

# L'Unione europea come sistema politico: sfide e scenari futuri

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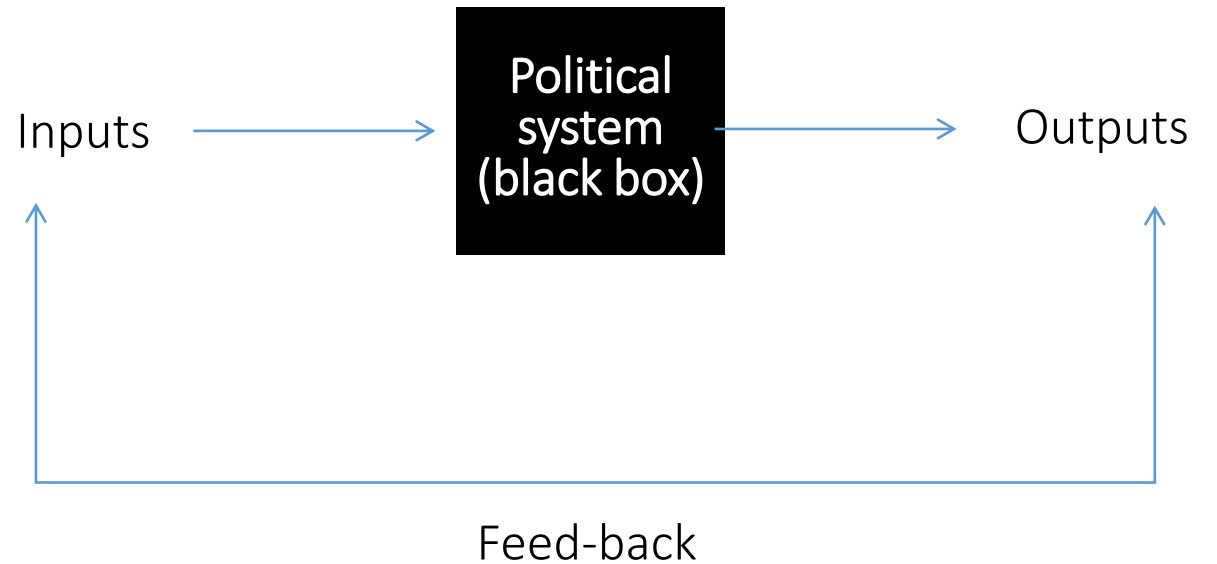
# L'Unione europea come sistema politico: sfide e scenari futuri

- L'Ue come sistema politico
- L'Ue come uno stato regolatore
- Il processo di integrazione europea: approfondimento e allargamento
- L'Ue come un sistema di integrazione differenziato
- Il processo di integrazione europea come esempio del triangolo kantiano
- Le istituzioni politiche dell'Ue
- Sfide e scenari futuri



# L'Ue come un sistema politico (1)

- **A set of structures** (institutions and agencies) whose decision-making function is **to produce public policies** (outputs), receiving support as well as demands (inputs) from the **domestic and international environment** (David Easton 1965)



