DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University of Oran 2 Mohamed Ben Ahmed

Faculty of Foreign Languages
Department of English
Doctoral School

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David Cameron and the Soft Euroscepticism:

An 'in-out' Referendum for the UK in a Reformed EU

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Presented by   Supervised by

Fatima Zohra CHOUIH   **Pr. Rachida YACINE**

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Dedications

Dedications

Every challenging work needs a self-effort as well as the support of those who are very close to our heart

My humble effort I dedicate it to

My Mother Rahma MERINI

A strong and gentle soul who taught me to believe in hard work and that so much could be done with little.

My Father

*I would like to leave the remaining space of dedication in the memory of my father **Mohamed CHOUIH** who earned an honest living for us and who encouraged me to believe in myself.*

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Abstract

This dissertation sheds light on David Cameron's ambivalent and deliberate strategy toward the contemporary Euroscepticism. It scrutinises how this issue has left the Prime Minister David Cameron with few choices, causing him to call an 'In-Out referendum'. Yet, in a flagging endeavour to face the economic crisis, to rein his Eurosceptic backbenchers and counter electoral threats from the other parties, Cameron launched his campaign for reform. This campaign package encompasses a pre-concession referendum for his European partners and an in-out referendum for the British people. What spurred a polemic academic debate is that Britain and the EU are drifting apart at the same time as Cameron is launching his package of reform to realise a new settlement in the EU. Therefore, to reach an accurate reading on this issue, I have divided my dissertation into three chapters.

The first chapter is a theoretical framework on the key factors shaping the British integration in the EU. My ultimate research in this chapter lies first in approaching the EU from geographic, economic and social interaction between different geographical areas. This chapter further detects the major types of integration within delving into the potent tools used to measure the level and the degree of integration. In the same tend, the second chapter delves into the conceptual complexity and the operationalisation of eurosecepticism with investigating howdeeply this phenomenon run. Throughout this analysis, there is further a deep scrutiny of the factors shaping Euroscepticism in Britain. Complementarily, the third chapter unveils Cameron's shrewdest and wistful ambivalent strategy towards Euroscepticism. Cameron's governmental coalition, main pillars of reform and political branding played a potent role in building and branding a successful deliberate duality in managing the British-European alliance. The ultimate factors behind Blue-Yellow Coalition, the rival parties little bit excitement about the 'In-Out Referendum' and the major ramification of a Brexit are the major themes in this section.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine la stratégie ambivalente et délibérée du Premier Ministre David Cameron vers l'euroscepticisme contemporain. Elle examine comment cette question a laissé Cameron avec peu d'options, lui faisant appeler a un Référendum le 23 Juin 2016. Dans son infructueux effort de faire face à la crise économique, de convaincre ces eurosceptiques députés, et de cesser les menaces électorales des autres partis, Cameron a lancé une campagne de réforme. La réussite de sa compagne demande un pré-référendum de concession de ses partenaires Européens et un 'in-out référendum' du peuple Britannique. Qui a stimulé un débat académique c'est que la Royaume Uni et l'Union européenne sont à la dérive en même temps que Cameron lance ses piliers et son paquet de réforme.

Pour mettre ces deux paradoxal processus dans le même carrefour, j'ai divisé ma thèse en trois chapitres dont Le premier est une analyse théorique sur les facteurs clés qui façonnent l'intégration britannique dans l'UE. Par conséquent, ma recherche ultime dans ce chapitre c'est d'approcher l'UE de différentes' interactions (géographique, économique et sociale) entre différentes zones géographiques. Cette cession détecte en outre les principaux types d'intégration et révèle les outils puissants utilisés pour mesurer le niveau de l'intégration. Dans le même ordre, le deuxième chapitre se penche sur la complexité conceptuelle et opérationnelle de ce phénomène. Tout au long de ce chapitre, il existe de nombreux facteurs qui façonnent l'euroscepticisme au Royaume Uni.

Le troisième chapitre corollairement dévoile la stratégie ambivalente de Cameron vers l'euroscepticisme contemporain. La coalition gouvernementale, les principaux piliers de réforme, et l'image de son marketing politique ont joué un grand rôle dans la construction et la réussite de sa stratégie duelle et délibérée qui a vraiment bien géré l'alliance Anglos-Européenne. Les facteurs ultimes derrière la 'Bleu-Jaune Coalition', l'excitation des partis rivaux sur le référendum, et les ramifications d'un Brexit sont les principaux thèmes de cette section.

ملخص

كثيرة هي العوامل التي جعلت من المملكة المتحدة دولة معروفة بمواقفها المترددة اتجاه عضويتها في الاتحاد الأوروبي. فتحول الاتحاد الأوروبي من منظمة جهوية إلى منظمة عالمية جعل من بريطانيا الدولة الأكثر شكوكا في مصداقية هذه المنظمة، تاريخ هذه الظاهرة يعود إلى عهد الثمانينات خلال فترة الحكم الوزاري لمارغريت تاتشر إلا أنها تأججت في عهد الوزير الحالي ديفد كامرون، فبين مؤيد ومعارض شهدت الأحزاب السياسية إرثا متضاربا من حيث إنظمام إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي من عدمه.

من أجل الكشف الستار عن هذه الظاهرة قسمت رسالة الماجستير هذه إلى ثلاث أجزاء:

الفصل الأول: هو دراسة نظرية لظاهرة الجهوية في الاتحاد الأوروبي قمت فيه بتليط الضوء على كيفية عمل هذه المنظمة وذلك باستعمال المقاربات والنظريات. الفصل الثاني يسلط الضوء على المفهوم النظري والتطبيقي لظاهرة الشكوك في مصداقية الاتحاد الأوروبي. يكمن هذا الفصل في هيكلة العهوامل الرئيسية لنمو هذه الظاهرة لدى الحزب المحافظ البريطاني بما أنه يلعب دور بؤرة التوثر، وذلك من عهدة مارغريت تاتشر إلى عهدة دافيد كاميرون. الفصل الثالث هو تنقيب في أسباب تأجج هاته الظاهرة في عهدة رئيس اللوزراء البريطاني الحالي دافيد كاميرون مع تسليط الضوء على استراتيجيته متعددة الجوانب والتي تشمل الإصلاح مقابل الانسحاب من هذه المنظمة.

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List of Acronyms

- CSDP: The Common Security and Defense Policy
- ALDE: the Alliance of Liberal Democratic for Europe
- BPL: British Polling Council
- Con/Lib.Dems : Conservative Liberal Democrats
- EC: European Council
- ECJ :European Court of Justice
- EEC: European Economic Community
- EESC European Economic and Social Committee
- EFTA : European Free Trade Association
- EMU: European Monetary Union
- EP European Parliament
- EP: European Parliament
- ESM : European Single Market
- EU : European Union
- EU; European Union

- FER: Fixed Exchange Rate

- FIR : Financial Inclusion Report

- JHA: The Justice and Home Affairs Council

- SEA : the Single European Act

- TEEC: Treaty establishing the European Community

General introduction

Britain's multiple vectors of international influence are indeed useful foreign policy assets. But given the breadth of the external challenges, the UK still needs a strong geopolitical base from which to ensure its prosperity, protect its security and project its interests. The EU both through its member states and through its institutions provides that base. Despite its many imperfections, revealed most recently by the uncoordinated response to the economic crisis and supranationalism, the EU will be the principal source of international leverage for Britain. However, Britain is in essence considered as the progenitor of the Eurosceptic sentiment. Therefore, when the devastated consequences of the WWII urged the West to create a kind of 'United States in Europe', the British were firmly convinced that their fate rested across the oceanic pond rather than the ditch of Europe.

However, when in the mid-20thcentury a huge rival European bloc started to manoeuvre heavily for advantages, and when the pooling of sovereignty over the coal and steel resources started to be pivotal, the British adopted the hypothesis of 'Balancing and Bandwagoning'. Thus, much more propitious for moving ahead with integration, the implementation of 'Monnet-Schuman' strategy has been a genuine investment. The EU of today marks an entrepreneurial spirit emphasised with a sui generis welding monopolising the globalised economic and the political system. Yet, when the contours of the global order became uncertain, Britain joined the European enterprise. However, Britain remained mindful towards the EU's potential hegemony, pivotal pooling sovereignty, and the costs of powers transition. Therefore, the waxing and the waning of the British turbulent and reluctant attitude branded Britain as 'mauvais élève'.

The term Euroscepticism appeared interchangeably with the older one 'anti-Marketeers' who were the oppositionists to British participation in the European Single Market in 1960's. Thereafter, the Eurosceptic think tanks stressed that the practical implication of the term was first galvanised by Prime Minister's Thatcher Burges Speech as a dismissive response to the Maastricht Treaty ratification between 1991 and 1993. Furthermore, there are two correlated qualitative factors shaping the phenomenon of Euroscepticism in Britain: economic and political integration. Accordingly, the opposition to Europe is due to the integration versus extension. The EU was not getting larger; it was also gradually becoming more integrated. Thus, the British were keenly prophetic that the European projects are about transformation rather than integration.

Accordingly, the British-European alliance started with the integration project's launched in 1973. Coinciding then with the political parties struggling with continental-style corporatism, the process finished with plumping for the American-style liberal model of federalism. The British Euroscepticism in fact implies pessimism and Europhobia toward the three facets shaping the European Integration: principles, practices and future of the EU. Meanwhile, the criticism of the balance between the costs and benefits of integration remains doggedly among the most hostile to British integration in Europe. Euroscepticim has created a civil war in the British political arena, divided the Major parties, lead to the rise of minor parties, and the collapse of governmental coalitions. Meanwhile, presenting at best a partial and at worst a misleading picture of its influence, the question of the influence of Euroscepticism and the reason for it has not hitherto been directly detected.

As such and to narrow my perspectives, I strove to shed light on David Cameron's ministerial term (2010-2016) which is emphasised with ambivalent strategy toward the contemporary Eurosceptism. This issue in essence has left Cameron with few options, causing him to call an 'In-Out referendum'. In a feeble attempt to face the economic crisis, to rein in his Eurosceptic backbenchers and counter electoral threats from the other parties; Cameron is ripe for launching a reform campaign. What spurred a dissent academic controversy is that Britain and the EU are drifting apart at the same time as Cameron is launching his pillars of reform, and negotiate a new settlement.

Yet, because the objectives of these two processes seem to be disconnected that the genesis research of this dissertation lies in the following question: Why does David Cameron's strategy toward Euroscepticsm swing between outright opposition and wholehearted approval? Britain is indeed perceived as an awkward partner whereas it plays a leading part in reforming the EU. Complementarily, I have recognised first that the bedrock of Euroscepticism in the 21st century must be an investigation of the gusts of changes and the blizzards occurred in the political arena and the public attitude long before the current form of Euroscepticm. Therefore, to debate this phenomenon I have divided my dissertation into three chapters.

The first chapter is a theoretical framework on the key factors shaping the British integration in the EU. The implementation of Monnet-Schuman strategy was indeed a genuine investment where the continuous development of common interests as well as the division of labour between member states makes it most advanced. My ultimate research in this chapter lies first in approaching the EU from geographic, economic and social interaction between different geographical areas. This chapter indeed detects the major types of integration within delving into the potent tools used to measure the level of integration as regioness, regionality and regionhood. Finally, I strived to shed light on the main factors shaping the British integration.

The EU in fact was to burst a stupendous surge in integration that yielded a regionalised European world within a global political economy divided into regions. Yet, I hypothesised the EU development of today as a 'big-bang event' characterised by the widening and the deepening of policy coverage, and the increasing institutional density. The globe-straddling networks of European cooperation in essence prompted excessive attraction on economic, political, and social materials to construct a Down-Top Regionalism. Furthermore, because the involvement process within the EU has gone further than regional integration; that the economic, political, and social evolvement has been a very lively site for theoretical speculation. Yet, the theories of integration scrambled for grouping the EU along its structural characteristics.

In the same trend, the second chapter sheds light on the conceptual complexity and the operationalisation of Euroscepticism to help examine whether particular executive governments were Eurosceptic or not. In surveying the nature of the issue, different connotations depending on the context within which it is used yielded some inevitable difficulties in finding a definition that works in different situations. Thus, the genesis of this research lies in investigating how deeply Britain's Euroscepticism run. Delving then into the main factors shaping the phenomenon, I have further perceived that the Conservatives are the key gatekeepers in the process of European integration. The most striking features in contemporary European integration lie in the 'Conservative Party-based Euroscepticism'. The trajectory of the ebb and tide of opposition ultimately brought about a paradoxical legacy where each Conservative Prime Minister exhibited a reluctant attitude ranging from soft to hard Euroscepticism.

Meanwhile, in the absence of an organised opposition to closer European integration; a sharp divide over Europe plagued Thatcher, Major, Blair and Cameron Government. They all managed to integrate Britain further into Europe while continuously triggering the fire on The EU's potential hegemony, pivotal pooling sovereignty, and the costs of powers' transition. These issues as a fait accompli gave rise to a distinct 'anti-utopian spirit' and mistrust of long-term idealistic plans for the future and even contributed to the collapse of a handful of conservative governments.

Unlike the previous chapters which unveil the consecutive governments pursuing similar policies towards Europe, the third one unveils shrewdest and wistful ambivalent strategy towards Euroscepticism. Cameron's governmental coalition, main pillars of reform, and political branding played a decisive role in building and branding a successful deliberate duality in managing the British-European alliance. The ultimate factors behind Blue-Yellow Coalition, the rival parties little bit excitement about the 'In-Out Referendum and the major ramification of a Brexit are the major themes of this section. Thus, while carrying the banner of reform as a 'single issue party', Cameron never entertained the idea that he would be challenged by the escalation of the Eurozone crisis, intra-coalition division, and the rise of hard Eurosceptic Party known as the UKIP. Beneath that, to prevent the defeat of his future government, Cameron secured renegotiation, concessions, and convinced the public to answer the question of Europeanism on the ballot paper.

Thus, the favourite prefix in British politics as international affairs during his premiership is 'Re'. Cameron strives in earnest to the renegotiation and the restoration of the UK-EU relationship among both political elites and the general public with keeping mindful eyes on resettlement in a reformed EU. Thus, If Cameron gets a 'Yes, he could have settled the Europe question for a generation. But if it is a 'No', he will be known as the prime minister who lost the final battle to the Eurosceptics and took Britain out of the EU.Meanwhile, my qualitative research is based on relevant provisional methodology. Since I have already framed broad outline of my dissertation I selected, prioritised, and classified my fresh information according to the specific content of each chapter. Furthermore, since my dissertation deals with a contemporary topic, I intensified my daily collection of physical and digital books, of recent debates in the BBC, of British newspaper's articles and Journals of the European Commission published in the net.

Furthermore, for the change occurring in the EU, the term was used as a catchall explanation. The term Euroscepticism has routinely been employed and misemployed. It isoften used to express a derogatory value judgment and as term of abuse, but rarely has the term been rigorously defined by the academic community. Therefore, I hypothesised and approached a conceptualisation on this phenomenon while I advanced an accurate understanding of its role, nature, relevance, and impact on the political and the public arena. I also used quite diverse Schools of sceptical think-tank to make assessment on to what extend can the qualitative and quantitative changes in the European Union trigger Euroscepticism.

Complementarily, the theories and definitions of my research are based on the dichotomy created by famous researchers as Paul Taggart; Ernst. B. Haas; Andrew Moravcsik, John Alistair, Foster Anthony and Agnes Alexandre-Collier. They all share the same divide of this movement into two categories: the opponents of particular EU policy (Soft Euroscepticism), while the second is focused on withdrawal (Hard Euroscepticism). In the same trend, sections dealing with the British public opinion and the electorates on the British status in the EU are based on polls and statistics conducted by the Eurobarometer survey of the European commission. It offers relevant standard reports, social surveys, qualitative studies, and flash reports.

Finally, my ultimate aim through this dissertation is to portray Cameron's ostensible intention to resolve the question democratically on the ballot paper as a positive attitude vis-a vis the EU. Tenuous but tenacious, Cameron adopted an eclectic approach to balance the competences between the EU and the UK, to reshape the EU's institutions, and to brand his reform's strategies. Thus, Because Cameron outlooks the European Union as a means to an end and not an end in itself, that I branded Cameron as an active pro-European reformer rather than British Eurosceptic.

Chapter One

The UK and the EU:

A Historical Background on European Regional Integration

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Introduction

Unlike many regional groupings that crumbled at the first bump in the long path to integration, the EU has been a sui generis organisation within a constellation of huge European powers monopolising the globalised economic and political system. The implementation of Monnet-Schuman yielded a genuine investment emphasised with continuous development of common interests. Moreover, the division of labour between member states makes the EU the most advanced and the most ambitious project of regional cooperation in the world. Meanwhile, if the EU is operating successfully and expending its coverage; it is because its member states continue both as part of the organisation, and as individual nation-states with separate policies on international issues and distinctive domestic agendas. The EU unveils an unrivalled partnership in which member states pool their sovereignty and authority in certain policy areas and harmonised laws on a wide sphere of economic, social, and political issues.

Initiated by six Western European countries to foster interdependence and ship away the exaltation of powers**,** the EU marked a sui generis model of economic and political cooperation among its sovereign countries. The process of unification has been the latest stage in the post WWII's trajectory of integration. Today, the EU is composed of 28 member states striving to promote peace, stability, and economic prosperity throughout the European continent (See the map on the next page). In addition, the development of the European project has been gradual and the integration process has been cumulative. Britain and Denmark for example joined the EEC in 1973, while Lithuania and Malta joined it in 2004.

The EU has been built through a series of binding treaties that seek to harmonise laws and adopt common policies on an increasing number of economic, social, and political issues. Nevertheless, "the core tenet of the EU is readiness to share sovereignty and operate through strong common institutions" (Marvis, 2015: p. 8).

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The EU Member States

Source: www.member states of eu.com

The EU has adopted a more flexible approach with several levels of integration that wield a decisive unilateral and multilateral influence. For example, not all member states are in the Eurozone[1], or in the Schengen passport-free-zone. Nineteen EU member states use a common currency (the euro), and 22 participate in the Schengen area of free movement in which internal border controls have been eliminated. Furthermore, "the EU's member states share a customs union, a single market, a common trade policy and a common agricultural

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[1] Eurozone officially called the euro area, is a monetary union of 19 of the 28 European Union (EU) member states which have adopted the euro (€) as their common currency and sole legal tender. The other nine members of the European Union continue to use their own national currencies, although most of them are obliged to adopt the euro in future.

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policy".(Archick, 2016 : p.2). In addition, the EU has been developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy CFSP[1] which includes a Common Security and Defence Policy CSDP [2]. Moreover, the EU's member States pursue cooperation in the area of Justice and Home Affairs JHA[3] to forge common internal security measures.

Precisely, the EU' Member States work together through several institutions to set policy and to promote their collective interests (See the diagram on next page) .Key EU's institutions are: 1)the European Council EC which acts as the strategic guide and driving force for EU policy, 2) the European Commission[4] which upholds the common interest of the Union as a whole and functions as the EU's executive body, 3) the Council of the European Union which represents the national governments and 4) the European Parliament which represents the citizens of the EU. However, the interest in the British agenda with a European bias gets to a new level today. This turbulent relation is caused by the enlargement of the European Union and complex political problems of the integration intertwined with this

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[1] CFSP is the organised, agreed foreign policy of the European Union (EU) for mainly security and defence diplomacy and actions. Founded in 199 CFSP deals only with a specific part of the EU's external relations, which domains include mainly Trade and Commercial Policy and other areas such as funding to third countries, etc. Decisions require unanimity among member states in the Council of the European Union, but once agreed, certain aspects can be further decided by qualified majority voting. Foreign policy is chaired and represented by the EU's High Representative.

[2] CSDP The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), formerly known as the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), is a major element of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union (EU) and is the domain of EU policy covering defence and military aspects, as well as civilian crisis management. The ESDP was the successor of the European Security and Defence Identity under NATO, but differs in that it falls under the jurisdiction of the European Union itself, including countries with no ties to NATO.

[3] JHA is The Justice and Home Affairs Council is one of the configurations of the Council of the European Union and is composed of the justice and home affairs ministers of the 28 European Union member states. The Justice and Home Affairs Council develops cooperation and common policies on various cross-border issues, with the aim of building an EU-wide area of justice. Cross-border issues include guaranteeing fundamental rights, free movement of citizens, civil protection, asylum and immigration matters, common investigations into cross-border organised crime, the EU's security strategy, including the fight against terrorism and organised crime, cybercrime and violent radicalisation.

[4] The European Commission the institution of the European Union (EU) that comprises the heads of state or government of the member states, along with President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission. The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy also takes part in its meetings. Established as an informal summit in 1975, the European Council was formalised as an institution in 2009 upon entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. Its current President is Donald Tusk.

phenomenon. The label for Britain that is often bandied around when describing the relationship is "reluctant European or " mauvais élève".

The EU's Institutions

Source: www.febright.dre

1. **Britain as an awkward European Partner: Hypothesis of Balancing and Bandwagoning**

Chapter One: The UK and the EU: A Historical Background on European Regional Integration

The British civilisation is the path that the British went through to undergo an imperial grandeur, splendid isolation, massive transformation and finally European integration. The British and far of being proud of their great sea-born empire, of having launched a whole progeny of nation European stock in other countries, but they have always preferred the splendid isolation rather than European involvement. In his hypotheses on how states will select their alliance partners, Stephan .M. Walt[1] pointed out that "when confronted by a significant external threat, states may either balance or bandwagon" (Bock and Henneberg, 2013:p.11). Balancing is defined as allying with others against the prevailing threat, and bandwagoning refers to the alignment with the source of danger (Ibid). Balancing and banwagoning are two age-old and fundamental concepts in the study of international relations and politics. Meanwhile, the generis research of this approach lies in the following question: do states tend to balance against or bandwagon with a rising state or coalition?. The answer to this question is critical and depends on the formulation of strategy and the vital interests of the State.

In the long history and use of Balancing, systematic and empirical research has been done to determine whether this movement can lessen threat and provide security safety, stability by dampening the threatening state or alliance. Therefore, 'Balancing' is a behaviour designed to create a better range of outcomes for a state vis-à-vis another state or coalition of states by adding to the power assets at its disposal, in an attempt to offset or diminish the advantages enjoyed by that other state or coalition (Art, 2006: pp. 183–84). Hence, it is the threat of a potentially rising new hegemony (the naval or industrial, or military power) that pushes a state to balance with another state. The aim of Balancing is to counter an external threat and shift the state's relative power to another state's advantage. The concept yet is understood as the endeavour of one nation to dampen and frustrate the power of another nation by increasing its strength to the point of achieving equality if not the apex of reaching superiority.

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[1] Stephan .M. Walt (born July 2, 1955) is an American professor of international affairs at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He belongs to the realist school of international relations. Books he has authored (or co-authored) include Origins of Alliances, Revolution and War, and The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy.

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However, "if balancing is assessed by the desire to avoid losses of supremacy, bandwagoning is driven by the opportunity for gain" (Art, 2006: pp. 183–84).The Bandwagoning hypothesis according to Walt strives to justify overseas involvement or increase military budget. For instance, by building a great battle fleet, State 'A' could force State 'B' into alliance with her by posing a threat to State 'B' vital maritime supremacy. The phrase 'to climb aboard the bandwagon' implies an unequal exchange where a state follows a current or fashionable trend or joins the side that appears likely to win. This process decisively results a symmetrical concession to an inexorable force. Hence, is obvious that this hypothesis aims at to a self-extension to obtain more values, more supremacy, and reach monopoly. It is obvious therefore from the outset that bandwagoning implies joining the stronger coalition, and 'Balancing' means aligning with the source of danger.

What is salient in this hypothesis is that in the both of cases, Britain was directly concerned. When the devastated consequences of the WW2 urged the West to create a kind of 'United States in Europe'[1], the British were firmly convinced that their fate rested with another natural grouping: The Commonwealth of Nations and the USA. The political and the economic dimension of the European project are then seen as undermining Britain by fatally dwarfing its international prestige. However, in the post- WWII British history, Britain's supremacy started to risk the wane, and the European integration has been inevitably inescapable. Yet, the concerns about developing the nature between Europe and Britain took an increasingly sceptic tone.

