



*Euroscepticism*  
Definition of an elusive concept



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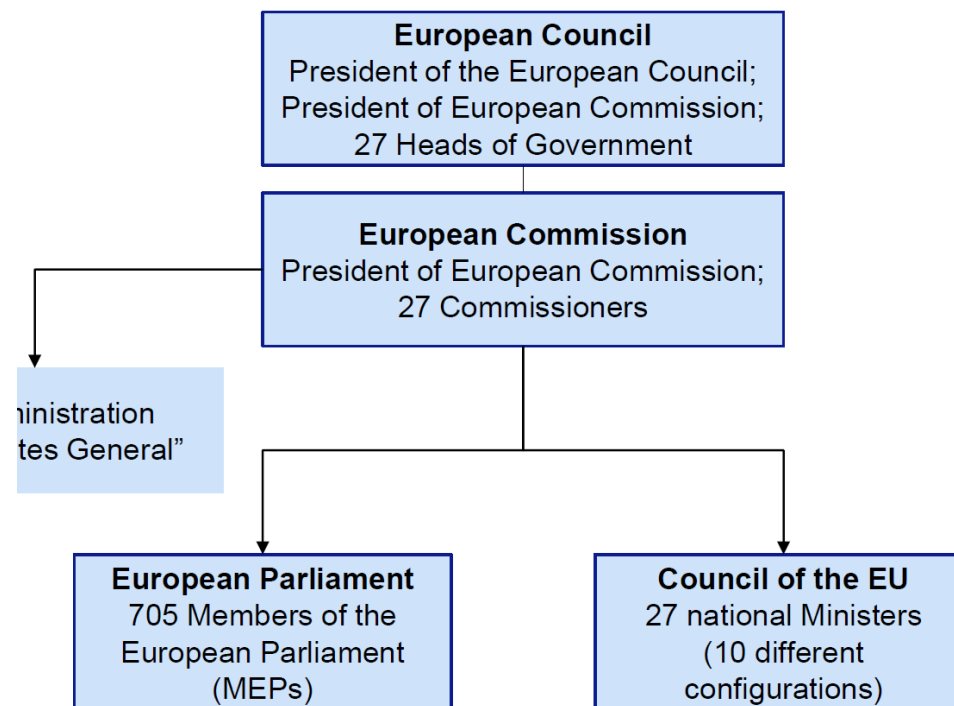
## **Modulo Jean Monnet EDCSEU**

**Euroscepticism: definition of an elusive concept**  
**Dott. Federico Castiglioni**

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## EU Institutions



**Court of Justice of the EU**  
Court of Justice, General Court,  
Civil Service Tribunal

**Court of Auditors**  
Audits accounts of EU  
institutions and the EU budget

**European Central Bank (ECB)**  
Euro; European Banking Union;  
Single Supervisory Mechanism

**Financial Regulatory  
Authorities**  
ESMA/EBAEIOPA

# WHAT IS THE EUROPEAN UNION

- *Single Market (equal rules for companies)*
- *Political Union (common legislation)*
- *Borderless space (free movement of people and goods)*
- *Single currency (not for all)*
- *Division of competences EU-MS (fore.trade vs fore.policy)*



## EUROSCEPTICISM: DEFINITION AND PROBLEMS

- The term Eurosceptic appeared in the British press in the mid-1980s to qualify the reservations and criticisms of the Premier Margaret Thatcher for the European integration process. Since then, this expression has been as a synonym of direct criticism of the European Union.
- Although Euroscepticism firstly appeared as a distinctively British phenomenon, it became generalized – in varying degrees – in other community members (source - Margaret Thatcher - Speech to the College of Europe ("The Bruges Speech"))  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D\\_XsSnivgNg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_XsSnivgNg)
- ("text")- [CVCE - Address given by Margaret Thatcher \(Bruges, 20 September 1988\)](#)



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# ANTI-EUROPEANISM AND EUROSCEPTICISM: AN HISTORICAL APPROACH

Historians of European integration have identified two distinct phases, reflecting very different periods of opposition to the EU project:

- **ideological anti-Europeanism** was the result of the Cold War opposition between 1950 and 1968 (communists on the left and nationalists on the right - Gaullists in France in favor of a Europe of homelands)
- **nationalist Euroscepticism** contest the reforms that took place after the Treaty of Maastricht and its developments (European citizenship, the Schengen system, single currency etc.) Examples: the birth in Denmark in 1992 of the June Movement, led by Jens-Peter Bonde (MEP from 1979 to 2008 and then the movement of EUDemocrats - Alliance for a Europe of Democracies (EUD) now dissolved; the UKIP (UK Independence Party led by Nigel Farage) in 1993 and proponent of Brexit; the Mouvement pour la France of Philippe de Villiers, Catholic-conservative in 1994.





