Table of contents

Figures and tables 12

Abbreviations 13

Introduction 15

1 Putting the project into context 19

1.1 Looking for the relevance of communication in EU research 19
1.1.1 Enhancing EU legitimacy through public communication? 20
1.1.2 Why should the EP and the Commission communicate? 23
1.1.3 The changing role of institutional communication throughout the integration process 26
1.2 The notion of an EU communication deficit 30
1.2.1 What should EU institutions communicate? 31
1.2.1.1 Normative expectations 32
1.2.1.2 Professional demands 34
1.2.2 How EU institutions do not communicate what they are expected to 35
1.2.3 Researching the EU institutional communication deficit 38
1.3 Explaining the EU's communication deficit 39
1.3.1 External boundaries to EU institutional communication 39
1.3.2 Formal institutional obstacles 45
1.3.3 Shifting from structural to actor-centred explanations 47
1.3.3.1 Lack of determination 48
1.3.3.2 Problems with coordinating institutional communication 49
1.3.3.3 Internal rivalries 51
1.3.4 Explaining the EU institutions' communication deficit 52

2 Institutional communication from an actor-centred perspective: Developing an analytical framework 54

2.1 The complex nature of institutional communicators 55
2.1.1 Corporate institutional actors – beyond unitary conceptions 55
2.1.2 The many communicators in the EP and the Commission 57
2.1.3 Implications for EU institutional communication 61

2.2 Public communications and the intentionality of human (social) action 62
2.2.1 Norm-oriented motives for public communication 63
2.2.2 Interest-based communication aims 65
2.2.3 Conflicting public communication intentions 68
2.3 Public communication and institutional action constraints 70
2.3.1 Situational and individual constraints 71
2.3.2 Organisational constraints: procedures and structures 73
2.3.3 Social constraints: political power and social profile 76
2.4 Explaining EU institutional communication efforts 78

3 Methodological Considerations 81

3.1 Analysing EU institutional communication activities 81
3.2 Analysing EU institutional communication intentions 85
3.2.1 Document analysis 86
3.2.2 Interviews 88
3.3 Analysing EU institutional internal capability structures 90
3.4 Critical evaluation 91

4 Communicating the Services Directive and REACH 94

4.1 The timing of and occasions for institutional press communication 94
4.2 Making EU politics public – the EU institutions' communication of political responsibility, conflict and responsiveness 98
4.2.1 Communication of political responsibility? 98
4.2.2 Communication of diversity of opinions? 103
4.2.3 Communication of responsiveness? 107
4.3 EU institutional communication: between expectations and performance 112

5 Why and how to make EU politics public: Communication intentions 115

5.1 What the documents say: The official line to take 115
5.2 What the interviewees say: a variety of communication intentions 122
5.2.1 On communicating political responsibility 122
5.2.2 On communicating conflict 125
5.2.3 On communicating responsiveness 129
5.2.4 On the absence of any communication intentions 136
5.3 Actor patterns of intentional differences 139
5.4 Communication intentions: the Services Directive and REACH 144

6 The two institutions' communication ability: Organisational constraints 150

6.1 Formal organisational structures and procedures 150
6.1.1 Planning structures 151
6.1.2 Monitoring structures 153
6.1.3 Coordination structures 155
6.2 Limits to formal organisational structures and procedures 161
6.2.1 Limits of planning structures and procedures 162
6.2.2 Limits to monitoring structures and procedures 169
6.2.3 Limits of coordination structures and procedures 172
6.3 Organisational constraints: the Services Directive and REACH 178

7 The two institutions' communication ability: Social restrictions 183

7.1 Social restrictions and the definition of institutional communication aims 183
7.1.1 The European Parliament 183
7.1.2. The European Commission 185
7.2 Social resources and the use of organisational structures 188
7.2.1 The European Parliament 188
7.2.2 The European Commission 193
7.3 Social restrictions – the Services Directive and REACH 197

8 Summary and conclusion 201

8.1 The characteristics of EU institutional press communication 201
8.2 The institutional communication development process 203
8.3 Relating the development process to the institutional press release features 206
8.4 Beyond the empirics: Theorising on EU institutional communication 207
8.5 Conclusion 210

References 213