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[1] United State of Europe, the European federation, and Federal Europe are names used to refer to several similar hypothetical scenarios of the unification of Europe as a single sovereign federation of states, similar to the United States of America, both as projected by writers of speculative fiction and science fiction, and by political scientists, politicians, geographers, historians, and futurologists. At present, while the European Union (EU) is not officially a federation, various academic observers regard it as having the characteristics of a federal system. Specifically, the term *United States of Europe*—as a direct comparison with the United States of America—would imply that all the European states would acquire a status similar to that of a US state, becoming constituent parts of a European federation acting as one country.

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While wholeheartedly supporting the welding of West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg into an organic whole, Winston Churchill[1] also stressed that Great Britain could never be part of such a union because "....We are with Europe but not of it. We are linked but not comprised. We are interested and associated, but not absorbed."(Churchill's Zurich Speech, 1946: p. 5). Therefore, to well understand this phenomenon, it is more useful to understand some historic events that changed the political climate in Europe and ship away the centre of gravity of power outside Britain.

The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the burst of an overseas precarious balance of power that shifted the centre of gravity of power outside Europe: America and Russia are now ripe for defying the British monopoly. Moreover, the growth of liberal and democratic ideas known as Nationalism during the same era brought the full tide of the British expansion into ebb. Britain thus found itself without a role balancing with Europe and bandwagoning with USA. Meanwhile, though the curb of the Russian encroachment towards the Levant and Mediterranean was overwhelming, but it laid the groundwork for a British bandwagoning with USA. Ultimately, a 'Special Relationship' between the both of them had been cemented. Furthermore, to assuage the more violent forms of nationalism and help their former colonies to resist exploitation, the British yet adopted a post WW II massive transformation. Consequently, "Britain and its former colonies agreed they were 'equal in status, united by common allegiance to the crown, and freely associated as members of British Commonwealth of Nations."(Belfort Declaration, 1926).

Emerging victorious from a struggle for existence to restore the balance of power in their own interest, huge rival power blocs started to manoeuvre heavily for advantages in order to overcome the devastating consequences of the WWII. This initiative yielded a European Economic Community EEC which made Europe the "Region of the World", a region much more pining for moving ahead with integration. However, when the pooling of sovereignties over the coal and steel resources started to be pivotal in the early 1950s, Britain

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[1] Churchill Winston (30 November 1874 – 24 January 1965) was a British statesman who served the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955. Churchill as was also an officer in the British Army, a historian, a writer (as Winston S. Churchill), and an artist. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature, and was the first person to be made an honorary citizen of the United States.

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adopted the EFTA[1] as a ring fence against the potential hegemony of the EEC. However the failure of the EFTA marked a reappraisal of the British foreign policy. Consequently, the hypothesis of balancing has been inescapable, and Britain who has ever looked across the pond of the United States started to exhibit a glance across the ditch of Europe. the British indeed started negotiating the European integration. However, embarking to an own ultimately successful application to membership in the EEC was a daunting task.

From 1958 through early 1969, Gaullist France remained implacably opposed the British membership to the European Economic Community EEC. When Britain first applied to join the EEC in 1961 under Harold Macmillan's[2] conservative government, de Gaulle announced at a cabinet meeting on 17 December 1962 that he would veto Britain's entry. Furthermore, in a contemptuous and mocking manner, de Gaulle seemed to sneer at Macmillan by citing the famous Edith Piaf song, "Ne pleurez pas Milord ("Do not cry, my Lord"), a quotation that soon leaked" (Peyrefitte , 1995: p.33). In fact, the USA support for a strong British role in Europe helped created fear that Britain was an "American Trojan horse" set to sabotage European unity on behalf of Washington.). Precisely, "Britain was rather sub-servient to American whims" (Moller, Almut, and Oliver, 2014: p.17). Complementarily, second negotiation for membership under the leader of Labour Party Edward heath[3] collapsed.

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[1] EFTA or The European Free Trade Association is an intergovernmental trade organisation and free trade area consisting of four European states: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland.] The organisation operates in parallel with the European Union (EU), and all four member states participate in the EU's single market. The EFTA was established on 3 May 1960 as a trade bloc-alternative for European states who were either unable or unwilling to join the then-European Economic Community (EEC) which in November 1993 became the EU. The Stockholm Convention, establishing the EFTA, was signed on 4 January 1960 in the Swedish capital by seven countries (known as the "outer seven"). Today only two founding members remain: Norway and Switzerland.

[2] Maurice Harold Macmillan (10 February 1894 – 29 December 1986) was a British Conservative politician and statesman who served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 10 January 1957 to 18 October 1963.

[3] Sir Edward Richard George Heath, KG, MBE (9 July 1916 – 17 July 2005), often known as Ted Heath, was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1970 to 1974 and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1965 to 1975.

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However, unlike the Gaullist hard regime, the French policy under George Pompidou[1] softened and made Britain ready to adopt a genuinely European approach. After more than 10 years of struggle for application, Britain put the term of joining the EEC under a national referendum. However, while a ring fence against the British membership was built, it is in the British political arena that the battle for membership would be fought. The tale of Britain's application did not end here. The EEC was not just getting larger; it was also gradually more integrated. There were stepping stones towards a European Union established under the ratification of Maastricht Treaty[2]. The treaty indeed marked a watershed in the history of the relation between Britain and the continental Europe. Its core content mentions that "The Union shall be served by a single institutional framework which shall ensure the consistency and the continuity of the activities carried out in order to attain its objectives while respecting and building upon the acquis communautaire[3]" (Council of European Communities: 1992).

The trajectory toward European Union gave rise to a distinct 'anti-utopian spirit' and mistrust of long-term idealistic plans for the future. The British legacy on the European involvement unveiled a sceptic attitude toward the EU's potential hegemony, pivotal pooling sovereignty and the costs of powers' transition. In fact, literature on integration in the late 20th century mushroomed and bred a pluralistic debate that nourished the discourse on the concept and the practice of this phenomenon. Yet, to well understand the status of Britain as a reluctant European, it is more useful to theorise the European integration: What a European integration is? What kind of integration is it? How can we approach the European integration from different disciplinary field? What are the major types of integration? Which tools are

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[1] Georges Jean Raymond Pompidou (5 July 1911 – 2 April 1974) was Prime Minister of France from 1962 to 1968—the longest tenure in the position's history—and later President of the French Republic from 1969 until his death in 1974. He had long been a top aide to President Charles de Gaulle. As president, he was a moderate conservative who repaired France's relationship with the UK

[2] Maastricht Treaty (formally, the Treaty on European Union or TEU) undertaken to integrate Europe was signed on 7 February 1992 by the members of the European Community in Maastricht, Netherlands. Upon its entry into force on 1 November 1993 during the Delors Commission, it created the European Union and led to the creation of the single European currency.

[3] The Community acquis or acquis communautaire sometimes called also the EU acquis and often shortened to acquis, is the accumulated legislation, legal acts, and court decisions which constitute the body of European Union law. The term is French: *acquis* means "that which has been acquired or obtained", and *communautaire* means "of the community"

used to measure the level and the degree of geographic, economic and social interaction between different geographical areas? .Hence, identifying the EU involves making assessment on to what extend can the qualitative and quantitative changes in particular geographical area constitute a distinct entity.

2. Approaching European Integration from a Bottom-Up Dimension

When studying EU foreign policy statements, strategies, communications, development cooperation policies and other official documents; there is no doubt that the EU actively promotes, supports and prioritises the functioning of regional integration. Therefore, the great diversity of the EU and the complexity of its regionalism made Europe the region of the world. Precisely, Jacques Delors[1] labelled it "L'Europe des Regions", a region much more propitious for moving ahead with integration. Perceived as a dynamic process unfolding over time, and conceived as a fashionable term revealing many definitions, the concept of European Integration has triggered more questions than answers. The growing complexity of European arrangements spurred a massive academic controversy about developing a conceptualisation of regionalism. Thus, providing an accurate understanding of the role, the nature, the relevance, and the impact of regional integration in has become the most focus of the contemporary international relations.

The research on this new disciplinary field has unveiled a kaleidoscope[2] of interlocking regional organisation that varies greatly in terms of size, scope, purpose and institutional arrangements" (Behr and Jokela, 2011: p.3).The European project of regional integration has been one of the defining characteristics of the current international system. The exhaustive costs of the WWII urged the geographically proximate countries of Western Europe to intensify their welding "in the form of intergovernmental arrangements to coordinate in economic and social policies, to set up common institutions, and to occasionally

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[1] The father founding of 'Notre Europe in 1996 : Jacques Lucien Jean Delors (born 20 July 1925) is a French economist and politician, previously the eighth President of the European Commission and the first person to serve three terms in that office (between January 1985 and January 1995). He is the father of Martine Aubry, the former first secretary (leader) of the Socialist Party of France.

[2] Kaleidoscope is a term which means a changing and enjoyable mixture or pattern.

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cooperate in security issues". (Jie-Chen, 2009: p.1).Yet, seeking to harmonise laws and adopt common policies in economic, political and social issues; the EU burst a stupendous surge in regional integration. The EU of today is a regionalised European world within a global political economy divided into regions. It has developed massively, and its development has been in earnest a 'big-bung event' characterised by the widening and the deepening of policy coverage, and the increasing institutional density at European level.

Regional integration is the process of states entering into a regional agreement in order to achieve specific agreement-dependent goals. In history, there has not been another equal strong case of regional integration as the European Union EU. The process of European integration began with the foundation of the ECSC[1]under the Treaty of Paris in early 1951 by the six founding states: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Since then, the integration process has been ongoing and migrated from common energy agreements to among other common agricultural policies in 1962. Cooperating further for foreign policies 1970, "the EU started a Monetary system in 1979 launched the single market program in 1987, and further admitted further member states" (Hix, Simon, 2011: p. 429-450).

Ultimately, many theories have been created with the objective to explain the process of integration and its characteristics. The first works put mainly focus on the objective of achieving world peace by cooperating on a regional level rather than on integration itself. From this approach, other theories were developed to describe why economies of different states managed in common by giving up some national sovereignty and create pooling sovereignty. However, because embarking on theoretical framework is focused upon some terminological aspects, it is more useful to shed light on the signification and the embodiment and the dimension of three term-concepts. These concepts which can be summed in Region, Regionalism and Regionalisation are indeed the key issues the disciplinary interpretation of the European construction project.

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[1]ECSC was an international organisation serving to unify certain Continental European countries after World War II. It was formally established in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris, which was signed by Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The ECSC was the first international organisation to be based on the principles of supranationalism, and would ultimately lead the way to the founding of the European Union.

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3. Region, Regionalism and Regionalisation: Conceptual and practical framework

Regions, Regionalism and regionalisation are reciprocally enhanced terms which encompass many conceptual and practical aspects. Each term in fact encompasses qualitative and quantitative features which play a potent role in shaping the process of Regional Integration.

3. 1. The concept of Region

> "Regions are now everywhere across the globe and are increasingly fundamental to the functioning of all aspects of world affairs from trade to conflict management, and can even be said to now constitute world order," (Söderbaum, Fredrik, 2011: p.9).

The growing complexity of regional integration in the late twentieth century burst a rich literature about the concept of region as well the physical–functional materials delineating it. Etymologically speaking, the term 'region' derives from the Latin word region which refers to an administrative area or broad geographical area distinguished by similar features. History tells us that "region not only has a geographical but also a political connotation" (Travers, 2004, Söderbaum and Shaw, 2003). The development of this concept though spawned a dissent academic debate, but has also given rise to some simplistic explanations and extrapolations[1]. Precisely, the rise of regions as important spaces has been a potent index to shape national and global politics. Many scholars in the field have concentrated on determining what types of regions are the most functional, instrumental and efficient to rule the process of integration.

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[1] Extrapolation: to form an opinion or to make an estimate about something from known facts (Definition of extrapolate from the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus© Cambridge University Press)

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However, because 'regions disappear and reappear as they are transformed by various economic, political and cultural factors (Levis and Wigen: 1997, p.1), there is not a generally or predominately flexible definition of what a region is. While some emphasise the "geographical proximities and specificity as the key defining traits of a region" (Mansfield and Minler,1997: p.627), others bestow a specific importance to "the intense interaction on the economic, political and cultural level" shaping a region (Deutch, 1957: p4). Moreover, some others "stress how regions arise from homogenous culture blocks" (Meining ,1956).

Precisely, while the physical impetus (geographical proximity) remains a potent tool for shaping a region, it is in a world raring to a trend toward economic globalisation that the physical aspect risks becoming an empty idea. In fact, literature unveils a growing differentiation between physical (geographical and strategic) regions and functional (economic, environmental, and cultural). The distinction between physical and functional regions is reminiscent of Manuel Castells'[1] differentiation between a 'space of places' and a ''space of flows.'' (Vyrynene , 2003: p.3). While 'place' is "the geographical space whose form, function, and meaning are self contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity'' (Castells: 1996, p.423), 'space' of flows refers to a network of political, economic and social practices that work through flows' (Ibid:p.412).

The globe-straddling networks of regional cooperation prompted excessive attraction on economic, political, and social materials to construct functional regions. In the aftermath of the WWII, regions were perceived as a subsystem or "a partial international system whose members exist in geographical propinquity and have a particular degree of regularity and intensity of relations as well as awareness of interdependence (Archer, 1992: p.46).Thus, integration in one area spills over into another when groups perceive it in their own national, regional and global interest. The interdependence indeed is the output of geographic linkage, common economic, social, political policies, and the transactions among peoples. Homogeneity in those elements is the catalyst that facilitates the integration and boosts harmonisation of policies.

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[1] Manuel Castells (born 1942) is a Spanish sociologist especially associated with research on the information society, communication and globalisation.

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It is obvious that the great diversity of the EU and the conceptual complexity of its integration made Europe the region of the world, a region much more propitious for moving ahead with integration. In the same fashion, the current Belgian Ambassador to the EU and the member of Notre Europe's Board of Directors Philippe de Schoutheete pointed out:

> **"N**otre Europe is an independent think tank devoted to European integration. Under the guidance of Jacques Delors, who created Notre Europe in 1996, the association aims to "think a united Europe". Our ambition is to contribute to the current public debate by producing analyses and pertinent policy proposals that strive for a closer union of the peoples of Europe. We are equally devoted to promoting the active engagement of citizens and civil society in the process of community construction and the creation of a European public space." **(**deSchoutheete, Philippe ,2012: p. 5).

The unprecedented expansion of the EU gave rise to the epithet 'Notre Europe' which is perceived as a Sui genesis region striving to competition, cooperation, and solidarity. Together, these actors make from region an entrepreneurial spirit that strives to sustain actions, engage in common problem solving, adopt effective mechanism and help realising better economic, social and political outcomes. Given the importance of partnerships to regional development, region can be seen a result of complex patterns of interactions between numbers of components acting together according to common interest. This mechanism stems from internal and external potentiality, the transport infrastructure, cross-sectoral and intergovernmental partnerships, human capital particularly education and skills, comparative advantages and business competitiveness. Regional integration therefore refers to processes by which states go beyond the removal of obstacles to interaction in order to create a regional space or region subject to some distinct common rules.

Meanwhile, when considering the regional integration which is agreed upon by countries, a distinction between the types of cooperation is often set. For example economic

cooperation refers to agreements which foresee some degree of commercial preferentialism[1], but with no harmonisation of domestic rules .Political cooperation thus "entails mutual support and commitment regarding the implementation of certain values and practices within the countries"(Gochhayat,2013: p.3). Complementarily, identifying a region involves making assessment on to what extend can the qualitative and quantitative changes in particular geographical area constitute a distinct entity. Focusing on becoming rather than being, drew the concept of regioness is drawn to assess the depth of regional integration. (Lagenhove, Luk Van , 2003) .This discussion is further transcended on conceptualisation of region by introducing the concept of 'regionhood' and 'regionality (Gochhayat ,2014: p.3).regions therefore stemmed their strength from the ability to create a coherent territorial subsystem "whereby a geographical area is transformed from a passive object to an active subject, capable of articulating the transnational interests of the emerging region (Hettne and Soderbaun, 2000: p.361). Thus, to understand the structure of region it is more useful to delve into the above three reciprocally enhanced processes: Regioness, Reionality, and Regionhood.

3. 2. The Building Blocks of Region: Regioness, Regionality, and Regionhood

Inasmuch "as the different aspects of integration condense, strengthen and converge within the same geographical area; the cohesiveness and thereby the distinctiveness of the region in the making increases"(Ibid). Hence, a higher degree of regioness, regionality and regionhood means a higher level of economic, political and social interdependence and homogeneity.

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[1] Preferentialism is a philosophical movement which began in Paris in the early 1990s. In direct opposition to the relativism of Existentialism, Preferentialism stresses objectivity and natural law principles, applying the latter to epistemology as well as to morality and ethics. Preferentialism states that there are certain absolute preferential frames of reference which are preferred by nature, in opposition to the individualistic relativism of Existentialism. Preferentialism has application in the social sciences.

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3.2. 1. Regioness

Regioness is used to value the cohesiveness and the distinctiveness of the region. Accordingly, region can be defined in different ways and in terms of different levels of complexity or regioness. Regioness therefore can be seen as a tool to measure the level or the degree of physical (geographical) and functional (economic, social and political) interaction between different geographical areas. The basic dimension of this tool is the homogenisation and the elimination of extremes, in terms of social, economic policies and political system. In the same trend, from its emergence under the Treaty of Rome[1], the EEC[2] has evolved extremely from a simple to a more complex organisation. The deepening and widening of regional integration increased the level of regioness and transformed the EEC from a mere customs union[3] into a fully-fledged single market with twelve members sharing common micro and macro-economic policies. By the end of the century, the community should become a European Union with economic and monetary harmonisation stretching over more than 25 members. Complementarily, "Lagenhove added a new chapter to the concept of region while he gave further characteristics to the level of interaction in the process of regional integration: 'regionhood' and 'regionality' (Mired, 2010: p.23).

3.2. 2. Regionhood

In English language the suffix '–hood' refers to distinguish something from something else. For instance 'person' is what human being; given suitable biological and social condition, is generally supposed to be. (Langonhove, 2011:p.79). Hence, 'Personhood' is used to identify the qualities which distinguish persons from non-persons. It is obvious from this

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[1] Treaty of Rome: is an international agreement that led to the founding of the European Economic Community (EEC) on 1 January 1958. It was signed on 25 March 1957 by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany.

[2] EEC: is the European Economic Community, an economic union that existed from 1958 to 1993.

[3] Customs Union is a type of trade bloc which is composed of a free trade area with a common external tariff. Establishing a customs union normally includes increasing economic efficiency and establishing closer political and cultural ties between the member countries.

elucidation that Regionhood is the different characteristics that distinguish region from non-region. Ultimately, "Regions need identifiable diverse actors in order to acquire regionhood properties" (Mired, 2010 :p.26).These actors moreover can be summed in: "1) region as a system of international acts in the international and national arena and 2) region as a reciprocal achievement" (Gochhayat, 2013: p.12). Thus, while regioness implies the level of integration, regionhood refers to the level of cooperation and arrangements between member states. Regions in essence can emerge and can be sustained through the process of mutual achievements. Precisely, "the reciprocal achievement depends on the degree of actorness"(Hug, 2013: p.17).

Actorness is the catalyst that increases the level of cooperation between the EU's members. In this case "a state becomes an actor for regional integration ,and its degree attributed to region can vary according to the perspectives of the assessor" (Langenhove, 2003: p.19) .Yet, taking the case of the Kingdom of Belgium, this country is recognised as a sovereign state because of its partnership and membership in several regional schemes such as the Benelux and the EU. With this dual integration, Belgium thus appears as Multi-dimensional actor that seeks to increase the level of regionhood. This case is indeed obvious in the role that Brussels plays in the EU. There are 21 members of the European Parliament EP[1] from Belgium, and the Council meetings are regularly attended by representatives from the Belgian government, depending on the policy area being addressed. Belgium further has 16 representatives on the European Economic and Social Committee[2]. Moreover, Belgium has 12 representatives on the 'Committee of the Regions'[3]. Hence, by claiming all

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[1] European Parliament (EP) is the directly elected parliamentary institution of the European Union (EU). Together with the Council of the European Union (the Council) and the European Commission, it exercises the legislative function of the EU

[2] The European Economic and Social Committee is a consultative is the body of the European Union (EU) established in 1958. It is an advisory assembly composed of "social partners", namely: employers (employers' organizations), employees (trade unions) and representatives of various other interests.

[3] The committee of the Regions: This advisory body representing employers, workers and other interest groups is consulted on proposed laws, to get a better idea of the possible changes to work and social situations in member countries

that, it is salient that the actorness of the EU's members is a 'condition sine qua non'[1]for its existence. Therefore, the EU emerged as a region that sustains regionhood from its member's entity.

3.2. 3.   Regionality

The process of integration and cooperation in a given region requires defining under which conditions regionhood and regioness can emerge and increase. The rise of regions as important spaces has been a potent index to shape national and global politics. Meanwhile, because it is a dynamic process unfolding over time that Joseph Nye's [2] definition of a region is perceived classical and tighter. While he focused on his analysis on the geographical space as catalyst for regional integration, Langenhove's definition has been more flexible and adaptable. Going beyond the factors shaping European integration, region is identified as "something that every area on Earth can be given suitable historical, geographical, economic, cultural and social conditions" (Longenhove, 2003:p.18). A region therefore can be seen as distinguishing itself from other regions and non-regions due to a combination of these various endogenous and exogenous characteristics.

Moreover, regionality implies the suitable historical, geographical, economic, cultural and social conditions that encase a region. To well understand the phenomenon of regional integration, it is necessary to have a thorough reading on first the types of regions, and then approaching region from diverse disciplinary fields .i.e. integrating several ideas and analysis taken from geography, sociology, economy and politics.

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[1]*conditio sine qua non:* a necessary condition without which something is not possible .Web Definition of sine qua non from the Cambridge (Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus © Cambridge University Press)

[2]Joseph Samuel Nye, Jr. (born January 19, 1937) is an American political scientist. He is the co-founder of the international relations theory of neoliberalism, developed in his 1977 book *Power and Interdependence*. He further developed the concepts of asymmetrical and complex interdependence. He also explored transnational relations and world politics in an edited volume in the 1970s. More recently, he pioneered the theory of soft power. His notion of "smart power" became popular with the use of this phrase by members of the Clinton Administration, and more recently the Obama Administration. He is the former Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University where he currently holds the position of University Distinguished Service Professor.

4. The Different Approaches to Region

The pursuit of regional cooperation has a long varied and chequered history. A region is defined in different ways. The geographical concept of a region is usually based on physical aspects. Geographically, a region is a specific area of political cooperation. From an economic perspective, a region is a zone within more dense cooperation between the countries than their relations with the rest of the world. Culturally, region is identified through the similarly historical development in diverse factors as ethnicity, religion, lifestyle, language, and other characteristics of societies. Thus, regions define themselves by an evolution from objective to an active subjective existence. So, "a region possesses a basic set of ingredients that shape their cohesiveness and their distinctiveness"(Mired,2010: p.33). A region can cover divert territorial components that possess special combination of geographical, historical, cultural, political and economic values. Theoretically, "the problem has been compounded by the variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches on offer which seek both to measure and understand the process." (Soderbaum and Shaw, 2003: p. 5-6).

4. 1. Geographic approach to Region

In a borderless Europe where the trend toward globalisation and integration brought about a renaissance of regions as global actors, most analysts argue that regional integration will score the end of geography. However, while delving into the region's creative and evolutionary agents, most often in the avant-garde position, the physical geographic is stressed. In the early medieval Europe for example, regions were functioning as" territorial entities with their centres of authority".(Koter, Marek, 1995: p.13). In a transcendent stride to approach the level of regioness in a given territorial place, there is a focus on the nexus between three key indexes: nature, physical barriers and ecology. Region therefore is viewed as "a primarily geographical unit, delimited by more or less natural physical barriers marked by ecological characteristics"(Hettne and Söderbaum, 2006 :p.14).

