Table of Contents

Lis	t of (Graphs, Tables and Charts	15
Lis	t of A	Abbreviations	17
1.	Intro	oduction of the Research Subject 'Differentiated Integration at k'	19
		A Structuring Approach to Differentiated Integration: State of the Art, Key Aspects and Core Research Questions Research Design: The Case, Variables, Assumptions,	19
	1.2	Methodology	27
	1.3	Le Fil Rouge: Structure and Outline of the Study	36
2.	Con	ceptualisation and Theorising of Differentiated Integration at Work	38
	2.1	Differentiated Integration: Conceptualisation of a Blurry Term 2.1.1 Structuring the Supercharged Debate on Differentiated	38
		Integration	39
		2.1.2 Theorising Differentiated Integration: The Neglected Case in Traditional European Integration Theory?	46
	2.2	Theorising Differentiated Integration at Work: Bringing Historical	
		Institutionalism Back in	50
		 2.2.1 Theoretical Findings on Differentiated Integration as Second-Best Solution and Its Rationale 2.2.1.1 Formation of Structures of Differentiated Policy-/ 	52
		Decision-Making	54
		2.2.1.2 Introducing Path Dependence to the Analysis 2.2.2 The Stickiness of Structures of Differentiated Policy-/	58
		Decision-Making	61
		2.2.3 Review of the Explanatory Benefits and Limits of Historical Institutionalism in Light of the Paths of Differentiated	
		Integration at Work	66
	2.3	Theorising Differentiated Integration at Work: The Influence of	
		Centripetal and Centrifugal Effects	70
		2.3.1 Relevance of Externalities and Member State Action	72
		2.3.2 Structural and Functional Differentiation and Externalities: Establishing the Net-Benefits of the General Opt-out	80

	2.4	The Paths to Differentiated Integration at Work: Guiding Assumptions and Working Theses	86
3.		erationalisation of the Analytical Frame and the Case of the Area of edom, Security and Justice	0.7
	rrec	edom, Security and Justice	93
	3.1	Legal Framework: Delineation of Flexibility and Differentiation 3.1.1 Flexibility Tools: Uniform Primary Law and Differentiated	95
		Secondary Law	101
		3.1.1.1 Asynchronous but Common Integration: Safeguard	
		Clauses and Principal Derogations	103
		3.1.1.2 General Authorisation of Different Rules for	
		Different Member States: Much Ado about	
		Nothing?	108
		3.1.1.3 Constructive Abstention: Case-by-Case Flexibility	
		within CFSP	112
		3.1.2 Differentiated Integration Tools: Actual Differentiation in	
		Primary Law	114
		3.1.2.1 The Economic and Monetary Union	115
		3.1.2.2 The Common Security and Defence Policy	118
		3.1.2.3 The Charter of Fundamental Rights	119
		3.1.2.4 The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	122
		3.1.3 A Conclusive Assessment of the Institutionalisation of Opt-	
		Outs in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice as	
		Independent Variable	125
	3.2	Driving Forces of the Paths of Differentiated Integration at Work	
		in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	126
		3.2.1 The Institutional Design: Determination of the Relevance of	
		Access Points for the 'Outs' in Differentiated Decision-	
		Making	127
		3.2.2 Externalities: The Pressure for Circumvention of	
		Differentiated Integration	131
		3.2.3 Domestic Conditions: Referendum as Key to Joining the	
		European Fold?	138
	3.3	Configuration of the Patterns of Differentiated Integration at Work	
		in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	141
		3.3.1 Catching a Structuring Glimpse on the Policies of the Area	
		of Freedom, Security and Justice	141
		3.3.2 Guiding Assumptions Refined: Yardsticks for Patterns of	
		Differentiated Integration at Work	145

