

# Analyze the 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement, was it considered beneficial or a burden for EU?

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# Introduction

→ The accession of ten member states in 2004 or either wise known as the BIG BANG

- Hungary,
- Poland,
- Czech Republic,
- Slovakia,
- Slovenia,
- Latvia,
- Lithuania,
- Estonia,
- Malta
- Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus

→ two more joined in 2007

- . Romania
- . Bulgaria



# Introduction

- A great accomplishment because it was the result of the culmination of a long effort to heal the divisions of the Cold War.
- After a lengthy preparation, EU grew in membership from fifteen to twenty-seven countries and in population from 380 million to 500 million.
- The EU became a strikingly different entity: more diverse, wayward and heterogeneous than ever before.



# The purpose of the 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement

→ Why adding 10 new countries was important to the already 15 members of the EU?

→ Mainly because of political purposes.

→ The reason why the fifth EU enlargement “the big bang” was such a grand project was the fact that together with the breakdown of communism in 1989 - the political separation of Europe was finally ended.

→ It was this important step of European unification, even though there were large gaps in income levels between East and West this step was important for integrating ex-communist countries and adopting democracy and its values.



# The 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement process

## 1. Association Agreements

→ Created specifically by EU to help the countries of the former Eastern bloc move towards liberal democracy and a market economy.





## The Europe & Association Agreements

Country	Europe Agreement signed	Europe Agreement came into force	Official application for EU Membership
Bulgaria	March 1993	February 1995	December 1995
Czech Rep.	October 1993	February 1995	January 1996
Estonia	June 1995	February 1998	November 1995
Hungary	December 1991	February 1994	March 1994
Latvia	June 1995	February 1998	October 1995
Lithuania	June 1995	February 1998	December 1995
Poland	December 1991	February 1994	April 1994
Romania	February 1993	February 1995	June 1995
Slovakia	October 1993	February 1995	June 1995
Slovenia	June 1996	February 1999	June 1996
Country	Association Agreement signed	Association Agreement came into force	Official application for EU Membership
Turkey	September 1963	December 1964	14 April 1987
Malta	December 1970	April 1971	16 July 1990
Cyprus	December 1972	June 1973	3 July 1990

# From Six to Fifteen and Beyond



2002





→ The Copenhagen European Council (1993) listed the political and economic conditions to be met for accession to the European Union in the 'Copenhagen criteria'.

### The Copenhagen Criteria:

- a. **political** → the applicant country must have achieved stability of its institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for the protection of minorities
- b. **Economic** → must have a functioning market economy, as well as the ability to cope with competitive pressure within EU.
- c. **The adoption of the acquis** → must have the ability to take on the obligations of the entire body of legislation adopted by the Community



## 2. Applying for accession :

- Hungary (31 March 1994)
- Poland (5 April)
- Romania (22 June 1995)
- Slovakia (27 June 1995)
- Latvia (13 October 1995)
- Estonia (24 November 1995)
- Lithuania (8 December 1995)
- Bulgaria (14 December 1995)
- Czech Republic (17 January 1996)
- Slovenia (10 June 1996).



### 3. Accession negotiations:

The procedure starts with the submission of negotiating positions by the candidate country following different chapters of policies.

The commission prepares a draft common position for each chapter and submits it to the Council.

The Council unanimously adopts a common position and decides to open the negotiations.



## 4. The Treaty of accession

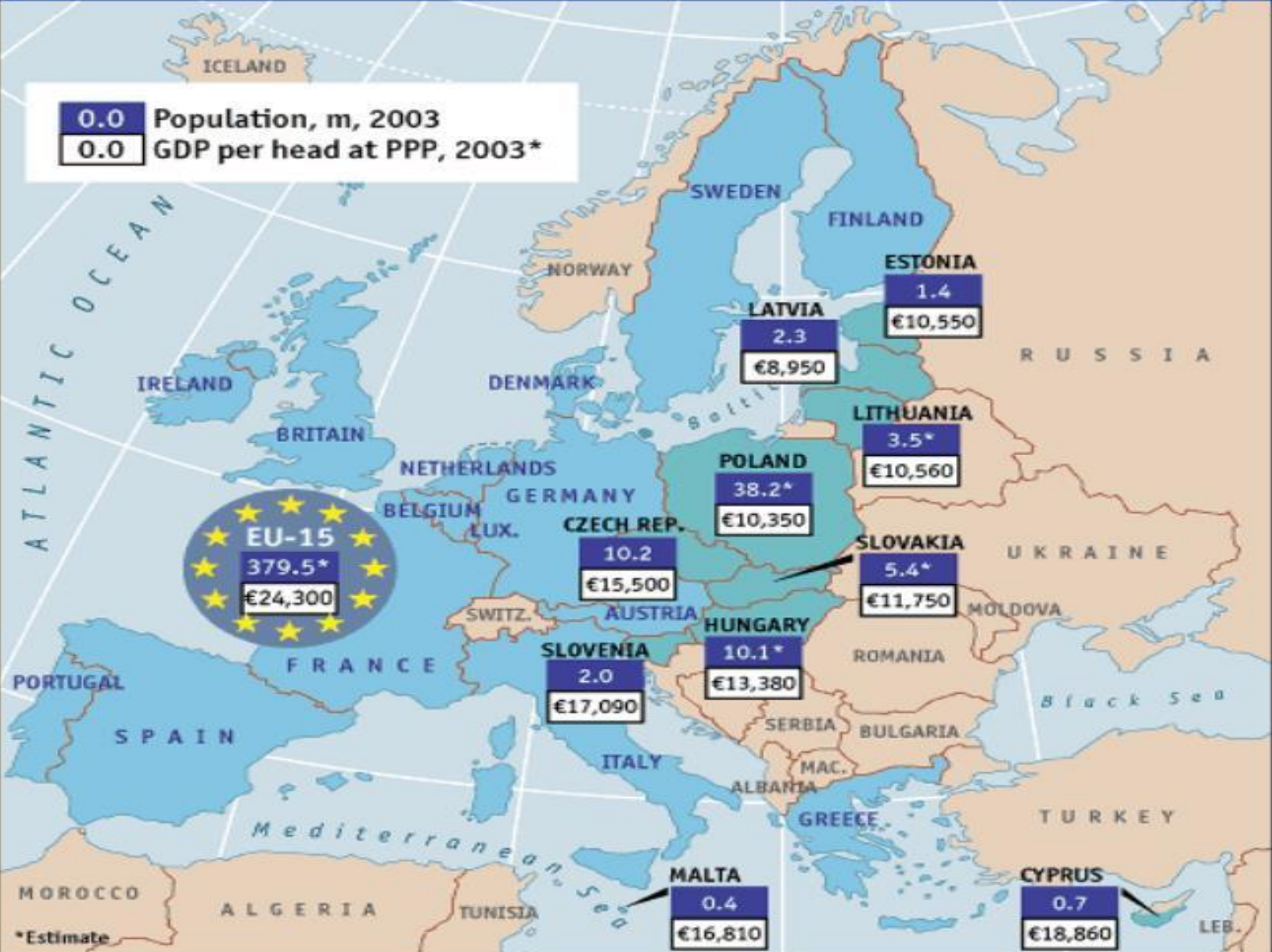
- Negotiations with the ten candidate countries were completed at the Copenhagen European Council, held on 12-13 December 2002.
- It was a weighty document which had approximately 4 900 pages, drafted in the 20 official languages of the future Union, setting out the terms of accession and the transitional arrangements for each of the candidate countries, now referred to as 'acceding countries'.

