Policies and Politics of the European Union

Edited by

Jarosław Jańczak
Review:
Jerzy Babiak, Ph.D., AMU Professor

Cover designed by:
Adam Czernerńko

Front page photo by:
Przemysław Osiewicz

© Copyright by Faculty of Political Science and Journalism Press,
Adam Mickiewicz University,
89 Umultowska Street, 61-614 Poznań, Poland, Tel.: 61 829 65 08


Skład komputerowy – „MRS”
60-408 Poznań, ul. P. Zołotowa 23, tel. 61 843 09 39
Druk i oprawa – Zakład Graficzny UAM – 61-712 Poznań, ul. H. Wieniawskiego 1
Table of Contents

Introduction .................................................. 5

Maciej Walkowski: The Monetary Integration Process in Europe.
An Analysis of Potential Threats and Opportunities Connected
with the Introduction of the Euro in Poland .................. 7

Ekaterina Islentyeva: EU Commission’s Cooperation with the non-EU
Countries in the Field of the Competition Policy ........... 21

Robert Kmieciak: Local Government in the Process of Implementation
of the European Union’s Regional Policy in Poland ........ 35

Lika Mkrtchyan: Armenia and Turkey: Historic Rivals or Modern
Neighbors? Turkey’s Way to Europe
(Turkey’s European Integration from Armenia’s Perspective) .. 43

Przemysław Osiewicz: The European Union and its Attitude Towards
Turkey’s EU Membership Bid After 2005:
Between Policy and Politics .................................. 53

Agnieszka Wójcicka: Sweden and Poland. Nordicization versus
Europeanization Processes ..................................... 63

Knut Erik Solem: Democracy, Integration Theory
and Community-building in Small States: The Case of Norway . 85

Jarosław Jańczak: De-Europeanization and Counter-Europeanization
as Reversed Europeanization. In Search of Categorization .... 99

Piotr Tosiek: Comitology Implementation of EU Policies
– Democratic Intergovernmentalism? .......................... 111

Personal Notes .................................................. 127
1. Introduction

Acceleration of the European integration process in the last decades has led to increasing interest in mechanisms determining its pace and shape. A linear approach, characterized by one-direction developments, was the main approach for functional and neofunctional schools considering the *spill over* mechanism as the most convincing explanation for integration logic. This perspective was then undermined by more realistically oriented scholars, also concentrating on integration defeats. This resulted in the *spill around* and *spill back* models that – by also including unsuccessful elements – explained the process much more completely.

In a very similar way the concept of Europeanization was proposed, explaining how the European Union’s beliefs, solutions and norms are planted at the national level. Further contributions have put into question the Europeanization process as a one-way phenomenon. However this seems to be much more rare approach. As Eduard Soler i Lecha marks investigating the reasons of such a situation, “*little attention has been paid to the process of «de-Europeanization»*” despite the fact, that “*Europeanization process can be followed by a de-Europeanization phases*”¹. He points to two reasons for this situation: the exceptional character of de-Europeanization in comparison to Europeanization mainstream and the tendency among scholars to stress successes in a project that is (usually) supported by them. Some researchers, however, treat Europeanization and de-Europeanization as two sides of the same process, labelling it (not necessarily intentionally) as (de)Europeanization². Even recognizing the non-linear character of Europeanization, the *reverse process* is hardly categorized, usually named (and used) as de-Europeanization. This, notwithstanding, does not seem to be sufficient as forms and patterns of the reverse process differ significantly.

The aim of this article is to define and categorize the phenomenon of the reverse process of Europeanization. The main question addressed here is why Europea-

nization is not of a linear character? The main thesis claims that reversed process results either from context factors or actor-actor interaction. Analyses will concentrate on the European Union (EU) and nation states as the most important players supplemented by sub-national actors creating state’s policies.

