

A typology of political identity in the deepening euro zone

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I. Problem stated

- How can a more **politicised European Union** and a **deepening euro zone** combine the nation-states which are its members with the supranational structures and institutions required to hold such an emerging polity together legitimately in a collective identity?
- New approaches and a new vocabulary are needed to express this problem in **scholarly writing, political discourse** and **popular engagement**.
- **Exploratory, tentative effort here. Combines PhD research, follow-up book, IIEA group research plan**

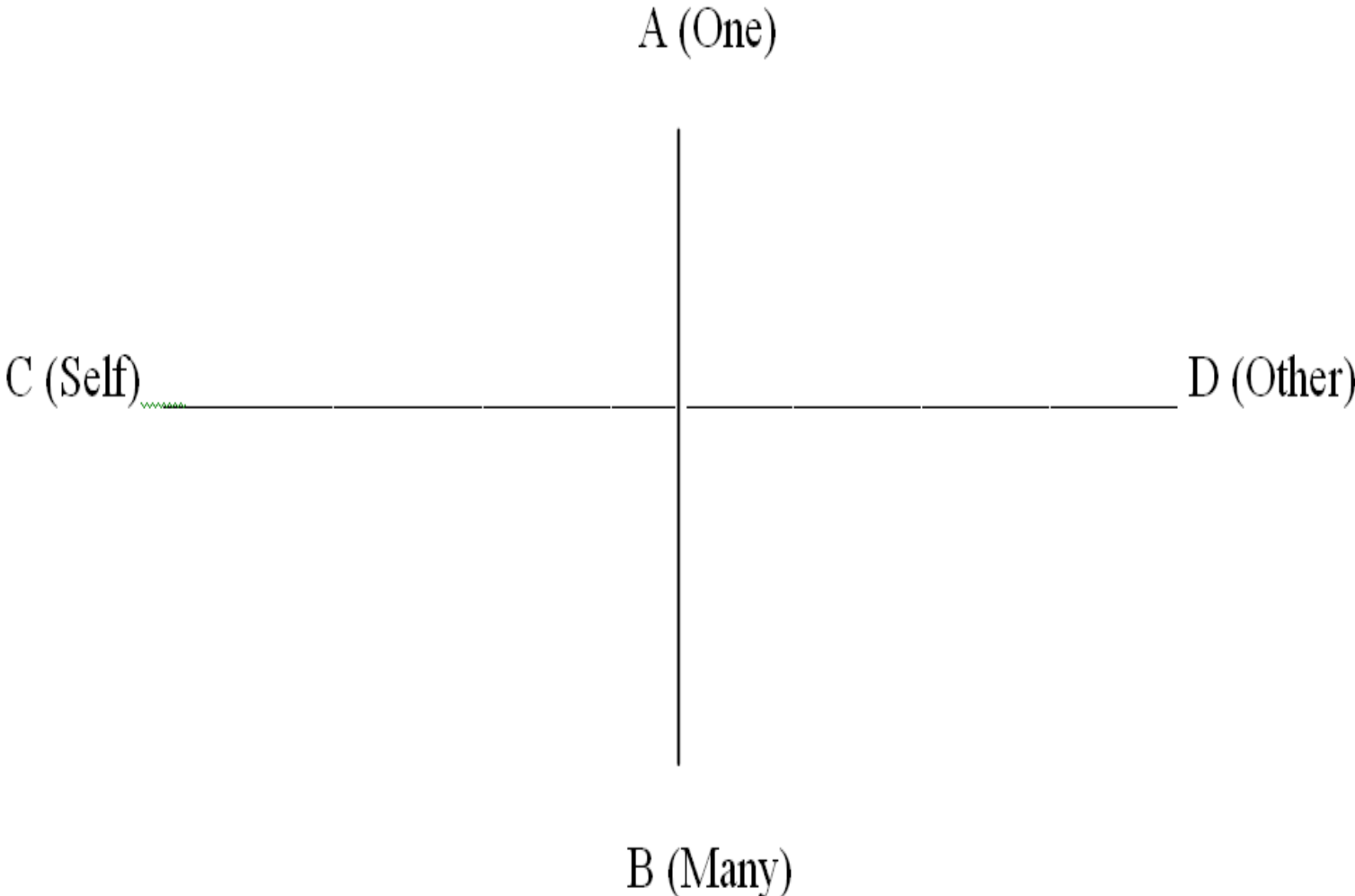
PhD Research Questions:

- Are **multiple political identities** possible?
- Can they provide a basis for **legitimising deeper European integration** by reconciling previously incompatible or conflicting identifications?

