensuring a level playing field and respect for fundamental rights. The TCA was signed on 30 December 2020, was applied provisionally as of 1 January 2021, and entered into force on 1 May 2021.

transaction costs The costs related to the exchange of money.

Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) A proposed trade agreement that is being negotiated between the EU and USA. It is aimed at creating the world's biggest free trade zone by reducing regulatory barriers to trade in areas ranging from food safety law to environmental rules and banking regulations.

transfer payment A payment not made in return for any contribution to current output. Usually refers to agricultural subsidies.

transparency Used in the EU to refer to the extent of openness within the EU institutions.

transposition The translation of European law into domestic law.

treaty base The treaty provision that underpins a particular piece of European legislation.

treaty base game The act of selecting a treaty base (in a 'grey area') for political ends.

Treaty Establishing the European Stability Mechanism A treaty signed by euro area member states on 2 February 2012. The European Stability Mechanism (ESM) is constituted as an international financial institution based in Luxembourg. Its purpose is to provide financial assistance to euro area member states experiencing or being threatened by severe financing problems. *See* European Stability Mechanism (ESM).

Treaty of Brussels Signed on 17 March 1948 between Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the UK, the Treaty of Brussels (or 'Brussels Pact') aimed to set out terms for economic, social, and cultural cooperation, and especially collective self-defence. It provided for the establishment of an international organization that led to the creation of the Western European Union (WEU). *See* Western European Union (WEU).

Treaty of Dunkirk A treaty signed on 4 March 1947, between France and the UK in Dunkirk (France), as a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance against a possible German attack.

Treaty of Lisbon *See* Lisbon Treaty.

Treaty of Nice *See* Nice Treaty.

Treaty of Rome Signed in 1957, the Rome Treaty formally established the European Economic

Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom, or EAEC).

Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (or the Fiscal Compact) Agreed on 30 January 2012 by the informal European Council, the only really substantive binding provision of this treaty is that the member states undertake to adopt, at the national level, rules that limit their structural deficit to 0.5 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP). This should be done 'preferably at the constitutional level'.

Treaty on the European Union (TEU) (or Maastricht Treaty) The TEU established the European Union, prepared for economic and monetary union (EMU), and introduced elements of a political union (citizenship, and common foreign and internal affairs policy). It has been amended by the Amsterdam, Nice, and Lisbon Treaties.

Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) The Lisbon Treaty amended the EU's two core treaties, the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEC), renaming the latter as the TFEU. The TFEU organizes the functioning of the Union and determines the areas of, delimitation of, and arrangements for exercising its competences.

Trevi (Group) A forum for internal security co-operation, which operated from the mid-1970s until 1993.

Trilogue(s) or Trialogue(s) Informal meetings of representatives of the EP, Council, and Commission which aim to facilitate compromises on legislative matters. The trialogue process starts as soon as the institutions agree an initial position on a law.

troika (i) The country holding the presidency of the EU Council together with the previous presidency and the forthcoming presidency; (ii) in Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), it traditionally referred to the presidency of the EU Council, the High Representative for CFSP, and the Commission, but since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy functions as Council President in matters of foreign affairs, as Commissioner for External Relations, and as High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy; (iii) The group of international lenders, namely, the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Central

Bank (ECB) that have provided bailouts, or promises of bailouts, for indebted euro area countries, subject to stringent austerity conditions. *See* High Representative (HR) for the CFSP or High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

troika missions This term refers to the group of representatives from the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Central Bank (ECB), also known as the troika, that visit countries who have received loans from the EU and the IMF to monitor that the relevant governments are meeting the conditions under which the money has been lent to them. These conditions are established in a sort of contract, called a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). If a troika mission concludes that a country has not done enough in exchange for the money, it can decide to postpone payment of the next tranche. *See* troika.

'two pack' In November 2011, the Commission proposed two further Regulations to strengthen euro area budgetary surveillance (in addition to the 'six pack'). This reform package provides increased transparency on the member states' budgetary decisions, stronger coordination in the euro area starting with the 2014 budgetary cycle, and the recognition of the special needs of euro area member states under severe financial pressure. The 'two pack' entered into force on 30 May 2013 in all euro area member states.

Uighurs The Uighurs are a mostly Muslim minority living in north-western China in the region the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR). The Uighurs speak their own language, similar to Turkish, and see themselves as culturally and ethnically close to Central Asian nations. The Chinese government is accused of committing genocide and crimes against humanity through its repression of the Uighurs.

UK Independence Party (UKIP) Is a Eurosceptic and right-wing populist political party in the United Kingdom. The party won the 2014 European elections in the UK. In the European Parliament it belongs to the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group.

unanimity The principle that all member states must vote in favour for an agreement to be reached. It implies that each member state holds a potential veto.

Uruguay Round The eighth round of multilateral trade negotiations (MTN) conducted within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), spanning from 1986 to 1994 and

embracing 123 countries. The Round transformed the GATT into the World Trade Organization (WTO). The Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture provides for converting quantitative restrictions to tariffs and for a phased reduction of tariffs. The agreement also imposes rules and disciplines on agricultural export subsidies, domestic subsidies, and sanitary and phytosanitary measures.

utilitarian theory A theory that relates to choosing the greatest good for the greatest number of people.