## 5. Ratification

- were carried out in two different ways: by referendum in the acceding countries in order to involve the people in this crucial choice and by parliamentary procedure in the case of the existing Member States.



# Expanded EU, 2004



# Benefits of the 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement

- **Economic:** The Central and Eastern European countries would gain not only financial support, but could take full advantage of economic integration within the European Single Market, through free movement of goods, capital, people and capital.
- Opened opportunities in the market for the new member states.
- Opened up the chances of expanding business in 27 countries.
- The increase of the Intra-EU trade.



→ **Common policies:** as the new members are relatively poor compared to the EU-15 states, they have large agricultural sectors from which they benefit from redistribution within the EU channelled through the Structural and Cohesion funds and the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

→ **Political:** All European citizens benefit from having neighbours that are stable democracies and prosperous market economies. So, peace, stability, prosperity, democracy, human rights and the rule of law across Europe.





Cartoon by Matuska on the fifth enlargement of the EU (2004)



# Burdens

- **Immigration:** concerns regarding the EU expansion via the form of free travel within the EU borders. This has created problems especially with the spread of criminal activities.
- raise the controversial question of its borders and their limits.
- **Economy:** challenges for the member states like: increased competitive pressure and more stringent EU regulations



## Financial reliance:

- Weaker new member states relied mostly on the EU's financial aid especially during the 2008 crisis. Example: Romania, Bulgaria, Greece.
- The international financial crisis led also to a diminished growth performance in the new EU member states
- The last EU enlargement also contributed to a statistically "impoverishment" of the enlarged EU. As a consequence the average GDP per capita was reduced by nearly 11 percentage points.
- The big picture during the international crisis faced criticism and a big step down for the EU.



# Conclusion

- the 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement was a huge step towards integrating ex-communist countries as countries with democratic values and towards a peaceful stability in an all reunited Europe.
- It was mainly beneficial for the new added member countries because they had access to the European single market, new opportunities of expanding their business in other member countries and they increased their Intra-EU trade.
- also, they had financial aid from the other most powerful countries, especially during the international economic crisis of 2008.



# Conclusion

- → It was a burden for the already 15 member states because economically, they would experience competitive pressure within the market and EU regulations.
- → Also, the reliance on the financial aid for the weaker countries, especially during the financial crisis left them with a reduced growth performance.
- → no control at the borders and free movement of people created unpleasantness in those member states where there was a raise in criminal activities and opened sensitive issues such as immigration.



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**Thank you  
for your attention**

