

The Europeanisation Debate: Criteriology, Contextual Change and State Borders

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ITÄ-SUOMEN YLIOPISTO

What this presentation is...

- This is a rather philosophical rather than strictly empirical reflection on Europe and European identity
- It is mainly based on work I have done on European borders and cross-border cooperation since 1989
- The main idea is to understand how post-1989 transformation has been reflected in politics of borders and initiatives of local and regional cross-border cooperation
- At the same time, it is important to understand the role that history and historical contexts still play with regard to European borders and cooperation

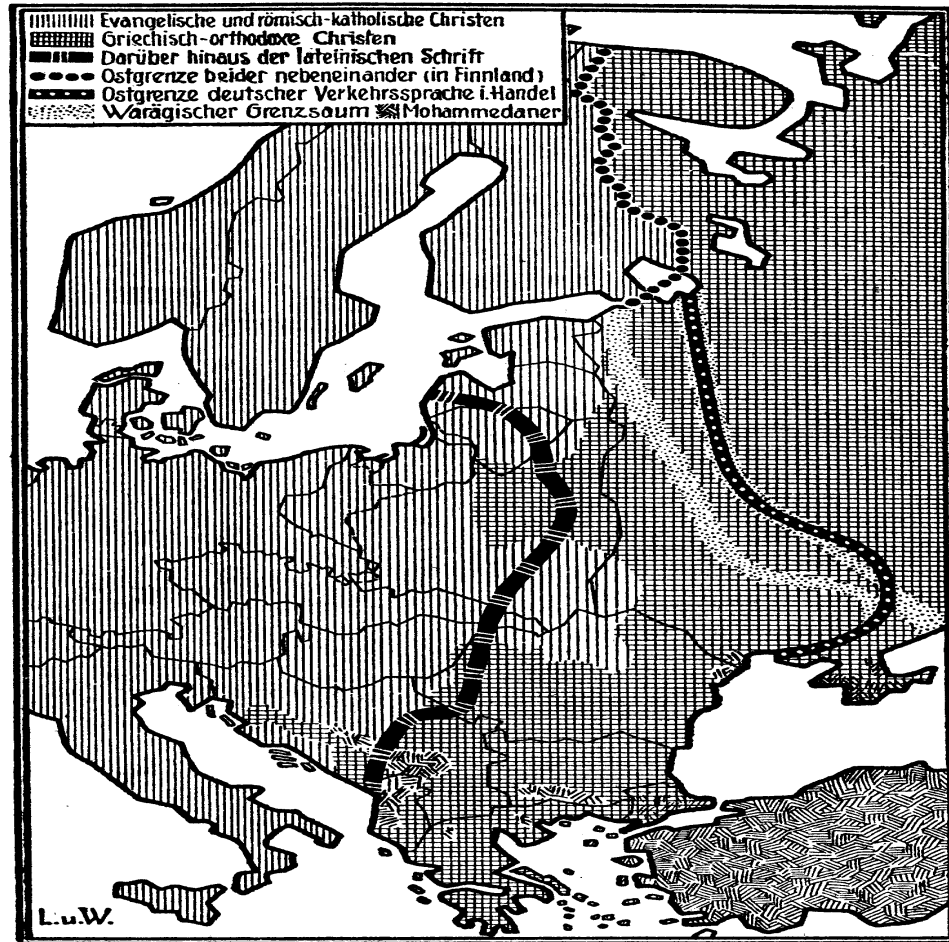


Objective: A Reflection on Europe

- There is a basic question whether European Union must be a project of convergence to an objective set of pre-existing norms or rather a process of norm-creation through dialogue
- Criteriology: quest for stable, non-changing and objective criteria of rationality - *Europeanisation is compliance to preconceived norms*
- Practice and interpretation: seeking to understand the social relevance and impacts of norms that are constantly reframed and reflect adaptation processes - *Europeanisation as a project always in the making*
- In reality, these "conflicting" philosophical ideas co-exist, helping explain the rather complex situation we have now within the EU
- Examples: debates about Europe's borders, notions of "stateness" and sovereignty