This article develops already published works of the author, using parts and arguments of them to explain the presented phenomena.3

2. Europeanization

In order to define a reversed process, the initial process must be described. Despite the fact that many authors have been working on Europeanization, there has been no widely accepted definition of this process. Johan Olsen distinguishes five ways of understanding Europeanization: “changes in external territorial boundaries; governance institutions developed at the supranational level; influencing and imposing supranational at the sub-national and national levels; exporting governance procedure and policy specific for EU beyond EU borders; and a project of a political nature aimed at intensifying the unification of the EU”4. All of them link Europeanization with the European Union and assume a change going into “more European” character. As the main interest of this article is the relationships between the EU and nation states, the meaning of Europeanization will be narrowed and will follow Roberta Ladrech, who defines it as a process where “EC political and economic dynamics [become a] part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making”5. Similarly Johan Olsen, points out that Europeanization “[...] implies adapting national and subnational systems of governance to a European political center and European-wide norms”6. Change defined by adaptation to the EU standards seems to be the most important determinant of this process. Additionally two actors shall be recognized: Europeanizationee – the subject of Europeanization that is a state (with regard to the objects of Europeanization – polity, politics and policies as they are built by norms and ideas, institutions and other actors7) absorbing ideas and adapting them to the set level, and Europeanizationer – the EU being a source of change and setting the level. Europeanizationee may be differentiated into four categories: EU member states, candidate states, neighbouring states and other states (Figure 1). Different Europeanization tools may be applied in each of the types and consequently different efficiencies may be achieved.

6 J. P. Olsen, The Many Faces of Europeanization, ARENA Working Papers, WP 01/2, p. 3.
7 J. Jańczak, Przeciweruropeizacja jako..., op. cit., pp. 95-96.
In the case of member states, Europeanization results from both legal norms transference as well as social-constructivistically understood changes in identity. This process seems to be the easiest one due to the legal-institutional character of the EU’s mechanisms and high level of interrelations.

Candidate states are exposed to a conditionality mechanism – in order to be accepted to the European club they have to fulfil specific conditions – adjust elements of their own systems to the EU standards. Europeanization is often then of external character. Its efficiency is relatively high, but mainly due to the stick and carrot mechanism. Additionally it might mean only imitation of the original solutions, as the ideas originating from the European canters do not necessarily meet local conditions.

Neighbouring states are exposed to Europeanization by policies addressed to them (e.g. European Neighbourhood Policy). In case of less developed neighbours (compared to the EU average) there are some elements following the conditionality mechanism, however much weaker then in the case of candidates (as much less is offered to them). More developed states in the neighbourhood are usually bound by various agreements imitating full membership and consequently stimulating Europeanization (e.g. Norway, Iceland, Switzerland).

Other states are a subject of bilateral relations and Europeanization is limited here to the persuasion in given fields, e.g. human rights protection, environmental problems and democracy promotion.

3. Reverses in Europeanization

Eduard Soler i Lecha defines de-Europeanization “as a process in which previous impetus to converge with EU norms and the willingness to get involved in EU policies slows down and can even take an opposite direction. The most radical form of de-Europeanization

---

would imply that [...] country, not only decides to stop complying the EU acquis and stops any reform in that direction but e.g. even uses its assets in order to hamper the elections”.

He claims that one reason domestic actors can overturn the Europeanization process, among others, is when costs are to high compared to gains. Similarly this article’s author claims in his previous works that counter-Europeanization is the “influence of territorial and systemic contexts [...] that results in reverse (slowing down, stopping or regress) of European transformation of a system”.

Two names are applied here: de-Europeanization and counter-Europeanization. Their usage suggests a very similar meaning containing three possible scenarios (slow down, stop or going back) and assumes that both may result from similar sources. It will be claimed however in this article, that for analytical purposes, differentiation of both concepts is justified because of their meaning and the mechanisms behind it.

Systematization of de-Europeanization and counter-Europeanization requires first of all defining both concepts. It is intended then first, to investigate the semantic character of both words and then to interpret them in the field of Europeanization.

De-Europeanization and counter-Europeanization are grammatically built on the basis of the already described concept of Europeanization and prefixes changing its meaning. Both prefixes, de- and counter-, play a semantic role based on reversal of the original state/process. However their meaning is different. De- is “used to indicate privation, removal, and separation”. It indicates that something is “opposite (deindustrialization = becoming less industrial)”, and at the same time “removed (debone the fish = remove its bones) or reduced (the government have devalued the currency)”.

Counter-, on the other hand, is used as “contrary to the right course; in the reverse or opposite direction” in the meaning of “in opposition or response to”. It means then “done or given as a reaction to something, especially to oppose it (e.g. counteract = to reduce or prevent the bad effect of something, by doing something that has the opposite effect)”.

