

# What is Euroscepticism?

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# History of the term:

- Non-scientific origin and polemical usage in politics – defined as negativity?
- Historically related to the British political discourse:
- 1946: Winston Churchill: „The United States of Europe“, but... Germany and France should lead...
- 1962: Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party:

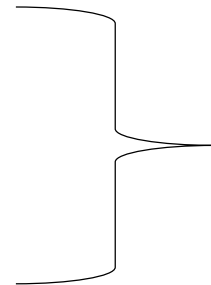
*„For we are not just a part of Europe – at least not yet. We have a different history. We have ties and links which run across the whole world,... it does mean the end of Britain as an independent nation state.“*

- 1992: significant political force in French and Danish referendums on Maastricht treaty
- 2005: failure of EU constitution ratification (France, Netherlands) → open fight
- 2014: European Parliament elections: a mainstream EU criticism

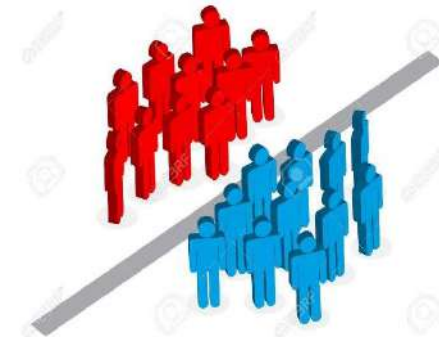
# Dangers of exaggeration

- From pro-integration bias: „phenomenon of periphery” (Leconte, 2015)
  - of party systems (extremist, protest-based parties)
  - of domestic societies (ESc as a proxy of attitudes toward domestic elites)
  - of the geographical periphery (UK, Nordic countries, Austria, Hungary)
- Risk: to define it as a rabid & hostile anti-systemic dissent

- Anti-democratic
- Populist
- Social pathology



irrational → rational



- Danger of overstretching and imprecision (EU?)

Vicious circle &  
Perpetuation of division

# More precise definitions?

- ‘the idea of *contingent* or *qualified* opposition’, which may also incorporate ‘*outright* and *unqualified* opposition to the process of European integration’ (Taggart 1998, pp. 365–366).
- SOFT vs HARD (party-based ESc)
- SOFT = opposition to one or more policies (e.g. threats to ‘national interests’)
- HARD = principled opposition (withdrawal, opposing the whole project or further developments)
- Promotion of different political relations: adversaries vs enemy!
- Critique: where are the borders of SOFT and HARD ESc?
  - How SEsc can be distinguished from a critical but differentiated political contestation?
  - Which and/or how many policy areas a party has to oppose to be considered as HEsc?

Institutionalized cooperation on the basis of pooled sovereignty (P) and an integrated liberal market economy (E).

# More precise definitions?

- *diffuse* and *specific* support for pol. system
- Support for the general *ideas* and *practice* of European integration underlying the EU
  - EU-optimists: could be critical but loyal
  - EU-pessimists: Concerned with the current form and direction of development, hope to change it
- Eurorejects advocate:
  - Exit from the EU (with or without referendum) *or*,
  - Exit from the euro area or a radical transformation of the EMU *or*,
  - Exit from Schengen area or the permanent restoration of national borders