# L'Ue come un sistema politico (2)

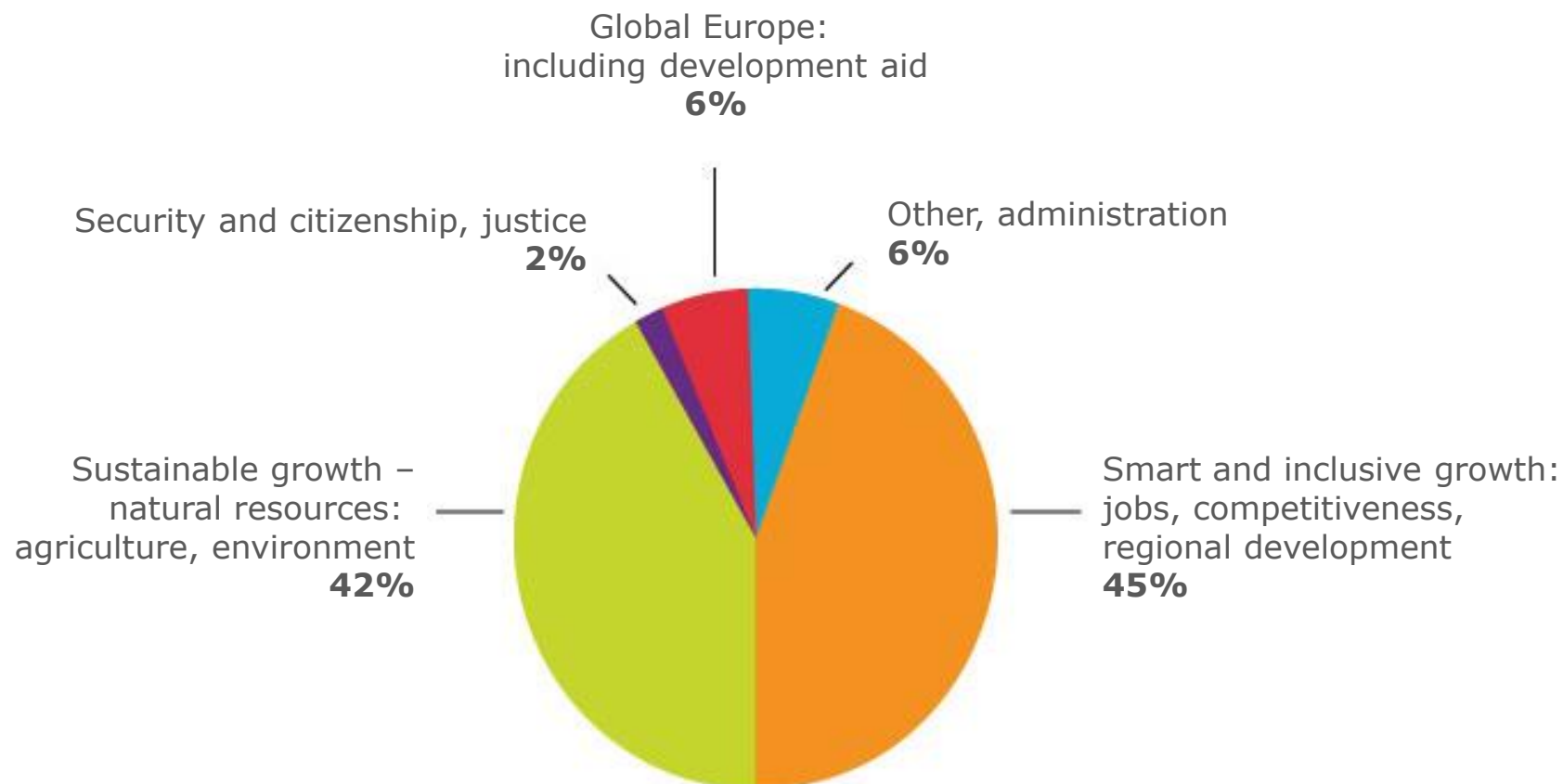
- The level of institutional development is greater than in any other international or regional organization
- A large number of public and private groups are involved on a daily basis in trying to influence the EU policy process
- EU policy outcomes are significant
- The EU political system is a permanent feature of political life in Europe

# L'Ue come uno stato regolatore

- What the EU does?
- A 'regulatory state' (Majone 1996)
- It regulates the single market: 4 freedoms
- EMU complements the single market
- The spending power of the EU is small as its budget is only 1% of the total GDP of the EU MSs

# Il bilancio dell'Ue (2014)

2014 EU budget: €142.6 billion  
= 1.06% of gross national income



# Il processo di integrazione europea: approfondimento

YEAR OF SIGNING	NAME OF THE TREATY
1951	Treaty of Paris (ECSC)
1957	Treaties of Rome (EEC + Euratom)
1986	Single European Act
1992	Maastrich Treaty of Treaty on the EU
1997	Treaty of Amsterdam
2001	Treaty of Nice
2004	Constitutional Treaty
2007	Lisbon Treaty

# Il processo di integrazione europea: allargamento

1951	1973	1981	1986	1995	2004	2007	2013	2016
France	Britain	Greece	Portugal	Austria	Cyprus	Bulgaria	Croatia	<b>Brexit referendum</b>
Germany	Ireland		Spain	Finland	Malta	Romania		
Italy	Denmark			Sweden	Poland			
Belgium					Czech Republik			
Netherlands					Slovakia			
Luxembourg					Hungary			
					Slovenia			
					Estonia			
					Latvia			
					Lithuania			
<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	



# Allargamenti futuri?

- **Paesi candidate all'adesione**

- 1) Turkey (negotiations underway)
- 2) Montenegro (negotiations underway)
- 3) The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
- 4) Serbia
- 5) Albania