De- implies then that specific state was achieved/existing in the given field and concentrates on its erosion. In political science it has been recently used to describe e.g. erosion of Russian and Soviet systems in Central and Eastern Europe: de-Russification and de-Sovietisation. Counter- focuses on reaction and its direction opposing specific action. Political scientists apply it e.g. in studying revolutions opposing specific action.

9 E. Soler i Lecha, Turkey’s reluctant involvement..., op. cit., pp. 2-3.
10 Ibidem, pp. 4, 10.
11 J. Jańczak, Przeciwerupeizacja jako kategoria..., op. cit., p. 97.
13 Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.
15 Longman Dictionary of..., op. cit.
The semantic meaning of de-Europeanization (Figure 2) stresses then reduction of Europeanization (often to the previously existing state, sometimes to the new one) as a process and expresses transformation from an already existing European level towards non-(less-)European.

![Figure 2. De-Europeanization](image)

**Source:** Author’s concept.

The semantic meaning of counter-Europeanization (Figure 3) underlines reaction to Europeanization as a form of interaction. Here there is a tension not only between European and non-European norms and values but also between the original and new solutions.

![Figure 3. Counter-Europeanization](image)

**Source:** Author’s concept.

Consequently, the earlier concept assumes that the erosion is caused by a set of factors, the second claims that there are actors acting and actors reacting – opposing the first ones. Additionally, the first of the schemes is two-dimensional as de-Europeanization – being a process – requires time. The second is one-dimensional, reaction does not analyze changes in time.

In the case of reversed Europeanization both prefixes approach the problem differently.

---

4. De-Europeanization

De-Europeanization concentrates on becoming less European, reducing the already achieved/existing level. Sometimes it is used in a non-EU context: it is considered as a process affecting non-European states with European roots and cultural-political heritage (however not resulting from the EU led Europeanization but from previous developments). For example “Argentina, through the MERCOSUR project for regional integration, established new relationships with the peripheral countries of South America, particularly with Chile, Uruguay and Brazil. In this way, Argentina was taking part in ‘a process of Latin-Americanisation’ [and] de-Europeanization”19. Latin-Americanization then is a manifestation of de-Europeanization – removal of European identity elements in favour of the new, regional ones. This approach however – as not related to the European integration process – will be skipped in further discussions.

In the case of EU related erosion of the already achieved/existing state of issues, de-Europeanization may be observed in various fields. Here the central question then is how the reduction is manifested and what factors model its shape? It will be claimed that several forms may be observed: refocusing, customization, priority resetting and withdrawal.

4.1. Refocusing

Refocusing is a manifestation of the softest reduction of an already achieved level. It is visible in a situation where the already achieved public interest in the European integration is reduced and replaced either by the old agenda or the new topics. This is visible e.g. in mass media. As field studies prove, de-Europeanization of the public sphere is considered as a contradiction to the “normative assumption that political and economic European integration should be accompanied by increasing media attention for other European countries”20, and empirically it is visible in the decreasing interest of national media of some EU members in other European states and the EU.

Refocusing is visible especially in the EU member states and intensifies in post-accession periods.

4.2. Customization

The second manifestation of de-Europeanisation is customization21. It is based on adjusting the Union to its own needs, making it more useful from the national point

---

of view by its own constructive propositions. Territorially it may be expressed e.g. by proposing dimensions to the Common Foreign and Security Policy and in this way making the Union more northern\textsuperscript{22}, eastern\textsuperscript{23} or southern\textsuperscript{24}. In the case of system influence, it is based on penetration of the EU with norms, values and solutions of a given state and consequently X-ization of the EU instead of Europeanization of state X is specific field. Nordization of the European alcohol approach could be given as an example here\textsuperscript{25}.

Customization is usually the case of member states, however some attempts may be already identified during the accession negotiation phase. It brings the solutions back partly to the previously existing state, partly however introducing new ones.

4.3. Priority resetting

Priority resetting affects states that after successes in Europeanizing specific fields are going back to the previous solutions or prefer the new alternatives over the European ones. It results form the fact that initial enthusiasm was not supplemented by expected gains or costs incurred proved to be too high. Consequently new priorities, reducing the previous European ones, are set and implemented.

De-Europeanization in this manifestation does not have to be limited to one field, it may be a more general tendency. Germany is, according to some researchers, in the process of de-Europeanization\textsuperscript{26}, visible especially in the post-Kohl period\textsuperscript{27}. It is understood as a “process of change which is most significantly marked by changing German decisions and policies as well as change in Germany’s Europeanized identity in such a way that state interests are accorded precedence over (state-transcending) ‘European’ interests”\textsuperscript{28}. In the case of new member states, priority resetting may result from imitation when a conditionality mechanism is applied. When the stick is no longer there, return to the previous solutions is visible.