II. Approach adopted

- **Two conceptual dimensions** grounded in philosophy and political theory are used to develop a bi-dimensional analytical framework to map the subject.
- The relationship between the **One and the Many** is an ancient and abiding concern, dealing with singularity and multiplicity in political life.
- That between the **Self and the Other** deals with how individuals relate to society and sameness to difference.

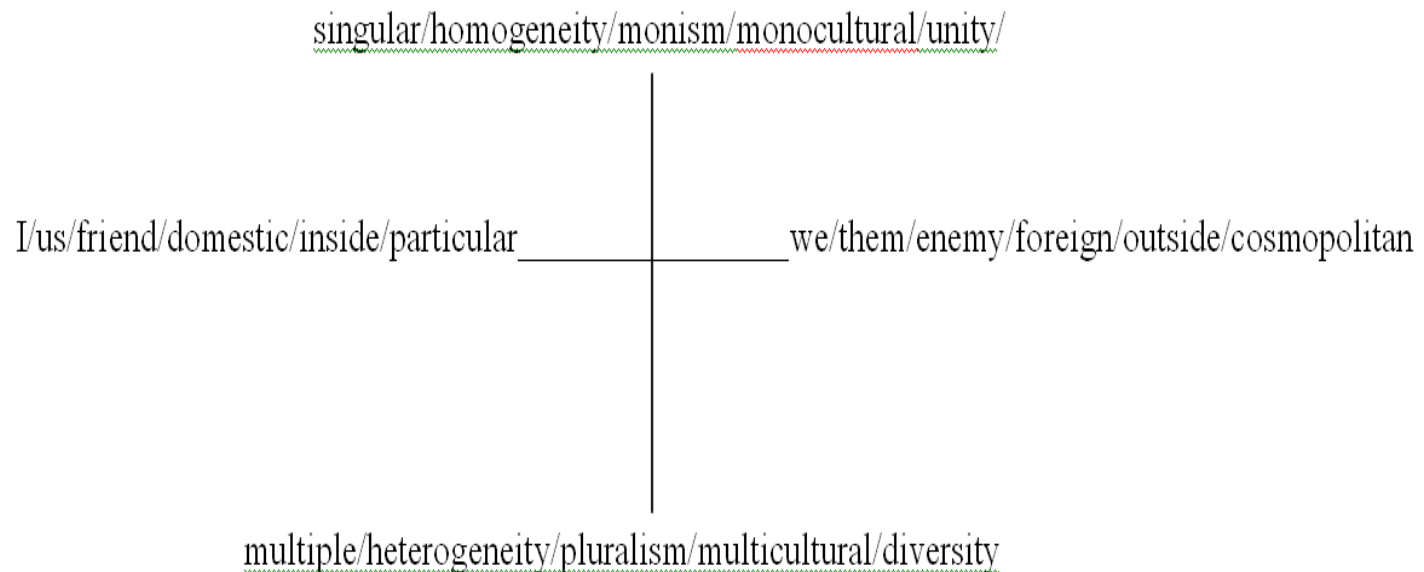
Figure 1: Dimensions of Identification



Political Identity

- These two dimensions give a purchase on **political identity**: A solidarity among strangers in which 'I' can properly use the term 'we' to create a political community

Figure 2: Cognate Distinctions of Identification



The two are combined to create a fourfold typology of **Political Orders**, **Polities**, **Theories/Positions**, **Actors** and **Political Identities** in the EU.