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**IDENTIFY AND ANALYSE THE  
FACTORS THAT LED TO BREXIT**

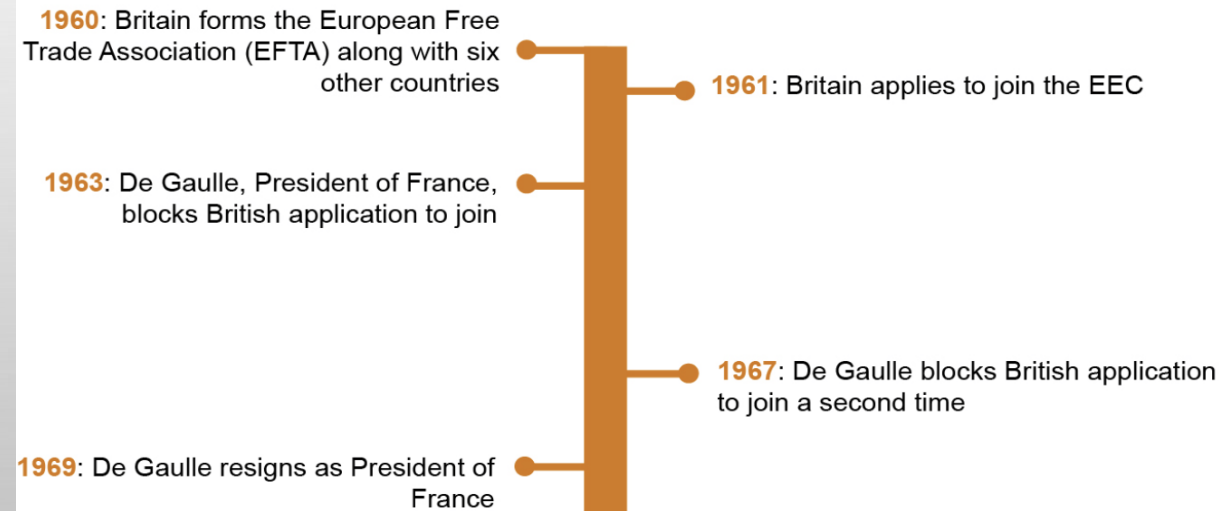
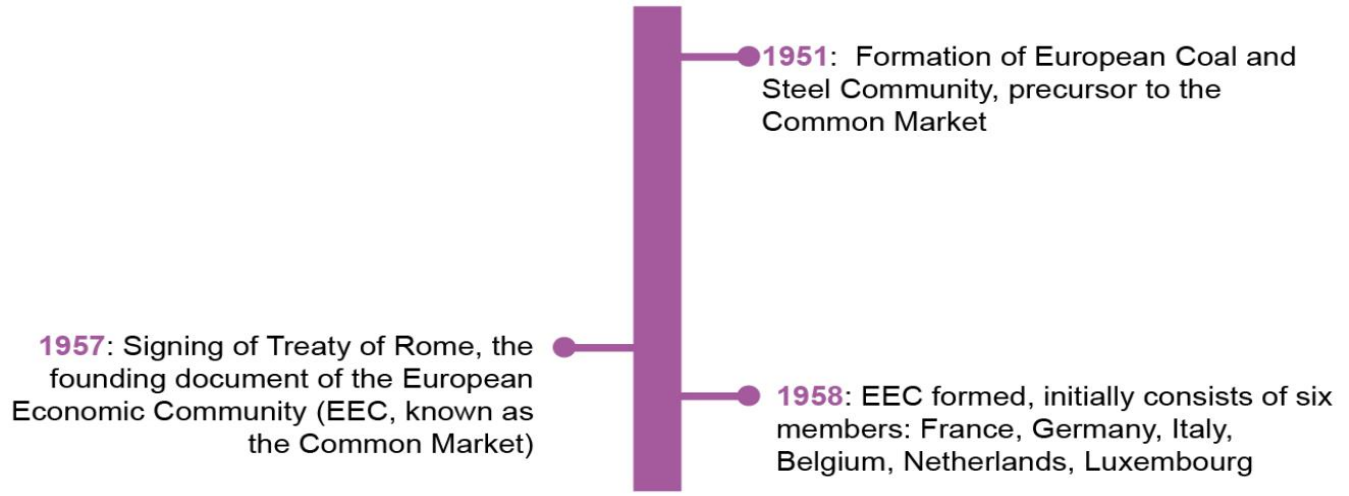
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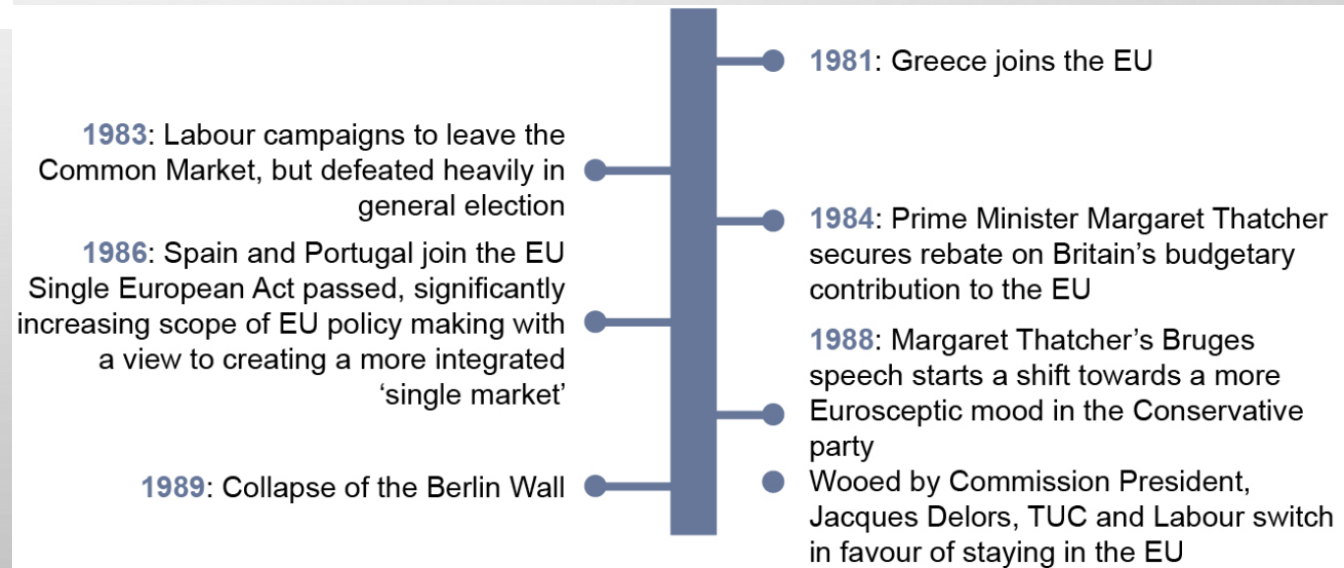
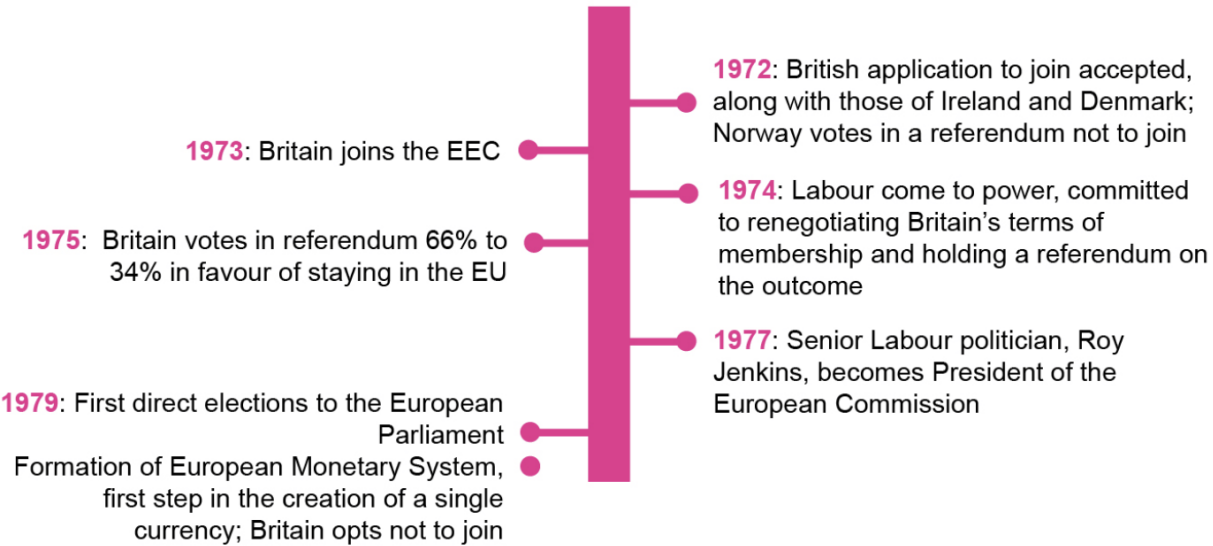
# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