Van Rompuy Task Force Set up in June 2010 by the then President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, this high-level group was created to explore the EU's economic governance and identify ideas on how to achieve closer harmonization of European economies.

variable geometry An image of the European Union that foresees the breakdown of a unified form of co-operation, and the introduction of a 'pick and choose' approach to further integration.

variable levy In the context of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), a levy raised on produce before it enters the common market, so that it is priced at or above the internal price. A system of 'reimbursements' (refunds) enables European producers to sell their products on the world market at world prices without losing income.

vassal state This expression typically refers to a state that is subordinate to another. This term has been used to describe the United Kingdom's status during the so-called 'transition period' lasting from Brexit day on 29 March 2019 to 31 December 2020. During this period, the EU expected the UK to continue to apply EU law and policies but without being involved in any decision-making process.

Venice conference On 29 and 30 May 1956, the Foreign Ministers of the six member states of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) met in Venice to consider the implications of the Spaak Report and the plans for a common market and for Euratom. *See also* Spaak Report.

Ventotene Manifesto Was written by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, while prisoners on the Italian island of Ventotene in 1941. The Manifesto encouraged a federation of European states, which was meant to

keep the countries of Europe close, thus preventing war. *See also* Altiero Spinelli.

veto player According to Tsebelis, for policy change to occur, a certain number of individual or collective actors (veto players) have to agree to the proposed change.

Visegrad group Founded on 15 February 1991, the Visegrad group aims to promote cooperation between the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia.

voluntary agreement An agreement resulting from the autonomous European Social Dialogue, which proceeds without the initiative or participation of the Commission and, as such, its implementation is not subject to legal enforcement. *See* European Social Dialogue.

voluntary export restraint (VER) A trade restriction on the quantity of goods that are exported to another state.

Walter Hallstein The first president of the European Commission from 1958 to 1969, a committed European, and a decisive proponent of European integration. In his opinion, the most important prerequisite for a successful political integration of Europe was the creation of common economic institutions. As president of the European Commission, Hallstein worked towards a rapid realization of the common market.

Warsaw Pact Signed on 14 May 1955 by the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, the 'Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance' aimed to ensure the close integration of military, economic, and cultural policy between these communist nations. The democratic revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe heralded the end of the Warsaw Pact and the Cold War between East and West.

Werner Plan This 1970 blueprint for economic and monetary union (EMU) proposed three stages with which to reach EMU by 1980. On the institutional side, it recommended setting up two supranational bodies: 'a Community System for the Central Banks' and a 'Centre of Decision for Economic Policy'. The former would pursue monetary policies, whereas the latter would coordinate macro-economic policies (including some tax policies). Most of the recommendations of the Werner Plan were adopted.

Werner Report The first report on Monetary Union dating from 1970 and named after the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Pierre Werner. *See* Werner Plan.

Western European Union (WEU) A collaborative defence agreement and extension of the 1948 Treaty of Brussels, signed in 1955. It was designed to allow for the rearmament of West Germany. It was revitalized in the 1980s, and subsequently served as a bridge between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the EU. Its functions have lately been subsumed within the European Union. *See* Treaty of Brussels.

Westphalian Refers to a specific view of international relations rooted in the Westphalian system of sovereign states, which was established in 1648 as part of the Peace of Westphalia. This approach is defined by three key characteristics: the principle of state sovereignty; the equality of states; and the non-intervention of one state in the international affairs of another.

White Paper on the Future of Europe The White paper presented by the European Commission on 1 March 2017 set out five possible scenarios for the future of Europe depending on how the EU decides to address challenges such as globalization, the impact of new technologies on society and jobs, security concerns, and the rise of populism.

widening Generally refers to the enlargement of the EU, but may also be used to denote the increasing scope of Community or Union competences.

Withdrawal Agreement (WA) The EU–UK Withdrawal Agreement concluded between the European Union and the United Kingdom establishes the terms of the United Kingdom's orderly withdrawal from the EU, in accordance with Article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union. The WA entered into force on 1 February 2020, after having been agreed in October 2019.

Working Time Directive *See* European Working Time Directive.

World Trade Organization (WTO) An international organization that oversees the global trade in goods and services.

yellow card (system) If a draft legislative act's compliance with the subsidiarity principle is contested by a third of the votes allocated to national parliaments (the yellow card), the Commission has to review the proposal and decide to maintain, amend, or withdraw the act, also motivating its decision. This threshold is a quarter in the case of a draft submitted on the basis of Article 76 TFEU on the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice (AFSJ). A yellow card requires 19 reasoned opinions provided by national chambers explaining why the EU law in question impinges upon the principle of subsidiarity. The Commission can get around a yellow card by giving clearer justifications for its actions and proposing the law again. National parliaments may still block this second attempt via an orange card. *See* Orange card and Subsidiarity.

Yugoslavia A country in the Western Balkans that existed during most of the twentieth century. In 1963, it was renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which included six republics—namely, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, SR Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Serbia—and two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo). After the 1991 Balkan Wars, which followed the secession of most of the country's constituent entities, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia existed until 2003, when it was renamed Serbia and Montenegro. On the basis of a referendum held on 21 May 2006, Montenegro declared independence on 3 June of that year.

zero-sum game A game played (by states) in which the victory of one group implies the loss of another.

Zollverein A customs union between German states in the eighteenth century under Bismarck; the economic basis for German unification.