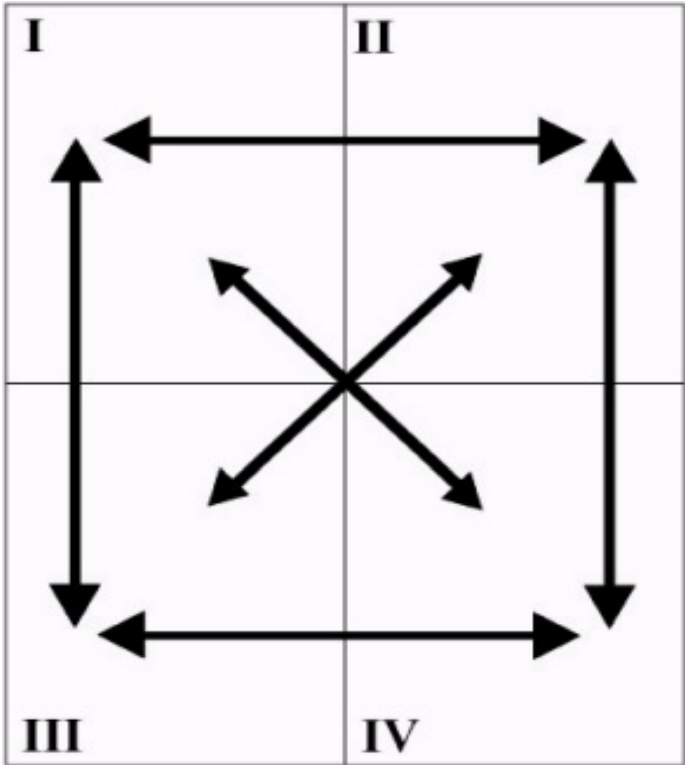
Table 1. **Political Order, *Polity*, Theories/Positions, Actors and Political Identity**

<p>Box I: One-self</p> <p>Westphalian State</p> <p><i>The Sovereign Nation-state</i></p> <p>State-Building</p> <p>Ethnic or cultural nationalism</p> <p>Challenger populism</p> <p><i>Sovereignists/Eurosceptics</i></p> <p>SEPARATE political identities</p>	<p>Box II: One-other</p> <p>Liberal Democracy</p> <p><i>The Integrating European State</i></p> <p>Liberal-Inter-governmentalism</p> <p>Regulatory regime</p> <p>Bounded integration</p> <p><i>State and political elites</i></p> <p>RECIPROCAL political identities</p>
<p>Box IV: Many-self</p> <p>A United States of Europe</p> <p><i>Federal State</i></p> <p>Institutional federalism</p> <p>German and/or Swiss federalism</p> <p>Pan-nationalism</p> <p><i>Federalists</i></p> <p>NESTED political identities</p>	<p>Box III: Many-other</p> <p>A Post-Sovereign Europe</p> <p><i>Plural Union</i></p> <p>Social constructivist approaches/Europeanisation</p> <p>Non-statal federalism</p> <p>Multi-level and polycentric governance</p> <p><i>Civil society</i></p> <p>ENTANGLED political identities</p>

Political Argument

- **Overall relationships** between the four “Boxes” gives the classification its theoretical purchase. Each type makes sense in relation to the others and can act as a critique of them: SEPARATE; RECIPROCAL; ENTANGLED; NESTED.
- **Political arguments** about the optimal course for integration take place between them.
- **Think outside each box** to imagine how the EU - a compound multi-level polity - draws on and straddles each of them.