## TIMELINE OF THE UK IN THE EU



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## TIMELINE OF THE UK IN THE EU

**1992:** Maastricht Treaty creates the 'European Union' (EU), establishes the criteria for joining the single currency, and establishes the social chapter; Britain secures opt out from both the currency and the chapter  
Pound forced to leave the ERM

**1996:** Export of British beef banned by rest of the EU following health concerns

**1999:** The single currency (euro) is introduced as an accounting currency in 11 countries

Proportional representation introduced for European Parliament elections in Britain

- 1990:** Pound joins the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), precursor of the single currency
- German unification means former East Germany becomes part of the EEC
- 1994:** Austria, Sweden and Finland join; Norway votes against joining for a second time
- Schengen agreement on borderless travel introduced
- 1997:** New Labour Chancellor Gordon Brown lays down five tests before Britain can join the euro, effectively ruling it out

**2011:** Passage of European Union Act that requires UK government to hold a referendum before any further significant transfer of powers to the EU

**2015:** Conservatives win overall majority in UK election; paves way for referendum on EU membership by the end of 2017

**2016:** David Cameron concludes a renegotiation of the UK's terms of membership and calls a referendum on whether the UK should Remain in or Leave the EU  
Britain votes to leave by 51.9% to 48.1%  
New government under Theresa May committed to negotiating withdrawal

- 2013:** Following a rise in support for anti-EU UKIP, Prime Minister, David Cameron, promises a future Conservative government would renegotiate Britain's terms of membership and hold a referendum on the outcome
- Croatia joins the EU

# EMPIRICAL ANALYZES

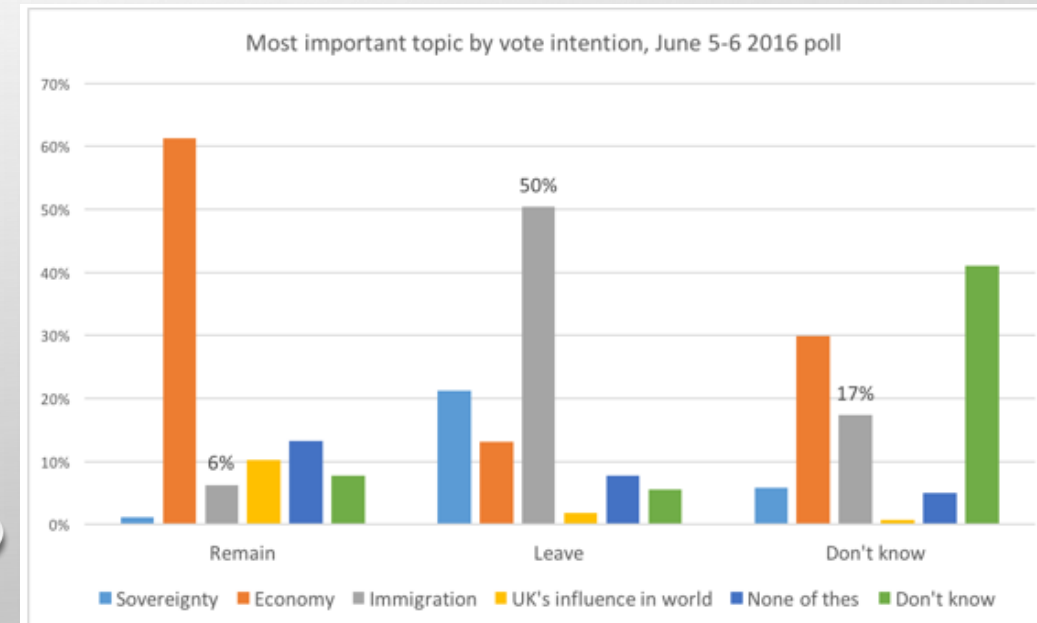
- WHAT IS BREXIT?
- IDENTIFY THE FACTORS THAT LED TO BREXIT
- ANALYZE THE FACTORS THAT LED TO BREXIT

# WHAT IS BREXIT?

- IT REFERS TO THE REFERENDUM WHERE BRITONS VOTED TO EXIT FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION.
- BREXIT = "BRITISH EXIT", WAS THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM (UK) FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION(EU) AND THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY (EAEC OR EURATOM) ON 31 JANUARY 2020
- THE UK IS THE FIRST AND SO FAR ONLY COUNTRY TO FORMALLY LEAVE THE EU, AFTER 47 YEARS OF HAVING BEEN A MEMBER STATE OF THE EU AND ITS PREDECESSOR, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES (EC), SINCE 1 JANUARY 1973.
- IT CONTINUED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION CUSTOMS UNION AND EUROPEAN SINGLE MARKET DURING A TRANSITION PERIOD THAT ENDED ON 31 DECEMBER 2020

# THE FACTORS THAT LED TO BREXIT

- **IMMIGRATION:** EU CITIZENS ARE FREE TO WORK ANYWHERE IN THE EU AND BRITAIN IS A NET IMPORTER OF WORKERS.
- **ECONOMY:** BRITAIN WAS PAYING MORE INTO THE EU THAN IT WAS RECEIVING (ABOUT -£10B. NET).
- **SOVEREIGNTY:** POWER CEDED TO THE CUMBERSOME BUREAUCRACY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION.