Defining Europe - then as now (Source, Haushofer 1928)



**Eurasiatische und zwischen-europäische
Abgrenzungs-Schwierigkeiten**

Pál Teleki's reflections on European geographical identity (1932)

- ...colonialism, socialism, liberalism, the spread of parliamentarianism..the ubiquitousness of universities –these processes are pan-european and end at the borders of Europe.
- "almost all of Russia's territory and the Balkans, which only a few decades ago were in Turkish hands, cannot be considered to belong to Europe. Russia cannot be considered [to be part of Europe] because ethnographically, geomorphologically, geologically, climatically, psychologically, and because of its social-cultural and political development. The Balkans, on the other hand, were connected to Asia during the most important and formative periods of Europe's development"



F. Perroux: Visionary Europe (1954)

- Perroux expresses a vision of Europe in which borderlessness – L'Europe sans rivage” - translates to seeing Europe as “work in progress” rather than “already made”
- Perroux see a borderless Europe as a strong Europe but also admits that the “the bankruptcy of the national model shows that it is no better for Europeans than for anyone else. But the intermediaries through which we are supposed to go from the “national” to the “global” level are still more threatening than the nation-states and nationalism.” (Perroux, 1954, p. 284)



Contemporary perspectives on “stateness” in Europe

- Critical perspectives: stateness as closure, promotion of cultural division and economic exploitation
- Contradictions between the supposed fixity of the state and fluidity of (geo)political processes, economic flows, migration movements and social and environmental issues
- Nevertheless, no feasible alternatives have emerged to replace liberal notions of an “exclusive” but self-defined community as a necessary precondition of local democracy (Batt 2002)
- EU is a laboratory of institutional change and state transformation
- Different conceptual borderings of Europe reflect continuity and change in perceptions of national identity

European borders and contemporary critical-ethical perspectives

- Europe as a gated community (Van Houtum and Pijpers)
- Borders, policing and biopolitics (Bigo)
- EU borders of death (Gallardo, Boedeltje, van Houtum)
- Violence of state borders (Elden, Jones, Rosière)
- Europe and neo-imperial borders (Bialasiewicz, Minca, Joeniemmi)

Foundationalist ethics and the negative freedom of European borders

- One influential counternarrative to a cosmopolitan-humanistic ethics of European borders is one of national self-realisation and autonomy
- Ethics of national integrity through good borders that protect national spaces and avoid conflict through socio-ecological equilibrium (Ratzel, Maull, Teleki, Haushofer, but also Sarrazin, Huntington and many others)
- States and their borders guarantee "negative" liberty = freedom from fear and attack (Hobbesian view)
- Organic natural/cultural reasoning is more prescriptive and problematic due to the impossibility of a priory definition of territorial spaces



Presently, EU internal borders reflect internal divisions

- They are still here in a big way and reflect persistence of national orientations within the EU
- Instead of a total debordering, a selective rebordering of EU-Europe is taking place – Eurozone, new internal border controls, new fences, identity controls
- The reasons for this rebordering have no simple, easily explainable causes = crisis, fear, perceived loss of control, political exploitation of xenophobia

However, recent events highlight both internal and external bordering issues

- 08.09.2012: New Portuguese austerity measures motivated in part by a desire for distance from Greece and praise from FMI and Germany
- 08.09.2012: "renationalising democracy" - German citizens seek constitutional court rather than political decision on ECM
- 08.09.2012: Lampedusa - boats capsize, some 79 migrants are missing, some 59 apprehended
- 08.09.2012 Isla de Tierra – Spanish soldiers guard this austere, rocky outcropping near the Moroccan coast in an attempt to prevent migrants from entering the EU

Deutsche hoffen auf ESM-Verbot aus Karlsruhe (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 09.09.2012)

- Eurosceptic sentiment in Germany: polls indicate support for a negative decision on the European Stability Mechanism and Fiscal Compact
- Re-nationalisation of public policy as grassroots democracy?
- ESM and bond-buying as immunisation against profligate Europe (Greece?)



