

Europeanization beyond Europe *by Frank Schimmelfennig*

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Europeanization is the impact of European integration and governance on:

- ❖ Member states
- ❖ “Quasi-member states,” specifically Norway and Switzerland
- ❖ Candidate states for EU membership

Council of Europe

Schengen Area



Nordic Council



Visegrád Group



Baltic Assembly



Benelux



BSEC



GUAM



CEFTA

EEA

Eurozone



Common Travel Area



European Union



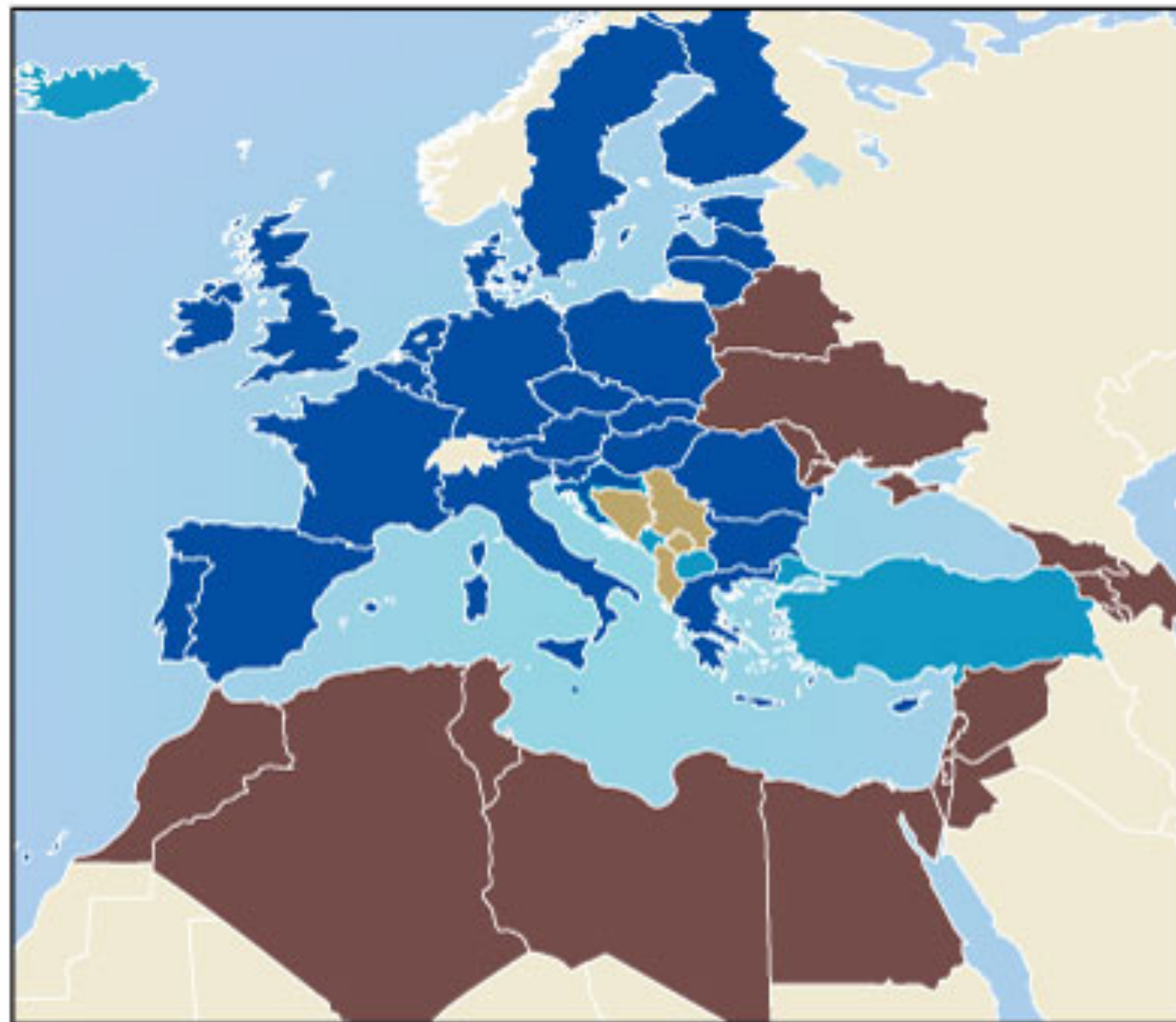
EU Customs Union



Monetary agreement with the EU



Union State



■ EU States

■ Candidate countries

■ Potential candidate countries

■ ENP countries

The case of quasi-member states and candidate countries:

- ❖ The transfer of the *acquis communautaire* is at the core of *Europeanization* (highly regulated single market, EU enlargement)
- ❖ EU uses the incentive of membership as the main lever to make applicant countries adopt its rules
- ❖ The instrument is not applicable to countries currently ineligible for EU membership

Research Question

Is there Europeanization in the countries that are not eligible for membership in the foreseeable future?

Sub-questions

1. What are the goals and instruments of the EU?
2. What are the mechanisms of Europeanization beyond future accession countries?
3. Under what conditions the EU is effective in Europeanizing third countries?

How does the author acquire
answers to these questions?