Figure 3: Eight Sets of Argument about the EU



III. The Euro Zone Crisis

- **4 stages:**
 - i. 2007-9: Euro effects; complacency
 - ii. 2010: Greece hits home; framing
 - iii. 2011-12>: existential crisis; €design
 - iv. 2011-14>: € deepening, redesign
- **Cleavages:**
 - i. Creditors vs debtors
 - ii. North vs South – and West vs East?
 - iii. Winners vs losers of globalisation
 - iv. Populist challenger parties vs centre

The Euro zone crisis

- **Expression/assertion of Power:**
 - i. **Framing:** moral turpitude, austerity needed
 - ii. **Masking:** mutualisation excluded
 - iii. **Social purposes:** ordoliberal budget consolidation prioritised over growth & jobs
 - iv. **Large states:** inter-governmentalism
 - v. **German role** as central state involved

IV. System vs social integration

- **Interpretive framework:** Crisis and political change driven by a lack of fit – a contradiction? - between **system** and **social** integration
- **Lockwood** 1964; Habermas, Streeck, Delanty
- **System:** core institutional order; **Social:** actors
- If the two orders “**fit**” – orderly stability; if lack of fit – **change or disintegration**
- Unless **compensatory** measures taken

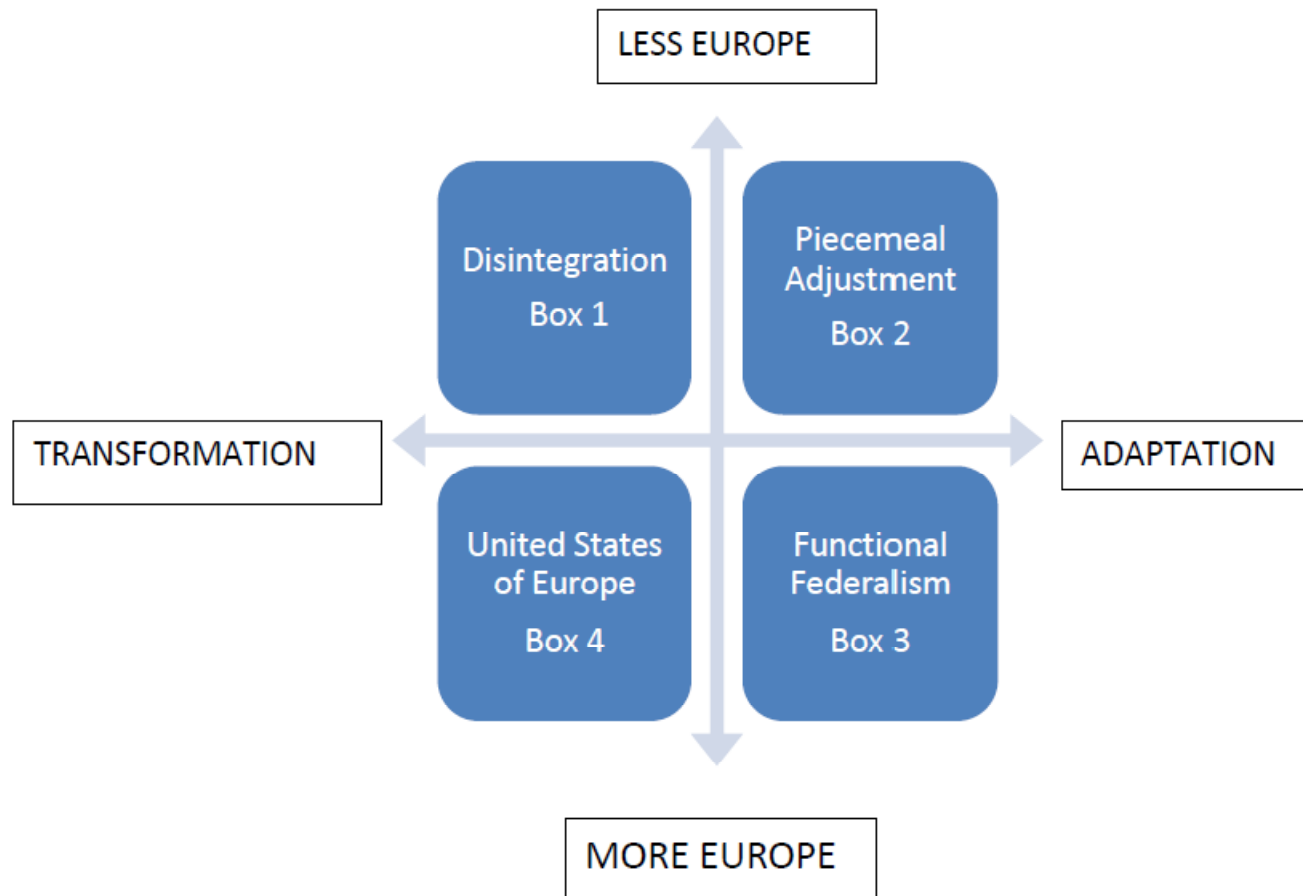
V. Directions/scenarios of change

- 5 key assumptions:
- i. **Politicisation/contestation** has happened, here to stay
- ii. **Euro area is core** and will drive internal development of the Union. More Europe foreseen and required.
- iii. More **differentiation** and the demand from some countries for a return of competences, reform.
- iv. An emerging Europe of **concentric circles**
- iv. **External shock of Ukraine** puts EU in the world and defence on the table.
- v. All these changes demand more **legitimation** of what the EU is doing or hopes to do.

Directions/scenarios of change

- Fourfold set of scenarios for the future of the EU based on two distinct dimensions: **less and more Europe**; and **transformation or adaptation** of its structures and institutions (Laffan 2013)