Los cascotes del imperio –the rubble of empire

(sources: El País, 09.09.2012)

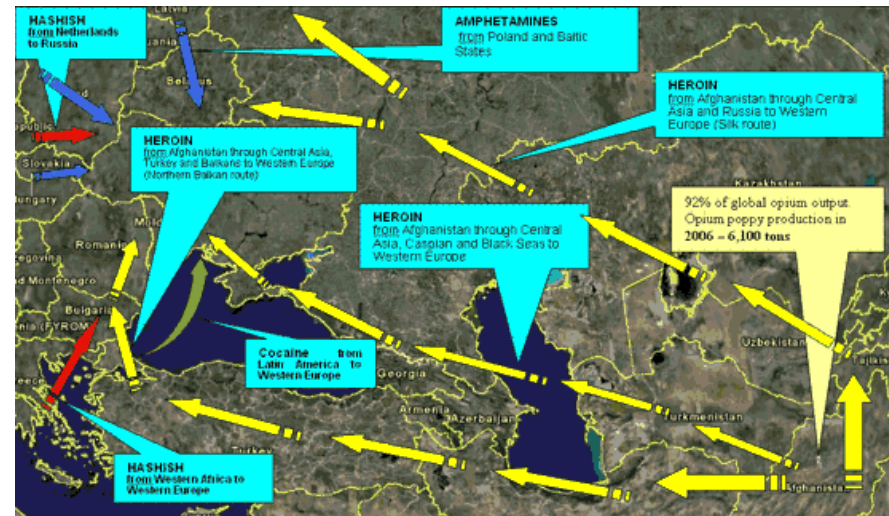
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External borders and EU bordering practises

- Consolidation of the EU-27 as a coherent political community and cohesive social/economic space
- Differentiation between EU-Europe, the “other Europes” and Non-Europe
- ENP= Progressive cooperation rhetoric but often realist action
- Selective access to non-EU citizens
- Is the EU creating buffer zones at its external borders? : *example of Ukraine seen as a “bi-polar” cordon sanitaire in the geographic imaginations of the EU*

BUMAD: Belarus Ukraine Moldova Assistance in the Fight Against Drugs Traffic



Coexisting notions of Europe: interlinked understandings of states and borders

- Foundationalist (EU as a project of national Europe which is pre-defined and basically complete in terms of culture and identity) - exclusive and final borders
- Transnationalist (EU as something inherently new – a project of self-creation that transcends national definitions of Europeanness) – shifting, permeable borders
- Realist (EU as a project of pragmatic response to globalisation and geopolitical challenges – membership defined by EU interests) – “objective”, selective borders
- Transsouverantist (e.g. Hungary) citizenship rights and political community for ethnic groups beyond borders of “kin states”



European Union, States and Borders

- EU is making a difference in the way we understand states and state borders – these understandings are being negotiated, they are not given
- And how is Europe reflected in national perceptions and national identity politics?
 - Core Europe (e.g. France, Germany): Setting contours of EU in national images, creating orthodoxy
 - Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Hungary, Poland, Slovakia): nation-building and positioning within Europe; lobbying the rights of small states, creating unorthodoxy

Some conclusions

- Perroux (as well as many contemporary thinkers) does not suggest the historical necessity of a Europe sans rivage – a possibility only
- There exists a space of ambiguity and indeterminacy that reflects Europe's historical evolution, and that is at the heart of its identity
- However, EU-Europeanisation is not only about debordering member states but can also promote neo-nationalism
- The EU reflects a tension between criteria of unambiguous identity and open-ended evolution – continuity and change

A Europe of States and Borders – Endless?

- The EU embodies dilemmas of modern liberal democracy: defined by transcendental principles, often guided by pragmatism or opportunism and painfully aware of its own contradictions
- Indeed, Europe as a political community, has been conditioned by a constant tension between attempts to spiritualise borders and overcome national particularisms and need to maintain a sense of national/local identity and control over political affairs
- At the same time, the promise of Europe has also suggested a notion of community that is not limited by geographical or cultural categories but that is rather based on common historical experience

Thanks for your attention!