It is cogent that some physical and geographical element as mountains, valleys, islands and peninsulas create "a natural region to which in a process of settlement, a given human collectivities had adapted, forming with time, cultural regions within them." (Koter, 1995:

p.13). The natural region under some specific geographic conditions as climatic, hydrological and phytogeographic[1] may create a zone for settlement where individuals promote a certain set of natural resources and manage the same social pattern. Consequently, a specific type of arrangement and interaction looms. However, "since people were too individualist, there is no capacity for sustained action and a lack of entrepreneurial spirit "(Keating, 2001: p. 9). This era witnessed a low density of population dispersing as minor cohorts living in geographically bounded and isolated communities. However, the lack of autonomy in regulating everyday life, customs, culture and social relations amongst communities yielded a sealed space where permeability, the mobility and the inter-group contacts are increasingly curbed.

Thereby, the trans-local relationships become limited. Inasmuch as there no organised trans-local interdependence between communities, regions in this case are referred to as 'proto-region'. Proto-region' is a primarily geographical area delimited by more or less natural physical barriers and marked by ecological characteristics in contiguous area such a territory. It is geographically a contiguous area or a pre- regional zone emphasised by less level of cohesiveness and distinctiveness.

4. 2.   Social approach to region

Since "regions are political and social projects devised by human actors in order to protect or transform existing structures (Söderbaum, Fredrik: 213, p.6),the development of cross-border infrastructure through social and cultural aspects should be also taken into account. Therefore, if the regional space is unintentionally and endogenously made, it is because of the lack of social external catalysts. The social catalysts in regional integration boost interdependence and transactions between isolated groups, and prompt influences between cultures. Yet, regions need to be rethought in terms of "regional complex" which albeit on a low level, but it can mobilise wider social movements. Regional complex is a process whereby distinct regional divergences in different local communities as geography, ethnicity, religion, moral, behavioural, and spiritual values are cultivated in the same area.

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[1] Phytogeography is the branch of biogeography that is concerned with the geographic distribution of plant species and their influence on the earth's surface. Phytogeography is concerned with all aspects of plant distribution, from the controls on the distribution of individual species ranges (at both large and small scales) to the factors that govern the composition of entire communities and floras.

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Precisely, regional complex is a great deal aiming to more social complex and multilevel structures. Regional complex moreover aims at bounding transnational or cross-border regions through functional ties. Meanwhile, it is of great importance to identify how cross-border regions are socially constructed.

Initially, before a region can engage in external activity alliances with other regions, it must contest some of its internal politics. Accordingly, the increasing wealth yielded from agriculture, fishing, mining, trade and industry have created a civil society which seeks "a communal identity, language, religion and common social organisations, and thus became a nation" (Pick: 2011, p.3). These catalysts create a cultural landscape where the growth of democracy, autonomous legitimacy and the tendency toward expanding territories are possible; and thus a design for a nation-state looms.

Until nation states[1]appeared in the 16thand 17thcentury, the rise of states gave a hefty shove to authority and legitimacy where a right of an independently rule from any constitutional system is predominant. Civil societies rebelled and sought for a government more responsive to their interests, a government which sets up institutions and enforce accountability. Obviously, an endeavour for more complex multilevel socio-political structures transformed states into unnatural even dysfunctional unit for organising human activity. Thus, working collaboratively and with coordination to achieve maximum efficiencies, region should engage communities throughout the state by inviting them to share their needs.

Ultimately, "the creation of states leads to a consolidation of national territories, which for a time implies a more inward orientation ;and usually means a temporary decline in the level of regionness" (Hettne and Fredrik: p.16). Hence, it is through the involvement of cultural and ethnic entities that the level of regioness can increase and nation-states can

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[1] A Nation state is a geographical area that can be identified as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign nation. A state is a political and geopolitical entity, while a nation is a cultural and ethnic one. The term "nation state" implies that the two coincide, but "nation state" formation can take place at different times in different parts of the world.

extend their territories. The cultural landscape indeed is viewed as a mushrooming force in social development which aims to create mentally spiritual ties. The complicated cultural interplay between communities can create a cultural landscape where different ethnic groups of different communities can share a common mode of life; and thus, a cross-border region looms.

Accordingly, the cultural union can boost a strong esteem of social order and discipline emphasised with hospitality and cordiality. This esteem in essence yields social solidarity and regional affiliation among ethnic groups. However, the civil society's journey to widening trans-local relations can crumble at the first bump and bear potential hurdles. The no-shared sense of 'sitting in the same chair' made the mutual interdependence between nation states exploitive rather than collaborative. In the same trend, "a national identity in one state may imply the exclusion of other identities where institutions are captured by one or more minority elites which contend with each other for supremacy" (Pick:2011, p.3). It is obvious from these obstacles that regions are social constructs which depend broadly on authority and power. States have the trend to monopolise the physical and communication infrastructure.

4. 3.   Economic approach to region

A new approach to economy in the last quarter of the 20th century unveiled a world-wide mosaic of large economic regions overriding an earlier core-periphery system of spatial organisation. The Cold War order was dualistic in the sense that a communist system existed as a challenge to the capitalist world order, providing a competitive and rebellious atmospheres. However, in the last quarter of the 20th century, this persistent world order-system broke down under the pressure of globalisation[1]. Hence, in a borderless world where the advent of globalisation is pivotal, the trajectory of regional integration is thriving and taking another dimension. Ultimately, a new world order emerged aiming at linking regional integration and globalisation. Regionalism therefore could serve as a bridge between countries and global processes.

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[1] Globalisation is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas and mutual sharing, and other aspects of culture.

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Economists are putting forward a significant clue about a complex theoretical question focused on the globalisation of regional economy. The level of regioness in this case can only increase through achieving long-lasting changes and reforms. Raising difficult but important question about whether or not regional economy will be able to provide greater economic security for smaller nations against the actions of regional hegemonies. Therefore, in his endeavour for an region's infrastructural reform, two approaches to the economic space are emphasised: 1) economic homogeneity-based region, and 2) economy-based region, (Perroux: 1952, p.22)

4.3. 1.   Economic homogeneity

Broadly speaking, "in the new age of Capitalism, a resurgence of region-based economic organisation established a kind of 'de facto' region " (Scott: p.4). Regions in this case are faced with the choice of either passive subjection to external cross border pressures or active institution-building, policy-making and outreach in an effort to turn globalisation. Globalisation obviously has brought forward major changes in the economic landscape. Since the 1980s, the unprecedented expansion in volumes of international trade across countries has dramatically shifted the pre-existing role of nation states. The challenge for the nation-states is to build long-term economic competitiveness and growth .However, economic statistic unveiled that nation-states are not large enough to bandwagon as well balance with globalisation. Therefore, globalisation has frayed nation-state level economic institutions. Yet, nation-states don't possess the key ingredient for successful participation in the global order whereby homogeneity in economic interests and flux is defined.

Furthermore, "because not all regions have the same locational advantages or resource endowments, that region-states are coming to replace the nation state as the centrepiece of economic activity." (Florida, 1995: p.5).This approach strives to prevent the 'Black Hole'[1]were nation-states are isolated. Therefore, a region-state is a geographic foundation that can best be described as a dynamics constituting the economic motors of the globalisation,

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[1]Black Hole is a term used interchangeably with "region without regionalism", a peculiar exception to the overall trend of regionalism where the regionalists efforts to foster a more pluralistic political environment are negligible.

and apparently overriding bit by bit the pre-existing tenacious structure of the ancient régime. Moreover, the transcendent improvements in technologies of transportation and communication over the last few decades are eradicating the barriers of space by bringing all parts of the world into ever closer clustering contact. Decisively, region-state provides a foundation for regional planning and gives a strategic and statistic basis for economic growth. Thus, an economic homogeneity looms.

4.3. 2.   Functional Economic Region

Functional region is the result of complex patterns of interactions between numbers of components acting together according to common economic interest. More collaboratively, adopting effective mechanism can help realising better economic outcomes for regions. This mechanism stems from internal and external markets' potentiality, the transport's infrastructure, intergovernmental partnerships, human capital and business competitiveness. Areas bound together by trade link, the buying and selling of raw materials, industrial and consumer goods and services and labour shape a functional economic region which covers a wide-extend cohesive network of trade. These approaches decisively play a potent role in determining and emphasising the key catalysts shaping region. In the same fashion, Regionalism indeed needs an investigation on the factors shaping it.

5. The Concept of Regional Integration/ Regionalism

Given large differences about what constitutes a region, it is of little surprise that opinions similarly diverge about the nature of regionalism and its sources. In fact, " The phenomenon of regional integration/regionalism can be traced far back in history, as seen in the rich variety of geographically confined "Staatenbünde"[1], "leagues", "unions", "pacts" and "confederations" (Mattli,1999:p.1). Literature distinguishes between regionalism and regional integration 'tout court', and thus the terms are used interchangeably. Because of its complex history, the term regionalism acquired a conceptual complexity ranging from a contested to a

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[1]Staatenbünde : German borrowed term which means Commonwealth.

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flexible nature. Furthermore, to allow for the possibilities of multiple partnerships, most scholars contribute to adaptability by avoiding precise definitions of regionalism.

The diverse approaches on region unveil that regionalism is "an increasingly complex and diverse phenomenon that is used to describe various levels of interaction amongst a broad set of regional actors". (Jokola,2011 : p.5). In Europe, the ECSC initiated the process of European integration. Thus, there is a recognition that states would wish to conduct their economic, political and security affairs within a defined regional and geographical context. Regionalism therefore is increasingly multidimensional phenomenon in that it stretches upon economic, political and social processes between these actors. In the same trend, regional integration viewed as:

> "interstate reconciliation: a process by which several states, (which might have been) previously engaged in conflict (political, military or economic), engage with one another in order to come to terms with the past, work through differences, negotiate and make amends and restitutions as needed, and agree to establish a new relationship based on structural (institutionalised) peace and mutual respect" (Ginsberg, 2007: p. 1)

This definition in essence unveils reconciliation as catalyst to integration. The first 20 - 30 years after WWII can be seen as a period characterised by shallow integration. In fact, Winston Churchill's proposal for creating a kind of Federal Europe in 1946 was perceived as a big-bang stride toward integration. As lessons and conclusions drawn from the memories of two world wars fought across European continent, Churchill gave a famous speech to the academic youth held at the University of Zurich in 1946:"…there is a remedy which ... would in a few years make all Europe ... free and ... happy. It is to re-create the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe (Churchill, the Zurich Speech ,1946).

The improvements in communications and travel have created increasing awareness of foreign dynamics, and systems and practices. Therefore, starting in relationships among devastated countries in the post WWII era, pressures began building for deeper international

integration. With the objective of harmonising domestic policies, deep integration involves establishing or expanding the institutional environment in order to facilitate trade and location of production without regard to national borders. Within this context, "positive integration suggests policies designed to encourage trade and facilitate segmentation of production processes and value chains" (David Evans and al, 2006: p.4) .The key conceptual issue in Deep Integration is the regulatory harmonisation-based integration that seeks to raise the interdependence driven by the forces of globalisation and the lessening of national policy gaps. This harmonisation advocates creating communities and organisations rather than dealing with specific aspects of national economies. This policy ranges from the adoption of common standards to social, economic, and political arrangement, to the creation of private, regional and international institutions.

Meanwhile, the ECSC was not just getting larger; it was also gradually becoming more integrated. The Messina Conference[1] launched in 1955 and headed by the Belgian Prime Minster Paul-Henry Spaak[2] investigated such a development. Spaak's proposal for creating a Common Market yielded an arrangement and management for facilitating cooperation between the member states. Three years later, the signing of the Treaty of Rome[3]1958 led to the establishment of the European Economic Community that marked the heyday of cooperation. Encompassing most of the countries in Western Europe, the Maastricht Treaty[4]1992 on monetary and political union was adopted: and yet the Community was

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[1]The Messina Conference was held from 1 to 3 June 1955 at the Italian city of Messina, Sicily. The conference of the foreign ministers of the six member states of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) would lead to the creation of the European Economic Community.

[2] Paul-Henry Spaak (25 January 1899 – 31 July 1972) was a Belgian socialist politician and statesman, who served as Prime Minister of Belgium (1938–1939, 1946 and 1947–1949), as the first President of the United Nations General Assembly (1946–1947), as the first President of the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community (1952–1954), as the first President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

[3]Treaty of Rome is officially the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (TEEC), is an international agreement that led to the founding of the European Economic Community (EEC) on 1 January 1958. It was signed on 25 March 1957 by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany.

[4] Maastricht treaty The Maastricht Treaty (formally, the Treaty on European Union or TEU) undertaken to integrate Europe was signed on 7 February 1992 by the members of the European

formally known as the European Union. This epithet aims at giving a strong connotation to the level of harmonisation in structural institutions. It is nevertheless anticipated that deep integration helps member states working toward implementing policies that seek to joint development of common natural resources, to extend projects and to manage technical sector cooperation. Meanwhile, because the involvement process within the EU has gone further than integration, that the economic, political and social evolvement has been a very lively site for theoretical speculation.

6. Theories of Regional Integration: The EU's policy process

Literature on the EU has mushroomed and bred a pluralistic debate that nourished the discourse on integration. The surge and resurgence of regionalism has triggered the proliferation of concepts and approaches. Thus, " hardly a year does not pass that someone does not come up with new theory and, even more surprisingly, manages to convince a group of other scholars to produce a collective volume extolling its virtues"(Schmitter ,2002: p.1). More insights concerning theoretical application to the process of European integration can be drawn from literature concerning its failure and success. Theoretically, the problem has been compounded by the variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches which seek both to measure and understand the process.

The question subsequently is whether the EU is currently moving in a particular direction. Thus, most scholars set the EU at the centre of intersection in which Intergovermentalism, Supranationalism and Neo-functionalism are its main direction.Furthermore, each theory encompasses a particular 'Community Method'1. (See the table on the next page). The three methods are sometimes enhanced, sometimes opposed, and sometimes hierarchical. Precisely, in the sixties and seventies; most of the theoretical frameworks revolved around the Neo-functionalism incarnated by Ernest Haas, and

Community in Maastricht, Netherlands. On 9–10 December 1991, the same city hosted the European Council which drafted the treaty. Upon its entry into force on 1 November 1993 during the Delors Commission. It created the European Union and led to the creation of the single European currency, the euro. The Maastricht Treaty has been amended by the treaties of Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon.

[1]Community Method : the term describes a decision making procedure that ascribes particular roles to the European institution and involves a particular kind of interaction between them

Intergovermentlism lead by Stanly Hoffman. Thereafter, with the emergence of the EU in 1992 as a global power, the Maastricht Treaty gave another chapter to the theoretical framework of regional integration labelled Supranationalism.

The EU's Modus Operandi (Theories of Regional Integration)
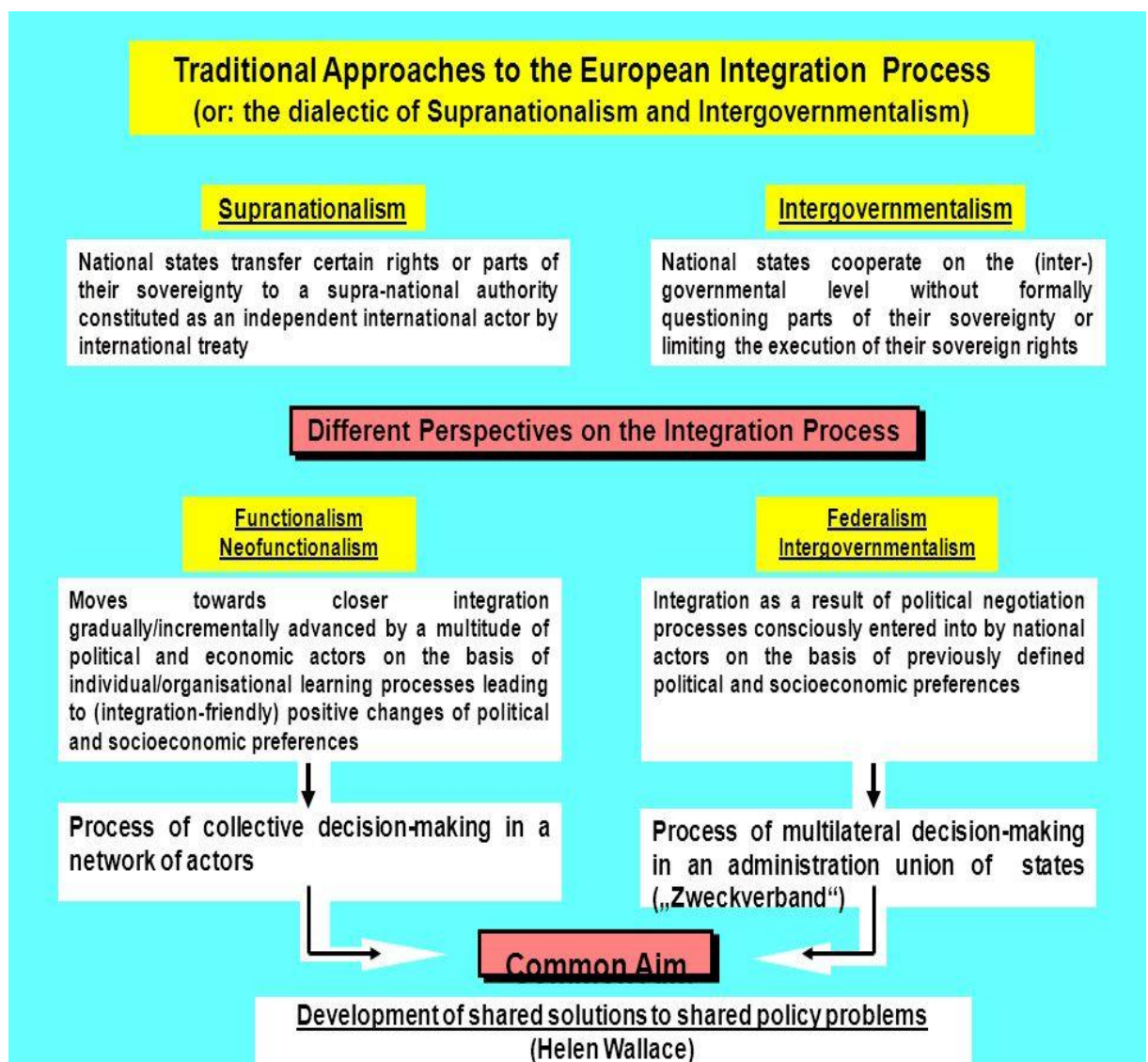
Source: .www.Slideplay.com

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6. 1. Intergovermentalism: Ruling by Unanimity

Intergovernmentalism as a theory of regional integration was first introduced by Stanley Hoffmann[1]in the early 70s to unveil national governments as the primary factors for integration. This theory refers to arrangements "whereby nation states in situations and conditions they can control, cooperate with one another on matters of common interest" (Nugent, 2003: p.475). Since some circumstances can bring about the loss of sovereignty, States in this case are free to cooperate or not, and they are able also to set the level or cooperation. This process is known as 'the Intergovernmental Community Methods' according to which the Member states usually decide by unanimity" (Tsebelis and yataganas, 2002: p 283-307).

The EU is emphasised "with an economic and political intergovernmental organisation which works through a system of supranational independent institutions as European Council, the Court of Justice , and through intergovernmental negotiated decisions by the member states"(Anneli, 2005: p.204).Thus, intergovermentalism as a modus operandi in the EU designates the institutions representing the member states as the Council and other subsidiaries. Ultimately, this governmental approach has a strong and autonomous position, but the European Parliament is consulted where the EU's Commission[2] shares the right of initiative. Intergovermentalism in the EU is ensured through a veto where a state, when so choosing, can block any proposal presented by any other parties" (Tsebelis and yataganas : 2002, p 283-307) . Therefore, it is those states' preferences and decisions that are primary and important and decisive when deciding on pooling sovereignty.

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[1] Stanley Hoffmann (27 November 1928 – 13 September 2015) was the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor, *emeritus* at Harvard University. He followed an academic career in the United States and founded Harvard's Centre for European Studies in 1968.

[2] EU's Commission is the executive body of the European Union. It responsible for proposing legislation, implementing decisions, upholding the EU treaties and managing the day-to-day business of the EU.

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The rejection of the Maastricht treaty by Britain can be seen as the best example of intergovementalism. A big struggle against the Monetary Union[1] reached its ebb by exercising the opt-out [2] clause in which a rejection of 'the third stage of the EMU'[3] had been ratified. Intergovermentalism further is perceived as the first policy of the European Integration in the first years following the creation of the EEC. Moreover, within this theory, "the national governments control the pace and nature of integration which are based on protecting and promoting their own national interests"(Bache, 2011). When those national interests are of similar kind, a closer integration is supported. However, unlike Intergovermentalism which is Nation states-centred integration, Neo-functionalism promotes -albeit in a low level -the process of regionalisation.

6. 2. Neo-Functionalism: The Policy of Spill-Over

Neo-functionalism was a popular theory of European integration in the 1950s and 1960s. Its pioneer Ernest .B. Hass[4] unveiled that "the process of regional integration is based on "the assumption that the role of nation states would decrease, and did not see the state as single unified actor on the international stage" (Bache, 2011:p.23). This view assumes that the satisfaction with the organisation's performance requires multiple authority, legitimacy and loyalties, and the activities of interest groups are not limited to the domestic political arena of the member states. The relation between the EU and its member states is portrayed as 'Imagined Communities' where people can feel as part of both communities (the EU and the nation state) without having to choose some primary identification".(Anderson,1991).

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[1] Monetary Union (EMU) is an umbrella term for the group of policies aimed at converging the economies of member states of the European Union at three stages. The policies cover the 19 eurozone states, as well as non-euro European Union states.

[2] Out-opt to choose not to participate in something: i.e. The rejection of the Maastricht treaty 1992

[3] Third stage of the EMU is the third stage of the Maastricht Treaty which started of 1999 and introduced a single monetary policy.

[4] Ernst Bernard Haas (1924 – March 6, 2003) was a German-American political scientist who made numerous contributions to theoretical discussions in the field of international relations. He was a leading authority on international relations theory,[1] and was the founder of neofunctionalism. Haas was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and acted as a consultant to many national and international organizations.

Complementarily, in his book 'The Uniting of Europe', Haas tackled the issue of "Imagined community". Haas' prominent statement was "how does cooperation in economic policy sectors lead to greater economic integration in Europe, and then to wider political integration. In his endeavour to answer this question, Haas further introduced the concept of "Spill-over" to explain the way in which integration in one policy area create pressure for integration in further areas. For example, when the pooling of sovereignties over the coal and steel resources started to be pivotal in Europe, the pressure for encompassing other policy areas intensified. Ultimately, the process of integration under the Maastricht Treaty 1992 spilled over from a small community ECSC to a wide-ranging economic Union that yielded the Eurozone[1]. In fact, "a widely shared view that regionalism leads to a growth in trade, that is one of the demonstration of economic regionalisation" (winters and Wang, 1994). Thus, the process of economic spill-over is known as the regionalisation which is the result of a decrease in tariff barriers between countries.

6.2. 1.   Economic Integration: Regionalisation

The history of the European Union has been marked by the creation of the Single Market[2] as a catalyst for economic integration. The stage of economic integration ranges from economic cooperation to supranational integration, beginning with the removal of trade barriers and ending with economic union. This case is seen in "the establishment of the EEC where the tariff barriers were abolished between the state founders. In the same trend, economic regional integration is described as both "a process and a state of affairs" (Belassa,1961: p.1).

While the 'process' encompasses measures designed to abolish discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states, 'The state of affairs' is viewed as the absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies (Ibid). Precisely,

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[1] Eurozone Established under the Maastricht treaty 1992, where a common political and economic policy has been adopted by the EU's members

[2] Single Market : In 1993, a complete single market was achieved, known as the internal market, which allowed for the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people within the EEC.

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"Thanks to the single market, the EU is becoming a power in trade and through trade. (Hettne and Söderbaum: p.535-552). Ultimately, the process of economic integration leads to the process of Regionalisation. Regionalisation yet is defined as an increase in the cross-border flow of capital, goods, and people within a specific geographical area. It is in essence developed from the bottom-up relation through societally driven processes coming from markets, private trade and investment flows.

