



THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY

European disintegration, conflict and re-nationalisation

Lecture 11
Challenges to EU Politics and Governance

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Recent developments in the EU



➔ What's next?



The last coal mine
Martin Fletcher on what the death of the mining industry says about Britain

John Sutherland
On the demon drink and life after alcohol

Tracey Thorn
on Bond themes
Alan Ryan
on Henry Kissinger

NewStatesman

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→ Need to reconsider our understanding of the process to provide an academic and informed answer to the *‘what’s next?’* and *‘how to fix it’* Qs



Let's start with the 'basics'

- Relevance of *integration*?
 - Disintegration has been much more common than integration
 - Before: USSR
 - Today: UK, Spain, etc.
 - European Union = *exception* – though possibility of disintegration apparent for a few years
 - Delors (2004): EU 50% chance of falling apart
- → Any concept of integration we adopt, **must** be able to account for underlying causes and dynamics of political evaluations explaining various levels of integration and changes in the process (Rosamond, 2000)

European studies perspectives

- Main European integration theories: *NO* discussion of possibility of disintegration (so far) → 'solutions'
 - NF ultimate end result of integration = **political union**
 - Introduced 'spill-back': "withdrawal from a set of specific obligations. Rules are no longer regularly enforced or obeyed. The scope of Community action and its institutional capacities decrease" (Lindberg and Scheingold, 1970: 137)
 - LI: ultimate end result of integration = **economic union**
 - State-centric, yet argues it's not necessary to organise economic policies along territorial lines (Taylor, 2008)
 - More recently, discussion of *differentiated* integration = why some MS do not join in *some* policy areas but others (Leuffen et al., 2012)
- ➔ Turn to approaches from *IR* and *Comparative Politics* to think of other possibly 'solutions' to current crises in the EU (Glencross, 2009)

Disintegration = as reverse integration?

- **Structural realism**

- Focus on CW stalemate between US and SU → prevent war between European states (Mearsheimer, 1990)
- End of SU → no reasons to relinquish state sovereignty (Rosato, 2011)
- BUT disintegration NOT necessarily = opposite of states being integrated

- **Optimum currency area (OCA) (Sadeh, 2012)**

- Explains why EU face more difficulties than US in the aftermath of the global financial crisis
- Reasons for diverging economic structures aggravating the EMU's problems
- BUT cannot explain political integration

- **Perhaps too focused on single reasoning about what dis/integration is?**



Disintegration from a comparative perspective

- Focus on comparing processes of disintegration → Expose various crucial factors and dynamics of disintegration – Q: which of these relevant to EU? What solutions they propose?
 - Expectation: federal systems *disintegrate* into sovereign states (Wood, 1981)
- Kelemen (2007) EU built last but self-reinforcing, complementary safeguards which discourage from disintegration and encourage fulfillment of obligations are *weak*
- Comparative imperialism: *EU as EMPIRE* focus on factors present in the process of (dis)integration – *No state bias!* (Beck and Grande, 2007)
 - Instead of listing factors, should think about *HOW* factors are interrelated in the process of (EU) disintegration
 - How we can address them?
 - How they each will be affected by changes, etc.?

Integration along the bounding-bonding nexus

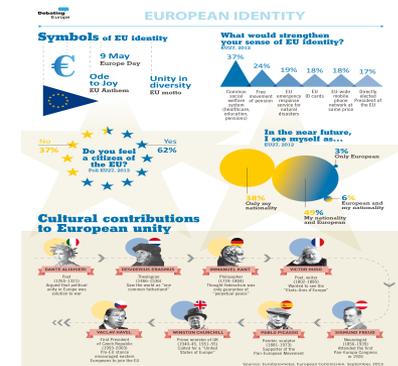
- **Webber (2013)**: combine theories of hegemonic stability and domestic politics to explore EU disintegration
- **Bartolini (2005) *Restructuring Europe*** holistic' theoretical framework focus on mutual dependence between the external consolidation and the internal structuring of a political formation = 'bounding–bonding nexus' (**Ferrera, 2005**):
 1. Actors are locked into a political formation → more difficult to exit and more likely to voice dissatisfaction
 2. More inclined to put their resources into political exchanges → growth of political infrastructure and organizations
 3. Remain more locked into an externally consolidated political formation → stabilization of political exchanges → more permanent alignments

So what would EU disintegration look like?

- Integration: external consolidation and internal structuring –and *both* strengthened at the systemic and the actor levels

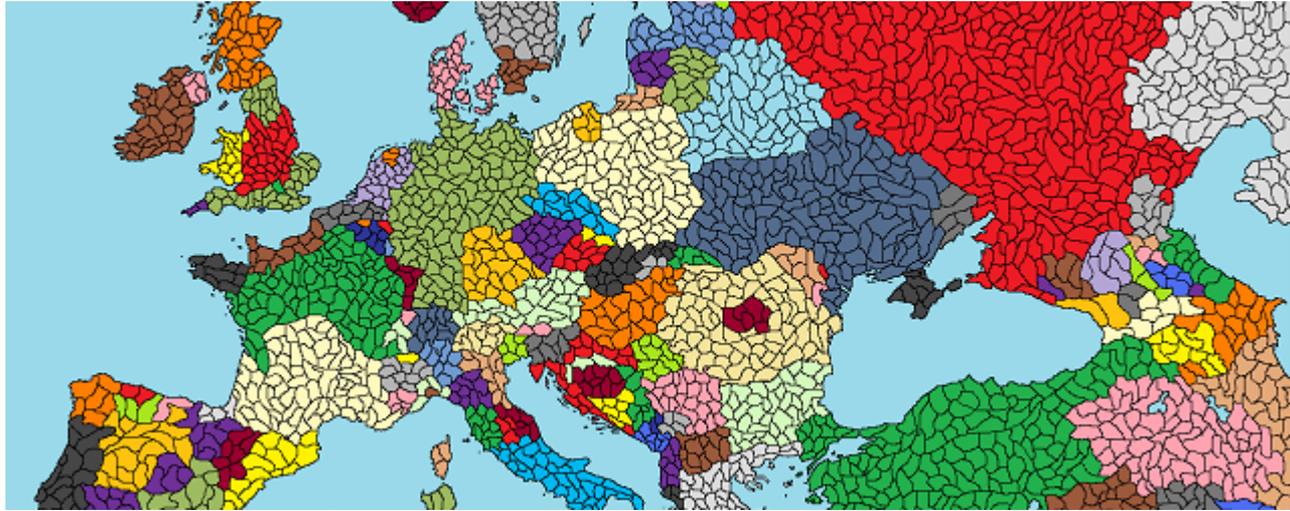
- Disintegration: Opposite of integration

→ EU disintegration (Bartolini, 2005: 53)



- Actors and resources cannot be locked in as well by the EU
- Subsequent (partial) exits weaken political structuring within the EU, its capacity to enforce boundaries and behavioural conformity, to foster loyalty and to allocate goods and values





Which one of these processes do we see today?

→ What aspects of EU policy-making and governance we are to address?

*And with what end-game (if any) in mind?
= try to resolve these Qs in your strategy!*