- **Paesi potenziali candidati**

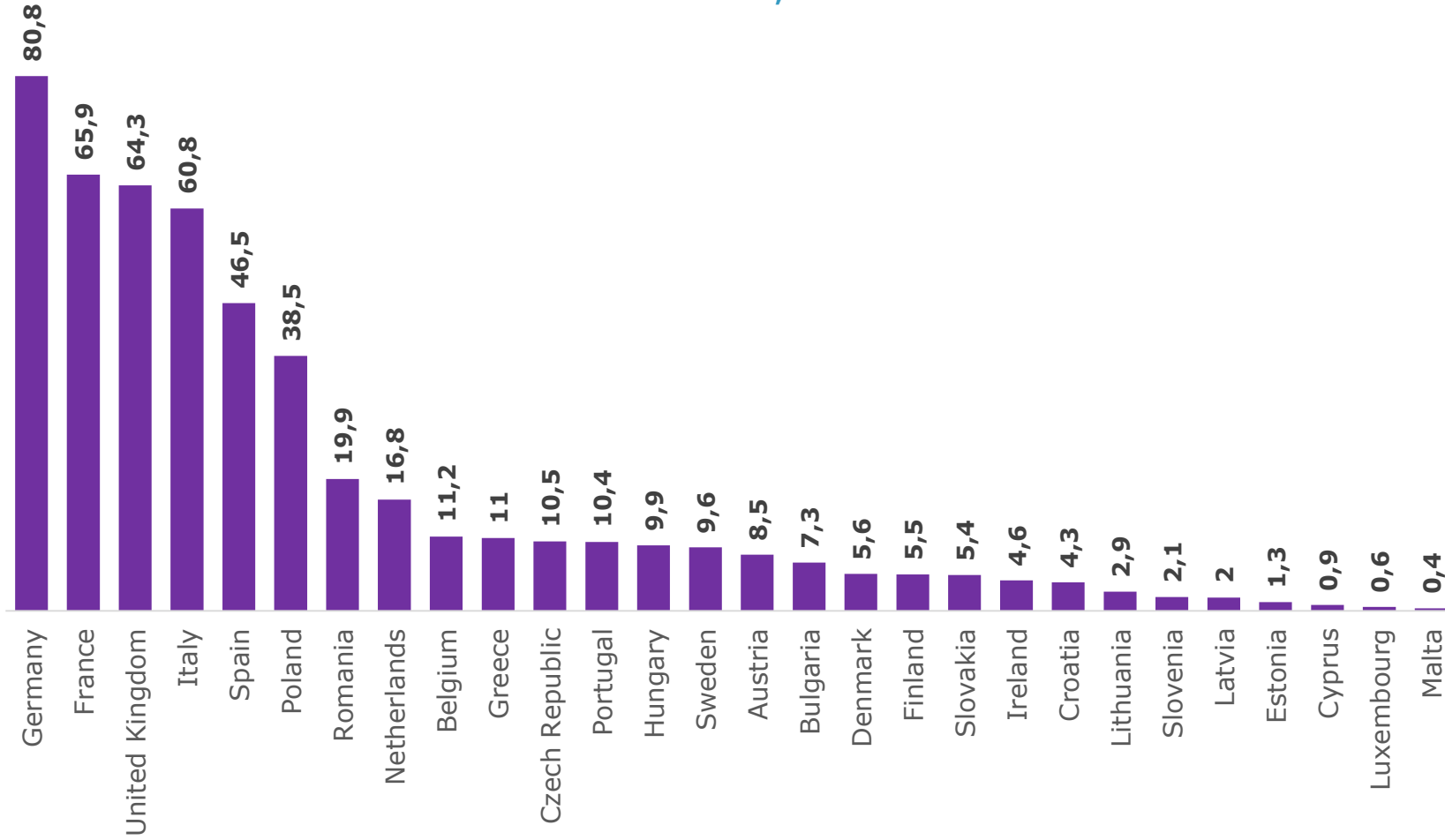
- 1) Bosnia Herzegovina
- 2) Kosovo

- **Partner della Politica Europea di Vicinato**

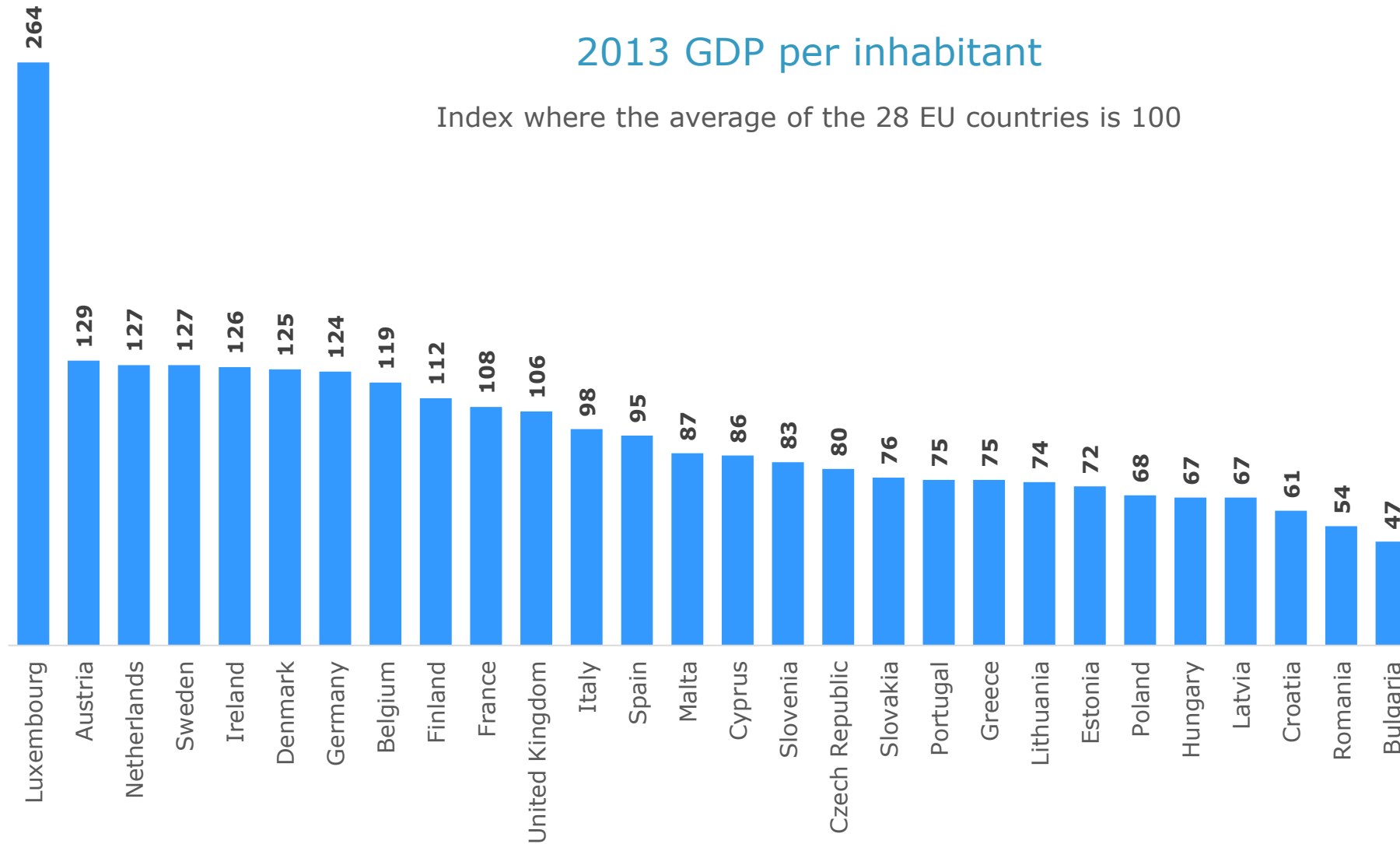
- Eastern Europe: Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus
- Southern Caucasus: Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan
- North Africa: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt
- Middle East: Israel, PA, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria

# La popolazione degli stati membri (SM) dell'Ue

in millions, 2014



# La diffusione della ricchezza nell'Ue



# L'Ue come un sistema di integrazione differenziato

'The EU now appears to be a consolidated system of differentiated integration, a polity whose policies vary with regard to both their level of centralization and their territorial extension' (Schimmelfennig *et al.* 2015, 779)

# Il livello di centralizzazione delle politiche

EXCLUSIVE EU	SHARED	COORDINATED	EXCLUSIVE MSs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Single market</li><li>• Competition</li><li>• Monetary policy</li><li>• Agricultural policy</li><li>• Common fisheries policy</li><li>• ...</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Economic, social, and territorial cohesion</li><li>• Immigration and asylum</li><li>• Transport</li><li>• Energy</li><li>• Gender equality</li><li>• Non discrimination</li><li>• Environmental protection</li><li>• Food safety</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Macro-economic policies</li><li>• Foreign and defense policies</li><li>• Policing and criminal justice policies</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Taxation</li><li>• Welfare provisions</li><li>• Education</li><li>• Health care</li><li>• Pensions</li></ul>

# L'estensione territoriale delle politiche: esempio 1 – Eurozona

- ① Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain [**1999**: 11]
- ② Greece [**2001**: 12]
- ③ Slovenia [**2007**: 13]
- ④ Cyprus and Malta [**2008**: 15]
- ⑤ Slovakia [**2009**: 16]
- ⑥ Estonia [**2011**: 17]
- ⑦ Latvia [**2014**: 18]
- ⑧ Lithuania [**2015**: 19]
- ⑨ ...