# ANALYZING IMMIGRATION FACTOR

- UNDER THE TERMS OF THE EU AGREEMENT, EU CITIZENS ARE FREE TO WORK IN ANY MEMBER STATE.
- BRITAIN IS A NET IMPORTER OF PEOPLE, WITH ABOUT HALF OF NET IMMIGRANTS COMING FROM OTHER EU COUNTRIES.
- THE LAST 5 YEARS SAW A SURGE IN IMMIGRANTS FROM BULGARIA AND ROMANIA.
- EU IMMIGRANTS TO BRITAIN ARE LIKELY TO COME IN ORDER TO LOOK FOR WORK.

## Reasons given for immigrating to the UK

Immigration of EU and non-EU nationals by main reason stated for migrating, year ending March 2016



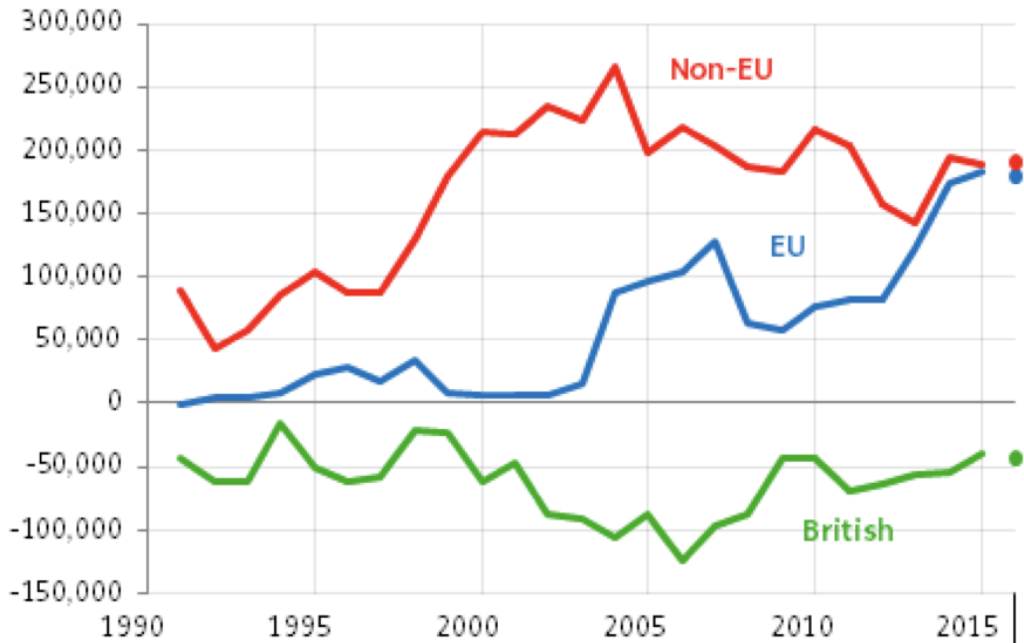
\* The figures in this chart exclude British nationals. The figures only include the 'main' reason given so the actual proportion coming for any particular reason may be higher

Source: ONS Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, August 2016, table 3a

# ANALYZING IMMIGRATION FACTOR

## Migration by nationality

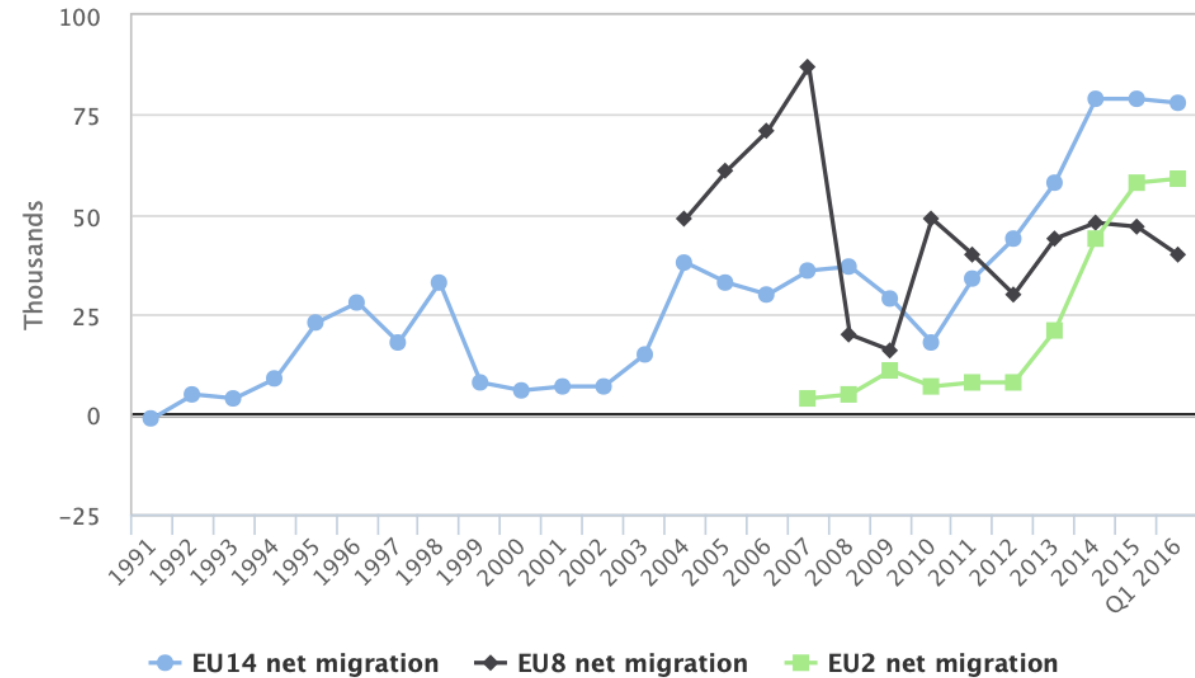
Long-term international net migration in the UK by nationality



Year to March 2016

## EU2 Net Migration, EU8 Net Migration, EU14 Net Migration

Migration Watch UK – Source: Office for National Statistics



- EU14: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.
- EU8 : Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.
- EU2: Bulgaria and Romania

