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**PRAGMATISM, EUROSCEPTICISM AND INTEGRATION:
A DYNAMIC APPROACH**

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For full details, see **REPRESENTING EUROPEANS: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH**
Oxford U. Press Impact Book, Spring, 2013

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Endorsed by COMMITTED Europeans

- **STATIC** EU system as it works today
- **DYNAMIC** Momentum desirable, necessary; bicycle theory
Direction: An ever closer Union
An end in itself
- **IMPLICATION:** Continuing growth of EU by spillover, treaties

EUROSCEPTICISM

Endorsed by UNWILLING Europeans dissatisfied with status quo

SOFT Euroscepticism:

Reform by reducing EU powers

Negotiate national opt outs from the acquis

HARD Euroscepticism: EU Unjustified, never consented to EU 2012

Veto new proposals

Attack, defy acquis, treaty commitments

Withdraw

PRAGMATISM

Endorsed by QUESTIONING Europeans

- NO a priori commitment to ever closer OR ever looser Union
- SATISFICING: If existing policies acceptable, leave as it is
- IF DISSATISFIED: Diagnose causes of problem

Scrutinize alternatives within and outside EU for:

Causes and effects. Claims on resources. Probability of success

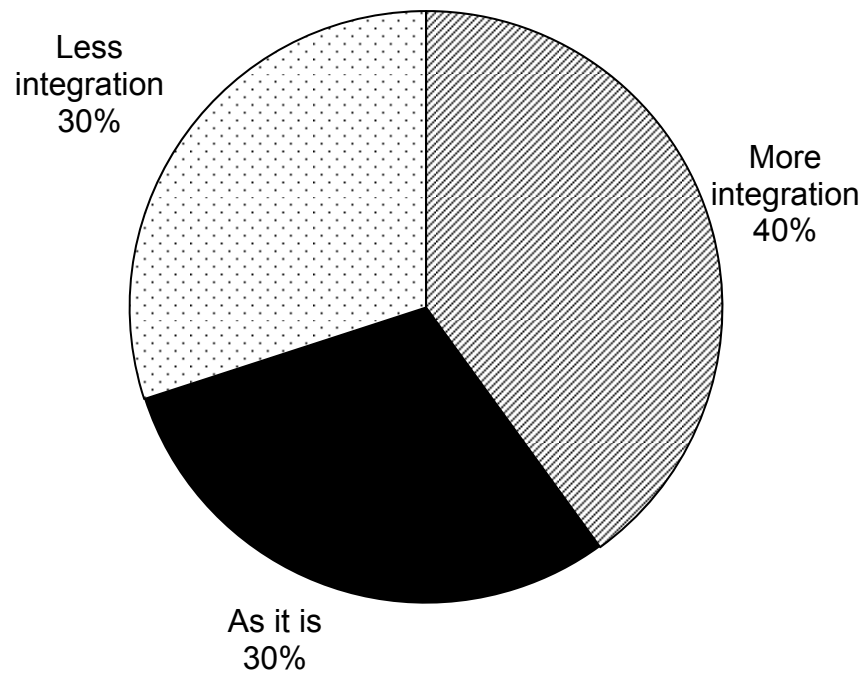
- IMPLICATION: Cautious about integration; look before you leap

MEDIAN EUROPEAN FAVOURS LEAVING EU AS IT IS

European Election Study, 27 country survey,

Q 80. Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it has already gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means unification has already gone too far and 10 means it should be pushed further.