٠.		cornerstones of Differentiated Integration at work in the Area of Edom, Security and Justice	151
	4.1	The Slow Process of Communitarisation: From Schengen and Maastricht to Lisbon	152
		4.1.1 The Schengen Agreement as Backbone of Differentiation: Helpful Laboratory or Trauma?	153
		4.1.1.1 Aspects of Variable Geometries in the Area of	
		Freedom, Security and Justice	154
		4.1.1.2 Incorporation of the Schengen Acquis into the EU's	
		Legal Framework: Consequences of the Ventilation	1.61
		Approach for the 'Outs' 4.1.2 Intergovernmental and Supranational Policy-/Decision-	161
		Making and the Question of Access	166
		4.1.2.1 Access Points in the Institutional Architecture of the	100
		Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	166
		4.1.2.2 Flexibility Tools in the Light of Differentiated and	
		Undifferentiated Policy-Making	172
	4.2	Spill-over Alarm within a Densely Interconnected Policy Area	175
		4.2.1 The Full Circle of 'Freedom', 'Security' and 'Justice'	176 178
	13	4.2.2 The Inter-linkage of Individual Policies and Policy Measures Outsider Member States' Positions in Light of Centripetal Effects	1/0
	4.3	of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice	185
		4.3.1 The United Kingdom: A Stranger in the Area of Freedom,	
		Security and Justice?	186
		4.3.2 Ireland: The Pragmatist	195
		4.3.3 Denmark: In Defence of Intergovernmental Cooperation	201
5.	Inst	itutionalisation of Differentiated Integration in the Area of Freedom,	
•		urity and Justice: a Plethora of Provisions and a High Complexity	208
	5.1	The Schengen Protocol: The Permission for Two 'Outs' to Opt-In	
		and One 'In' to Be Out	209
		5.1.1 The United Kingdom and Ireland: Legal Rights to Participate in the Schengen Acquis in Spite of the Maintenance of	
		Borders	210
		5.1.2 Denmark: Preservation of the Intergovernmental Character	
		of the Schengen Cooperation	217
	5.2	The Title IV TEC / Title V TFEU Protocol: Freedom of Choice vs.	220
		Operability of the Acquis 5.2.1 The United Kingdom and Ireland: Knocking on Open Doors?	220
		5.2.1 The Officer Kingdom and Heland. Knocking on Open Doors:	اسد

	5 2	5.2.2 Denmark: Knocking on Closed Doors? 22 The Abolition of the Opt-Outs: Rather Low Chances to Terminate	26
	5.5	<u>-</u>	27
6.		'Living Procedures' of Differentiated Integration in the Area of dom, Security and Justice 23	30
	6.1	The European Level: Estimating the Costs of Differentiated Policy-/Decision-Making 23 6.1.1 The Commission: The Neutral Broker in the Paths of	31
			32
	6.2		34
	0.2		38
		6.2.1 Ireland and the United Kingdom: Time Pressure and	
		Parliamentary Scrutiny 23	39
		6.2.2 Denmark: Veto Points Determined by the Question of	
		Sovereignty Transfer 24	43
7.	Patt	erns of Implementation of Differentiated Integration 24	46
	7.1	Patterns of Implementation of Differentiated Integration: Schengen 24	47
		7.1.1 Effects of Structural Differentiation in Schengen: Either in or Out?	47
		7.1.2 Policy Participation in Schengen Matters: Clear Patterns and	
		No Surprises 25	52
		7.1.3 Completion of the Picture of Differentiated Integration at	
		S .	54
	7.2	Patterns of Implementation of Differentiated Integration: Title IV	
			56
		7.2.1 Effects of Structural Differentiation: A History of Abuses,Kick-Outs, and Spill-Overs	56
			57
			61
		7.2.1.3 Participation in Second Generation Legislation:	<i>,</i>
		<u>.</u>	65
		7.2.1.4 Having the Doors Shut in Their Faces: Unintended	
		-	68
		7.2.2 Finding a Compromise within a Tailor-Made Opt-In	73
		7.2.3 Policy Participation: Cherry Picking but Still Coherent	
		Participation 27	75

	7.2.4 Completion of the Picture of Differentiated Integration at Work: Title IV TEC / Title V TFEU	280
8.	Conclusions and Outlook	282
	 8.1 Differentiated Integration at Work: How to Close the Research Gaps 8.2 Patterns of Differentiated Integration at Work in the AFSJ 8.3 Acceleration Consolidation Fragmentation: What is it Going to Be? 8.4 The Paths of Differentiated Integration at Work: Mission Accomplished? 	283 284 292 297
	8.5 Outlook and Future Research Agendas	299
9.	References	
	9.1 Primary Sources9.2 Interviews9.3 Literature9.4 Newspaper Articles	301 309 310 329