\textsuperscript{25} P. Kurzer, \textit{Can Scandinavian member States play a leadership role in the EU? The case of alcohol control policy}, “Scandinavian Studies”, Fall 2002.
In sectoral policies de-Europeanization is described as “impossible in highly EU institutionalised areas, like trade policy”\(^{29}\), but occurring in the less organised areas such as Common Foreign and Security policy, where e.g. some of the members prefer to support the United States than to continue backing the EU’s position on specific international issues.

De-Europeanization does not have to affect only member states of the EU. Sometimes candidates are for a long time – such as Turkey – adopting European solutions but the carrot (membership) is still not offered\(^{30}\). This leads to disappointment and looking for alternatives (Turkey as a bridge between the West and the East, Turkey as a Middle East power, etc.). Also neighboring states may experience reduction as the priorities change. Post-Orange-Revolution Ukraine introduced several democratic reforms. Unrequited aspirations for opening the European window led to the pro-Russian camp’s return to power and redefinition of political aims resulting in a decrease of some of the already achieved solutions.

4.4. Withdrawal

The most far-reaching example of de-Europeanization as a reduction of already reached solutions is withdrawal from the EU. It might be visible in leaving the Community (for example as Greenland decided to do in 1986\(^{31}\)) or not entering after negotiating and signing the accession treaty (e.g. Norway that two times, after reaching compromise on entry conditions, stayed outside as the result of referenda\(^{32}\), finally participating in some forms of the European integration such as the Schengen zone or European Economic Area). Some sectoral withdrawals are also presently discussed, e.g. leaving the Eurozone and reintroducing their previous currency (debate in Slovakia).

Reduction refers in this example again to the member states and candidates.

4.5. Towards a de-Europeanization model

De-Europeanization, understood as erosion of an already achieved/existing level (in the process of Europeanization), affects mainly those states where the EU influences have been the strongest: members and candidates. In two other categories it is much less observable. It is manifested in at least the four described ways, where the most se-


rious – withdrawal – is the least frequent one. Reduction brings the given field back to the previous solutions or proposes new ones, still alternatives to the EU propositions.

When trying to answer the question of factors modelling de-Europeanization two explanations may be proposed:

De-Europeanisation happens by-default. This approach stresses its character as a not-intentionally led project (that then does not follow realistic perspective), but rather a consequence of changing contextual factors. Erosion is the outcome of new conditions.

An alternative approach would concentrate on initiators as those who give impetus to the destruction process. This perspective leads directly to the counter-Europeanization concept.

5. Counter-Europeanization

Counter-Europeanization focuses on the reactions of some actors that intend to oppose/reverse the experienced process. Counter-Europeanizationers means actors who react and oppose the Europeanization process. Who counteracts? At least three types of players may be enumerated: inter-system, inter-European and external.

5.1. Inter-system actors

Inter-system actors are visible especially among the EU member states, candidate states and – much less – neighbouring and other states. In the group of member states and candidate states, Euro-skeptically oriented institutional and non-institutional actors dominate. They might be governments, political parties, churches, interest groups, social groups and even individuals. Euro-skepticism is usually driven by political and social cleavages expressing modernist – anti-modernist divisions (mainly Central European members and candidates) or deepening – weakening of integration (mainly Northern members but also developed neighbours).

The earlier idea based on the assumption shared by parts of society and elites is that local, original order is in fact much better then the new one coming from the European canters. Counter-Europeanization was then expressed e.g. in a negative campaign before accession referenda or slowing down ratification of the Lisbon

34 J. Jańczak, Przeciweuropeizacja jako kategoria..., op. cit., pp. 104-105.
38 T. Tiilikainen, Europe and Finland. Defining the Political Identity of Finland in Western Europe, Aldershot/Hants 1998.
treaty. Sometimes a specific solution is implemented but without real understanding, only imitating the original idea\textsuperscript{39}.

The latter react to the sovereignty losses that is one of the main values in the northern political culture\textsuperscript{40}. Additionally, in the case of candidate states, one more phenomenon might be found: the already mentioned reaction to the unsatisfying pace of negotiation. As the example of Turkey proves a too long and difficult entry to the EU, together with the lack of realistic membership perspective might result in a tendency of counter proposals – regional integration around other norms, values and solutions – offered by disappointed actors.