Through literature review

Theoretical Perspectives

Europeanization can be:

❖ EU-driven or domestically-driven

and

❖ can be driven by *the logic of consequences* **or** *the logic of appropriateness*

Logic of consequences assumes:

- ❖ Actors to choose the behavioral option that maximizes their utility under the circumstances
- ❖ Europeanization can be driven through sanctions and rewards - cost-benefit calculations

The impact of external incentives increases with the size of net benefits and the clarity and credibility of EU conditionality

Logic of appropriateness assumes:

- ❖ Actors choose the behavior that is appropriate according to their social role and the social norms in a given situation
- ❖ Europeanization may be induced by social learning

States are persuaded to adopt EU rules if they consider these rules legitimate and identify with the EU

Theoretical Perspectives

Mechanisms of EU impact beyond the member-states

	<i>Intergovernmental</i>		<i>Transnational</i>	
	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Indirect</i>	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Indirect</i>
<i>Logic of consequences</i>	(1) Conditionality Intergovernmental incentives Compulsory impact Compliance	(2) Externalization Competition Negative externality	(3) Transnational incentives Connective impact	(4) Transnational externalization Competition
<i>Logic of appropriateness</i>	(5) Socialization Intergovernmental social learning Constructive impact Communication	(6) Imitation Lesson-drawing Enabling impact Unilateral emulation	(7) Transnational socialization Transnational social learning	(8) Societal imitation Enabling impact

Theoretical Perspectives

Mechanisms of EU impact beyond the member-states

	<i>Intergovernmental</i>		<i>Transnational</i>	
	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Indirect</i>	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Indirect</i>
<i>Logic of consequences</i>	(1) Conditionality Intergovernmental incentives Compulsory impact Compliance	(2) Externalization Competition Negative externality	(3) Transnational incentives Connective impact	(4) Transnational externalization Competition
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Most cited fundamental mechanisms of the EU impact are:

1. Conditionality
2. Socialization

Conditionality

EU provides non-member governments with incentives (financial aid, market access or institutional ties) on the condition that they follow the EU's demands

- ❖ direct, sanctioning impact of the EU on the target government
- ❖ intergovernmental channel of external incentives
- ❖ compulsory impact and the compliance mode of governance

EU needs to be less dependent on or interested in the agreement than its partner, and the partner needs to be certain that it only receives the reward if certain conditions are met (for example, direct budget support)

Socialization

Comprises all EU efforts to “teach” EU policies (as well as the ideas and norms behind them) to outsiders, to persuade outsiders that these policies are appropriate and, as a consequence, to motivate them to adopt EU policies.

- ❖ External actors should be in a novel and uncertain environment

and/or

- ❖ Identify with and aspire to belong to Europe

EU's conditionality and socialization can be directed not only at central governments:

- ❖ parties
- ❖ firms
- ❖ interest groups
- ❖ NGOs
- ❖ regional administrations

Other Mechanisms

Externalization. External actors adopt and comply with EU rules because ignoring or violating them would be “costly”.

- ❖ Countries economies should be strongly interconnected with the EU

Imitation. EU’s processes and policies serve as models for other regions, states and societal actors.

- ❖ Non-member actors imitate the EU because they recognize EU rules and policies as appropriate solutions to their own problems

What is the goal of the EU in promoting Europeanization beyond Europe?

To have an international environment that is ordered according to their own principles and procedures

“From a rational perspective, an international environment that mirrors the EU is likely to be in the best interest of the EU and its member states.”

Domestic analogy

- ❖ **Exporting their model of regionalism:** regional economic and market integration and the establishment of supranational organizations as pathways to peace and welfare in other parts of the world
- ❖ **Propagate a neoliberal economic model:** market-building and economic liberalization
- ❖ **Promoting its constitutional norms:** human rights, the rule of law and democracy

Since when and why have it all started?

- ❖ 80's-90's
- ❖ Large-scale democratization processes in the world
- ❖ Increased need to support new democracies
- ❖ Since 90's agreements with third countries contain democracy, human rights and the rule of law as conditions

BUT economic aid and conditionality were insufficient in the absence of political reform and good governance

Impact and effectiveness

Regionalism

- ❖ Promotion of EU's model of democracy, social welfare, and regional integration - *intended effects*
- ❖ “The need to deal with a rich and powerful EU draws other states into cooperative ventures, especially in their international relations” – *unintended effects*

Both conditionality and imitation

Impact and effectiveness

Human rights and democracy

- ❖ Three mechanisms: conditionality, socialization and domestic empowerment
- ❖ Lack of consistency and effectiveness of EU political conditionality (*why?*)
- ❖ Poor, marginal states (often in Africa) of little importance to the EU or one of its member states tend to be subjected to *negative conditionality*
- ❖ Stronger sanctions are unlikely to be used against against resource-rich countries

European Neighborhood Policy

- ❖ A framework of Europeanization
- ❖ Partial alignment to the EU norms is expected
- ❖ Action Plans – joint ownership

EUROPEAN
NEIGHBORHOOD
POLICY



European Neighborhood Policy

- ❖ It was originally planned to mirror the EEA by extending the EU market and acquis in the absence of formal membership in EU organizations

Three main principles of ENP:

- ❖ EU's commitment to promote core liberal values and norms beyond its borders
- ❖ EU uses political conditionality as the main instrument of norm promotion
- ❖ EU uses planning, reporting and assistance procedures similar to that used for candidate countries

European Neighborhood Policy

There are clear differences to enlargement, however

- ❖ Two big NO-NOs:
 - ❖ liberalized access of goods
 - ❖ liberalized access of persons