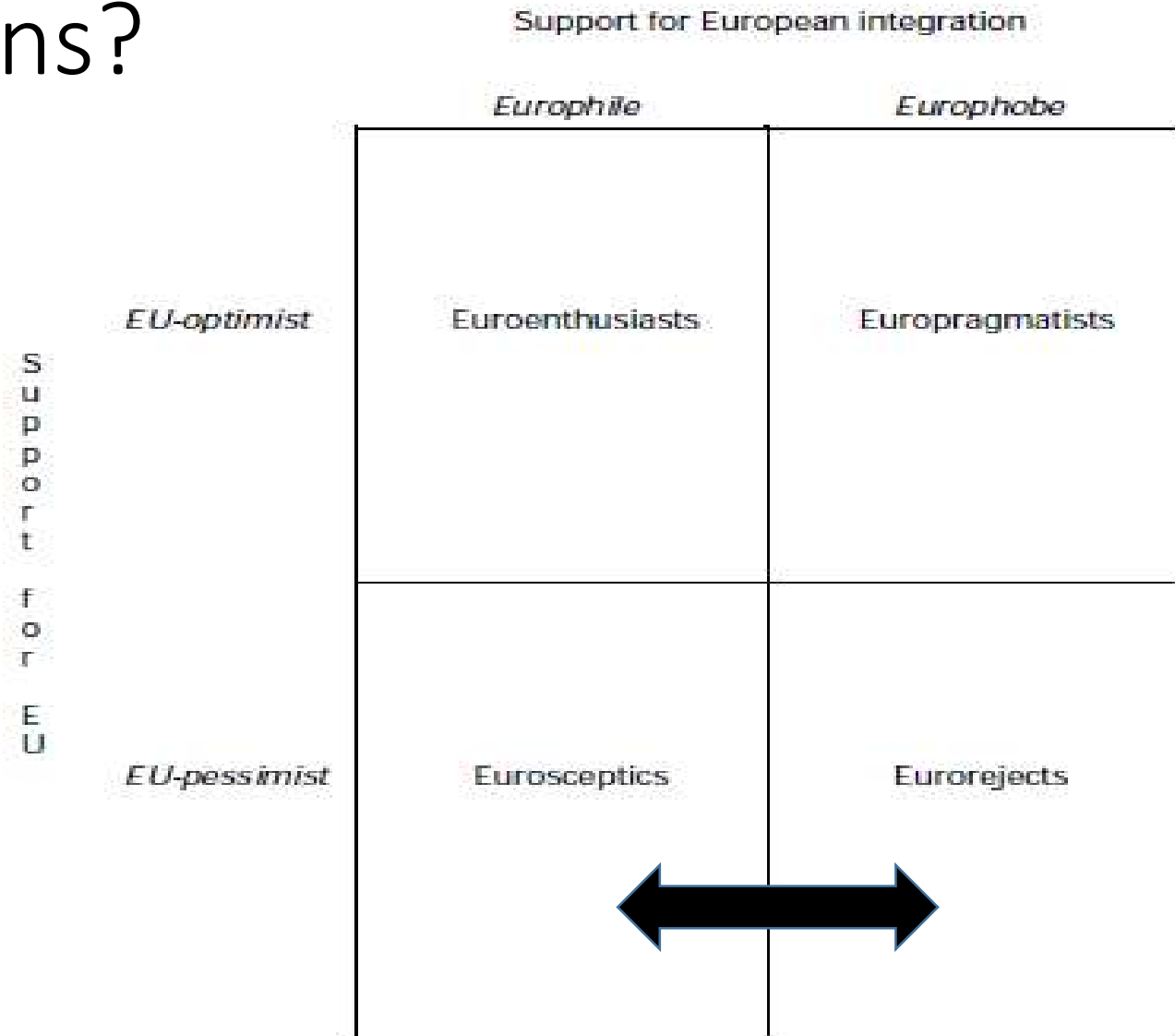


Figure 1 Typology of party positions on Europe.

Source: Kopecky & Mudde, 2002.

# 2014 European Parliamentary Elections

GROUP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SEATS	SEATS HELD BY EUROSCEPTIC PARTIES	TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTIES	NUMBER OF EUROSCEPTIC PARTIES
ECR	70	54	24	12
GUE/NGL	52	42	22	12
EFD	48	21	7	4
NA	52	8	15	4
% of the total	29.56%	16.64%	36.96%	17.39%*

Source: Bertoincini & Koenig, 2014.

- Possible broader coalition?