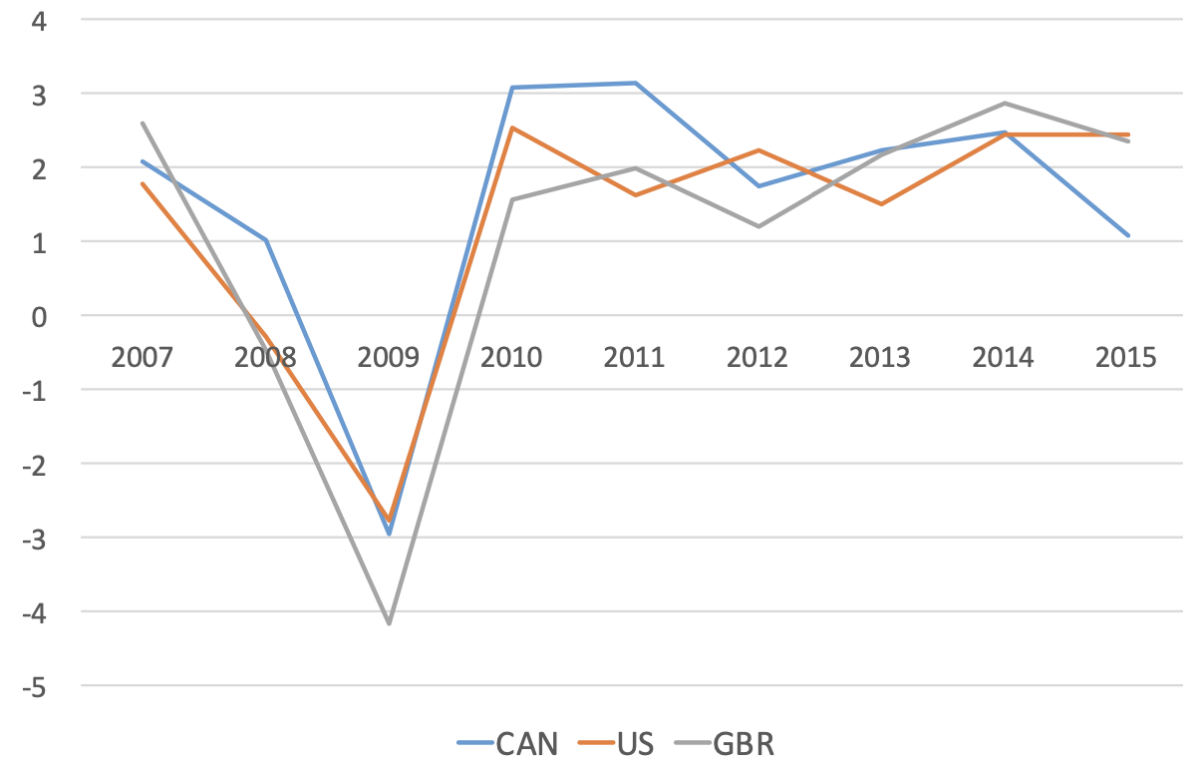


# ANALYZING ECONOMY FACTOR

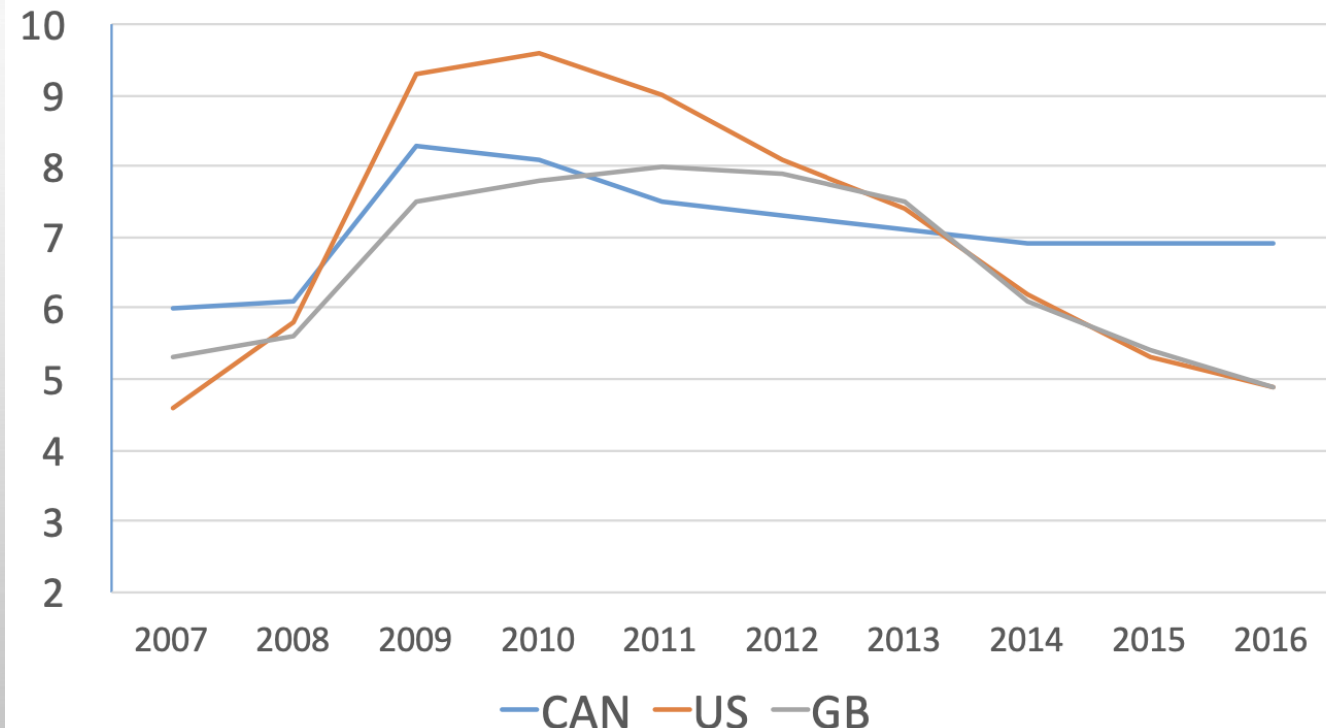
HOW WAS THE BRITISH ECONOMY DOING?