6. 3. Supranationalism: Decentralisation of Powers

The 'ever closer union' among the peoples of Europe has been the main objective of European integration since the Treaties of Rome in 1957. Over the years, the term of 'union' has taken a supranational connotation by which the European integration could lead to a profound political union. The main feature which characterises the Supranational method is that The European Commission has the monopoly of the right of initiative, and the European Parliament is active in co-legislating with the European Council and the court of justice[1].The Lisbon Treaty[2] (2007-2009) that brought the 'union' more into reach by making it more supranational is the best example of this monopoly. Robert Schuman[3] initiated the debate on supranational democracy in his speeches at the United Nations in 28 September 1948. Schuman further introduced this legal term to define the Community method as a process of creating the European Coal and Steel Community and the beginning of the democratic re-organisation of Europe (Shuman Speeches at the United Nation, 1948-1949).

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[1] Court of Justice (ECJ) is the highest court in the European Union in matters of European Union law. As a part of the Court of Justice of the European Union it is tasked with interpreting EU law and ensuring its equal application across all EU member states. The Court was established in 1952 and is based in Luxembourg. It is composed of one judge per member state – currently 28 – although it normally hears cases in panels of three, five or 13 judges. The court has been led by president KoenLenaerts since 2015

[2]Lisbon Treaty (initially known as the Reform Treaty) was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Maastricht Treaty (1993), also known as the Treaty on European Union, and the Treaty of Rome (1958), also known as the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEEC).

[3]Jean Baptiste Nicolas Robert Schuman (29 June 1886 – 4 September 1963) was a Luxembourg-born French statesman. Schuman was a Christian Democrat (MRP) and an independent political thinker and activist. Twice Prime Minister of France, a reformist Minister of Finance and a Foreign Minister, he was instrumental in building post-war European and trans-Atlantic institutions and is regarded as one of the founders of the European Union, the Council of Europe and NATO.

Supranationalism in its broader connotation defines the relationship between theHigh Authority or European Commission and the other four institutions. The modus operandi of this theory refers to "governance arrangements where states decide to cede some responsibility for decision making to a body that stands above them" (Haas ,1992: p.12).

Precisely, EU's Member states lose the right to veto and agree to be bound by majority decisions of cooperating states and thus lose some control and pool their sovereignty in the first place" (Nugent ,2003). In these circumstances, states may have to go along with a policy that contravenes their particular preferences in a given instance. This method of integration strives to create a supranational entity emphasised by the decentralisation of the national sovereignty of the EU's Member states.

6.3. 1.   Political Integration

The supranational regime emerged as a sophistication of the Neo-functionalist one .The trend of regionalism has raised controversial issues about the nature of integration. Thus, while some stress that regionalism is of political catalysts, others focus on the economic aspect. Ernst Haas, the founder of Neo-functionalism defined regional integration as:

> "Political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones" (Haas, 1958: p.16)

It is obvious from this definition that regionalism is a process of transferring loyalty, political decision making, and 'sovereignty' to a new centre. Political regionalism indeed implies welding efforts through uniting, unifying and organising regions. Consequently, "the shifting of sovereignty on the other side represents a centralisation" (Hoppe, 2007:p.109). This is the case of the EU's members which transferred their sovereignty to The Council of Europe. In the same harmony, several basis are identified to reach a decentralisation of powers: 1) Establishing unified law frame, 2) Creating common institutions, 3) Developing decision-making centre, and 4) Projecting European identity.(Llievski, 2015: p.12). In that

dimension, the integration in a political sense results in building a political community through sharing the same framework of rules. The main point in this integrating activity is the process of delegating the autonomy of the political units to the newly formed political community. This process also is known as the "decentralisation of powers" in which the EU becomes the centre of gravity of powers of its members.

Anyway, the three theories of integration Supranationalism, intergovernmentalism and Neo-Functionalism "are different ends of a continuum" (Nugent, 2003: p.3). No structure in the EU is perfectly in close harmony with the theoretical framework of regional integration. Therefore, intergovernmental European integration is a continuum between the aforementioned theories. In every moment, the EU stands alongside this continuum to reflect pendulum shifting from Intergovermentalism to Neo-functionalism or from Intergovermentalism to Supranationalism. Furthermore, since regionalism and regionalisation are reciprocally enhanced processes, various authors have looked introduce the concept as 'full regional integration' as name of the end stage. This unanimity aims to stress that regional integration can take place both within an economic and a political space.

Conclusion

Literature on European Union mushroomed and bred a pluralistic debate that nourished the discourse on Regional Integration. Regional integration is defined as cross-border interdependence emphasised with economic, political and social flow developed from the bottom- up through societal driven processes: region, regionalism and regionalisation. In the 20thcentury, regionalism in Western and Southern Europe has been centred on a region, not a state. Regionalism in essence has usually shipped away centralist states and their traditional nationalisms, and reflected the different paths of European societies as modern world. Eventually, the strong regionalist movements in Europe trigger regionalisation where particularly the respective objectives of the regionalists and of the political elites of the state somehow coincide.

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However, because of the conceptual complexity of region, regionalism and regionalisation, the development of the European Project over the years still represents a challenge for theorists of integration. Various theories have managed to account for some aspects of regional integration and failed to account for others. Comparative politics argues that each theory ignores integrative aspects caused by day-to-day policy-making. Furthermore, because the involvement process within the EU has gone further than integration that the theories scrambled for classifying or grouping the EU along its structural characteristics. Ultimately, since theories of integration are not so developed, there is no accepted definition of integration or consensus on the indicators of integration. Precisely, the theories' record in describing, explaining and predicting regional integration across the globe has not been successful.

Since there is no flexible theory for integration, and since the theories hardly communicate the awareness of the need for eclecticism, regionalism can crumble at the first stride. It is no wonder that Europe which had successfully created nation states itself became the crucible of experiments in supranational organisations. Consequently, the development of the European project from EEC to EU with no flexible community method for integration made Britain sceptical about the trajectory of the EU. This situation made Britain a reluctant European and branded it as a ''mauvais élève'. If Britain has such a status within the EU, it is because the political arena performs vividly to unveil the key issues related to the modus operandi of this organisation.

Furthermore, there are competing visions about the future of European integration. While these visions depend on the analysis of the European integration process, they are decisively focused on the theories and approaches employed to grasp them. The process of regional integration has started more than half a century ago. Many different explanatory theories have being developed and refined to account for the events observed. As a result, the growing complexity of Euroscepticism in Britain has spurred a dissent academic controversy about developing a conceptualisation on the phenomenon. Therefore, the second chapter of my dissertation strives to shed light on the conceptual and practical complexity of Euroscepticism in Britain. Providing an accurate understanding of the nature of this

phenomenon, its factors, its relevance and its impact on contemporary regional integration are the ultimate focus of the next section.

Chapter Two

Factors Shaping Euroscepticism in the UK

Chapter Two: Factors shaping Euroscepticism in the UK

Introduction

The UK has frequently showed beyond doubt to be a rather gate-keeping state, seeking the splendid isolation to retain its domestic political sphere as untouched from and unaffected by Brussels as possible. The UK's Eurosceptic tendencies can be ultimately explained by Britain's fairly glorious role in the Second World War (WWII). Therefore, when in January 1st, 1973, the festivities in Belgium started honouring Britain as a new member state in the EEC[1]; "one headline from The Guardian noted "we –are-in but without fireworks" (The Guardian, 1973). Raising difficult yet important questions partly explain why the UK is often perceived as 'a mauvais élève' and 'semi-detached' member state which appears to defend its national interests on the expense of common European ones. Therefore, as the most wide ranging empire in world history within the label of steadfast American ally, the British have historically expressed an ongoing reticence with regards to the European projects. Across the European Union, there has been a prominent and increasingly highlighted rise in critical attitudes towards integration.

Therefore, framing Britain's place and defining its settled foreign policy identity after two exhausting wars is an increasingly difficult proposition, especially when the contours of the global order are uncertain. The phenomenon of euroscepticism crept into mainstream in the 1990s. However, it appeared in the UK as early as 1970swhen a discussion about the referendum concerning membership of the European Community was initiated. Precisely, "Euroscepticism was connected with the position of so called 'anti-marketers' who were opposed to British participation in the European integration project" (Taggart and Szczerbiak, 2008: p.151).

Meanwhile, to understand the British reluctant attitude toward European Integration, it is more useful to shed light on the civil war in the political arena. Accordingly, while a ring fence against the British involvement in the European projects had been built, it was in the British parliament that the battle would be fought and won. The waxing and waning of the

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[1] EEC: European Economic Market was a regional organisation which aimed to bring about economic integration between its member states. It was created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957. Upon the formation of the European Union (EU) in 1993, the EEC was incorporated and renamed as the European Community (EC). In 2009 the EC's institutions were absorbed into the EU's wider framework and the community ceased to exist.

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British reluctance has been viewed as political arena–based Euroscepticism. But before that, it is necessary to delve into the conceptual complexity of Euoscepticism approached from Eurosceptic Think-tanks Schools. Broadly speaking, the growing complexity of Euroscepticism spurred a dissent academic controversy about developing a conceptualisation on the phenomenon, and providing an accurate understanding of its role, nature, relevance and impact in contemporary regional integration.

1. The conceptual Complexity of Euroscepticism

The term in fact appeared interchangeably with the older one 'anti-Marketeers' who were oppositionist to British participation in the European Single Market[1] in 1960's. Thereafter, the Eurosceptic Think-tanks stressed that the practical implication of the term was first galvanised by the Thatcherite Burges Speech in 11 November 1985 as a dismissive response to the Maastricht Treaty ratification[2.] The term further has routinely been employed and misemployed, and often used to express a derogatory value judgment. It further has been perceived as "a term of abuse, and rarely has been rigorously defined by the academic community" (Anthony, 2002: p .23). Hence, to ship away overusing this term as a catchall explanation for the change occurring in the EU, it is more useful to dissect it in order to reach an agreement and a shared understanding.

In a more semantic perspective, the term "Euro" in Euroscepticim consensually refers to the European Union and its precursors. It unveils specific formulations of co-operation proposed by or imposed on the EU's member states. Complementarily, the 'sceptic' as a person is the one who doubts truth of, or inclined to question truth of facts, statement or claims (The Oxford English Dictionary, 2007: p.687). The term 'Sceptic' is thus "interpreted as an attitude of doubt or a disposition of disbelief" (Hooghe and Gary, 2007: p. 119). A

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[1]European Single Market was established under the Treaty of Rome 1957 to codify European Political Cooperation, the forerunner of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. It was signed at Luxembourg on 17 February 1986, and at The Hague on 28 February 1986. It came into effect on 1 July 1987, under the Delors Commission

[2]Ratification is a principal's approval of an act of its agent where the agent lacked authority to legally bind the principal. Ratification defines the international act whereby a state indicates its consent to be bound to a treaty if the parties intended to show their consent by such an act. In the case of bilateral treaties, ratification is usually accomplished by exchanging the requisite instruments, while in the case of multilateral treaties the usual procedure is for the depositary to collect the ratifications of all states, keeping all parties informed of the situation.

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Eurosceptic therefore "is a person having doubts or reservation toward the diverse benefits of increasing cooperation between the member states of the European Union" (Ibid).It is obvious that literary this term suggests an attitude and an intellectual posture of doubt with regard to the EU or Europe. The term ultimately describes is a person -especially a British politician-who is opposed to closer links with the European Union, and "who doubts the utility and viability of Economic and Political Union" (Collier, 1998: p 17).

Furthermore, the definition of Euroscepticism focuses on the opposition to two interrelated processes: economic and political integration. This phenomenon describes "opponents of European integration concerning both opportunity and principles" (Forster, 2002: p.7). Euroscepticismin essence refers to opposition to, or doubts about, the progress of the European project. Complementarily, the suffix '-ism' is a component of most labels for ideologies and movements. This morpheme aims to foster a system of ideas and ideals, especially one that forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy. Eurosceptics thus are defined as citizens or politicians who present themselves as sceptical and critical of the union. According to them, the EU takes powers away from their national government and poses a threat to their national sovereignty.

Extended to a generic concept and embodiment, Euroscepticism then can be broadly defined as sceptical attitudes or outlooks exhibited in speeches, discourses, and behaviours stretching from:

> "participation in organised political action to voting in elections or referenda and responding to public opinion polls which express doubt as to the desirability and/or benefits and/or long-term viability of European or/and EU integration as an objective or in the general framework created so far or in some important aspects of that framework of institutions, processes and policies and/or as it is anticipated to occur in the future" (Flood,2002: p.4).

Flood delved thoroughly into the conceptual and the practical usage of the term Euroscepticism to identify its variant usage. The recurrence of 'and/or' in relation to the key features aims to assert the diverse aspects of the phenomenon. Yet ,it is salient from his definition that there are two qualitative factors shaping the British Euroscepticismin. The waxing of the phenomenon in the British politics focuses on two correlated processes:

economic and political integration within Europe. This opposition is due to the integration versus extension. The EEC was not getting larger; it was also gradually becoming more integrated. In fact, the British were keenly prophetic that the European projects are about transformation rather than integration.

Furthermore, the contemporary debate about European integration and its future is largely focused around two different ways in which the EU can be extended. Euroscepticism indeed implicitly suggests two particular features of sceptical attitudes to Europe: Soft Euroscepticism and Hard Euroscepticism. The usefulness of differentiating between the both of them lies not only in nuancing the descriptive qualities of the concept. Of course, "the distinction is an ideal type that will, in some cases, become blurred but it may be useful to identify the two forms as poles on a spectrum with some parties moving between them" (Taggart and Szczerbiak, 2010: p.8). Therefore, it may be useful to identify the two forms as 'Deep Integration' and 'Shallow Integration'.

2. Typology of Euroscepticim : Hard and Soft

In surveying the nature of Euroscepticism from its emergence since 1945, different connotations depending on the context within which it is used has yielded some inevitable difficulties in finding a common definition that works in different situations and conditions. The initial comparative observation between the levels of opposition to the European integration unveiled that the Euroscepticism "expresses the idea of contingent or qualified opposition, as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration" (Taggart, 1998: p.366). Subsequently, in order to address this issue, Paul Taggart, a British Professor in Politics offered a distinction between 'principled hard opposition' and 'contingent soft opposition' to European integration.

Taggart's analytical and typological framework in looking to Western Europe shows particular attitudes in a country's membership to the EU whether it falls into the first or second case. However, when it comes to the UK, its reluctant attitude toward Europe is positioned somewhere between "Soft" Euroscepticism and "Hard" Euroscepticism. Hard Euroscepticism means opposition towards everything about EEC/EU integration, and the soft version of this phenomenon is against some specific aspects of integration into the policies of

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the EEC/EU. Moreover, to set the boundaries between Hard and Soft Euroscepticism, three factors shaping the parties' opposition to the EEC/EU are set. In this case, "the parties reject the principle of cooperation at a political European level, reject the European policy and institutions, and are adamantly against future cooperation at the European level" (Taggart, 2010, P.5).

Euroscepticism has also a top-down ideal types that respond to the level of opposition to the EU with a form of a binary opposition. "Euroscepticism is described as "(EU optimism/pessimism) produced by intersecting orientations towards the European Union with orientations towards the idea of European integration (Europhilia[1] /Europhobia[2])" (Kopecky and Mudde , 2002 : p.301–303). The collision between parties' top-down opposition strives to strengthen their position in the political arena. This explanation derives argumentation from the conflicting or the paradoxical political legacy on the issue of European integration. For example, the Conservative government under Macmillan's[3] leadership was less enthusiastic about the EEC than that of his predecessor. In addition, the Conservatives under Tony Blair's government strived to position Britain at the heart of the EU. Finally, the resuscitation of Conservatives under David Cameron premiership knew a paradoxical attitude that ranges from hard to soft Euroscepticism.

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[1]Europhilia a term coined to unveil an optimism toward European Integration

[2] Europhobia is the hostility or opposition among Europeans and non-Europeans against Europeanism (opposing the values of the EU).

[3]Macmillan Maurice Harold Macmillan, 1st Earl of Stockton, (10 February 1894 – 29 December 1986) was a British Conservative politician and statesman who served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 10 January 1957 to 19 October 1963. He was known for his pragmatism, wit and unflappability. Macmillan served in the Grenadier Guards during the First World War. He was wounded three times, most severely in September 1916 during the Battle of the Somme. He spent the rest of the war in a military hospital unable to walk, and suffered pain and partial immobility for the rest of his life. After the war Macmillan joined his family business, and then entered Parliament in the 1924 General Election.

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2. 1. Hard Euroscepticism

Hard Eurosceptics or the 'withdrawalists' unveil 'de facto'[1] opposition to membership or the existence of the EU, and cling to a Brexit process. Paul Taggart was the pioneer researcher whose researches remain the backbones of most works on Euroscepticism today. According to him "Hard Euroscepticism is when a party completely rejects the European Union, the economic and political integration and either objects to their country joining the EU or is in favour of leaving" (Taggart, 2013: p. 63).This definition stressed that Euoscepticism in practice means that parties react against the current form of EU integration as a response to negative values which go against their ideology. This situation yet is salient in the parties who support the withdrawal of their countries from EEC/ EU membership, and whose policies opposed the whole project of European integration. Hence, if Britain has the status of "awkward partner' within the EU, it is because the political arena performs vividly to unveil the key issues related to the 'modus operandi[2] of this organisation.

In the same trend, there is a distinction that added another dimension to the level of opposition. This distinction categorises and emphasises the parties by a strategic and ideological Euroscepticism. In this case the hard Eurosceptics are "pessimist and hold a Europhobia toward the three facets shaping the European Integration" (Kopecky and Mudde:, 2010: p.6). This is a situation whereby parties reject all the three trajectories shaping European integration including principles, practices and future of the EEC/EU. In this view, the term Eurosceptic as is used interchangeably with the term Eurorejects who reject the above three facets of integration. Yet, the involvement in European integration projects, the doubt about membership of the EU community, and the competence of some governmental bodies of the EC/EU disengagement are the main factors shaping the Hard Euroscepticism in the UK.

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[1]*de facto* is a Latin expression that means "in fact, in reality, in actual existence, force, or possession, as a matter of fact

[2]Modus operandi is a Latin phrase, approximately translated as "method of operation". The term is used to describe someone's habits of working, particularly in the context of business or criminal investigations. In English, it is often shortened to *M.O.*

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Yet, the protest-parties adopted general opposition to the existing political systems and structures of the EEC/EU. Moreover, the uncertainty of the integration versus transformation means that policy-makers are faced with keeping a mindful eye on the future relationship within the changing in the global context. In looking to the period between 1945 and 1961, the first issue to be conceived is that the end of the WWII did not sign any radical rethinking of Britain's friction or attraction with Europe. In the first quarter of a century after the WWII, two distinct periods of rejecting closer European integration were salient. The prevailing theme of this era was labelled 'the era of anti-Marketeers[1]'. 'Anti –Marketeers' is an epithet coined to advance arguments more closely on the rejection of membership to the Common Market and all that it stood for. This epithet was also used interchangeably with the EU's pessimists or the EU's Europhilia. The dismissive response to the EEC indeed was shared by the Labour government (1945 to 1951) and the Conservative government (1951-1961).

In fact, the basis of British policy in this era and arena was understood as "Britain would provide a leadership role in Western Europe, but stand aside from European regional co-operation based along federalist line" (Anthony, 2002: p.11).Inspired by this status, the British government under the Labour party (1945-1951) took a more offensive tone, and it was nevertheless active in the diverse initiatives for the achievement of European projects. As the Treaty of Paris 1952 gave birth to the ECSC, the Labours argued that the majestic circle - Commonwealth, Europe and the USA- should always have the first consideration. In the same context, the British political parties adopt the EU issue as a secondary appropriative issue to strengthen their position among the political core (Ibid: p. 256-258). Within the Labour Party, part of the motivation for the majestic circle is that Britain had invested a great deal of effort in establishing the Commonwealth. The Activists valued the Commonwealth because of its multiracial, non-aligned, and non-capitalist nature.

Furthermore, the growth of Nationalism during the same era was to bring the full tide of the British expansion into ebb. Hence, to assuage the more violent forms of nationalism, and help their former colonies to resist exploitation; the British yet adopted a post WW II massive transformation. Britain and its former colonies yet agreed they are 'equal in status, united by

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[1]Anti-Marketeers are those who were against the European Common Market, the term is used interchangeably with Eurosceptics.

common allegiance to the crown, and freely associated as members of British Commonwealth of Nations" .Meanwhile, when returned to power in November 1951, the Conservative government's policy was not different from that of its Labour predecessor.

Ultimately, the conservatives under Churchill (1951-1957) endorsed but didn't participate in the negotiation to create EEC. Yet, if the Labours focus was on the Commonwealth of Nation; the dominant concern of the Conservative was the "Special Relationship". The last quarter of the 19th century indeed witnessed the burst of an overseas precarious balance of power that shifted the centre of gravity of power outside Europe. America and Russia are now ripe for defying the British monopoly. Thereafter, Britain found itself without a role balancing with Europe and banwagoning with USA. Unlike the hard rejectionist Eurosceptics, the Soft eurosceptics advocate involvement without commitment to supranationalism.

2. 2. Soft Euroscepticism

The term is defined as a position 'where there is not a principled opposition to European integration or EU membership, but "where concerns on one or a number of policy areas lead to the expression of qualified opposition to the EU, or where there is a sense that 'national interest' is currently at odds with the EU trajectory" (Taggart and Szczerbiak ,2002: p.7). Even though the British political parties have the same goal which is the withdrawal of their countries from the European Union, they still differ in the extent of withdrawal and in the handling of Europe. This knowledge is crucial if the European Union wants to fight back against this Euroscepticism. Thus, since the term which incorporates many different elements, a nuanced reaction is needed. Furthermore, since the phenomenon from its emergence during the Thatcherite era and onward has taken another dimension, there is a necessity to set parameters which allow distinctions in its degree. The trajectory of Soft Euroscepticism indeed ranges from opposition of certain specific aspects of integration to wholehearted approval of integration but without commitment.

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Soft Eurosceptics therefore are pro-Europeanists who strive to integration without transfer of their national sovereignty into a supranational body. In this case, the political arena is faced with a delicate balancing act: "juggling the reality of available resources within a changing global context, while keeping a mindful eye on the future" (Harvey: 2011, p.4). In his program memorandum labelled as "The Great Project"[1], Macmillan stressed that;

> "Britain, with all its experience, has neither economic nor military power to play a leading role in the world. We face countless challenges: our economy is teetering on the razor's edge, we have a difficult task of transforming the empire into the Commonwealth, there is uncertainty of our relations with the new economic and perhaps political entity that is being created by the six countries of Western Europe; uncertainty in relations with the United States that regard us sometimes as any other country, sometimes as an ally having special and unique status" (Macmillan, The Great Project ,1958).

Only after the sheer lost of power, did Western Europe figured as an arena for regional integration. Yet, confronting the realities of domestic decline and the uncertain international order marked the need for Britain to rethink its European identity, and to have a touch with the continental Europe. However, embarking to an own ultimately successful application to 'European involvement without any commitment' has been a feverish quest that projected its issues into the EU's reform. Soft eurosceptics support the membership to the EU, but oppose further integrationist EU policies as Supranationalism and Federalism[2].The term in its analytic

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[1] The Great Project of Macmillan: In autumn 1960 Macmillan finished the writing of the program memorandum named in the inner circles at Downing Street as the "Great Project". In this paper intended for the discussion in the inner circle of the cabinet, it was directly and honestly stated that Britain was the "power of the second rank." "Britain, with all its experience, has neither economic nor military power to play a leading role in the world. We face countless challenges: our economy is teetering on the razor's edge , we have a difficult task of transforming the empire into the Commonwealth (with special problems posed by colonies inhabited by both Europeans and the local population), there is uncertainty of our relations with the new economic and perhaps
political entity that is being created by the six countries of Western Europe; uncertainty in relations with the United States that regard us sometimes as any other country, sometimes as an ally having special and unique status"
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[2] Federalism refers to the mixed or compound mode of government, combining a general government (the central or 'federal' government) with regional governments (provincial, state, *Land*, cantonal, territorial or other sub-unit governments) in a single political system. Its distinctive feature, exemplified in the founding example of modern federalism of the United States of America under the Constitution of 1789, is a relationship of parity between the two levels of government established. It can thus be defined as a form of government in which there is a division of powers between two levels of government of equal status.