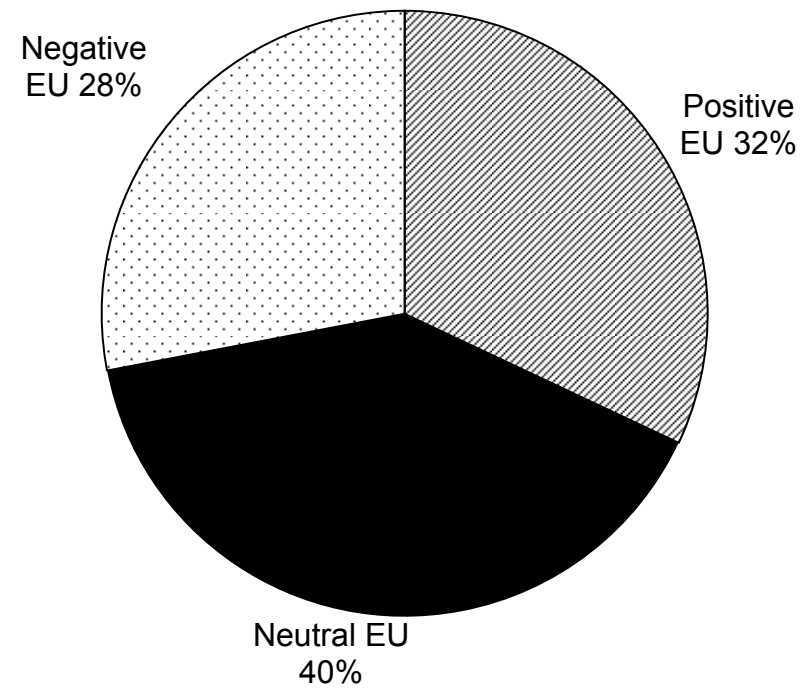
2009



Eurobarometer No.77, Spring, 2012

Q.A14. In general does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

2012



INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES INSTABILITY

- **ABOUT POLICIES** e.g. regulating multi-nationals, environment
- **DYNAMIC CONSEQUENCES**
 - Produces spillovers
 - Creates demand for collective action
- **SMALL STATES** welcome EU managing interdependent policies
- **NO ASSUMPTION OF ZERO-SUM OUTCOMES**

SPILOVERS VISIBLE, HIGH IMPACT & NEGATIVE

- Eurozone locks Germany and Greece together
- Social cohesion can't be achieved by fiscal transfers
- Schengen & enlargement stretches multi-culturalism

THE EU'S CAPACITY TO ACT

- In law, EU open to many members
- In practice, legal, economic and cultural capacity must have some limit
- Copenhagen criteria set standards for applicants for admission
- No equivalent criteria for EU's own absorption capacity.

Committed integrationists dislike constraint

Unwilling Europeans want to reduce capacity

PRAGMATIC LIMITS TO EU CAPACITY

- Constitutional: German Federal Court
 - UK European Referendum Act 2011
 - Incorporation of Stability *Vertrag*
- Weak enforcement powers on member states re democratic standards
 - Austrian Freedom Party. Hungary. Romania.
- Conditionality doesn't get rid of corruption:
 - Old & new members: Bulgaria. Romania. Italy. Greece.
- Potential new members below 2004 enlargement states re:
 - Democratic commitment. Corruption. GDP. Functioning economy.

INTERDEPENDENCE STRETCHES EUROPE'S BOUNDARIES

	<i>Number of members</i>		
	EU countries	Non -EU	% EU
"EUROPEAN" ORGANIZATIONS			
European Union	27	0	100
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	21	6	77
European Central Bank	17	0	63
Council of Europe	27	20	57
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	27	36	43
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe	27	29 + 12	40
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS			
World Trade Organisation	27	129	17
International Monetary Fund	27	161	14
World Bank	27	161	14
Interpol	27	163	14
United Nations	27	166	14

Responses to Challenges:

COMMITTED TO INTEGRATION

- Uniform policy for all member states
- Decide by consensus (voluntary or repressive) or Unanimity
- Limits to acting within stretched powers of existing treaties
- Not justified to Europe's citizens

UNWILLING EUROPEANS: THE UK GOVERNMENT

Seek opt outs for new policies

Repatriate powers: Fresh Start MPs

Withdrawal--and join Norway in European Economic Area

--and leap in the dark

A PRAGMATIC RESPONSE

- CASE by CASE evaluation of policy options
- ENHANCED CO-OPERATION: COALITIONS OF THE WILLING
 - Immediately satisfies both countries in and out
 - IF experience good, laggards catch up with leaders
- LOOSER UNION IF BENEFITS NOT IN COMMON
 - Monetary disunion: four groups
- INTEGRATION AS A BYPRODUCT