In the case of neighboring and other states internal actors, their reaction results from local specifics and often competition towards the EU. In neighboring states representing a higher level of development then the EU standards, the model is similar to the member states. In case of the other sub-categories, very often opposition towards everything that originates from Europe is considered as rooted in European colonialism and anti-colonial movements. European influences are then on the one hand weak due to lack of effective Europeanization tools, and on the other are structurally opposed because of existing legacies. The changing global order, with the diminishing role of Europe additionally encourages and strengthens the reaction of internal actors, who became heirs of a long lasting local tradition of resistance.

5.2. Inter-European actors

A traditional division of actors influencing specific processes would contain internal (inter-system) and external players. However the EU as a political unit as well as European integration as a process has led to a situation where except from those two, additional, inter-European actors shall be enumerated. They combine external (from the perspective of the member state) and internal (belonging to the European inner-space) elements. As examples Euro-skeptic factions of the European Parliament shall be mentioned as well as pan-European Euro-skeptic political parties that stand for seats in Euro-elections, e.g. Libertas\textsuperscript{41}. They are counter-Europeanizationers using Europeanized circumstances of the EU’s political system.

5.3. External actors

External actors dominate among the neighboring states (those representing a lower level of development then the EU) as well as the other states. They are usually states

\textsuperscript{40} T. Tiilikainen, Europe and Finland. Defining the Political Identity of Finland in Western Europe, Aldershot/Hants 1998.
or non-state actors (often representing states’ interests however). They usually oppose Europeanization in some other territories that are considered by them as their influence or interest zones. They are motivated either by interests or by ideology. Very often those zones correspond with the civilizational divisions in Huntingtonian meaning. In case of neighbors, Eastern European and North African states shall be enumerated. They belong accordingly to the Orthodox and Muslim civilizations (considered as the original ones) with different than European norms, values and solutions. The EU competes there with Moscow or Tehran that try to strengthen counter-Europeanization movements with the help of both direct assistance and indirect influences (religious movements, language policy, activity of various organizations, etc.). Europeanization is seen then as a manifestation of European imperialism and conflict with non-European civilizations, with the battlefield on the territory of the EU neighboring states, belonging originally to non-EU space.

In case of other states where external actors dominate, Asian and African ones shall be mentioned. Russian and Chinese involvement offers states of both regions alternative solutions, usually supported with investment/aid instruments. Especially the economic expansion of China into Africa, which is not limited by political constraints, contradicts European demands for democratization that preconditions financial aid. This results in African states preferring Chinese investors and the Chinese government is considered as an easier (one that does not require changes but often even maintains local autocratic solutions) and more effective partner, especially compared to the difficult EU. Additionally, change is not necessary so original solutions norms and values might be preserved.

Other states and external actors examples could again be analyzed as a manifestation of the changing global order. Europe (as part of the Western World) is no longer the leading power worldwide. The polycentric model is also reflected in the fact that European influences are opposed in different parts of the globe by other emerging powers with growing aspirations and potential enabling them to implement those aspirations.

5.4. Towards a counter-Europeanization model

Summarizing the presented categorization, it might be stated that analysis of negative reaction to Europeanization from the point of view of reacting actors leads to their differentiation into internal and external ones (Figure 4).

Internally driven counter-Europeanization dominates in the member states and candidates as well as neighbors partly. External actors oppose Europeanization in EU neighbor states as well as other states.

---

6. Conclusions

Approaching Europeanization as a non-linear phenomenon leads to differentiation of the reversed process into de-Europeanization and counter-Europeanization. While the former focuses on erosion (in the given context), the latter stresses interaction (between actors Europeanizing and opposing Europeanization). De-Europeanization then is much more visible among the member states and candidates, where Europeanization has reached a specific level. Counter-Europeanization on the other hand is also similarly visible in neighboring and other states, however their sources differ and may come form inside and outside. Internal reaction dominates again among the EU members states, candidates and partly neighbors, external reaction is relevant in neighbors and other states.

The systematization of reaction to Europeanization presented in this text does not end the debate and requires further research. One of the most important elements for further investigation seems to be the interrelation between counter-Europeanization and de-Europeanization.

Figure 4. Internal and external counter-Europeanization