# 2014 European Parliamentary Elections

PARTY	GROUP	SCHENGEN EXIT	EURO EXIT	EU EXIT
National Front (F)	NA	yes	yes	yes
Party for Freedom (NL)	NA	yes	yes	yes
Golden Dawn (GR)	NA	yes	yes	yes
Sweden Democrats (SE)	EFD	yes	/	yes
United Kingdom Independence Party (UK)	EFD	/	/	yes
People's Movement against the EU (DK)	GUE/NGL	referendum	/	yes
Free Citizens Party (CZ)	EFD	to be decided after EU exit	/	yes
Left Party (SE)	GUE/NGL	no	/	yes
Communist Party (GR)	GUE/NGL	no	yes	yes
National Democratic Party (D)	NA	yes	yes	referendum
Freedom Party of Austria (AT)	NA	referendum	split	last resort
Northern League (I)	NA	yes	yes	no
Flemish Interest (BE)	NA	yes	yes	no
Danish People's Party (DK)	ECR	yes	/	no
Communist Party (in Democratic Unitarian Coalition) (PT)	GUE/NGL	no	yes	no
Progressive Party of Working People (CY)	GUE/NGL	/	yes	no

- EPHs reject integration and advocate exit from the EU or euro or Schengen
- Severe critique: not enough democracy, too much liberalism, endangered sovereignty and identity
- 82 seats (+39) – NF (+21), UKIP (+11)
- 44 unaffiliated – nationalist convictions
- 27 (EFD): National Front and Dutch Party for Freedom – initiative to forge a new group to „wreck” the EU from within
- 9 out of 16 advocate exit from the EU
- Mostly right (67) or far-right (42)
- Still at the fringes, but they grow in terms of national influence

# Croatian Political Parties and



- Only one ESc party in the EP 2014 (Croatian Party of Rights – A.S.)

During these three centuries, when at that time the largest non-Christian power in the world has been destroying, devastating and conquering Croatia, the Western part of the Christian world has slept soundly behind its battlements and developed in every respect [...] At the end of the 20th century [...] Croatia is once again defending Europe from this danger from the East. The Croats defend their homes and their system of values which have been built by Western democracy [...] No one wants to intervene actively and that is a betrayal of what they owe to Croatia.

