



# THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY

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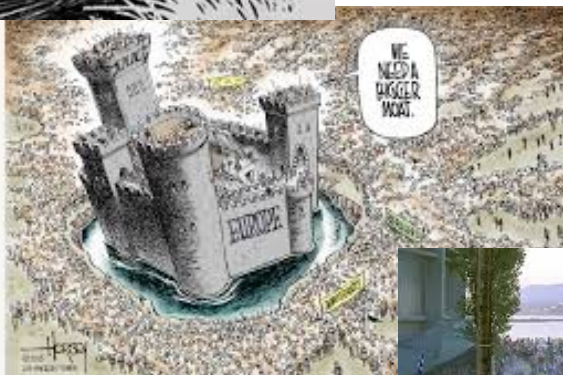
European disintegration, conflict and re-nationalisation

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

Free thinking since 1913

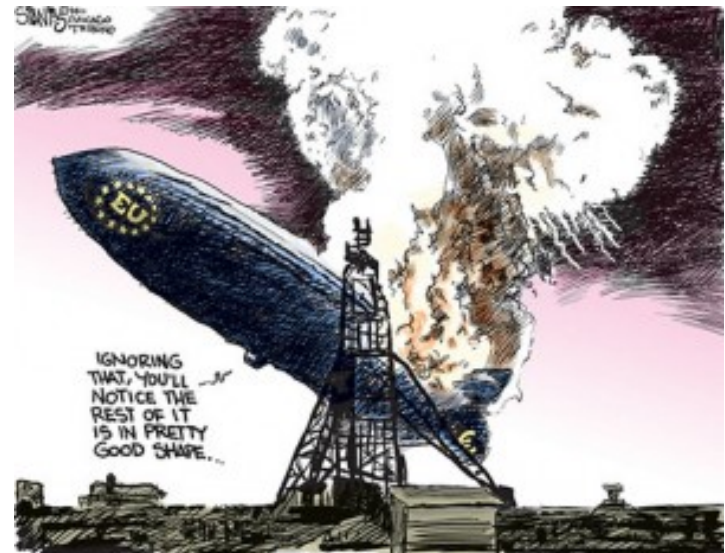
6-12 November 2015/£3.95



**PLUS** Hunter Davies: 13 reasons why Mourinho is failing



➔ 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.?

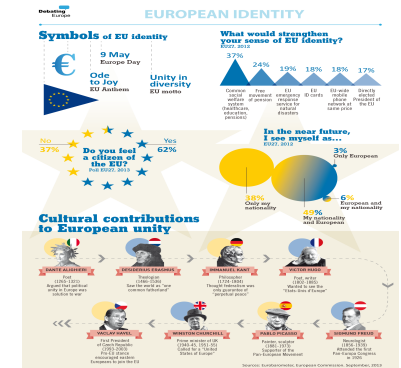


# Integration along the bounding-bonding nexus

- **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

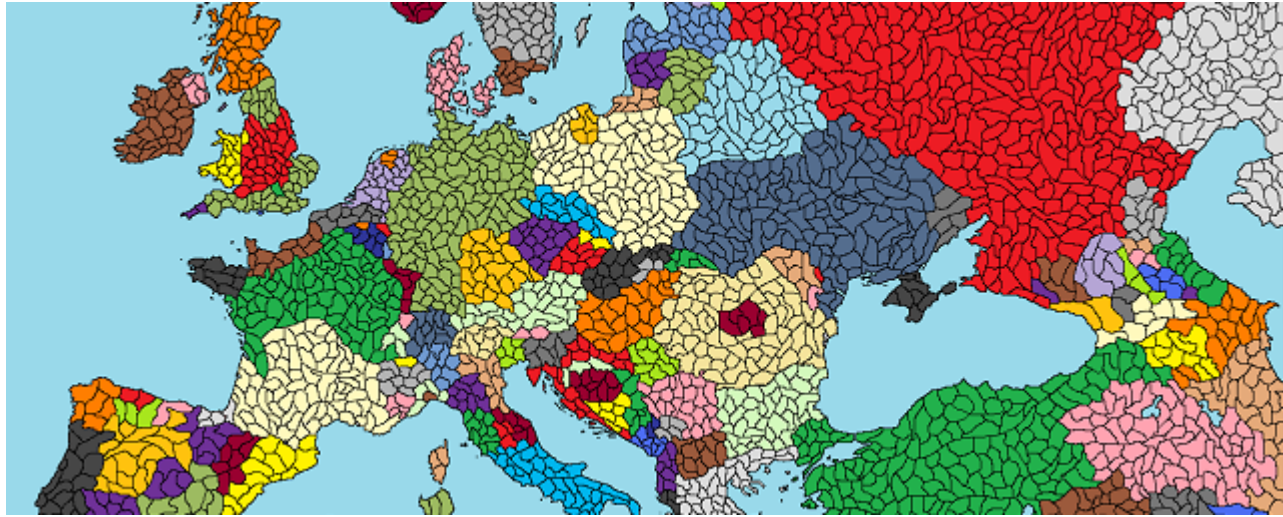
# So what would EU disintegration look like?

- 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!*