- A 2 by 2 matrix using these dimensions provides four scenarios: (a) **Box 1: disintegration**, combining less Europe and transformation; (b) **Box 2: piecemeal adjustment**, combining less Europe with adaptation; (c) **Box 3: functional federalism**, combining more Europe with adaptation; and (d) **Box 4: United States of Europe**, combining more Europe with transformation.

Directions/scenarios of change



Directions/scenarios of change

- **Shift from Boxes 2 to Boxes 3** much more likely, more sustainable – and more desirable given existing elite and citizen preferences – than one from Boxes 2 to Boxes 4 – a United States of Europe.
- To clarify this transition and show it is more feasible than the full federal model is a useful exercise:
functional federalism + entangled political identities.
- **Van Rompuy** hints at such an evolution in his discussion of phasing in the changes required to secure the euro and then to underwrite its legitimacy.
- **BUT:** Can it be done – political capacity, public opinion?

VI. Dynamics and Issues of change

- **4 issues** made prominent in the current crisis of the euro zone:
- **Relations between political elites and mass publics:** power, political parties, public opinion
- **New boundaries and demarcations for different social groups:** open or closed, inclusive/exclusive states & EU
- **Crisis as a test case for solidarities, common civic identities and their relations with institutions:** law, constitutional change, cleavages
- And the consequent **politicisation of collective identities in the EU** in these scenarios of change.

Dynamics and Issues of change

- **4 architectures/clusters of issues in 2 axes:** Decision-making/Constitutional; Policy/Politics.
- **DECISION-MAKING:** Lisbon and crisis alter decision making dynamics in the Union, inter-institutional balances.
- **CONSTITUTIONAL:** resort to non-EU 28 treaties (Fiscal Compact); intergovernmental agreements (resolution mechanism); German Constitutional Court ruling and the referral to the ECJ. Treaty change (mode, time, content).