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and practical side determines a position against some specific aspects of integration into the policies of the EU, policy outcomes, and institutional features. Moreover, the term indeed is used interchangeably with the term "Euroreformists" or "Euroenthusiasts" who support both the EU and ever closer union. Euro-enthusiasts ultimately seek to reform the EU rather than abolishing the whole project of integration, especially when national interest is at odds with the EU's trajectory.

This semi-opposition or semi-detached membership is a response to 'a defence of national interest' (Taggart and Szczerbiak, 2008:   p. 2).Furthermore, Soft Euroscepticism in essence loomed in the Premiership of Margaret Thatcher who supported the European integration but rejected the Maastricht Treaty. Thatcher firmly opposed the endeavour of this regime to establish a Monetary Union[1] and a Eurozone[2]. In the same harmony, David Cameron[3] struggled for positioning Britain in a reformed EU. His premiership added a new

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[1] Monetary Union An economic and monetary union is a type of trade bloc which is composed of an economic union (common market and customs union) with a monetary union. It is to be distinguished from a mere monetary union (e.g. the Latin Monetary Union in the 19th century), which does not involve a common market. This is the sixth stage of economic integration. EMU is established through a currency-related trade pact. An intermediate step between pure EMU and a complete economic integration is the fiscal union.

[2] Eurozone officially called the euro area, is a monetary union of 19 of the 28 European Union (EU) member states which have adopted the euro (€) as their common currency and sole legal tender. The other nine members of the European Union continue to use their own national currencies, although most of them are obliged to adopt the euro in future. The eurozone consists of Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece,Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain. Other EU states (except for Denmark and the United Kingdom) are obliged to join once they meet the criteria to do so. No state has left, and there are no provisions to do so or to be expelled. Andorra, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City have formal agreements with the EU to use the euro as their official currency and issue their own coins. Kosovoand Montenegro have adopted the euro unilaterally, but these countries do not officially form part of the eurozone and do not have representation in the European Central Bank (ECB) or in the Eurogroup.

[3] David William Donald Cameron, (born 9 October 1966), is a British politician who is at present the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Leader of its Conservative Party, and Member of Parliament for the Oxford shireconstituency of Witney. In 2005, he won the Conservative Party leadership election. Following the election of a hung parliament in the 2010 general election, Cameron became Prime Minister as the leader of a coalition between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. He was re-elected Prime Minister in the 2015 election, when his party won a parliamentary majority for the first time since 1992. He was first elected to the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 2001. In 2011, Cameron became the first UK Prime Minister to 'veto' a European Union treaty. Cameron's government introduced a nationwide referendum on voting reform in 2011, and agreed to a Scottish independence referendum in September 2014, which resulted in a 'No' to independence majority

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chapter to the history of Euroscepticism known as Brexit[1]. During the EU's economic crisis, the Conservative sceptics started to lobby their leader for a Brexit, and yet the later found himself in dilemma. The issue of EU membership has indeed divided Prime Minister David Cameron's Conservative Party, alienated his Liberal Democrat coalition partners, and threatened to undermine the role of Britain in the EU.

The way soft and hard Euroscepticism implicitly suggests a particular feature of Eurosceptical attitudes to Europe. The two types unveil a passive position towards the EU, maintaining a support for the current status quo of the European integration process, but dismissing any further progress, transformation or extension. The usefulness of differentiating between the two types lies not only in nuancing the descriptive qualities of the concept, but on the fundamental re-casting on which is an EU member's policies incompatible with the trajectory of the European projects. Meanwhile, expanding this narrow understanding; Euroscepticism "needs to be seen as a particular manifestation of schools of sceptical thought about the value of Britain's involvement with moves toward supranational European integration.

Yet, in his book "Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties Since 1945", Foster Anthony[2] identified five Schools to Euroscepticism. Precisely, three of them are compatible with the main factors shaping the phenomenon of Euroscepticism in Britain. These Schools can be summed in: 1) the Behaviouralist School, 2) International Political Economy School and 3) the Conservative Party-based Euroscepticism School.

3. The Diverse Schools of Eurosceptocism

The surge and resurgence of Euroscepticism since 1945 has triggered proliferation of concepts and approaches that gave rise to quite diverse stances of sceptical thintank. Each school endeavours to make assessment on to what extend can the qualitative and quantitative

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[1]Brexit is an abbreviation of "British exit" that mirrors the term Grexit. It refers to the possibility that Britain will withdraw from the European Union. The country will hold an in-out referendum on its EU membership on June 23.

[2] Professor Anthony William Forster, is a British political scientist and former British Army officer. He is the current Vice-Chancellor of the University of Essex and was previously Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Durham University.

changes in the European Union trigger Euroscepticism. Moreover, the schools advanced competing explanations for the problematic relationship between Britain and the continental Europe. Providing us with a powerful lens for illuminating the British strategies which range from parties positions and governmental negotiating postures to public attitudes, the previous Schools strive to give diverse definition, data, methods and scope.

3. 1. The BehaviouralistSchool

Accordingly, Behaviouralists view all behaviour as a response to a stimulus as they deem that what we do is determined, controlled, and dominated by the environment we are in. The environment in effect "provides motivation, impulse ad inducement to which we respond, and the environments we have been in the past caused us to learn to respond to stimuli in particular ways" (Ertmer and Newby, 2013, p:47).May be the main feature in the behviouralisit approach is the "operant conditioning" which can yield either positive or negative reinforcement. The operant conditioning in essence implies that people learn to perform new behaviours through the consequences of the things they do and manage. If the behaviour they produce yields reinforcement then the likelihood of that behaviour being repeated intensifies and strengthens in future. Yet, the consequence can be reinforced in two ways: either the person gets something good (positive reinforcement) or they avoid something bad (negative reinforcement).

In the same fashion, Behaviouralist School strived to shed light on the droopy motivation of British government in applying to join the EEC. F.S Northedge[1] who is the main activist in this School argues that there was a droopy political elite as well public commitment to European involvement. The Behaviouralist School therefore focuses on the analytical and practical embodiment in the response to the European project: the British identity, the EFTA as a last resort, and the British parliamentary sovereignty. Furthermore, the discourses and speeches of the Political Elite through which the European question has

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[1] Frederick Samuel Northedge (16 October 1918 – 3 March 1985) was a British Professor of International Relations at theLondon School of Economics. The London School of Economics and Political Science (commonly known as the London School of Economicsor LSE) .LSE is a public research university located in London, England and a constituent college of the federal University of London. Founded in 1895 by Fabian Society members Sidney Webb, Beatrice Webb, Graham Wallas and George Bernard Shaw for the betterment of society, LSE joined the University of London in 1900 and first issued degrees to its students in 1902.

been questioned played a decisive role in fuelling Euroscepticism in Britain. To well understand the British reluctant attitude toward Regional Integration, it is more useful to shed light on some historic events that changed the political climate in Europe and brought the full tide of the British supremacy into ebb.

3.1. 1.   Britain and the "us-them" relations

General de Gaulle held a press conference to set out his reasons for vetoing Harold Macmillan's application for membership where he stressed the following:

> "Britain is insular, maritime, bound up by its trade, its markets, its food supplies, with the most varied and often the most distant countries. Her activity is essentially industrial and commercial, not agricultural. She has, in all her work, very special, very original, habits and traditions. In short, the nature, structure, circumstances peculiar to England are very different from those of other continentals. How can Britain, in the way that she lives, produces, trades, be incorporated into the Common Market as it has been conceived and functions?… It is predictable that the cohesion of all its members, which would soon be very large, very diverse, would not last for very long and that, in fact, it would seem like a colossal Atlantic community under American dependence and direction, and that is not at all what France wanted to do and is doing, which is a (De Gaulle ,1963)

The construction of British identity took place through identifying Europe as the 'Other'. This perception remains a prevalent feeling among the population and British elites today. Yet, as a pioneer of n the post-colonial literature, Frantz Fanon[1] developed the idea of the 'Other' in his writing to be a key concern in postcolonial studies. To him "the Other is the "not me", he is the Other. (Hasan and Al-Saidi, 2014: p.1). His theory indeed unveils the ways to maintain authority and control over the 'Other'. In this sense, an imperialist must see the

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[1]Frantz Omar Fanon (20 July 1925- 6 December 1961) was a Martinique- born Afro Caribbean psychiatrist, philosopher, revolutionary, and writer whose works are influential in the fields of post-colonial studies, critical theory, and Marxism. As an intellectual, Fanon was a political radical, and a Marxist humanist concerned with the psychopathology of colonization, and the human, social, and cultural consequences of decolonization. In the course of his work as a physician and psychiatrist, Fanon supported the Algerian War of Independence from France, and was a member of the Algerian National Liberation Front. For more than four decades, the life and works of Frantz Fanon have inspired national liberation movements and other radical political organizations in Palestine, Sri Lanka, the U.S. and South Africa.

'Other' as different from the 'Self', and he has further to maintain sufficient identity with the 'Other' to valorise and increase control over him. Delving thoroughly into this concept, Fanon stressed that the "Other" lacks identity, propriety, purity and literality. In this sense the 'other' is described as a foreigner; the one who does not belong to a group; does not speak a given language and does not have the same customs. Therefore, 'the Other' is the unfamiliar, the uncanny, the unauthorised, the inappropriate, and the improper" (Ibid).

Geographically, the British people live on an island on the edge of the continent, and have always been inspired by the oceans. Historically, the British founded the most wide-ranging empire in world history. The British Empire at its climax was much larger than anything created by other empires, and the influence of its geo-political expansion went much deeper than any other empire of comparable size. The British, launched the Industrial Revolution, and determined the political development of North America and Australia. They further united and pacified the Indian sub-continent and more extensively, they managed to keep vast Asian and African colonies in a sort of club. In fact, a fine covetousness mixed with heroism had enabled the British to leave Europe all together behind and become a world state. The Imperial achievements of more than five centuries have enabled the British to occupy the centre of gravity of power of three circles: USA, the former colonies and Europe. Churchill[1] further advanced this idea by stating that:

> "The first circle for us is naturally the British Commonwealth and Empire, with all that that comprises. Then there is also the English-speaking world in which we, Canada, and the other British Dominions and the United States play so important a part. And finally there is United Europe. These three majestic circles are co-existent and if they are linked together there is no force or combination which could overthrow them or even challenge them" (Churchill: 1948, p. 416-418)

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[1]Churchill Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill, (30 November 1874 – 24 January 1965) was a British statesman who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955. Churchill was also an officer in the British Army, a historian, a writer (as Winston S. Churchill), and an artist. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature, and was the first person to be made an honorary citizen of the United States.

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The xenophobia[1] of collective identity made the relationship between national and European identity more complicated. Scholars of nationalism commonly argue that there are many different traits which provide the foundation for national identity, and that nations differ in the mix of the traits that form the basis of their identity. Precisely, the distinction between civic, political, or territorial on one hand; and ethnic and cultural nations on the other hand is one of the most widely employed conceptual building blocks in the study of nationalism. Hence, the political and the economic dimension of the European projects were then seen as undermining Britain by fatally dwarfing its international prestige. The relation "us-them" is an identification that remains prevalent among the population and British elites today.

3.1. 2.   EFTA as the Last Resort: Europe at Sixes and Sevens

The rebuilding of Europe in the aftermath of WWII required a Franco-German reconciliation through intertwining the resources of heavy industry. In his famous speech to the academic youth held at the University of Zurich in 1946, Churchill stated that:

> "…there is a remedy which ... would in a few years make all Europe ... free and ... happy. It is to re-create the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe" (Ibid)

Broadly speaking, it was john Monnet[2] who gave the political weight to Churchill plan. In 1952, the plan has been capped with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community EGSC. Furthermore, during the negotiations of the ECSC, Britain as one of the main producers of both participated in the process but withdrew when the supranational power of the Community was defined. Thereafter, Belgium's proposal for creating a common

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[1] Xenophobia is the fear of that which is perceived to be foreign or strange. Xenophobia can manifest itself in many ways involving the relations and perceptions of an in group towards an out group, including a fear of losing identity, suspicion of its activities, aggression, and desire to eliminate its presence to secure a presumed purity. Xenophobia can also be exhibited in the form of an "uncritical exaltation of another culture" in which a culture is ascribed "an unreal, stereotyped and exotic quality.

[2] John Monnet was a French political economist and diplomat. He is regarded by many as the chief architect of European unity and the founding father of the European Union.

market of coal and steel gave some impetus to develop the ECSC into a European Economic Community (EEC). However' this couldn't change Britain´s dismissive response.

Yet, to curb the potential hegemony of the EEC before it becomes too strong, Britain claimed to admire the economic and commercial freedom of EFTA[1] as against the political straitjacket of EEC. The EFTA was founded as a result of 'the Stockholm Convention'[2] in 1960. Britain indeed was the pioneer mover in its establishment as an intended alternative to the EEC, which had been launched two years earlier. The other signatories included Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland and Finland, Iceland, and Liechtenstein. Anyway, the idea behind EFTA was to promote a free trade association rather than a supranational organisation, and to maintain the sovereignty of each individual country.

Moreover, EFTA as a simple free trade strives to intensify free movement of people, goods, capital and services. However, while the EFTA was the last resort against the EEC's hegemony; the attempt of enlargement into an EFTA was not overly successful. Ultimately, the benefits for Britain were marginal when trading with the EFTA states whose economies were far smaller than that of Britain. Consequently, in a world divided into two rival trading camps, or according to the press at the time 'Europe at sixes and sevens'[3]; 'the Sevens' were not able to restore the centre of gravity of power in their own interest.

3.1. 3.   British Parliamentary Sovereignty

One of the basic principles of the unwritten constitution of the UK is the Sovereignty of Parliament. Because the movement toward supranationalism emerged out of the currents and pressures of national politics, it is in the prelude for a federal Europe that Britain strived to an involvement without commitment. The underpinning of British system of government is very

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[1]EFTA the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) is a common market consisting of four European countries that operates in parallel with – and is linked to – the European Union (EU). The EFTA was established on 3 May 1960 as a trade bloc-alternative for European states who were either unable or unwilling to join the then-European Economic Community (EEC) which has now become the EU.

[2]The Stockholm Convention was the treaty which established the EFTA, and was signed on 4 January *1960* in the Swedish capital by seven countries (known as the "outer seven").

[3]Europe at sixes and sevens means the EEC members versus the EFTA members.

clear: the parliamentary sovereignty. In effect, this means that the British parliament is the supreme law-making body. Therefore, it is reluctant to transfer its sovereignty and it opts for the intergovernmental cooperation structure instead. Broadly speaking, in order to become a member of the EEC, "Britain had to accept the Communities Act as a legal basis of its membership. However, the UK continues to define its cooperation with Europe as intergovernmental and not as a constant process of political integration in which supranational institutions take precedence over all domestic governments"(Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin, 2010).

Meanwhile, membership of the EU has changed some of the ways in which its member's parliament operates. In many directives, decisions and regulations are issued by the EU. As a fait accompli, seeking to harmonise laws and adopt common policies in economic, political, and social issues, the European Union was to burst a regionalised European world within supranational policies. In effect, The EU of today has developed massively, and its development has been in earnest a 'big-bung event' characterised by the widening and the deepening of policy coverage. In fact, because the involvement process within the EU has gone further than integration that the political evolvement has been a very lively site for debatable speculation. The European governments that choose to be members of the EU make an important decision to give up some of their national sovereignty. In other words, member states' national policies and laws are equally bound by the EU institutions, norms and regulations.

Therefore, the modus operandi of the organisation was significantly different from the way in which politics operated in the United Kingdom". (Alistair, 2007: p. 132).The Treaty of European Union (TEU) also known as the Maastricht Treaty "has extended the economic development of the (SEA)[1], and also has given supranational powers to European

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[1]SEA or the Single European Act was the first major revision of the 1957 Treaty of Rome. The Act set the European Community an objective of establishing a single market by 31 December 1992, and codified European Political Cooperation, the forerunner of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. It was signed at Luxembourg on 17 February 1986, and at The Hague on 28 February 1986. It came into effect on 1 July 1987, under the Delors Commission.

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Institutions" (Ibid, p. 18).The European Parliament[1] for example had its power extended from 'co-operation to co-decision maker"(Ibid, p. 18).

Obviously, regional integration is a process that encourages states to pool their sovereignty in order to gain economic, political and social clout. Therefore, the idea of ceding aspects of national sovereignty to a supranational body explains the fluctuations inherent in Britain's courant policy. Britain appeared as a reluctant European[2] entity that often refuses to participate in developments suggesting a move towards a closer political union. If powers have been ceded to the EU, this does not mean that Britain has lost its sovereignty. All of the lows imposed by the EU can be repealed if Britain was to withdraw from the EU. The British government may have ceded some aspects of law-making to the EU, but any subsequent parliament can reverse such a decision.

3. 2. International Political Economy School

The prominent author who discussed the support or dislike of the economic aspect of European integration was Earnest .B. Haas[3]. Haas argued that the public concerns about the EU and economic benefits are connected to the efficiency of the EU system whether it carries out its policies effectively or the effectiveness of its bureaucratic set-up. The study of international political economy is predicated on the assumption that in order to understand patterns of interaction and change at the global level, we need to look at both international politics and economics in an integrated manner (Falkner, 2011: p.1). This subject is concerned with the interaction between politics and economics in international relations. This case is salient in the challenges faced by Britain in an era of global economic integration. The focus

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[1]The European Parliament (EP) is the directly elected parliamentary institution of the European Union (EU). Together with theCouncil of the European Union (the Council) and the European Commission, it exercises the legislative function of the EU. The Parliament is composed of 751 (previously 766) members, who represent the second largest democratic electorate in the world.

[2]Reluctant European is an epithet given to Britain by the EU's Members because of its reluctant attitude toward Europe

[3]Ernst Bernard Haas (1924 – March 6, 2003) was a German-American political scientist who made numerous contributions to theoretical discussions in the field of international relations. He was a leading authority on international relations theory,[1] and was the founder of neofunctionalism. Haas was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and acted as a consultant to many national and international organizations.

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will therefore be on the political problems that arise as a consequence of the increasing density of international economic relations. This School in essence introduces the concept of globalisation that is the ongoing process of global economic, political, and social integration.

In this way, the international political economy or IPE School argues that there is a collision between the British economic structure and the EEC/ EU global regime. The responses to the Maastricht Treaty blurred the boundaries between domestic and foreign policy. The treaty indeed marked a watershed in the history of the relation between Britain and the EU. Its core content mentions that "The Union shall be served by a single institutional framework which shall ensure the consistency and the continuity of the activities carried out in order to attain its objectives while respecting and building upon the acquis communautaire'" (The Maastricht treaty, 1992). The EMU thereafter marked the finishing touches to the Maastricht treaty.

The question of single currency was a major Eurosceptic achievement that offered a landmark opportunity for parliament and the general public to unite a common cause and oppose the Euro. The struggle against monetary Union is seen through the opposition to stimulation of interest created by the increasing tendency in the European integration project to resort referendums and ratify treaties. This factor is dominated by Britain's management of its relations with, and participation in the European integration project. The British governments have often used their influence to counter the philosophy of Treaties' ratification and to maintain an opt-out security.

Precisely, 'Treaty Opt-Out' is a unique kind of defection from the EU international negotiations. All the opt-outs in fact are given in order to reject the ratification of the new treaties. Complementarily, an opt-out decision is the outcome of the failure to conclude a treaty between all the member states on a specific integration policy. This process implies that "at least one EU Member State defects from a new common policy, is exempted from it, and is not obliged by the community decisions and legislation in this field for an indeterminate period of time"(Ibid). Therefore, when the Maastricht treaty was ratified in 1993, the Eurosceptics strived to opt-out any theoretical prospect to join the Eurozone and any decision to abolish the pound. Anyway, from 1992 until 2001, the Eurosceptics succeeded in seizing

and creating a range of opportunities to oppose the government's policy on the Euro and in mobilising opinions against the Eurozone. The British recognise, accept, and welcome the historical progression from customs union to political union. The British further acknowledge the contribution of international secretariats in managing co-operation among states and the role of international courts in enforcing laws.

However, when it comes to the economic disaster today known as the Euro, Margaret Thatcher was downright prophetic. As the first woman to lead the Conservative party, Margaret Thatcher pointed out that the EU is a "utopia that could endanger our societies, our liberties, and our ways of life" (Ramiro Toroitino, 2008: p.1). Thatcher's scepticism was formed on many issue including unemployment, the fall of industrial production, and the unfairness current budgetary arrangements. Thatcher further warned that the single currency could not accommodate both industrial powerhouses as Germany and smaller countries such as Greece. Her dismissive response was salient in her article about the EU where she stated that "the Germans put their country first and in doing so they showed up the impossibility of a single currency for a group of such divergent economies as those of Europe" (Thatcher, Article about the EU , 1992).

Anyway, the struggle against Monetary Union reached its ebb by exercising the opt-out clause in the EMU law, and therefore a rejection of the third stage of the EMU had been ratified. Thus, the British monetary authorities indeed still confirm deep concerns about the exhaustiveness of the Maastricht criteria and the economic benefits Britain would enjoy by entering the Eurozone.

4. The Conservatives- Based Euroscepticism

Euroscepticism is viewed as a party position in relation to other party positions, and it is also conceptualised as a relative point on a continuum. Identifying a Eurosceptic party is based on attempting to locate it within this typology of party positions on European policy. Thus, a party-based Euroscepticism is approached as an actor-based phenomenon and "as a specific manifestation involving the use of the rhetoric or discourse of political contestation of the European project as it is currently expressed through the EU" (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: p. 35).

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Britain has witnessed a conflicting opposition to European integration ranging from hard to soft Euroscepticism. The trajectory of the ebb and tide of opposition brought about a paradoxical legacy where each Prime Ministers exhibited a reluctant attitude. For Agnès Alexandre Collier[1], Eurosecptics are to be found intensively within the Conservative party comparing to the other parties (Collier, 1998 : p.17). In this sense, the term is used to describe opponents of European integration who were first galvanised by the Thacherite Thatcher Burges Speech in September 1988. Moreover, the term in its practical sense came as a response to the ratification of the Maastricht treaty between 1991 and 1993. Hence, the influences and the activities of the Conservatives represent an introductory overview on the issue.

The Conservatives indeed are the key gatekeepers in the process of political representation of the Eurosceptism. They continually adjust their strategies and tactics in response to new challenges or opportunities. They further play a potent role in planning referendums over European affairs where they mobilise sentiment and agenda-set, and structure the competition over this issue. Most importantly, the conservatives still exercise the key role in determining the shape and content of politics at the domestic and international level. Therefore, the conservatives' responses have been shaped by a combination of their positions on related issues, their strategies for electoral competition, and the dynamics of competition between government and opposition. Furthermore, the Conservatives' opposition to European involvement is assessed on the basis of three indexes: first, the opposition to the principles, second to the practice, and third, to future of European Union. (Collier: 1998, p.17) In effect, Euroscepticism has divided the conservative party, and has even contributed to the collapse of a handful of governments.

To well understand the conservative Euroscepticism, it is more useful to shed light on the factors behind the paradoxical legacy that each prime minister has exhibited during his premiership. This analysis starts from the emergence of the Thatcherite legacy to the Cameron's ambivalent strategy.

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[1]AgnèsAlexandreCollier: A professor of Contemporary British Civilisation at the University of Bourgogne - France

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4. 1.   Thatcherism and the Conservative Transformation (1979-1992)

The Conservative-based Euroscepticism knew light in 1979 when Margaret Thatcher took office, and lasted until the election of Tony Blair[1] in 1997. Yet, for almost 20 years, the Conservatives were leading Britain's European trajectory. It was during this period that Euroscepticism began to roar its enormous head. In fact, Thatcher and the Conservatives had been in the 'Yes' camp[2]. Precisely, with The ratification of the Single European Act (SEA) in1986, the Iron Lady pursued a European policy of engagement (Forster, 2002 : p. 63). Thereafter, with the establishment of the European Single Market by 1992, Thatcherism gave great importance to the abolition of tariff barriers. Thatcher further stressed that she wanted Britain to remain as active part of Europe because leaving could damage the British economy. However, the third pillar of the Maastricht treaty that encompassed creating a single currency and a Eurozone as strong political union marked the conservative ideological transformation.