# I 9 non partecipanti all'Eurozona

- Bulgaria
  - Croatia
  - Czech Republic
  - **Denmark**
  - Hungary
  - Poland
  - Romania
  - **Sweden**
  - **United Kingdom**
- The exceptions (states not obligated to join the zone): **Sweden**, which has a de facto opt out; **Denmark**, which has an opt out that may be abolished in the future; and the **UK**, which also has an opt out provision
  - The remaining 6 are obliged to join the Eurozone once they fulfill the entrance requirements

# L'estensione territoriale delle politiche: esempio 2 – l'area Schengen





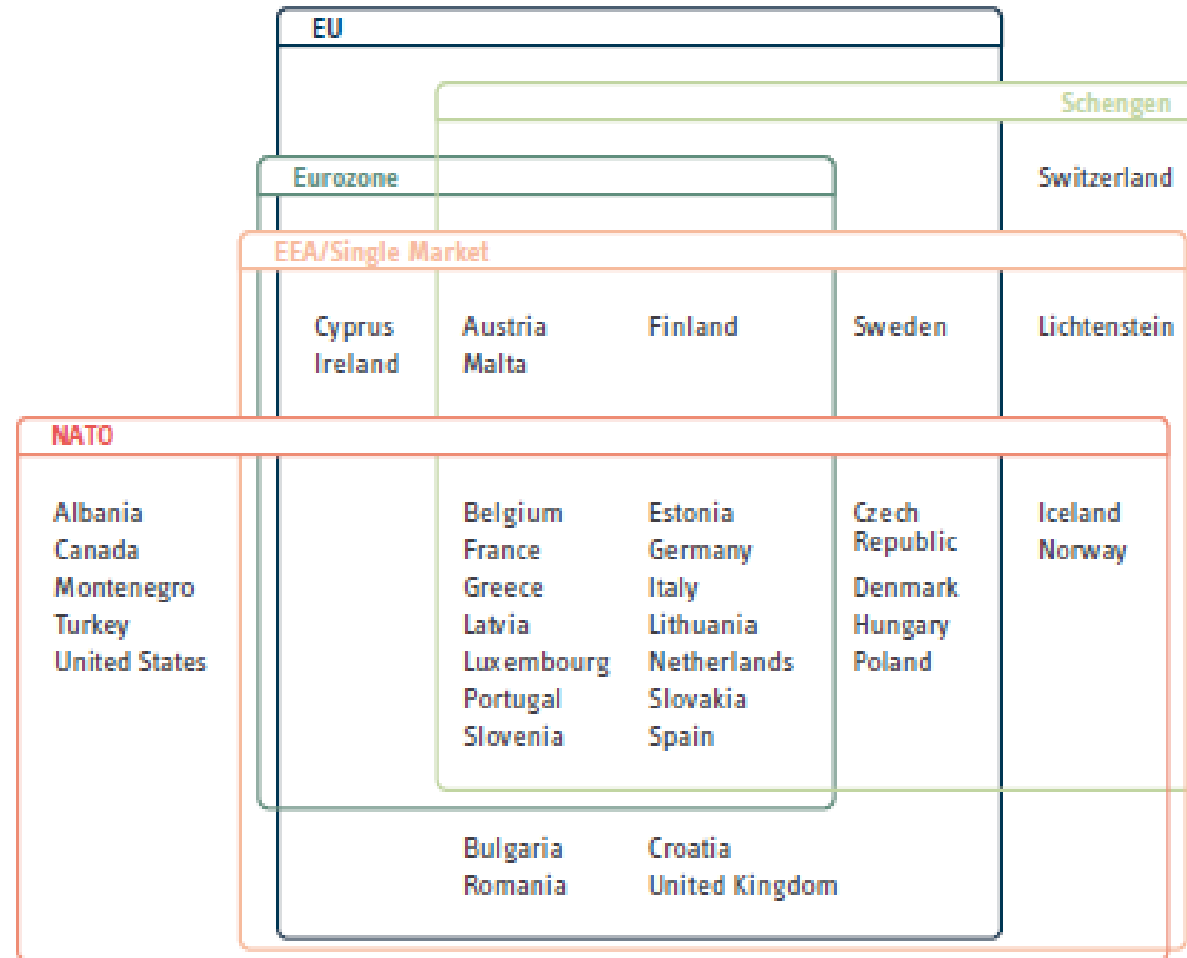
# 26 paesi Schengen

- 22 EU members
- 4 non-EU: **Iceland** and **Norway** (since 2001), **Switzerland** (since 2008) and **Liechtenstein** (since 2011)
- 6 of the 28 EU MSs are outside the Schengen zone: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Romania and the UK