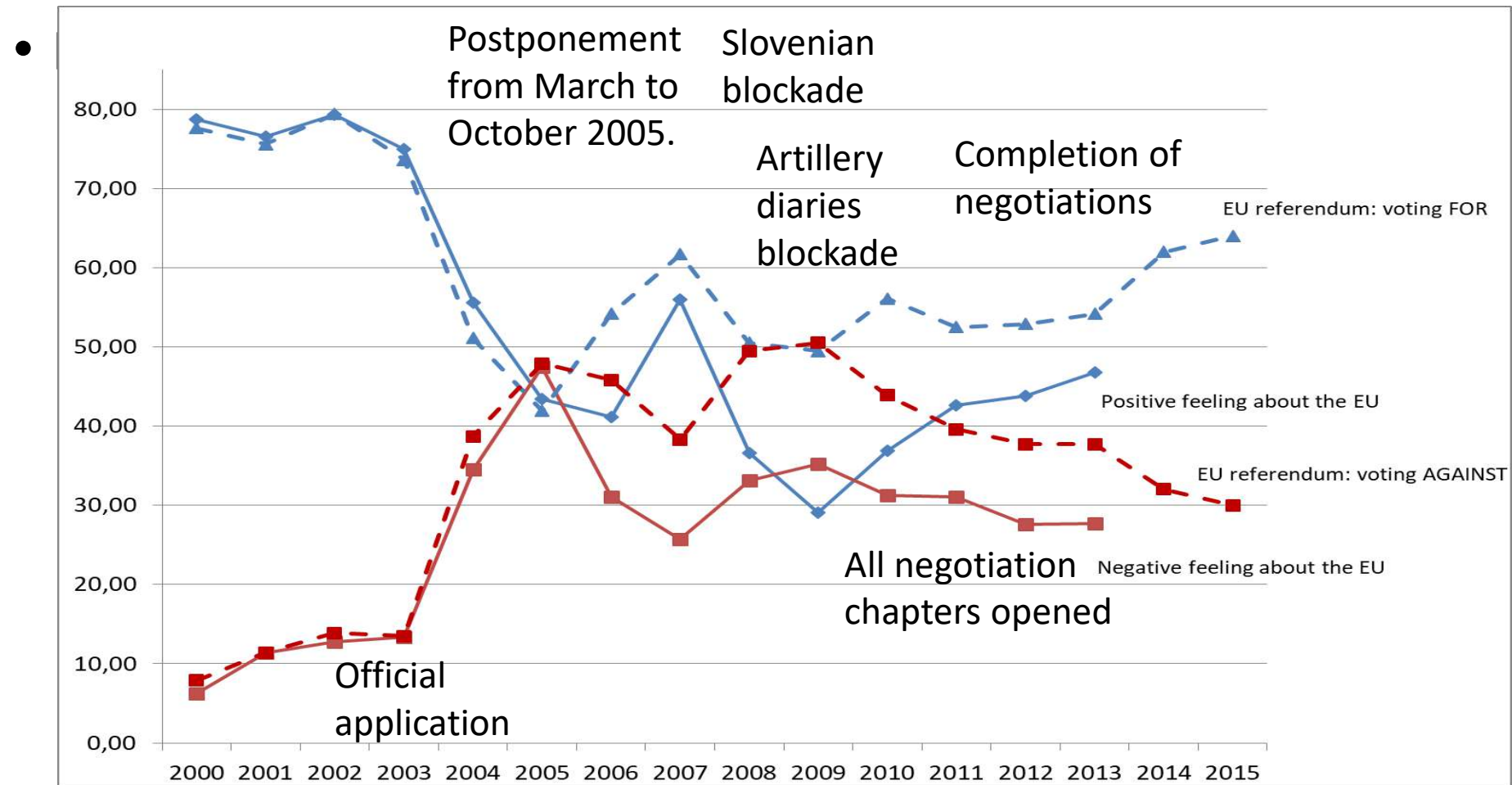
October 1991.

- CRO Accession: a long road
- 1990: „Return to Europe”
  - Established in binary opposition vs „remaining in the Balkans”
  - Identification with democratic order and its values (often only declaratively)
- Overidentification during the H.War – sense of being betrayed by Europe
- Isolationist politics until 1999.
  - 1991: refuse to join Visegrad group
  - 1992: refused membership in CEFTA, help in legal harmonization with the EC
  - 1997: Regional approach to EU accession