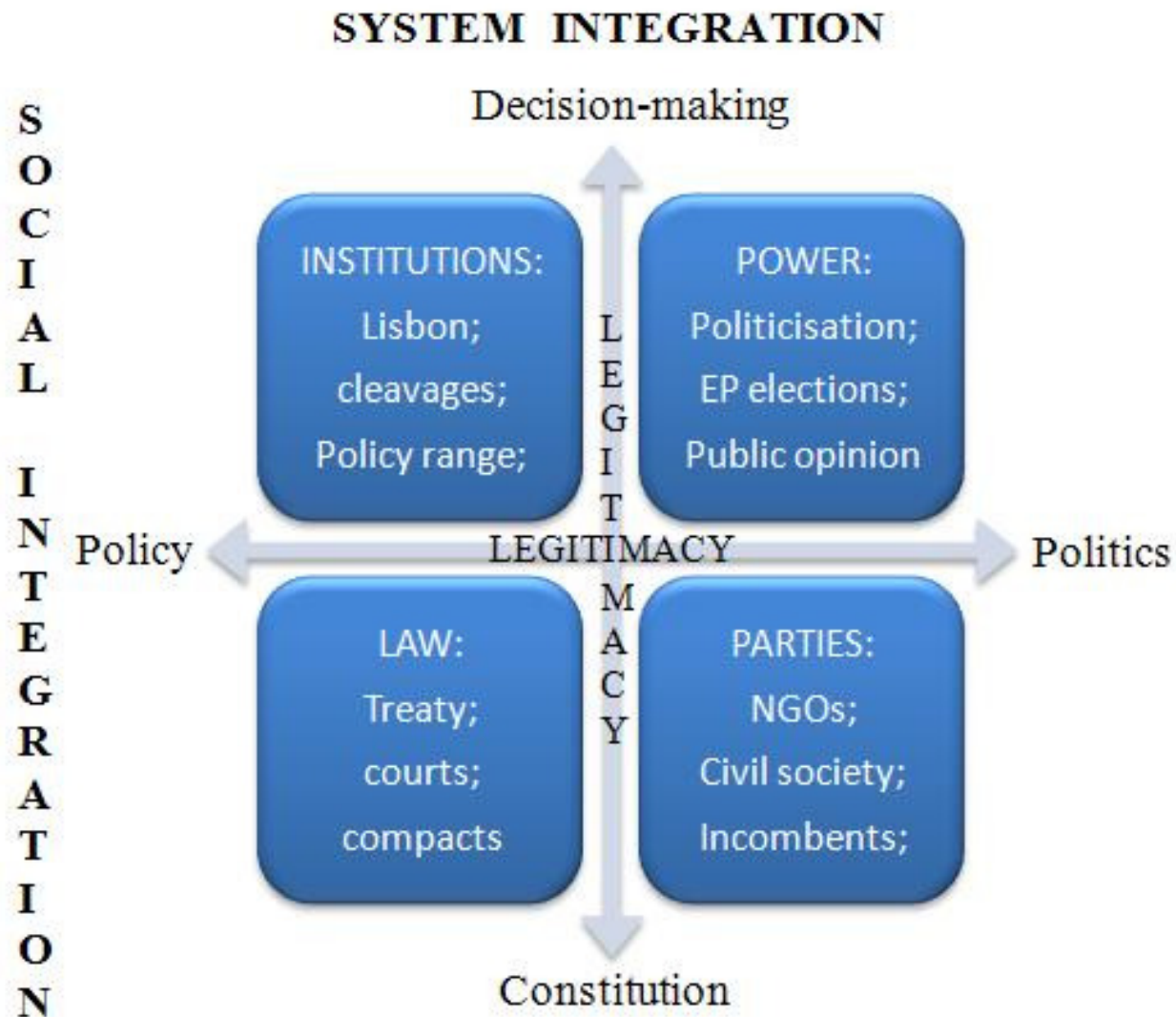
Dynamics and Issues of change

- **POLITICAL:** what is happening politics in the Union both at national and EU levels? Rise of challenger parties, challenge of incumbency in the troubled countries.
- **2014 EP elections** important- second order or different?
- What will happen the **leadership** of the core institutions after the elections?
- Assess **public opinion** across the member states on the Union, its **policy reach** and **trust** in its institutions.