The Iron Lady[3] introduced Eurosceptical arguments in the Bruges Speech in 1984 where she portrayed Britain's membership of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism ERM as tumultuous experience of economic malaise (Foster,2002: p.64). Her dilemma indeed was on the amount of money Britain contributed to the EC. According to Thatcher, the economic slump was due to the fact that Britain was one of the largest contributors but received the second lowest benefit. The Thatcherite Speech presented three main critical issues toward economic supranationalism in the EEC. The first issues discussed the structure of the EC

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[1] Tony Blair Anthony Charles Lynton Blair (born 6 May 1953), originally known as Anthony Blair, but later is a British Labour Party politician, who served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (UK), from 1997 to 2007.

[2] 'Yes Camp or the pro European Camp' in which Thatcher strived to a European involvement without commitment.

[3] Iron Lady is the nickname of British politician and former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher. It was coined by Captain Yuri Gavrilov in a 24 January 1976 article in the Soviet newspaper *Red Star* about Thatcher's "Britain Awake" speech where she expressed her staunch opposition to the Soviet Union and to socialism. The nickname became popular, transforming Thatcher's image, and helping her and her Conservative Party to win three elections" Iron Lady" has since has been used, along with regional variations, to describe other female heads of government or political figures, even retrospectively. The term describes a woman who is either stubborn and inflexible or strong.[2] It is an allusion to the "Iron Chancellor" of Prussia, Otto von Bismarck.

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which urged the Member states for a closer integration. Thatcher broadly viewed the single voice of the Community as 'suppressing nationalism and concentrating power in one centre". (Kruhmalova, 2014:p.29).Thacherism legacy perceived the Maastricht treaty a highly damaging phenomenon which would entail decentralisation of power and ship away intergovermentalism.

The second issue in Thatcherism focused on the further extension of the EEC which brought about n economic and political union. In her Bruges Speech , Thatcher told the public that "there was no need to the ratification of the Maastricht treaty, and the possible creation of EMU within new regulation would raise the cost of employment and "make Europe's labour market less flexible and less competitive with foreign suppliers" ((Thatcher, Bruges Speech 1988). May be the main issue discussed in her Bruges Speech was pivotal over the EMU[1] i.e. the Single currency. This was salient when she asserted that "when Britain joined the EMU, it believed not that it was a Fixed Rate System[2] (FRS) but an adjustable one, but when it was treated as a stage towards a single currency it became far more rigid"(Ibid). It is obvious that this regimecould not accommodate both industrial powerhouses as Germany and smaller countries such as Greece. The Thatcherite legacy perceived the EEC as a 'utopia that could endanger British societies, liberties, and ways of life" (Ibid).

Consequently, Britain was sliding into recession and high inflation. In addition to that, the deteriorating economic activity was making the Pound less attractive. As a result, Britain entered a period of sustained economic stagnation and industrial decline. Thatcher ultimately set Britain on a far more anti European path than it was otherwise likely to take. During that time she announced her famous intention "We want to get our money back" (Ibid).

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[1] EMU The Economic and Monetary Union is an umbrella term for the group of policies aimed at converging the economies of all member states of the European Union at three stages. Both the 19 eurozone States and the 9 non-euro states are EMU members.
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[2] Fixed Rate System FRS is a type of exchange rate regime where a currency's value is fixed against either the value of another single currency, to a basket of other currencies, or to another measure of value, such as gold. There are benefits and risks to using a fixed exchange rate. A fixed exchange rate is usually used in order to stabilise the value of a currency by directly fixing its value in a predetermined ratio to a different, more stable or more internationally prevalent currency (or currencies), to which the value is pegged.. This makes trade and investments between the two currency areas easier and more predictable, and is especially useful for small economies.

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Meanwhile; tenuous but tenacious, Thatcher's key feature approach was to resist the constraints imposed by the EEC and to begin to create a distinctive approach to the Community and cooperation in general, (Gifford, 2008: p.90). In her daunting journey of struggle for economic union, Thatcher sought to rectify the injustice in the budget benefits. Therefore, the Conservative Party's position under Margaret Thatcher was characterised by Douglas Hurd[1], one of her Foreign Secretaries, as 'No No Yes. According to Hug, "Thatcher used the vocabulary of sceptics but ultimately acquiesced in, and at times added momentum to, further European integration.(Forster,2002 : p. 63). Hence, while resisting an economic supranationalism, Thatcherism prevented any serious resistance to a series of policies which took Britain more deeply into an 'ever closing union'. Since then, the drumbeat of soft Euroscepticism has continued to grow in Britain. Thatcher was in effect portrayed as the "spiritual mother" of Euroscepticism, but with hindsight, one can argue that Thatcher's Euroscepticism was actually limited to her vision of Europe and her divisive style.

Insofar as Thatcher was pro-European, her policy was based on the principle of soft Euroscepticim while a series of compromises and concessions to secure key objectives are predominant. Meanwhile, when Thatcher decided not to stand for the leadership contest, and when she finally decided, John Major2 found himself the new bearer of the Thatcherite legacy.

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[1]Douglas Richard Hurd, (born 8 March 1930) is a British Conservative politician who served in the governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major from 1979 to 1995. Born in the market town of Marlborough in Wiltshire, Hurd first entered Parliament in February 1974 as MP for the Mid Oxfordshire constituency (Witney from 1983). His first government post was as Minister for Europe from 1979 to 1983 (being that office's inaugural holder) and he served in several Cabinet roles from 1984 onwards, including Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1984–85), Home Secretary (1985–89) and Foreign Secretary (1989–95). He stood unsuccessfully for the Conservative Party leadership in 1990, but retired from frontline politics during a Cabinet reshuffle in 1995. In 1997, Hurd was elevated to the House of Lords and is one of the Conservative Party's most senior elder statesmen. He is a patron of the Tory Reform Group and remains an active figure in public life.

[2]John Major is a British ConservativeParty politicianwasthePrimeMinisteroftheUnitedKingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1990 to 1997. He was Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Thatcher Government and was the Member of Parliament for Huntingdon from 1979 to 2001.

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4. 2.   John Major and the Struggle against Monetary Union (1990-1997)

To gain some relief from the deep-set Conservative fragmentation over Europe, John Major[1] started negotiation with parliament on the right to determine whether or not Britain would participate in the final stage of the EMU. His aim was to develop a strategy that was built on the idea to place British Conservatives in the mainstream of European politics (Forster,1998 :p. 352- 357). In 1992, only two years after the British entry into ERM, the member states of the EEC ratified the Maastricht Treaty. The ratification indeed yielded the EU in its current form. However, because of its three supranationalist pillars (economics, defense, and justice affairs), the treaty was described as "opaque and complicated text" (Church And Phinnemore,1994,:p.1). After the Conservative Party chose Major as the leader in 1990, the intra-party cleavages on the question of Britain's position started loomed. Consequently, Major strived to secure some concessions.

According to Major, ERM[2] entry does not mean a way leading inexorably to Single Market. Meanwhile, the treaty was signed at the same time when Major called another election for a second leadership mandate. However, his election campaign was marked by the lack of debate about Britain's place in the EU" (Hull, 2014: p.19).This situation in fact fuelled Euroscepticsim in the both major parties. The conservatives and the labours indeed remained unreconciled to Major's leadership, and yet found themselves outflanked by a Prime Minister whose public image comprised a blurry attitude toward the EU. The parties were experienced an intra-division and none of them considered EMU as a serious endeavour. Consequently, in 1992, the UK opted out of the third stage of the European economic and monetary union as a condition for its adoption of the Maastricht Treaty.

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[1] John Major (born 29 March 1943) is a British Conservative Party politician who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1990 to 1997. He was Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Thatcher Government and was the Member of Parliament for Huntingdon from 1979 to 2001.

[2] ERM The European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) was a system introduced by the European Economic Community on 13 March 1979, as part of the European Monetary System (EMS), to reduce exchange rate variability and achieve monetary stability in Europe, in preparation for Economic and Monetary Union and the introduction of a single currency, the euro, which took place on 1 January 1999.

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Under the provisions of the opt-out, the UK follows an independent monetary policy and maintains the Pound Sterling under a floating exchange rate regime against the Euro. Since the opt-out, participation by the UK in the (EMU) has remained an open question, and the related debate is quite active.

However, Major spent a significant amount of time in his endeavour to assuage the more violent forms of Euroscepticismand to tear down the rift between the eurosceptics and the Euro-enthusiasts within the both parties. Therefore, history has viewed Major as a relatively weak leader, wavering where stern leadership was needed and heading a government unable to deliver on anything but cheap slogans and political scandals.(Pilbeam and al: 2012, p.1).Consequently, the number of rebels exceeded the Conservative majority in the House of Commons, and thus the government of John Major came close to lose the confidence . In fact, Major's triumph was short-lived and his political legacy on placing Britain at the heart of EU was marked by the end of the Conservative era.

After divisions over Europe had toppled the Thatcher's Government and Major's Government, it was clear to Tony Blair that the issue on Europe was contentious enough to create intra-party problems. Later, after the difficult Maastricht Treaty negotiations, "the Prime Minister Tony Blair attempted to locate Britain at the heart of Europe"(Jokela,2013: p.4). Describing the Eurosceptics as "virus", Tony Blair laboured hardest to engage Britain within The EU.

However, when he began the New Labour movement, he asserted that he wanted to be a leader in the European Union. However, since the mid- 1990s, so long as Eurozone seemed beset with economic crisis, the British economy has out-performed the leading economies of Western Europe. Furthermore; Blair's pro-European posture suffered a setback on the continent because of the US-led war on Iraq in 1992 which proved to be a highly divisive issue in Europe. Yet, by prioritising Britain's Special Relationship; Blair distanced himself from the EU. Meanwhile, thought Britain and the European Union are drifting apart; the Conservative party's return to power under David Cameron in 2010 was greeted by the EU's Member States. Experiencing the reluctant attitude toward Europe, Cameron strived to

position Britain at the heart of a reformed EU. However, his journey into 'reform versus Brexit'has fuelled Euroscepticism and brought about an ambivalent strategy.

4. 3. Fuelling Euroscepticism under David Cameron (2010-2016)

If Thatcher's Burges speech has given the phenomenon of Euroscepticism an extremist connotation, Cameron's Bloomberg speech[1] has added a new chapter to the British-European troubled history labelled as "Reform or Brexit. Reforming the EU and reassessing its competences are Cameron's priorities that overlap with the European roadmap". When he gave his speech, the Prime Minister left nothing to chance. Cameron pointed out that "Britain is uncomfortable in the Union as it is, developing. It must now be completed and ensured that developments in the Euro area – of which Britain will never be a member, , do not compromise in any way Britain's access to this market" (Cameron, Bloomberg Speech, 2013). Cameron's blackmail was salient in his watershed announcement: "either you satisfy our wishes, and in doing so we would have to negotiate a new treaty, or you bear the risk of seeing British voters deciding a Brexit from the European Union in 2017"(Ibid).

Thus, the future of the British EU membership has become his most pressing concerns. However, because the doubts have been raised as to whether a referendum can settle the long-running arguments, a wider political pressure is mounting for other parties' leader to accept Cameron's commitment vis-à-vis the European project. This pressure yielded parties' division, an intra-Liberal-Conservative coalition, and the rise of a hard Eurosceptic party the UKIP. All these issues indeed laid the groundwork for the Reform Vs Brexit. Cameron's ambivalent strategy has raised an open question: "why does his policy toward the EU swing between outright opposition and wholehearted approval?

Launching a re-negotiation process, Cameron focuses on the necessity of cutting EU's red tape for reform. Cameron promised first to attempt a new settlement for the UK within the EU (Slaughter and May, 2015: p. 1). In the likelihood of the failure of this endeavour, Cameron vowed that "his government will use the issue of Europe as a political tool, making

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[1]Bloomberg Speech was published under the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government in 23 Jan.2013 while Prime Minister David Cameron discussed the future of the European Union and the UK.

claims about Europe depending on public sentiment and electoral gains" (Hull: 2014, p.22). Consequently, to prevent the defeat of his future government, Cameron strived to secure renegotiation; concessions; and convince the public to answer the question of Europeanism on the ballot paper. If he fails to secure these issues, he will pave the way to Brexit.

5. The Path to Brexit

The issue of EU membership transcends mere political debate to omnipresence in contemporary public discourse. In consequence of alterations in public sentiment, the prospect of Britain leaving the EU is growing increasingly. A prominent survey estimated that 51% of the British population was in favour of leaving the EU in June 2013[1].When in a referendum held on 5 June 1975 the British voters were asked to approve or reject their country's involvement into the European Community, passed by the House of Commons four years previously; 67.2% of voters said yes to Europe Forty-two years on, in 2017, it may be that these same voters could go the adverse way during a new referendum, deciding to withdraw from the European Union (Dauvergne: 2015, p.3). Thus, in an address given on 23 January 2013, David Cameron undertook to organise a referendum by the end of 2017 to decide whether Britain should remain within the European Union – provided that it has obtained a special status from its partners, with reduced participation– or should purely withdraw from the EU. His pledge on referendum came to raise global questions over possible outcomes and repercussions.

When he gave his address at the London headquarters of Bloomberg on 23 January 2013, the Prime Minister left nothing to chance. Cameron pointed out that "Britain is uncomfortable in the Union as it is, developing. It must now be completed and ensured that developments in the Euro area – of which Britain will never be a member, , do not compromise in any way Britain's access to this market" (Cameron, Blommberg Speech: 2013) .Brexit is a term coined by the Media as the abbreviation of 'British Exit'. This epithet in essence unveils the possibility that the UK might withdraw from the EU. In fact, after more

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[1]A survey by Survation, for Sky News in June 2013, reveals the degree to which opinions on Britain's EU membership are subject to alteration: 61% of the individuals who voted 'OUT' would reconsider if certain policy areas were renegotiated, whereas 80% of those who voted to remain 'IN' the EU would favour withdrawal if further EU amalgamation were to occur.

than 40 years of membership this process looked unreal to many. This has been the case since the British Prime Minister Cameron announced the organisation of a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU before the end of 2017. Should his political party remain in power after the 8th May 2015 parliamentary elections?

As the 2015 elections gave the Conservative Party a majority in the House of Commons, Cameron confirmed that a referendum would indeed be organised in June 2017. However, during his current premiership, the European financial and economic crisis has placed the British relationship with the EU under increasing strain. The Government indicates that the deficit reduction, the financial inclusion, and continuing to ensure economic recovery are the most urgent issues facing Britain.

5. 1. The Impact of Eurozone Crisis on the British Financial Inclusion

Financial inclusion is a broad concept considered as a critical element that makes growth inclusive as access to finance. This process indeed enables economic agents to make longer-term consumption and investment decisions, participate in productive activities, and cope with unexpected short-term shocks (Park, Cyn-Young and Jr, Rogelio V. Mercado, 2015: p.1).Financial inclusion is the process that ensures the ease of access, availability, and usage of formal financial system for all members of an economy. Furthermore the Financial Inclusion System FIS has the ability to generate, increase, and spur the economic growth. May be the most salient goal that The United Nations defined in the financial inclusion system is 'the access at a reasonable cost for all households to a full range of financial services, including savings or deposit services, payment and transfer services, credit and insurance. Thus, FIS it is now recognised as an important part of the mainstream thinking on economic development based on country leadership.

With the establishment of the Financial Inclusion Commission (FIC) in 2010, Cameron aimed to 'put financial inclusion back on the political agenda ahead of the 2015 General Election' (FIC, 2015:p.1). An ambition to investigate what may be done to close the gaps the Crisis has set pushed Cameron to set out provision for a long term- financial welfare society in the UK. The four years that Cameron has been in power, the Eurozone crisis has mushroomed. With the intention of getting people back into employment, Cameron strived to

reduce public debt through austerity and reforming the welfare[1] system. However, the effect of the Eurozone Crisis unveiled that it became increasingly difficult to manage financially with increased levels of unemployment reduced incomes and increased living costs.

Consequently, "the austerity drives coupled with wider economic instability created a financially unstable environment for many households and individuals both in and out of work. This has had a major impact on financial inclusion" (Appleyard, Lindsey: 2015, p.1). Though there is consensus on how financial inclusion is defined, there is no standard method by which it can be measured. Yet, contemporary studies offer varying measures of financial inclusion that construct financial access indicators for Welfare State. The financial inclusion precisely lies on the following intermediaries: household budgets, bank accounts, savings, and pensions. Financial Inclusion thus has the potential to bring about welfare state (Rowlingson and McKay's 2015).On the whole, providing a platform for saving money amongst the lower income category, allowing the entrepreneurial spirit to increase outputs and prosperity, and opening the doors of to the low income, are the salient intermediates that can give a boost to the economy.

Moreover, "recognising the link between financial inclusion, poverty, and income inequality at the country level can help policy makers design to implement programs that will broaden access to financial services (Ibid). However, within the British Government, the remedy of plug gaps in financial services has been a daunting task. Since 2010, there has not been a clear financial inclusion strategy. Cameron's agenda on economic reform has been abandoned. Furthermore, "because of the continuing squeeze on household budgets and other intermediaries; it became difficult for people to manage on their incomes when their incomes are going down and their expenses are going up" (Lindsey, 2015 :p.5). Anyway, in the four years of his premiership, the financial inclusion deficit increased. With the goal o economic

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[1]Welfare System: Welfare is the provision of a minimal level of well-being and social support for all citizens, sometimes referred to as *public aid*. In most developed countries welfare is largely provided by the government, and to a lesser extent, charities, informal social groups, religious groups, and inter-governmental organisations. The *welfare state* expands on this concept to include services such as universal healthcare and unemployment insurance.

recovery, the British government applied spending cuts[1] to reduce the national deficit. Unfortunately, the plan of national deficit was not fruitful and financial inclusion remained as a fringe subject.

As a result, the conservative backbenchers repeatedly rebelled in votes on UK relations with Europe, and yet the conservative party suffered at the ballot box. Obviously, in examining some current issues in his premiership, Cameron has increasingly been under pressure from the Eurosceptic backbenchers of his own party. As the global economic crisis worsened, Britain expressed a heed about how the Eurozone crisis would jolt and affect its own economy. The financial crisis of 2008, also known as the global financial crisis, is considered by many economists to have been the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930(See the Graph next page). A recent hypothesis on the EU has confirmed that the Eurozone crisis could threaten the collapse of large financial institutions and could potentially be a threat to the City of London's status as the uncontested "financial capital of Europe. The pound suffered its worst days, an issue that created the fears of a growing global recession.

Complementarily, The Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte[2] claims that Britain involvement is necessary to the European Union because of its "banking and financial system which is indispensable to the prosperity of the EU"(Hull: 2014, p.30). In fact, during Cameron's premiership, the European financial and economic crisis has placed the British

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[1] Spending Cut is the act of reducing spending. It is a reduction in the planned or projected budget item.Spending Cuts or Austerity is a set of economic policies implemented with the aim of reducing government budget deficits. Policies grouped under the term 'austerity measures' may include spending cuts, tax increases, or a mixture of both, and may be undertaken to demonstrate the government's fiscal discipline to creditors and credit rating agencies by bringing revenues closer to expenditures. In most macroeconomic models austerity measures generally increase unemployment as government spending falls, reducing jobs in the public and/or private sector. Meanwhile, tax increases reduce household disposable income, thus reducing spending and consumption.

[2] Mark Rutte(born 14 February 1967) is a Dutch politician who has been the Prime Minister of the Netherlands since 14 October 2010, and the Leader of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VolkspartijvoorVrijheid en Democratie - VVD) since 31 May 2006.Rutte previously served as Undersecretary for Social Affairs and Employment from 22 July 2002 to 17 June 2004, andUndersecretary for Education, Culture and Science from 17 June 2004 until 27 June 2006. At the 2006 general election, the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy under Rutte lost six seats, and he becameOpposition Leader. At the following general election in 2010, the VVD won the highest number of votes cast, resulting in their occupying 31 of the 150 seats in the House of Representatives

relationship with the EU under increasing strain. Recognising the importance to tear down Britain's deficit during the 2010-2015 Parliament; Cameron asserted that "deficit reduction, and continuing to ensure economic recovery, is the most urgent issue facing Britain.(Cameron 'The Coalition: Our Programme for Government': 2010, p.8).

Ultimately, Britain's economists expected a persistent recession, and the British currency, the pound, has fared poorly outside the relative shelter of the Eurozone. Accordingly; in the UK there was a large fall in retail where Businesses are hit by falling sales and profitability. As a result; Britain faced increasing problems in securing bank support for continued trading (The Telegraph: 2016). Falls in retail sales and rises in unemployment means the fall of taxes revenues for governments worldwide.

EU Budget deficits

www.economicshelp.org | Source: OECD May 2014
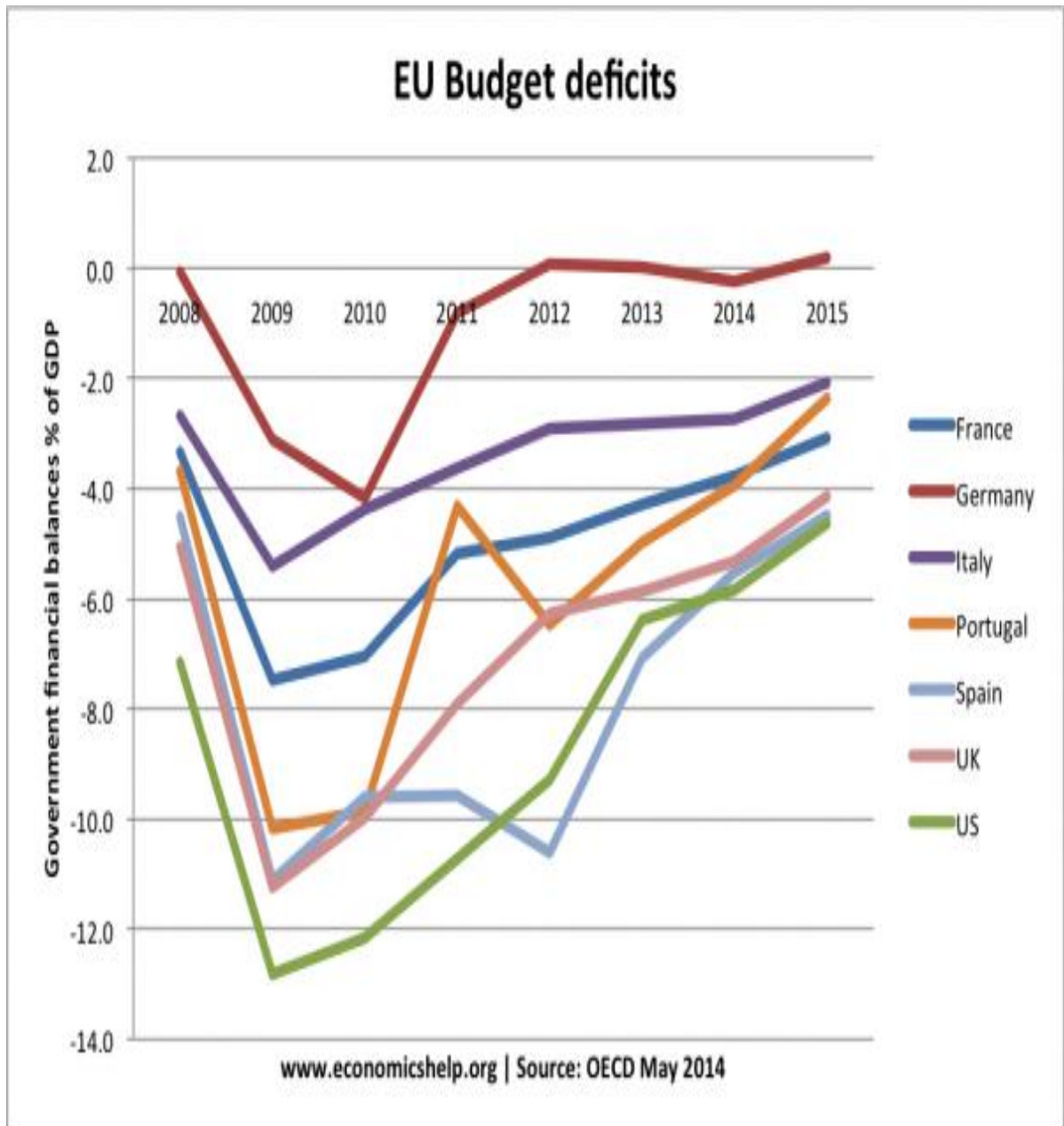
On the objective of reducing budget deficits, the UK as its European partners has not been successful. Therefore, Cameron advocated enforcing EU rules and the idea of encouraging a balanced budget for its struggling European neighbours. Tenuous but tenacious, Cameron and his Conservative backbencher strived in earnest to ship away their contentions over the issues of European integration and seek a solution to Britain's economic

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situation. With this goal in mind, Cameron and his Chancellor George Osborne[1] set out to make spending cuts from 2010 to 2015 in order to reduce the national deficit and prevent Britain from going down the path of Eurozone countries like Greece and Spain. The Treasury Minister George Osborne has already suggested that EU employment and social legislation created a major burden for British small and medium businesses and hence stifles economic growth. According to Osborne, "the fiscal austerity measures would produce five difficult years but would end up being helpful in the long run" (Hull, 2014:p.39).