- PRETTY WELL IN TERMS OF GDP GROWTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

## GDP Growth



## Unemployment Rate

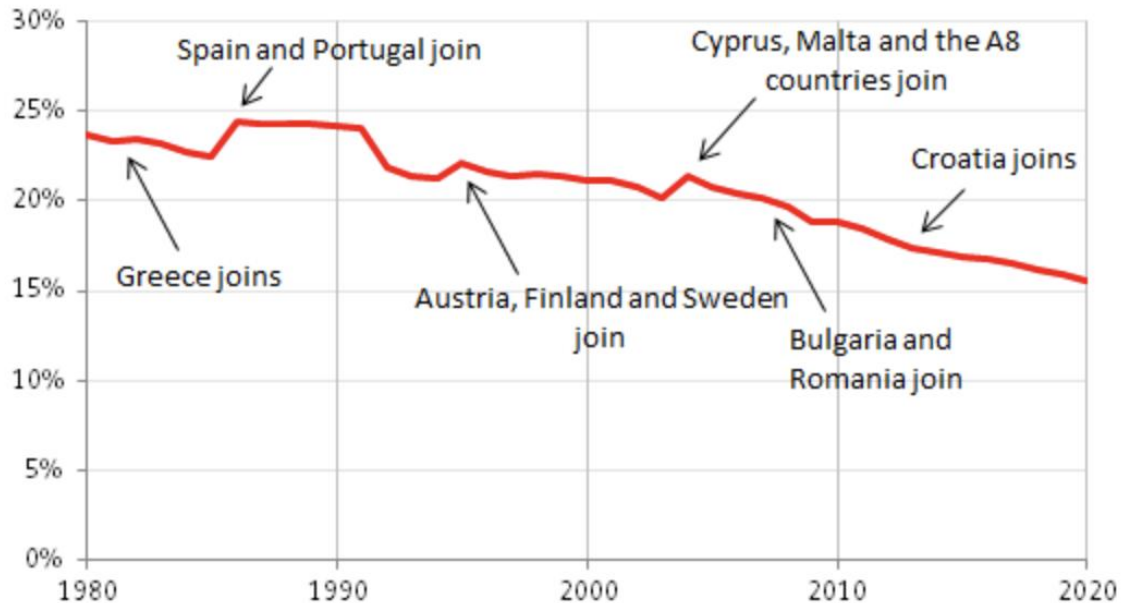


# ANALYZING ECONOMY FACTOR

- Britain was paying more into the EU than it was receiving (about -£13b. net per year, which is about \$300 per person in the UK).
- The EU doesn't have the power to directly collect taxes, but it requires member states to make an annual contribution to the central EU budget.
- Brexit supporters argued that it would be better for the UK to simply keep the money and have Parliament decide how to spend it.

## The EU's falling share of world GDP

% of world GDP accounted for by EU member states, PPP terms, including forecasts from 2015 to 2020.



# ANALYZING SOVEREIGNTY FACTOR

- **ARGUMENT 1: THE EU THREATENS BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY**
- **ARGUMENT 2: THE EU IS STRANGLING THE UK IN BURDENSOME REGULATIONS**
- **ARGUMENT 3: THE EU ENTRENCHES CORPORATE INTERESTS AND PREVENTS RADICAL REFORMS**

# ARGUMENT 1: THE EU THREATENS BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY

- OVER THE PAST FEW DECADES, A SERIES OF EU TREATIES HAVE SHIFTED A GROWING AMOUNT OF POWER FROM INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES TO THE CENTRAL EU BUREAUCRACY IN BRUSSELS. ON SUBJECTS WHERE THE EU HAS BEEN GRANTED AUTHORITY — LIKE COMPETITION POLICY, AGRICULTURE, AND COPYRIGHT AND PATENT LAW — EU RULES OVERRIDE NATIONAL LAWS.
- EUROSKEPTICS EMPHASIZE THAT THE EU'S EXECUTIVE BRANCH, CALLED THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION, ISN'T DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE TO VOTERS IN BRITAIN OR ANYONE ELSE. BRITISH LEADERS HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON THE SELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S MEMBERS EVERY FIVE YEARS. BUT ONCE THE BODY HAS BEEN CHOSEN, NONE OF ITS MEMBERS ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OR TO BRITONS' ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

# ARGUMENT 2: THE EU IS STRANGLING THE UK IN BURDENSOME REGULATIONS

- SOMETIMES THESE EU RULES SOUND SIMPLY LUDICROUS, LIKE THE RULE THAT YOU CAN'T RECYCLE A TEABAG, OR THAT CHILDREN UNDER EIGHT CANNOT BLOW UP BALLOONS, OR THE LIMITS ON THE POWER OF VACUUM CLEANERS.
- SOMETIMES THEY CAN BE TRULY INFURIATING, LIKE, IN 2013, THAT THERE WAS NOTHING WE COULD DO TO BRING IN BETTER-DESIGNED CAB WINDOWS FOR TRUCKS, TO STOP CYCLISTS BEING CRUSHED. IT HAD TO BE DONE AT A EUROPEAN LEVEL.

# ARGUMENT 3: THE EU ENTRENCHES CORPORATE INTERESTS AND PREVENTS RADICAL REFORMS

- MANY BRITISH CONSERVATIVES SEE THE EU AS IMPOSING LEFT-WING, BIG-GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON BRITAIN, SOME ON THE BRITISH LEFT SEE THINGS THE OTHER WAY AROUND: THAT THE EU'S ANTIDEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE GIVES TOO MUCH POWER TO CORPORATE ELITES AND PREVENTS THE BRITISH LEFT FROM MAKING SIGNIFICANT GAINS.
- THIS LEFT-WING CRITIQUE OF THE EU IS PART OF A BROADER CRITIQUE OF ELITE INSTITUTIONS MORE GENERALLY, INCLUDING THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION, THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, AND THE WORLD BANK.
- BREXIT SUPPORTERS ON THE RIGHT WOULD HAVE A LOT IN COMMON WITH AMERICANS WHO ARE AGAINST TRADE DEALS LIKE THE TRANS-PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP.