Dynamics of change

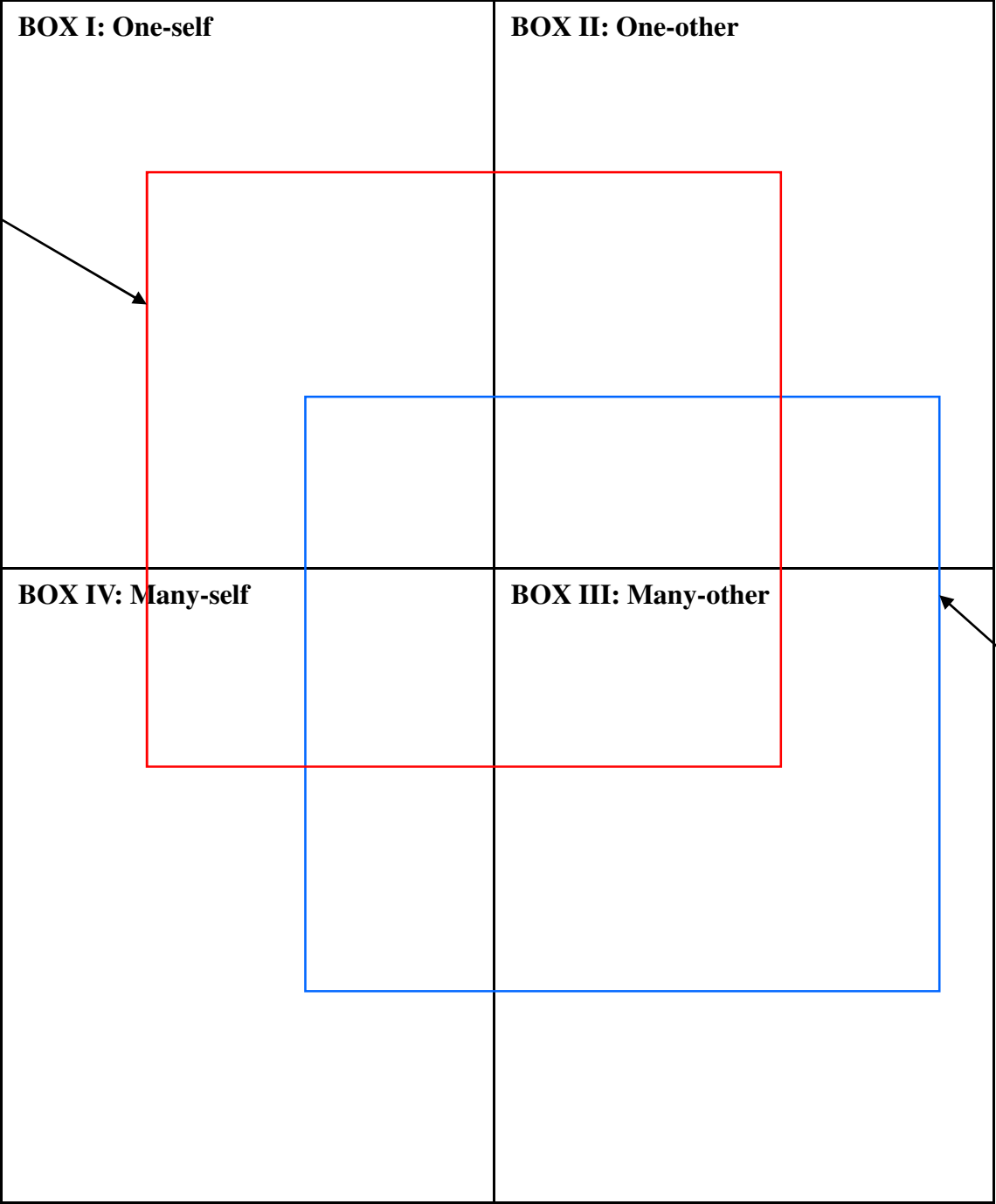
- **POLICY:**
- What **cleavages** dominate the EU and euro area?
- Can it expand its **policy range, capacity and resources** to tackle the challenge of growth, unemployment?