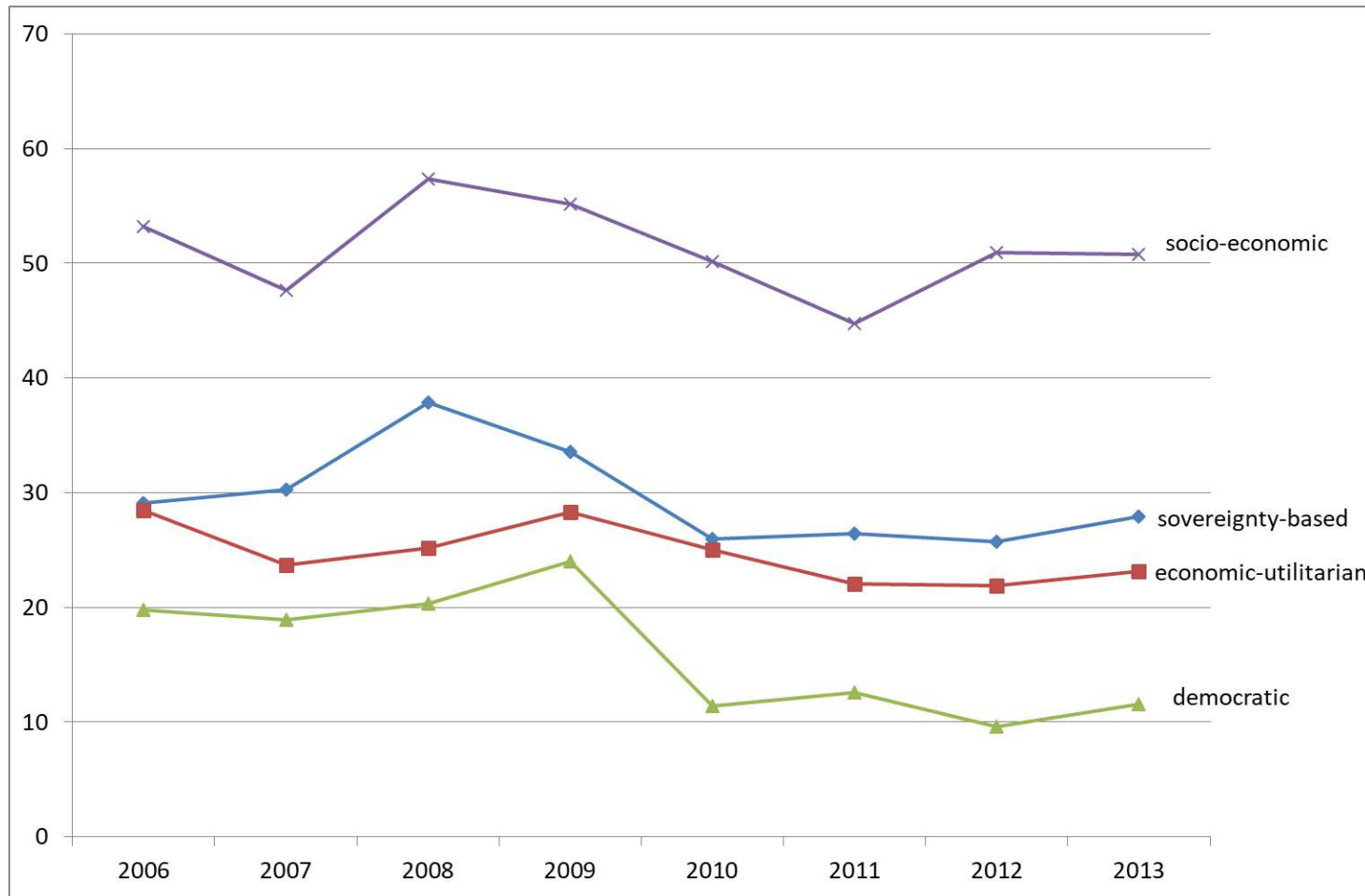
# Croatian Citizens and EU-integration after 2000

- Enthusiastic at the beginning but more worried and afraid than the elites



# Croatian Citizens and EU-integration after 2000

- What were the main worries and fears of Croatian citizens?