# CONCLUSIONS

- WHILE BREXIT IS A REALITY WE CAN CONCLUDE THAT BRITAIN HAS ALWAYS BEEN A FREE SPIRIT COUNTRY.
- EVEN THE ENTRENCE OF BRITAIN IN EU WAS A SCEPTICT ENTRENCE FROM BOTH BRITISH AND EU
- BRITAIN HAS ALWAYS BEEN A BLACK SHIP WHILE THEY WERE UNDER EU, AND THE CORRENCY (POUND) WAS THE ONLY CORRENCY THAT WAS ALONGSIDE EURO.
- BRITAIN WAS FRUSTRATED FROM THE POLICIES OF EU THAT SEEMS TO INTERFERE WITH THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, ECONOMY AND IMIGRACTION.

# What is the European identity and which are its current challenges?



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# 1. Introduction



## 1.1 Identity – The Concept

- ❖ Identity serves to establish both **sameness** and **uniqueness**
  - sameness through belonging to a group of similar others
  - uniqueness through establishing individuality and unique characteristics
- ❖ Identity is a **dynamic process** of self-categorisation and **social comparison**
  - process: identities are changing and dynamic
  - social comparison: identification through comparing ourselves to others



## 1.2 Collective Identities

- ❖ Shared sense of belonging to a group
- ❖ Based on common past, history, cultural elements and practices, language, religion or geography
  - regional
  - national
  - supra-national
- ❖ Past as reference point for construction of collective identities
- ❖ Collective memory helps individuals to identify with each other



## 1.3 European Union as a Community

### Political

- EU as an organisation between a federation of states and an intergovernmental organisation
- Emphasis on member states combined with partial transfer of sovereignty
- Shared democratic practices & institutions

### Cultural

- EU as a cultural community of shared values
- Common past and cultural heritage
- Common values & principles translated into shared democratic principles



## 2.1 What is the European Identity?

- ❖ Common **cultural & political** sense of European population
- ❖ *The Self* (Europeans) vs. *the Others* (non-Europeans)
- ❖ European identity is necessary to **ensures coherence** of the European Project through the connection of its citizens
- ❖ **Manifestation** of European identity through expression of European values in social and economic spheres and common legal area
- ❖ **Expression through elements of citizenship**, such as the European anthem, Europe Day or the European flag



## 2.2 Cultural Origins of the European Identity

### History

- Nostalgia & myth of a common past
- Construction, but the outcome is real

### Culture

- Greco-Roman heritage:
  - Law
  - Philosophy
  - Arts
- Latin language

### Religious Heritage

- Judeo-Christian religion
- Secularisation

- Ascribed (not aquirable) characteristics: Europe as a cultural community of common descent
- European identity dates back much further than the European Project



## 2.3 Political Origins of the European Identity

- Europe as a political community of citizens
- Shared ideals, values and principles as main source of identification:
  - Democracy
  - Equality
  - Freedom of movement
  - Rule of law
  - Human dignity & rights
  
- Acquirable characteristics; Europe as a politically defined community
- European identity emerged with the European Project in the aftermaths of WWII



## 2.4 European & National Identities

- ❖ Not necessarily controversial, multiple collective identities can co-exist
- ❖ European Union respects national identities culturally and politically  
→ diversity in community
- ❖ **Article 4 of the Treaty of Lisbon:** The Principle of Respect for National Identities

"The Union shall respect (...) the national identities of the Member States, inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, including local and regional self-government. It shall respect the essential functions of the State, in particular those which have as their object the maintenance of territorial integrity, the preservation of law and order and the safeguarding of national security. In particular, national security remains the sole responsibility of each Member State".



*"Dante, Goethe, Chateaubriand belong to the whole of Europe insofar as they were respectively eminently Italian, German and French. They would not have served Europe much if they had been stateless and had thought and written in some integrated Esperanto or Volapük..."*



“

De Gaulle, 1962

# 3. Current Challenges



- I. Multiculturalism & Integration
- II. The Role of Religion
- III. Populism



## 3.1 Multiculturalism & Integration

- ❖ EU is **characterised by multiculturalism** from its beginning onwards  
→ labour migration 1950s until recent refugee movements
- ❖ **Lack of integration**: formation of ethnic enclaves and communities  
→ separation of cultures rather than integration
- ❖ Threat to European identity through disrupted social cohesion  
→ culturally: cultural diversity contradicts common cultural descent  
→ politically: lack of integration inhibits acquisition of European values



## 3.2 The Role of Religion

- ❖ Increasing share of Muslim population in Europe  
→ Islamophobia & 'Islamisation of Europe'
- ❖ Increase in dogmatism challenges Western secularity  
→ Muslim migrants show increased dogmatic religious beliefs in Europe  
→ Christian countries show increase of religious dogmatism as reaction
- ❖ Threat to European Identity  
→ culturally: Islam is not in accordance with Judeo-Christian heritage  
→ politically: religious dogmatism and political Islam opposes European secularism



## 3.3 Populism

- ❖ Populism praises nationalism and worships the nation state:
  - division of "us and them" in national rather than supra-national terms
  - people tend to identify most with the closest entity (region, nation) in order to feel secure
- ❖ Islamophobia & opposition to multiculturalism foster the revival of nationalism in Europe
- ❖ Threat to European Identity
  - opposition to a supra-national identity
  - anti-European attitudes



# Conclusion

## The European Identity

- Supranational, Western identity based on a shared history, common values, religious heritage

## Multiculturalism / Integration

- Cultural pluralism and lack of integration threaten social cohesion and feeling of similarity

## Cultural & Political Origins

- Cultural component: Europe as a historical entity
- Political component: Europe as a political community

## Religion

- Increasing Muslim population, Islamophobia, and increasing religious dogmatism threaten Judeo-Christian heritage and Western secularity

## European & National Identity

- Co-existence of national and supranational identity

## Populism

- Revival of nationalism in Europe poses another threat through anti-European attitudes

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