# Schengen: origini e sviluppi

- Schengen: town in Luxembourg where the agreement was signed in 1985 (took effect in 1995)
- It abolished EU's internal borders, enabling passport-free movement
- in 2015 the illegal (without Schengen visas) influx of more than a million migrants led some EU MSs to reimpose temporary border controls: Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Norway and Sweden

# Integrazione differenziata: rettangoli sovrapposti (1)

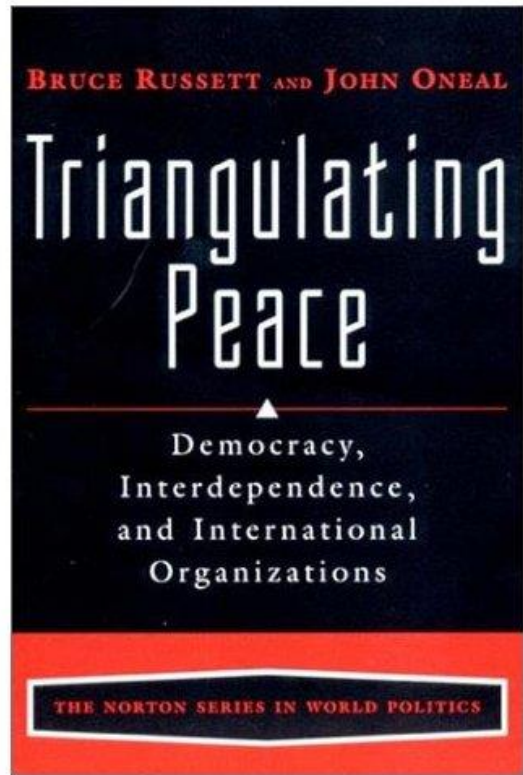


# Integrazione differenziata: rettangoli sovrapposti (2)

Eurozone	19 EUMSs
Wider single market	31 (28 EUMSs + 3 EEA members)
Schengen space	26 (22 EUMSs and 4 non-EU)
NATO	29 (22 EUMSs + 7 non-EU)

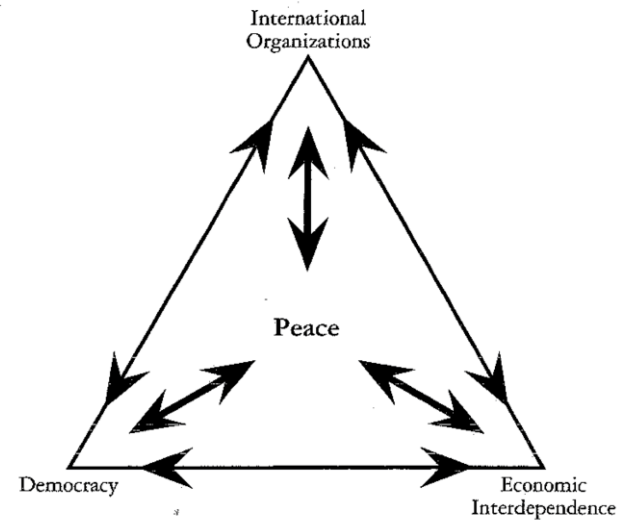
- Only 14 EUMSs belong in all of these configurations

# Il triangolo kantiano e ....



## The Kantian Triangle

A simple diagram helps in visualizing the three elements of the Kantian system and the virtuous circles connecting them that we will discuss in detail in this book.



This schematic representation is a roadmap for the rest of the book.

# ... la sua applicazione al processo di integrazione europea

- *'What began as a **vicious circle** can sometimes be broken by deliberate policy and turned into a **virtuous circle** ... With tens of millions dead, their economies in shambles, and cities in ashes, the new European leaders consciously decided to break the old pattern of hostility and war' (Russett e Oneal 2001, 24)*
- *'they set up an intricate system of ... institutions .... Creating a set of virtuous circles that would both directly and indirectly promote peaceful relations'* (ibid.)

# Il sistema creato si basava su 3 elementi

- 1) Promozione della democrazia
- 2) Promozione dell'integrazione economica
- 3) Creazione di istituzioni internazionali

# Il premio Nobel per la pace (2012)

- ‘The Union and its forerunners have for over six decades contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe’