# CONTEMPORARY EUROSCEPTICISMS

There are many political movements that have opposed the current EU, very heterogeneous and even antithetical. A distinction was proposed by political scientists **Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak** (1998)

- **hard scepticism**: outright rejection of the EU and request of exit from the EU for the countries that are already part of it - as happened in 2016 with Brexit - or non-membership for those out.
- **soft scepticism**: criticism expressed on specific aspects of the integration process and refusal to give up national sovereignty (e.g. opposition to the Schengen system or the adoption of the euro or others)

## • 4 types of parties/factions

- Single issue parties;
- Anti-establishment parties;
- Establishment Eurosceptical parties
- Eurosceptic factions of mainstream parties that support the EU.



# Euroscepticism: between optimism/pessimism

## Is A European Federation Inevitable?



- Political scientists **Petr Kopecký and Cas Mudde** (2002) distinguish four attitudes toward European integration:
  - **"europhilia"**: support for the European integration process in general;
  - **"europhobia"** (rejection of any hypothesis of continental unification on the basis of the differences, and therefore incompatibilities, existing between the nation states - a position similar to hard scepticism);
  - **"euro-optimism"** (pro-EUism that is in favor of the EU as it stands);
  - **"euro-pessimism"** (criticism of the EU for its development).
- 
- From the cross-combination of "europhilia" and "europhobia" on the one hand, and "euro-optimism" and "euro-pessimism" on the other, four categories emerge:
  - *Euro-enthusiasts (europhiles and euro-optimists);*
  - *Eurosceptics (Europhiles but Euro-pessimists);*
  - *Anti-Europeans (Europhobes and Euro-pessimists);*
  - *Euro-pragmatists (Europhobes but Euro-optimists)*

# EUROPEAN DISCONTENT (SIMON HIX)

- British political scientist Simon Hix has identified three main areas of discontent:
  - Northern Europeans outside the Eurozone (the British, the Danes);
  - Northern Europeans within the Eurozone (e.g. Alternative für Deutschland);
  - Southern Europeans within the Eurozone (Greeks, Portuguese);
  - Eastern Europeans, outside the Eurozone (Hungary, Poland).

1) Euroscepticism, unlike anti-Europeanism, was the result not of prejudice but of criticism of the incongruities that arose in the integration process between the European ideal and the EU actually achieved

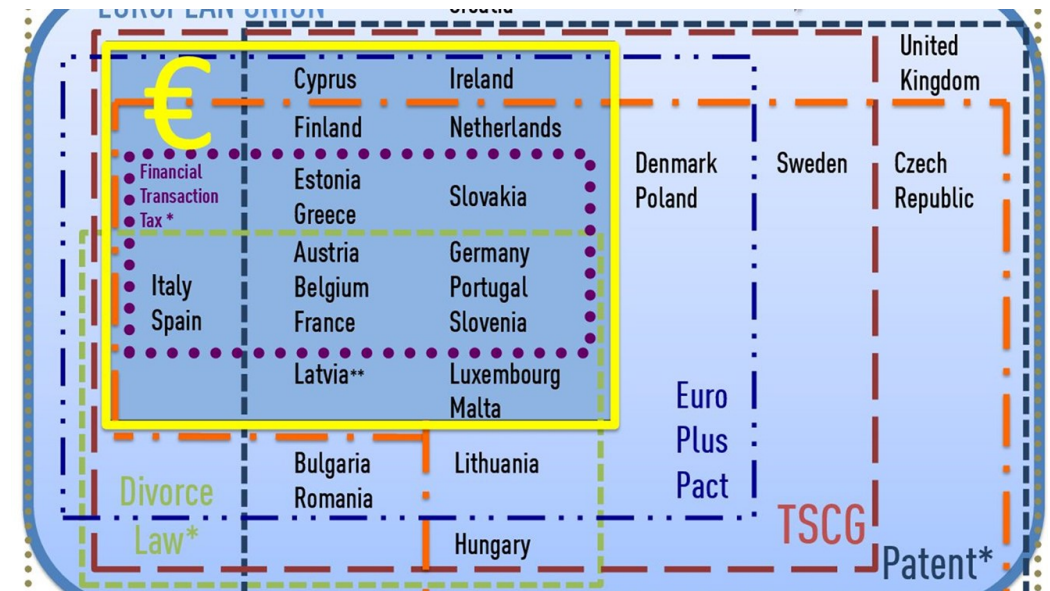
2) Euroskeptical parties are often in conflict: “the economic policy that Syriza (Greek left-wing party) voters dream of is the nightmare of those who voted Alternative für Deutschland (Afd).”