Unfortunately, from the first year of its application, the economic design did not pan out quite as the government hoped. The following years in fact have shown that the British government underestimated the amount of growth that the British economy would experience. Meanwhile, it is undeniable that Britain has only been able to avoid going the route of Greece because it controls its own monetary policy and currency. Cameron indeed has inherited at hat economic benefits that necessitate political spillover and further European integration. This deeper integration indeed has generated bitter intra-party divisions. Consequently, Cameron's efforts to win special considerations for Britain were belittled by much of the British press.

Approaching that the exemptions for Britain from further EU efforts toward an ever-closer union is a rocky road, Cameron started in earnest to promote an 'In-Out Referendum' to ship away his uphill struggle. Whether Britain votes to stay or leave, the nation is in a very different position compared to the other 27 EU member states. David Cameron's new deal for Britain explicitly states unveils that the requirement to seek an 'ever-closer union' does not apply to the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, if the UK decides to withdraw from the EU, on which legal basis and according to what legal procedures could this happen? The Article 50 from the Lisbon Treaty [2] sets many legal bases on the issue of withdrawal.

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[1] George Osborne (born Gideon Oliver Osborne; 23 May 1971) is a British Conservative Party politician who has been Chancellor of the Exchequer since 2010 and Member of Parliament (MP) for since 2001.

[2] The Treaty of Lisbon (initially known as the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement which amends the two treaties which form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Maastricht Treaty(1993), also known as the Sreaty on European Union, and the Treaty of Rome (1958), also known as the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEEC). The Treaty of Lisbon, renamed the Treaty of Rome to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). entered into force on 1st December 2009

6. The genesis of the withdrawal clause: Article 50 from the TEU

Any Member State decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In this case, the European Council determines many outlines for the process of withdrawal (Article 50(1), TEU[1], 1992). Complementally, the EU negotiates and draws an agreement with that State where an arrangement for its withdrawal and the future of its withdrawal can b set. Furthermore, unlike the accession of new Member States to the EU, the withdrawal of a Member State does not require ratification by the remaining Member States. Article '50(1) TEU 'mentions only the decision of the withdrawing state, in accordance with its constitutional requirements.

Ultimately, the right of a Member State to withdraw from the European Union was introduced for the first time with the Lisbon Treaty. The advent of this treaty brought among numerous changes. The Article 50 of the TEU[2] is sets of provision which allow Member States to withdraw from the EU. However, the question of withdrawal yielded two controversial types of provision. Several constitutional courts perceive the right to withdraw from the EU as necessary in order to preserve national sovereignty. In this case, the EU Member States are considered as "Masters of the Treaties' who could, in agreement, decide that a Member State can terminate its membership" (Article 50 TEU, p.8).

Complementarily, many scholars reject the possibility of withdrawal from the Union as a whole. According to article 50.1 of the TEU, the withdrawal agreement is not primary EU law, and "it is the European Court of Justice (ECJ) which would be called on to decide whether a Member State has in fact withdrawn in accordance with its own constitutional requirements"(ibid). In fact, the right of withdrawal in essence is an international agreement, and therefore a subject to judicial review by the Court of Justice of the ECJ. The provision in

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[1] TEU or The Treaty on European Union (2007) is one of the primary Treaties of the European Union, alongside the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The TEU forms the basis of EU law, by setting out general principles of the EU's purpose, the governance of its central institutions (such as the Commission, Parliament, and Council), as well as the rules on external, foreign and security policy.

[2] Article 50 of the TEU implies Withdrawal from the European Union is a right of European Union (EU) member states under the Treaty on European Union(Article 50): "Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements."

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this case is understood by many to exclude the possibility of voluntary withdrawal from the treaties while the Council decision to conclude the agreement can be challenged by the ECJ through an action for annulment (Article 263, TEU). This means as a consequence that the ECJ has the role of final arbiter of a significant issue of national constitutional law" (Ibid). It is salient from the latter provision that the ECJ plays the role of a supranational power which tends to discount the possibility of a state terminating its EU membership.

However, Cameron's policy toward the EU suggests a somewhat different approach to withdrawal. While more deeply integrated, the Euro area has become the engine of integration, Cameron has sought a leadership role in the EU to shape the European project and to secure its interests. While the majority of his predecessors sought to keep the European question on the side lines, Cameron decided to call for an 'In-Out Referendum' on EU membership. In fact, the economic crisis 2008 clearly distanced Britain from the core of the EU, and Cameron's endeavour to reform the EU divided his Conservative Party, alienated his Liberal Democrat coalition partners and gave rise to the UKIP. Consequently, Cameron's Bloomberg speech has indeed made the executive decision to renegotiate the UK's membership terms and to call for a referendum on the updated terms of EU membership that will be presented to British voters in 2017.

Although his speech focused on the economic slump and the short coming of the EU, but Cameron preferred to end his speech on a positive note. By reminding the British people that he would vote to remain in the European Union following a successful renegotiation, Cameron unveiled a soft Euroscepticsim as a successful ideology toward the EU. Cameron further noted that "if we voted to leave the EU, we would still be affected by European policies and would have lost all our remaining vetoes and our voice in those decisions" (Cameron, David, EU Speech at Bloomberg, 2013). Arguably, in the launch of his general election campaign, he asserted that he will ask for a mandate from the British electorate to negotiate a new settlement with EU members.

Anyway, while recent opinion polling points to strong and growing support for withdrawal, the Canadian politician Tim Oliver pointed out that this withdrawal "would have a profound implications and costs for the UK far greater than for the EU" (Oliver, 2014: p.36)

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Ultimately, as some perceive the loss of one of the most economically liberal members could trigger a crisis in European integration; others argued that EU's commitment to free itself of its "mauvais élève" could make the EU easier to lead, and solve to the Eurozone's crises.

Experiencing all of these developments means that the conservative party is the key issue in the British reluctant attitude towards the EU. The Conservatives still exercise the key role in determining the shape and content of politics at the domestic and sub-national level. In their competition over the issue of the European integration, the conservatives strive to establish themselves as having the authority to speak about a particular foreign policy issues. The paradoxical legacy in which British Prime Ministers have pursued unveiled a leadership role in Europe.

CONCLUSION

Literature on Euroscepticisim mushroomed and bred a pluralistic debate that nourished the discourse on integration. In looking back at the signs of opposition to closer European integration, the specific issue that concerned anti-Europeans lies in "integration versus extension". The conservative party played and still playing a crucial and a vital role in referendums over European issues where it mobilises sentiment, agenda-set and structures the competition over the issue. It is obvious from the outset that the inconsistency and ambiguity on Britain's role in Europe that has manifested in the premierships of successive British leaders was driven by recognition that supporting Europe often results in intra-party malaise. Anyway; while each British Prime Minister has dealt with the European issue in a different manner, it seems that they all supported the Soft Euroscepticism

Conservatives held views of outright opposition to any involvement in Europe that might come at the expense of the 'Empire-Commonwealth' and the 'Special Relations'. However, the failure of Conservatives to articulate any alternative enterprise to membership was the key to explaining why Conservatives lost control of the agenda of Euroscepticism. The failure to curb the potential hegemony of EEC/EU transformed the rigid opposition into soft one. Moreover, the trajectory of Conservatives indeed ranges from opposition of certain specific aspects of integration to wholehearted approval but without commitment. Accordingly, the Conservatives swing at a delicate balancing act: European involvement with

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keeping a mindful eye on the future of their integration. The British always needed a fundamental recasting if their membership is incompatible with the present trajectory of the European project.

Yet, the absence of an organised opposition to closer European integration has divided Conservative party and threatened to undermine the role of Britain in the EU. The process of ratifying the treaties was fraught with difficulties. Furthermore, a sharp divide over Europe plagued the consecutive conservative governments. They all managed to integrate Britain further into Europe while continuously triggering the fire on supranationalism. Britain under the Conservative Party has suffered a loss of influence in the EU as a consequence of its campaign to prevent any further transfer of powers to the EU.

¨Precisely, experiencing the reluctant attitude toward Europe, Cameron strived in earnest to position Britain at the heart of a reformed EU. Cameron further claims that instead of holding a Brexit Referendum, he would like to renegotiate the entity and the role of Britain in Europe. Arguably, the only way Britain can secure reform in Europe is by cooperating with the EU's member states. In the case of leaving the EU, Cameron assumes that the purpose of leaving the EU would not be to reject everything connected with Europe, but simply chooses which aspects of European law should apply in Britain.

The British withdrawal from the EU would entail major political and economic ramifications for both the EU and Britain. While some experts argue that Britain is soaring towards a Brexit no matter how profound EU reforms are, others assert that it is mainly the irrational domestic debate which is leading Britain towards a Brexit. In fact, it is questionable whether Britain will be able to exercise as much global influence if it leaves the EU. Therefore, it is more useful to examine the extent to which the topic of European reform has influenced negotiations between the Major political parties and, between Cameron and his European partners. The escalation of the Eurozone crisis and the intra parties division caused a re-examination of the UK-EU relationship among both political elites and the British general public.

Meanwhile, Because Cameron was prophetic about his daunting journey to reform, he ultimately recognised that the European debate in Britain requires going far beyond the in/out

question. Cameron's endeavour to reform the EU is not confined simply to the narrow choice of whether or not the UK should remain in the EU. This feverish quest indeed should encompass the UK's constitutional arrangements, identity, party politics, political economy, responses to globalisation, and status in a changing wider Europe. Therefore, the Last chapter of my thesis strives to unveil Cameron's wistful ambivalent strategy and his alleged mixture of duality toward the contemporary Euroscepticism. Delving yet into Cameron's successful deliberate strategy that encompasses Cons/Lib.Dems Coalition, Political Branding, the main pillars of reform, and the implications of both the Reform and the Referendum are indeed the main focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Three

David Cameron's Ambivalent Strategy toward the Contemporary Euroscepticism

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Introduction

In a feeble attempt to face the escalation of the Eurozone crisis, to rein in his Eurosceptic backbenchers and counter electoral threats from the other parties, Cameron launched his campaign for reform. The re-examination of the UK-EU relationship among political elites, the general British public, and the European Partners provided an opportunity to call for changes in the UK's policies toward the EU. Cameron in earnest harnessed his ambivalent and deliberate strategy that ranges from an In-Out Referendum to reform in order to fight the battle on the national and European level. Furthermore, his wistful alleged mixture of duality toward the contemporary Euroscepticism has been a successful eclectic approach in building governmental Coalition, branding a new political trend, setting effective pillars of reform, and promising an In-Out Referendum.

Therefore, to well understand the bedrock of Euroscepticism in the 21th century, it is more useful to shed light on the gusts of change and the blizzards at the national and sub-national levels. These changes accumulatively turned David Cameron from a Eurosceptic into an active negotiator carrying the banner of reform in as a single issue party. Cameron's endeavour for approaching a European reform has been gradual and cumulative. Meanwhile, to be in touch with his new approach, it is more useful to shed light on 1) the factors behind Blue-Yellow Coalition[1], 2) to understand the EU's little bit excitement about the 'In-Out Referendum, 3) to delve into the ramifications of Brexit, and 4) to recognise why is Britain perceived as a mauvais élève whereas it plays a leading part in reforming the EU?

1. Liberal-Conservative Coalition Government (The Blue-Yellow Coalition) 2010-2015

Rare but not new are the Coalitions in the UK parliament. Since the end of the 19th century, the post-electoral system tends always to result a single party government. Coalition

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[1] Blue-Yellow Coalition or 'the Consevative- Liberal.Democratic Coalition.The 2010 general election failed to produce an overall majority for any of the country's three main political parties and resulted in the first hung parliament that sparked a series of negotiations which would form the first coalition government since the Second World War. The coalition Government was founded between the Conservative Party and the Liberal. Democratic Party to fight the 2008s Eurozone Crisis, and to subdue the intra-parties division.

further can also be better than having a minority government. Broadly speaking, a coalition government encompasses of two or more parties who must compromise on principles or share a mandate. This mostly occurs due to a single party unable to gain a majority of seats in Parliament. Coalitions are mostly established through elections during times of national difficulties and pressure. Throughout the coalition, political parties share opinions and consensus politics. Thus, governmental coalition is seen the more propitious support in times of economic slump, political flux, and social malaise.

However, if there are differences, there is also a common ground. In fact, coalitions between the political parties have taken place against the backdrop of uncertainty when the long term-balance of international power shifts. Yet, the realities of domestic decline and the uncertain international order marked the need for Britain to rethink its governmental identity. Thus, long accustomed to the civil war in the political arena, the political parties adopted the hypothesis of balancing and banwagoning with each other to reach a potential era-changing, convention-challenging, and radical reform. Accordingly, a coalition government consists of two or more parties who must compromise on principles or share a mandate. This mostly occurs due to a single party unable to gain a majority of seats in Parliament.

Furthermore, Coalitions are mostly established through elections during times of national difficulties and pressure. They are mostly formed through elections but can also formed in times of national difficulties and pressure. Coalition governments arguably divide opinion, consensus politics, and they are seen the more favourable option in times of national crisis. Coalition can also be better than having a minority government. The ultimate factors behind coalitions are diverse, and they varied from one era to another. The first coalition in the UK was established during the WWI between Asquith[1] for the Liberals, Bonar Law[2] for

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[1]Herbert Henry Asquith 12 September 1852 – 15 February 1928), served as the Liberal Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1908 to 1916.[1] Until 5 January 1988, he was the longest continuously serving prime minister in the 20th century. As prime minister, he led his Liberal party to a series of domestic reforms, including social insurance and the reduction of the power of the House of Lords. He led the nation into the First World War

[2] Bonar Law (16 September 1858 – 30 October 1923), commonly called Bonar Law (was a British Conservative Party statesman and Prime Minister(23 October 1922 – 22 May 1923)

the Conservatives, and Arthur Henderson[1] as the spokesman for the Labour members who supported the War. (Maer, Lucinda and Gay, Oo,agh, 2015: p. 4). The aim of that coalition was military. Thereafter, the interlude between the WWI and the WWII was to burst an alignment between the conservatives and Liberals. The two parties and "under an electoral act known as Coupon" worked intensively and dispersed power more widely between each other to ship away the hostility of another world war (Ibid).

Meanwhile, sharing the conviction that the centralisation and the top-down party ruling have proved a failure, the three major parties Conservative, Labours and Lib-Dems during the WWII triggered the unification and pacification of the political arena. Their coalition gave rise to 'The Wartime Coalition Government[2]' or as it was nationally known "The Churchill War Ministry'. The Wartime Coalition Government was in essence a 'Conservative-led coalition'that lasted for most of WW II. Formed within a year of the war's outbreak by Winston Churchill, the Coalition lasted until 1945 when Churchill resigned and an election was called the days of Single party's government.

Obviously, all the coalitions were within military targets, and all of them played a decisive role in giving Britain a long term-life. To a degree never experienced or witnessed by previous generations, the WWII was to burst the most devastating and destructive conflict in human history.In fact, "it was a war that mobilised the human, economic, and technological resources of entire populations, and that legitimised ferocious and brutal assaults on civilians (Foster, Stuart: p.1). The economic, political, and social consequences of the war were terribly staggering: 60 million people lost their lives, more 1.7 billion people or three quarters of the

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[1]Arthur Henderson (13 September 1863 – 20 October 1935) was a British iron moulder and Labour politician. He was the first Labour cabinet minister, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934 and, uniquely, served three separate terms as Leader of the Labour Party in three different decades.

[2] The Wartime Coalition Government during The Second Asquith Ministry was formed by H. H. Asquith on 25 May 1915. The change of government resulted from attacks on the Asquith administration, and particularly on Winston Churchill, by the Conservatives in the aftermath of the Gallipoli disaster, and in the context of the Shell Crisis. The new cabinet included nine Conservatives and one Labour member, but the Liberals continued to hold most of the important posts. The Conservatives were not pleased with the offices they received and Tory leader Andrew Bonar Law became dissatisfied with Asquith and the Liberals' conduct of affairs. The government collapsed as a result of the resignation of the Conservatives, who refused to serve any longer under Asquith. Asquith and most of the Liberals then moved into opposition, while the Conservatives formed a new coalition with a minority of the Liberals, under the leadership of Liberal David Lloyd George in 1916.

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world's population were consumed while more than 1 trillion dollars was expended on the conflict. However, despite the global sweep of the war, Britain emerged victorious and as the only European survivor. Arguably, the WWII led to a seismic shift in the status and influence of the world's major powers. However, while the WWII ushered in a new era of superpower between the USA and the Soviet Union, and created allies and axis; Britain preferred the parties' coalition rather than Allying and bannwagoning.

In a more contemporary political condition, the 21st century gave rise to a sui generis coalition ripe for political and constitutional reform. Precisely, for the first time in over half a century, two parties have come together on a long journey to put forward a wide ranging agenda for partnership government. Cameron's premiership was emphasised with a 'Blue-Yellow' Coalition within a commitment to turn old thinking and develop new approaches. The ultimate agenda behind this alliance was setting policies in common and sharing desire to work in the national and international interest. As a fait accompli, because the Liberal Democrats and Conservatives are well known by the opponent policy " it came as a surprise to many that the centrist Liberal Democrats did not form a progressive coalition with the Labour Party but rather chose to sign an agreement with the right-of-centre Conservative Party" (Wintour, Patrick, 2010). In fact, the collision between the Lib Dems' pro-Europeanism and the Conservatives' Euroscepticism yielded a staunch contention. However, the current dire economic and political situation urged them to set out conventions and adopt collective responsibility.

Tenuous but tenacious, the Conservatives and the Liberals strived to ship away their contentions over the issue of European integration and to seek a solution to the British status in the EU. To examine then the extent to which the topic of Europe has influenced negotiations between the two parties, it is more useful to shed light the qualitative standards of the two leaders' political branding (David Cameron and Nick Clegg). The thorough reading on this issue provides us with a powerful lens for illuminating the coalition's strategies which range from parties positions and governmental negotiating postures to public attitudes.

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2. Approaching Cameron's Political Branding

Since the Conservatives and Lib-Dems provide the same ingredients for national and regional reform, Cameron's allusions to the notion of Liberal Conservatism were well concrete and touched. Yet, less than a week after taking office, Cameron unveiled his new political trend characterised by balancing and well bandwagoning with the Lib-Dems. Yet, in his initiative of transformation from traditional Conservatism into modern Liberalism, Cameron pointed out: "I believe there … I've always described myself as a Liberal Conservative. I'm Liberal because I believe in freedom and human rights, but Conservative - I'm sceptical of great schemes to remake the world" (Andrew Marr[1] BBC News, 2010). Cameron's alleged mixture of duality has been a feverish quest. From an ideological point of view, this transformation requires an empirical material to scrutinise what kind of political branding David Cameron has been trying to consolidate throughout this welding.

The term branding was coined in the late 16th century and traced from the development of the Germanic word 'brandr'. The term in essence is used interchangeably with the other one 'marketing' which implies and carries the action or business of promoting and selling products or services, including market research and advertising. Yet, in surveying the contemporary nature of branding, the beginning of the 1980s witnessed the zenith of marketing "marked by the height of the consumer-driven era" (Crainer, 1995). All may agree that ''… the one unambiguous result of modern capitalism, of the industrial revolution, and of marketing . . . is: In the way we live now, you are not what you make. You are what you consume'' (Twitchell, 2002: p. 1). Moreover, the popularity and exaltation of branding are indeed the result of the rise of modern consumerism [2] (Ibid).

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[1] Andrew William Stevenson Marr (born 31 July 1959) is a British broadcaster and journalist. Beginning his career as a political commentator, he subsequently edited The Independent (1996–98), and was political editor of BBC News (2000–05). He began hosting a political programme, Sunday AM, now called The Andrew Marr Show on Sunday mornings on BBC One from September 2005.

[2] Consumerism is a way of life combining high levels of material affluence with an emphasis on symbolic and emotional meanings associated with shopping and possessions. But the phenomenon increasingly is of global scope. Consumerism can be interpreted positively as a means of stimulating the economy while facilitating people's liberties to shape their identities and subcultures.

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Meanwhile, branding in its practical argument requires a complex system to reach a certain level of growth and development. There are in fact four reasons for the rise of the contemporary branding:

> "The first is that recognition of a respected brand name translates into financial value; second, growing distrust and scepticism about the efficacy of mass advertising; third, the perception of increasing consumer power and new concerns for corporate social responsibility; and fourth, consumer research, which insists on the importance of emotional engagement in shopping behaviour" (Scammell, 2007: p.16).

The mobility as well as the sprawl of branding is not restricted to the consumer's activism. Branding is more than just advertising, it is used everywhere and not just as a way to sell a product. Branding moreover "covers much wider aspects that encompass the conventional shopaholic1, organisations, relationships, and science and technology" (Ibid). Furthermore, product designers, manufacturing engineers, physicists, also play a potent role in the branding enterprise. Thus, branding applies only inasmuch these aspects are taken into account. Meanwhile, "the idea of branding has become more of a theory which is applied to cities, nations and politicians by giving them a public identity through the use of consumer branding strategies" (Scammell, 2007: p.6). Since branding has become a theory, it paved the way for politicians to build an identity, power, status and entity to communicate to the public. Branding gives a distinct quality of political communication and gives a receptive audience to politicians' electoral campaign.

2. 1. Brand Alliance in the Context of the Conservative –Liberal Democrat Coalition

Broadly speaking, there is not a generally or a predominately flexible definition of what branding is. Some would emphasise and "explore the voter-consumer analogy in order to create new understandings into wider applications of the branding concept" (Peng and Hackley, 2009: p.14), and some "would emphasise the political parties' capabilities as the

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[1]Shopaholic is a frequent shopper, especially one who is unable to control his or herspending.

platform for the examination political branding" (O'Cass and Voola, 2011:p.6). Precisely, the both views share the same feature which is branding as apolitical trend. However, many scholars in this field argue that there are problems in implementing branding concept into politics including paradigmatic problems, epistemological, and measurement. Meanwhile, in perceiving the political branding as cultural trend, "a long-term competitive advantage arises for the party perceived to be most in tune with the popular culture within society" (Smith and Speed: 2011). On another hand, the economic trend of branding is perceived as "the emotional relationship of marketing to political parties". (Dean and Pich ,2014: p.19).

In fact, the implementation of branding in politics is still relatively new. Banding as a political issue shot to fame over time with the advent social media. The term per si needs a fundamental re-casting on which is an electoral campaign's manifesto compatible with the voter's aspiration. The surge of political branding since the 1980 has triggered proliferation of approaches to make assessment on to what extend can the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of electoral campaign trigger a political marketing. Therefore, many scholars advanced competing explanations for this issue within many ways as definition, data, methods, and scope. However, at the same time, account for much of the academic output on the topic.

Dominating the political discourse, political branding is perceived as "the strategic use of 'consumer branding' tactics in the building of a political image" (Scammell, 2007:p.23). The conceptual and practical analysis of consumer branding in political elections can provide a framework into "how much of a candidate's political success is based on their ability to enable their audience to identify with them through a succinct commercial identity".(Sonies, Sarah: 2011, p.3). In its broader connotation, political branding refers to the strategies or stratagems politicians adopt to gain popularity and power in election. In political science, the term tends to be used as "a surrogate for party labels, packaging, personalities and valence issues in a manner that does not suggest academic familiarity with the brand construct" (Marland, Alex, 2013: p.2).Since the economic branding is the projection of a product in consumers' minds, "the political branding strives to the projection of emotional narrative and trust building" in the citizen's mind (Adolphsen ,2009: p.8). It is there where the political

brand can be cultivated. In modern politics, the contemporary branding is pivotal in building a successful deliberate strategy.