Architectures of system and social integration

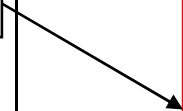


VII. Conclusion

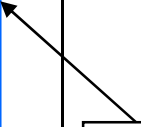
- Typology of political identities – how to **adjust it to the euro zone crisis** and can this be done?
- Need to **frame and simplify** issues: **complexity**
- Link between functional federalism and entangled identities – **Europeanisation** of national politics key issue: **vertical+horizontal**
- **How compatible are the axes** in the different typologies?
- Major **analytical** and **empirical** challenges
- **Differentiation** challenge: final 2 slides

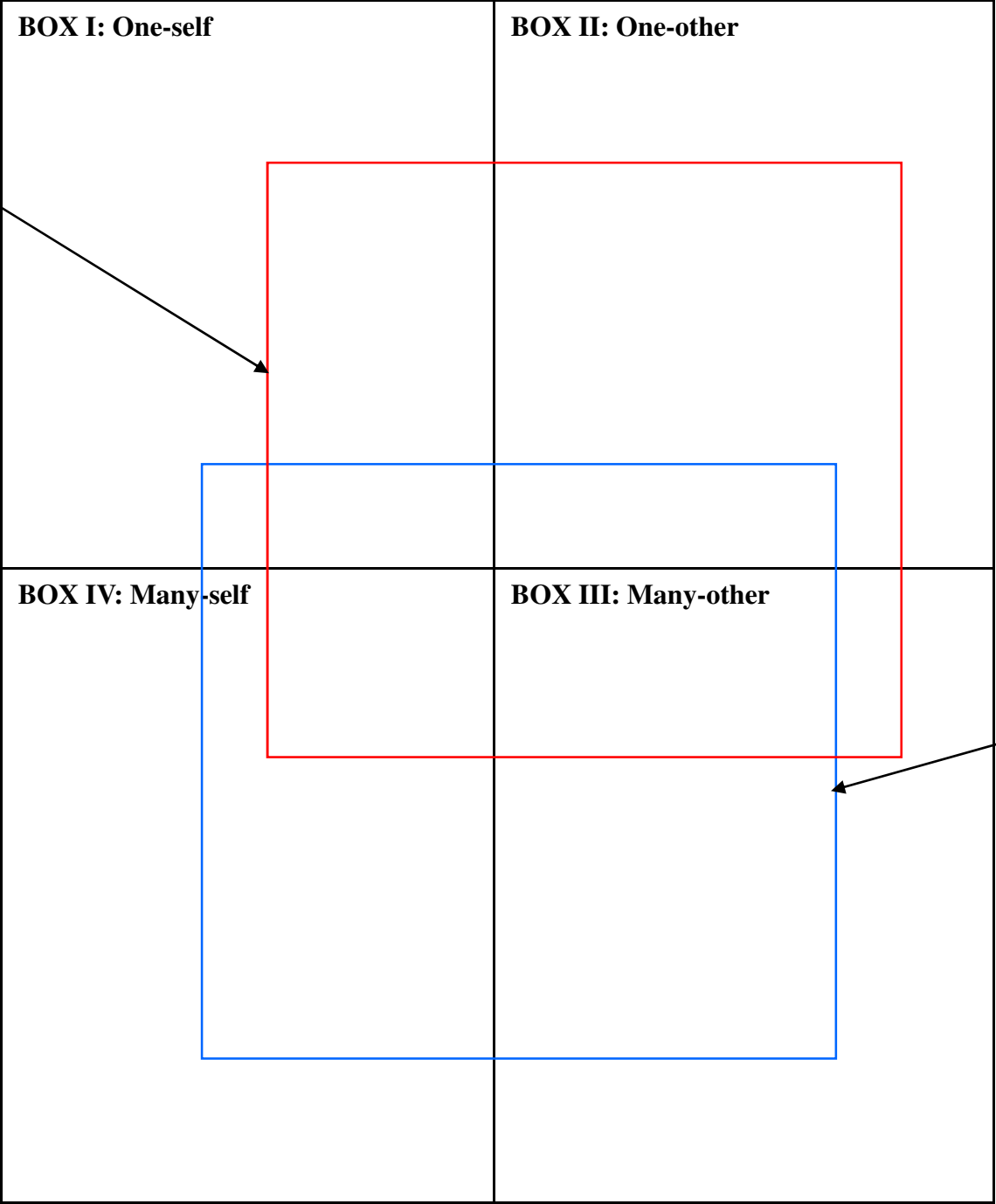


Mass Publics



Political Elites





Single Market

Eurozone