# ONE EUROPE, MANY EUROPE

Within the EU, there are centrifugal and centripetal tendencies:

- **"variable-geometry" Europe:** a form of differentiated integration in which some member states, economically and politically more advanced, decide to proceed to closer cooperation among themselves ("hard core", a notion that became famous in 1994 in the proposal of two German Christian Democrat exponents Schäuble and Lamers who thought of a group of countries - five founders of the Communities excluding Italy for the realization of a monetary union).
- **A "multi-speed" Europe:** a form of differentiated integration with a common final goal to be achieved (euro).
- **A Europe "à la carte":** differentiated integration according to which the various member states are free to select - in analogy with a restaurant menu - the policy areas in which they would like to participate

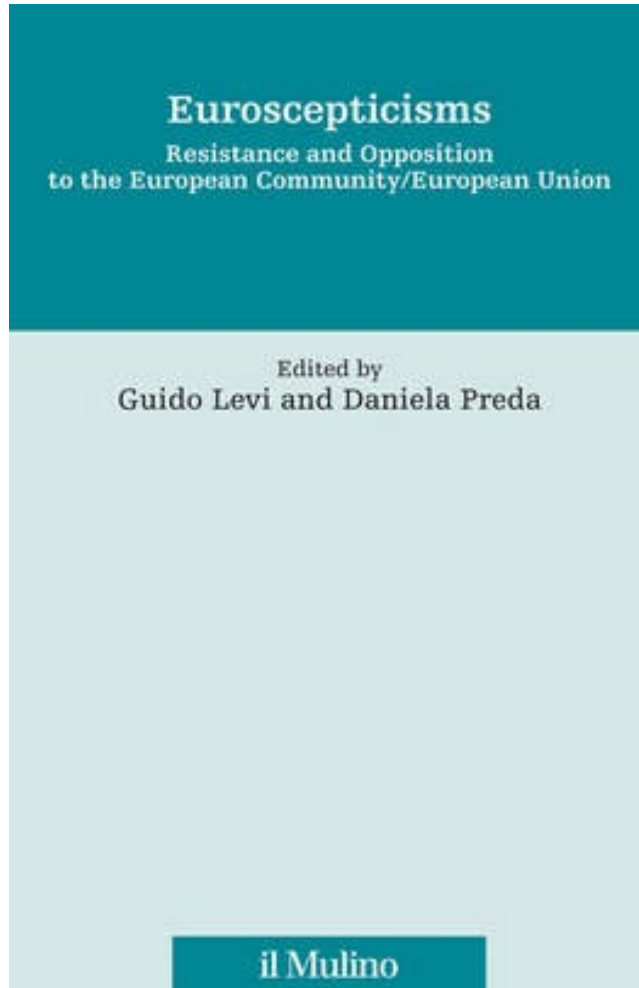




# FIVE QUESTIONS FOR YOU

- *When you hear the term «Euroskeptic» what's your first thought?*
- *Would you agree more with Taggart or Kopecký?*
- *The EU geographical divide is deeper than the political one?*
- *What institutional developments can you foresee for the EU?*
- *Is there a specific point of political debate that you're struggling with?*





- Guido Levi, Daniela Preda (a cura di),  
*Euroscepticisms. Resistance and Opposition to the European Community/European Union*  
Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019  
[link](#)
- Review article (English):
  - [Guido Levi, Daniela Preda \(ed.\) \(2018\). \*Euroscepticisms. Resistance and Opposition to the European Union/European Community\*. Bologna: il Mulino, 622 pp. \(review article by Angelica Radicchi, in "De Europa", vol. 1, n. 1, 2018\)](#)
  - Review article (Italian):  
*Europa. Il sovranismo? Ci rende sempre più dipendenti dalla globalizzazione*, "Avvenire", Agostino Giovagnoli, 20 aprile 2019 - [link](#)

# Resources

- *WATCH: TEPSA Debate: “Euroscepticism and the Future of Europe: Views from the Capitals”*, 20 October 2020, <http://www.tepsa.eu/book-launch-euroscepticism-and-the-future-of-europe-views-from-the-capitals-20-october-2020/>
- European Commission, *Inclusion of non-EU migrants*, <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1274&langId=en>
- *The Brexit Deterrent? How Britain's Exit has Shaped Public Support for the EU*, LSE Online Event, 21 October 2021, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rG8R\\_4s-vls](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rG8R_4s-vls)





*Thank you for your attention!*



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