# Le istituzioni dell'Ue



# La Commissione europea – promuove l'interesse generale

- Potere esclusivo di iniziativa legislativa



# Il Parlamento europeo: promuove l'interesse generale

- Decide sulle leggi e sul bilancio dell'Ue insieme al Consiglio dell'Ue

Number of members elected in each country

Austria - <b>18</b>	Germany - <b>96</b>	Netherlands - <b>26</b>
Belgium - <b>21</b>	Greece - <b>21</b>	Poland - <b>51</b>
Bulgaria - <b>17</b>	Hungary - <b>21</b>	Portugal - <b>21</b>
Croatia - <b>11</b>	Ireland - <b>11</b>	Romania - <b>32</b>
Cyprus - <b>6</b>	Italy - <b>73</b>	Slovakia - <b>13</b>
Czech Republic - <b>21</b>	Latvia - <b>8</b>	Slovenia - <b>8</b>
Denmark - <b>13</b>	Lithuania - <b>11</b>	Spain - <b>54</b>
Estonia - <b>6</b>	Luxembourg - <b>6</b>	Sweden - <b>20</b>
Finland - <b>13</b>	Malta - <b>6</b>	United Kingdom - <b>73</b>
France - <b>74</b>		

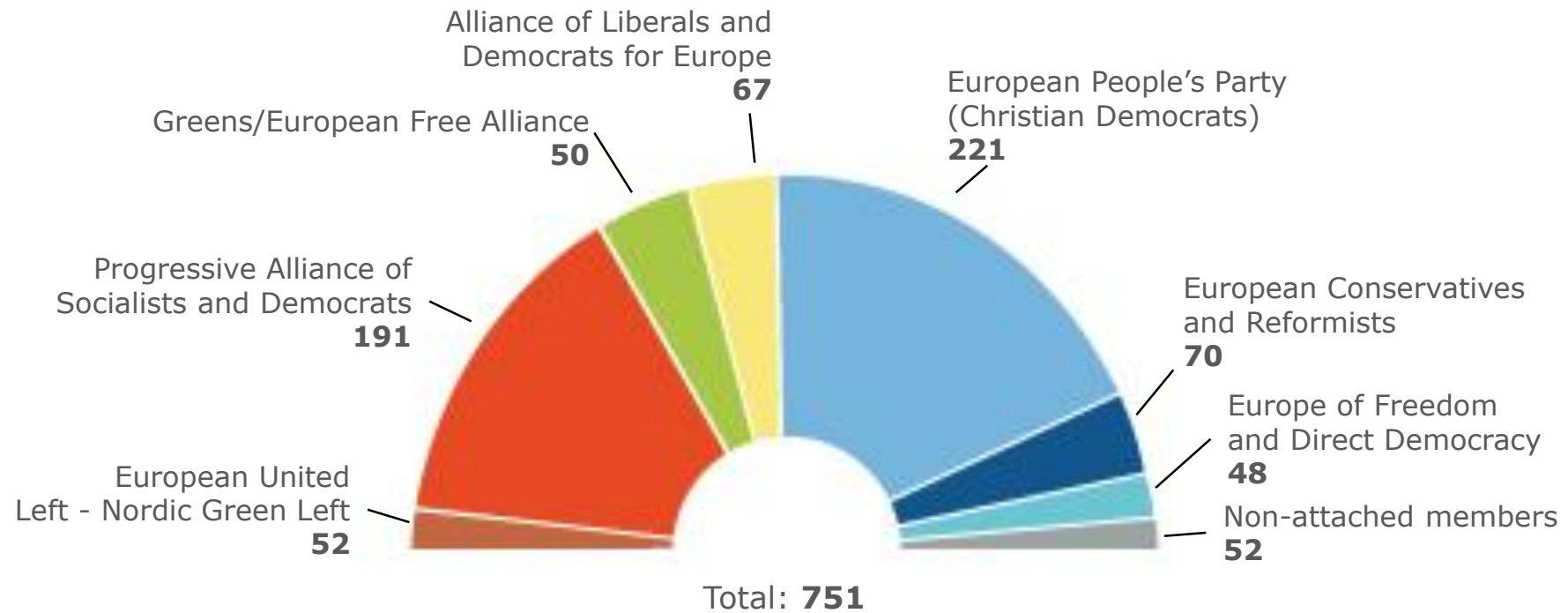
Total - **751**

# Distribuzione dei seggi per SM (qualche esempio)

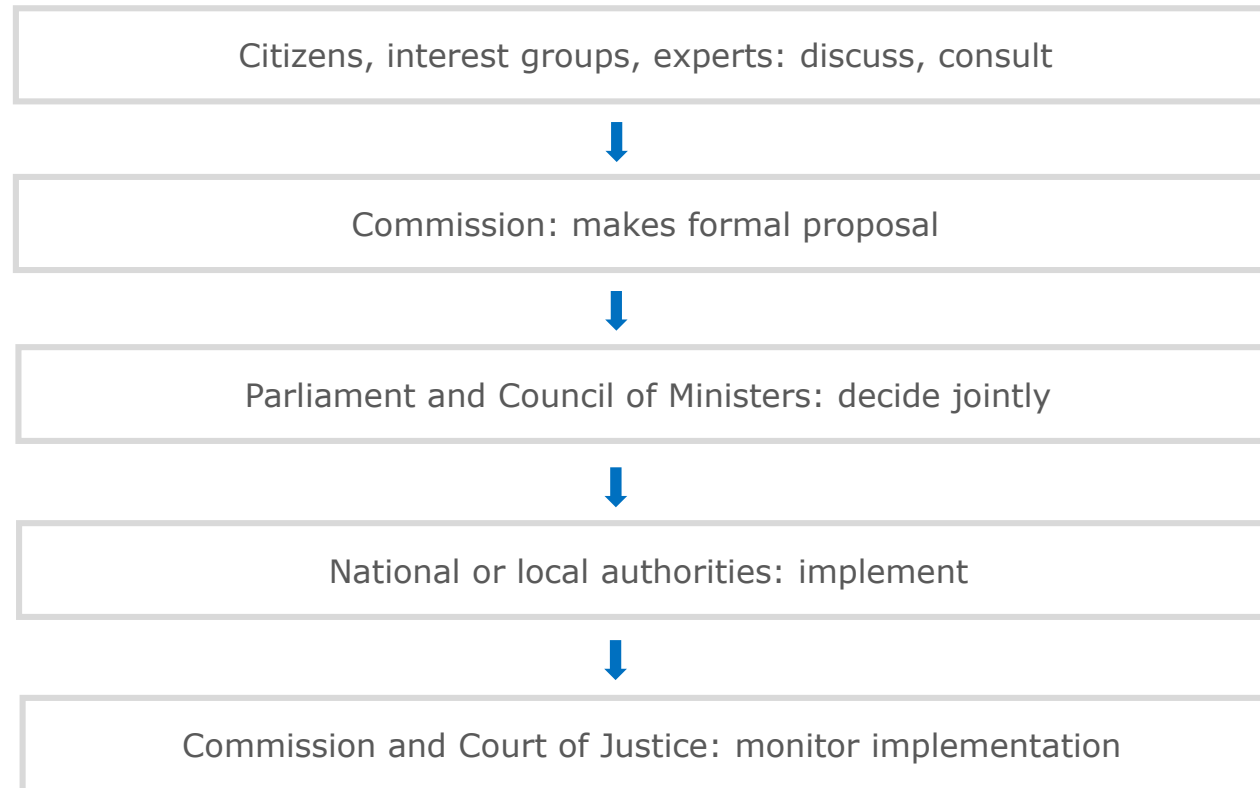
	1979	1981	1986	1994	1995	2004	2007	2009
 BE	24	24	24	25	25	24	24	22
 DK	16	16	16	16	16	14	14	13
 DE	81	81	81	99	99	99	99	99
 IE	15	15	15	15	15	13	13	12
 FR	81	81	81	87	87	78	78	72
 IT	81	81	81	87	87	78	78	72
 LU	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
 NL	25	25	25	31	31	27	27	25
 UK	81	81	81	87	87	78	78	72
 EL		24	24	25	25	24	24	22
 ES			60	64	64	54	54	50

# I gruppi europei di partiti

Number of seats in the European Parliament  
per political group (November 2014)