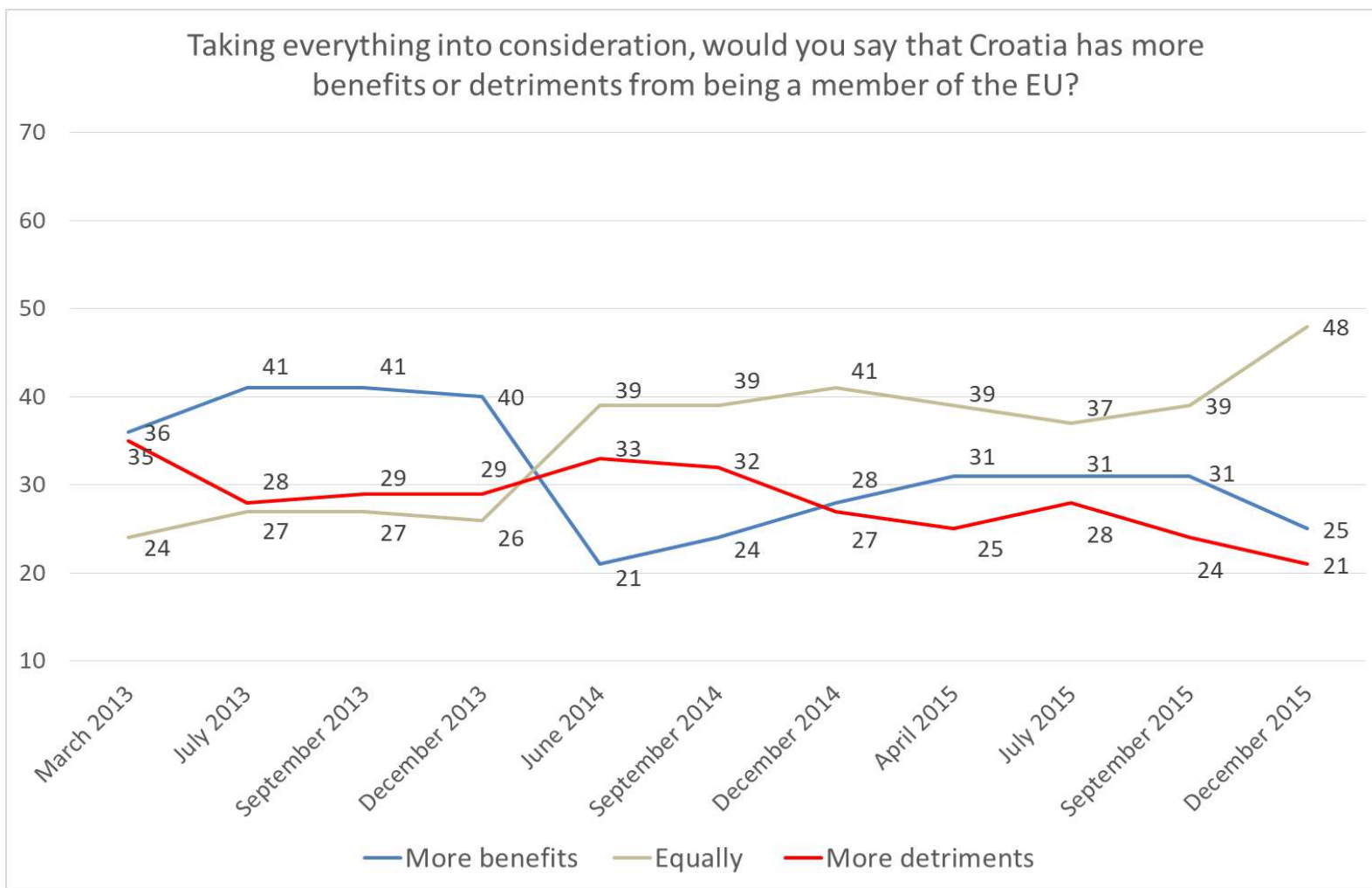
After integration people will need to give up on their traditional customs of private production for their own needs (e.g. food and alcoholic beverages), Croatian agriculture and industry will be destroyed, prices will increase significantly, foreign workers will “steal” the jobs of domestic people and social differences will become larger.

Croatia will lose its sovereignty, national and cultural identity, Croatian language will be more marginalized

Croatia will be economically marginalized, domestic unemployment will increase, export possibilities for Croatian companies will decrease

Expecting negative trends after integration in areas such as the rule of law, corruption, politicians’ behavior and effectiveness of public institutions

# What do they think today about the EU?



- Are they becoming 'realists'?
- Does the EU reality is becoming gray? (disenchantment, passive ESc?)
- Still 30 % of CRO citizens believe that the EU is a conspiracy of big business with the aim to destroy national states. (Europhobia)