# Procedura legislativa (codecisione)



# Il Consiglio dei Ministri – voce degli SM

- One minister from each EU country
- Decides EU laws and budget together with Parliament
- Manages the Common Foreign and Security Policy



# Consiglio Europeo

Summit of heads of state and government of all EU countries

- Sets the overall guidelines for EU policies





# 3 Presidenti + Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza



## **The European Parliament**

- **voice of the people**

Antonio Tajani, President of the European Parliament



## **The European Council and the Council**

- **voice of the Member States**

Donald Tusk, President of the European Council



## **The European Commission**

- **promoting the common interest**

Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission



- Manages the Common Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
- Head of the European External Action Service
- Federica Mogherini

# Sfide e scenari

## MAIN CHALLENGES:

- Identity/legitimacy crisis (2005)
- Eurozone crisis (2008)
- Migration crisis (2015-16)
- Brexit (2016)
- Authoritarian setbacks in Poland and Hungary (2017)
- Catalexit (?)

## DIFFERENT SCENARIOS:

### 1) **The EU might be doomed** (Zielonka 2014)

The great European disaster movie (2015), <http://www.thegreateuropeandisastermovie.eu/>

### 2) **Concentric circles of integration**

A proposal for a Continental Partnership (2016), <http://bruegel.org/2016/08/europe-after-brexit-a-proposal-for-a-continental-partnership/>

### 3) **Growing differentiation of integration (overlapping rectangles)**

PESCO (2017)