Since the last 1990s; government officials have been in development of branding, consumerism and public relations. In the UK for example, politicians and parties' leaders harness their efforts for promoting and managing a political brand to advance their external presentation. According to them, political branding is "mainly an internal guideline of political communication organisations influencing the processes and organisational features within governments' communication units and candidates' campaign headquarters" (Ibid: p. 5). Yet, branding becomes the new form of political marketing which approaches the role of political behaviour from consumer point of view.

Widely noted was the political branding of the UK's Conservative Party and Liberal-Dems Party during the 2010s Electoral campaign. The target of their branding was "to build an image that resonates well with the public through a more cohesive platform than advertising" (Scammell, 2007). Obviously, their endeavour was the alignment of their communication activities including messages and emotions, and certain levels of discipline and standardisation in the management of their electoral campaign. Although the both of the electoral campaign involved different senses and reached audiences in different contexts, but their political brandings were tailored to similar ambitions and preferences. Therefore, the perspectives on branding as "social unifier" loomed. The extension of economic branding models to social and political contexts increases their contribution to societal welfare (Butler & Harris, 2009). Thus, the genesis on this research lies into two questions: what are the qualities that are actually visible in political branding? And how can they be identified and measured?

2. 2. The qualitative standards of Cameron's political branding

Political branding provides us with a powerful lens for illuminating the party's strategies which range from parties positions and governmental negotiating postures to public attitudes. Since the economic brand doesn't constitute what a product is, but what the consumers perceive it to be (Adolphsen, Manuel, 2009: p.7), the political one goes in close

harmony with this perception. The qualitative standards of political branding examine the relationships between consumers/ voters and candidate. Furthermore, "early discussions of the way people feel about brands, which focused on assigning human characteristics, personalities, and brands had been seen as relationship partners" (Fetscherin, Michele, Cid, Goncalves, and Souki, 2014). Therefore, the research on consumer/ voter behaviour within political party's marketing argues that the application of branding concepts and frameworks to the political environment is of growing interest.

Broadly speaking, "there is no obvious way to measure a party brand, a candidate brand or the image of a political brand extension" (Scammell, 2007: p.181). The qualitative standards of branding make the qualitative measurement blurry. However, the Political Behaviourist School of branding set five qualitative characteristics to measure the political marketing.

2. 3. The "Big Five" Human Personality Dimensions of Political Branding

The divergence of perceptions among scholars makes their swinging at a common method to analyse political branding impossible. David Cameron dimensions during his 2010s electoral campaign knew some kind of fluctuating, reluctant, and turnover position. This situation indeed laid the groundwork to a conservative-Lib-Dems Coalition. However, though the controversial debate, the most scholars exhibit a common perception: measuring political branding is a matter of measuring reputation management during the electoral campaign. Ultimately, "when a human being is viewed as a political brand there must be consideration given to a combination of characteristics that are unique to that candidate at that time". (Marland,, 2013 :p.7). To measure the success of political marketing during the electoral campaign, Behaviourist School set some measures and techniques that shed light on the branding in electoral campaign.

Voters often delve into the candidate's personality dimensions to understand the candidate's or the party's image. The Behaviourists' index this case lies in "the candidate personality framework" (Guzmán and Sierra, 2009). Yet, the distinctiveness and the success

of political marketing depend on of the 'Brand Identity' i.e. the brand image (Pich and Dean, 2015). The ultimate and crucial catalysts of the brand identity are dynamism, empathy, integrity, party references, personal style, political positions, political skills, responsibility and social background attributes" (Brown et al,1988). To sum up these qualitative measures, five human personality dimensions are set as a 'conditio sine qua non' for the success of political marketing. These qualitative standards are: "competence, excitement, ruggedness, sincerity and sophistication" (Aker ,1997). (See the diagram on the next page).

The Behaviourists in particular assert that consumers / voters prioritise a down-top hierarchy relation between these qualities in the assessment of the leader's character. Brand Personality Scale by Aaker unveils that all political activities as the political marketing and management during the electoral campaign should be focused on gaining and maintaining consumers'/ voter's trust. The coherence and transparency of brand image are the outcome of values and inspirations as authenticity, effectiveness and responsibility which play a decisive to cultivate high expectations on the side of consumers. However, as with any interpretation of a political brand, the images, personality an identity that the candidate identifies may not necessarily be adopted, applied or replicated by other candidate. The candidate's branding assessment in essence "is likely to be formed on the basis of different considerations for different candidates for different candidates and electoral contexts" (Funk, 1999: p. 716).

Human Personality Dimensions of Political Branding
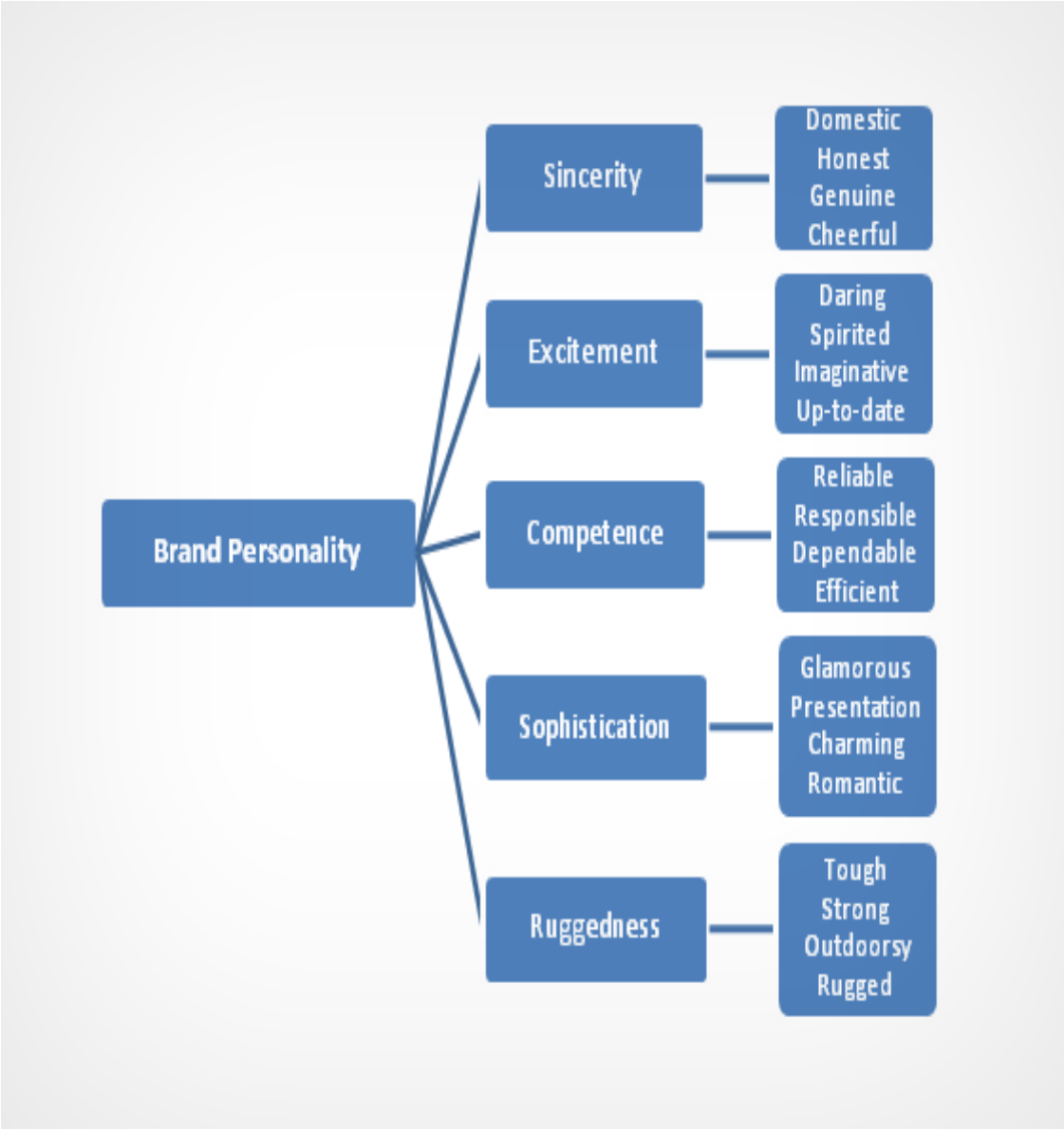
Source: www.linkedin.com

Accordingly, "the qualitative measures of the political branding ensure and catalyse the emergence of trust-based relations between consumers and brands" (Smith and Hilton: 2003). The branding image is essentially constructed around the reciprocally process of one voters interacting with another, and on voters enhancing candidate. Meanwhile the qualitative research on Cameron and Clegg strives to identify, compare and contrast key elements of

political branding in their 2010s electoral campaign. Cameron and Clegg on the basis of their succinct image-building strategies were able to brand themselves in a fashion that shows the use of consumer/ voter branding in politics. Both of them are often compared politically by the mainstream media as two candidates who ran for leadership in similar economic and social circumstances. Both of them are precisely perceived as similar in their use of political branding to appeal to the public at the time of their elections.

Cameron and Clegg ultimately share the ability to utilise political branding tactic in order to market themselves to the public as celebrity status. The elements of their branding aims at drawing a specific voting demographic and giving the ability to reach key voting demographics in each election.

3. The Electoral Coalition: From Contention to Agreement

> "No single party won an overall majority at the 2010 General Election, for the first time in the UK since February 1974. The Conservatives won the most seats, 306, a net change of 96 compared with national 2005 general election results. Labours were down by 90 seats, leaving them with 258, while the Liberal Democrat total of 57 was five fewer than 2005" (Richard, Cracknell ,Mc Guinness, Feargal, and Rhodes, Chris: 2011, p.1)

Compared with the notional results of the 2005 election, Labour lost 94 seats; the Conservatives lost 4 seats; the Liberal Democrats lost 13 seats. The Conservatives gained 100 seats, Labour gained 4 seats and Liberal Democrats gained 8 seats. The Labour Party suffered substantial losses in the election and finished in second place (See the pie chart on the next page).
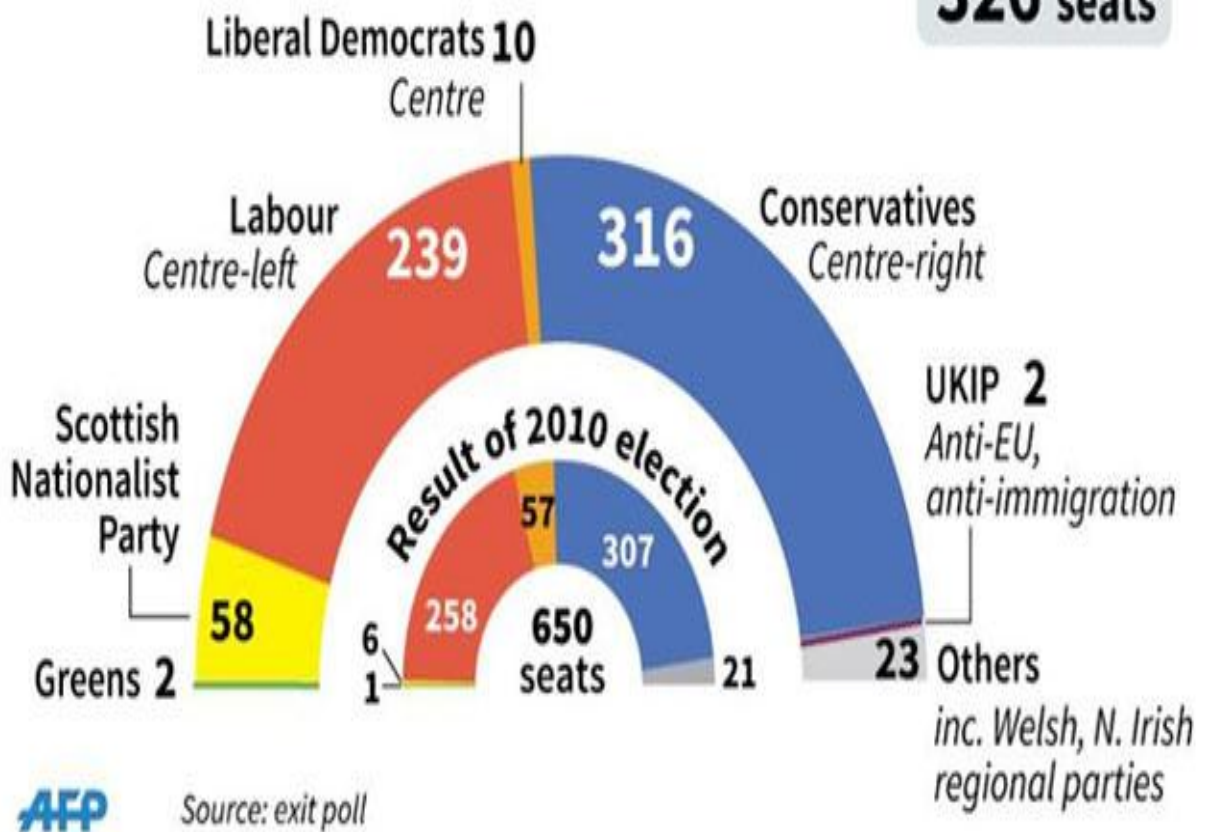
2015s General Election: A hung Parliament

UK general election

Seats won, based on exit polls at 2100 GMT

Absolute majority: **326** seats

Liberal Democrats **10**
Centre

Labour
Centre-left **239**

316 Conservatives
Centre-right

Scottish Nationalist Party

Result of 2010 election

57

307

UKIP **2**
Anti-EU, anti-immigration

58

6
1

258

650 seats

21

23 Others
inc. Welsh, N. Irish regional parties

Greens **2**

AFP Source: exit poll

Source:http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2015/05/95716/

The pie chart identifies the voter demographics to whom each candidate's brand appealed. It elucidates also the vote share and the Seat share of each political party during the 2010s General Election. It is obvious that the UK general election of May 6, 2010, resulted in

a hung Parliament[1], an outcome in which no single party wins a majority of seats in the House of Commons.

3. 1. The 2010s Conservative Manifesto: An Over View

> "A country is at its best when the bonds between people are strong and when the sense of national purpose is clear. Today the challenges facing Britain are immense. Our economy is overwhelmed by debt, our social fabric is frayed and our political system has betrayed the people. But these problems can be overcome if we pull together and work together. If we remember that we are all in this together". (Cameron, David', Invitation to Join the Government of Britain, 2010: p.4).

The2010s Conservative Manifesto unveiled the Party's reluctant stance toward Britain's relationship with the EU. The manifesto affirms that "a Conservative Government "will ensure by law that no government can hand over areas of power to the EU or join the euro without a referendum of the British people." (Conservative Manifesto of 2010s General Election, 2010: P.113). In fact, the idea of ceding aspects of national sovereignty to a supranational body set Cameron under pressure from the Eurosceptic backbenchers[2] of his

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[1] In a parliamentary system of government, a hung parliament is a colloquial expression to describe a state of a parliament when no single political party (or bloc of allied parties) has an absolute majority of seats in the parliament (legislature). It is also less commonly known as a balanced parliament or a legislature under no overall control. If the legislature is bicameral, and the government is responsible only to the lower house, then "hung parliament" is used only with respect to that chamber. It is the objective of parliamentary systems for the parliament to be able to form a stable government, preferably that lasts until the next election. This requires the government to be able to muster up sufficient votes in parliament to pass important legislation, especially to be able to pass the government's budget. It also needs sufficient votes to defeat votes of no-confidence in the government. If the state of the parliament is such that a majority government cannot be formed, the government may be referred to as a "minority government". The term *hung parliament* is used mainly in systems with two parties or two party blocs. Most general elections in such a system will result in one or other party having an absolute majority and thus quickly forming a new government; a "hung parliament" is an exception to this pattern, and may be considered anomalous or undesirable. One or both main parties may seek to form a coalition government with smaller third parties, or a minority government relying on confidence and supply support from third parties or independents. If these efforts fail, a dissolution of parliament and a fresh election may be the last resort.

[2] Backbenchers in Westminster parliamentary systems is a Member of Parliament (MP) or a legislator who holds no governmental office and is not a frontbench spokes person in the Opposition, being instead simply a member of the "rank and file". The term dates from 1855. A backbencher may be a new parliamentary member yet to receive high office, a senior figure dropped from government or someone who for whatever reason is not chosen to sit either in the ministry or the opposition Shadow Ministry. In most parliamentary systems, backbenchers

own party. The Conservatives believe that the United Kingdom should not continue to transfer powers to the EU without the consent of the people, and that it should only do so in situations where it serves British national interest.

Therefore, when Cameron took over 10 Downing Street during his 2010s electoral campaign , he pushed through an amendment to the national legislation to make the transfer of powers to the EU subject to a referendum (Jokela, 2013: p.5). Cameron electoral manifesto aimed at preventing the European Union from infringing on the lives of British citizens and potentially damaging British national interests. Therefore, making claims about European stumbling issues, Cameron has used the issue of referendum as a political tool to boost the public sentiment and electoral gains. In addition to that, Cameron's core priorities in his electoral campaign were pivotal on national finances. In applying deepest values and beliefs to the urgent problems, Cameron set wide-extended benchmarks to bring about changes.

Bearing in mind that the failure doesn't mean decline, Cameron acted decisively with more optimism to get Britain back on track and promote an enlightened national interest. In his plan for a greener economy, Cameron outlined the following benchmarks: 1) Promote national economy interest, 2) Create a more balanced economy, 3) Get Britain working again, 4) Encourage enterprise Ensure the whole country shares in rising prosperity Reform public services to deliver better value for money, 5) Create a safer banking system that serves the needs of the economy , and 6) Build a greener economy. (Cameron, David, Invitation to Join the Government of Britain, 2010: p.5). Miring in a massive debt, Cameron perceived the EU as a supranational power which has been allowed to ride roughshod over the British economy.

Complementarily, in his attempt to build a macroeconomic stability, Cameron strived to create a new economic model founded on investment not on borrowing and debt. The misery of unemployment within communities shattered by abuse in depth pushed people to lose faith

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individually do not have much power to influence government policy. However, they may play a role in providing services to their constituents and in relaying the opinions of their constituents.

on EU's Competencies. The economic crisis indeed unveiled a mood afoot that the decline of Britain is inevitably inescapable. Anyway, Cameron's agenda unveiled that the Conservative party has remoulded itself to fix the economic, social and political problems. Meanwhile, when the Lib/Dems emerged as pro-European to destroy the ring fence that the Conservatives have built against Europeanism, their Manifesto for General Election seemed tailored to similar preferences as the Conservatives.

3. 2. The Liberal Democrats' Manifesto 2010: An Over-View

> "This May, you have an opportunity to shape the future of our country for the better. We've had 65 years of Labour and the Conservatives: the same parties taking turns and making the same mistakes, letting you down. They have taught people to expect little from politics, and get less. It is time for something different. It is time for something better". (Nick Clegg, Liberal democrats' Manifesto 2010, p.4)

After 65 years of Red-Blue government [1], Nick Clegg[2] came to put an end to the stitch-up between the two major parties. According to him, "politics is still the plaything of wealthy donors and corrupt MPs' (Ibid). Clegg's tendencies further hijacked Cameron's constructive agenda. Therefore, Cameron's campaign may indeed go down in history as the last attempt to convince Britain's European partners that an ever-closer union will not work. Clegg's perspectives directly counter the outlines of the Conservative manifesto.

Broadly speaking; the Lib-Dems "believe that European co-operation is the best way for Britain to be strong, safe and influential in the future." (Ibid :p.66). Their agenda indeed unveils that the British national interests are in close harmony with European interests. May be the most salient concern in Clegg Electoral Campaign 2010 was the Economic crisis of

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[1]Red-Blue government : Red refers to the Labour government, and Blue to the Conservative one. The meaning in this duality is that the British government was restricted to both of them comparing with other parties.

[2]Nick Clegg Nicholas William Peter Clegg (born 7 January 1967) is a British Liberal Democrat politician who was the Deputy Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Lord President of the Council from 2010 to 2015 in the Cameron coalition ministry. Clegg was the Leader of the Liberal Democrats from 2007 to 2015 and has been the Member of Parliament (MP) forSheffield Hallam since 2005. In 2007 he was elected Leader of the Liberal Democrats, leading his party into a coalition government with the Conservative Party in 2010. In 2015.

2008. Thus, addressing the serious economic challenges which Britain faced throughout Europe; the Lib-Dems claimed to admire a stronger Europe as against the Conservatives' straitjacket. In his endeavour for Europeanism, Clegg advocated delving further into the failures that caused the economic and financial slump. The emergence from recession to as a fairer, greener and stronger economy played a leading part in his Manifesto. The recession and record unemployment, including youth unemployment threaten the long-term future of the British societies. Hence, a stable and prosperous Europe needs to be built on better enhanced policies that could boost the economy and creates jobs.

Because of the economic crisis, the EU stretched the Lisbon Treaty[1]. The treaty indeed was greeted by the Lib-Cons who complementarily supported a calling of a Convention to develop the Union in a more democratic direction. Unlike the Conservatives who out-opted the treaty and perceived it as an engine of supranationalism, the Lib-Dems classified it at the zenith of the intergovementalist trend. Meanwhile, following severe criticism from businesses and citizens alike about the quality,t he transparency and the accessibility of EU legislation, the Lib-Cons harnessed their effort to simplify EU rules and make them less burdensome. Thus, in his endeavour for improving and making EU legislation easier, Clegg established four qualitative standards: Simplification, Codification, Recasting and revision. (See the table on the next page).

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[1]The Treaty of Lisbon (initially known as the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement which amends the two treaties which form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Maastricht Treaty (1993), also known as the Treaty on European Union, and the Treaty of Rome (1958), also known as the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEEC). The Treaty of Lisbon, renamed the Treaty of Rome to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

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Nick Clegg Working Party on Parliamentary Reform: 2010

Simplification	repealing and abolishing laws which have become irrelevant over the years
Codification	condensing into one single act a series of older acts and their later
Recasting	bringing together into one single act a series of older acts and their amendments, with substantial modifications
Revision	Updating of existing acts with substantive changes based on the usual co-decision procedure.

Source:

www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/ge10/man/parties/libdem_manifesto_2010

Though their Europeanism, Lib-Dems sought to ground the insight of intergovermentalism in a more consistent and rigorous core of foundational assumption. Because of its theoretical soundness, empirical power and utility comparing to other theories, integovementalism has acquired the status of baseline theory in the Lib-Dems' political branding. This dominant status is due to general approach to study the interstate cooperation in world politics. Their electoral campaign's premises can be summarised in few general interrelated propositions which deliberately seek to simplify EU politics, stressing the essential and excluding certain activities. With the Lisbon Treaty for example, the Lib-Dems Manifesto advocated a greater extent in policy negotiation between national parliaments.

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In order to strengthen the principles of subsidiarity even further, ALDE[1] proposes an annual subsidiarity check whereby the European Parliament assesses the Commission's work programme. (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats party for Europe: 2010 p.4).The ultimate aim trought this manifesto was to reach   1) a more transparent and accountable Europe, 2) a regional Europe ripe for providing protection, safety and security of its citizens and 3) EU as a region of tolerance and equality with strong civil rights and liberties. (Working Party on Parliamentary Reform Deliberations and Conclusions: 2010).

Obviously, the both Manifestos strived to a genuine democracy-based Europe. Thus, with the UK embroiled in an ever lengthening conflict, the both leader's foreign policy approach is much more pragmatically liberal in its outlook. In their daunting competitive journey to a long term growth, the Conservatives and Lib-Dems adopted reforming strategies to ship away the status quo. The main objective of the both electoral campaign lies in fighting supranationalism which played a potent role in undermining jobs' growth and hindering prosperity at regional, national and EU level.

Unlike Euroscepticim which remained the cornerstone of strategic thinking in the UK, the Liberal approach became the default position of Cameron's Conservatism. Yet, by approaching an idealist liberal foreign policy themes and placing them next to his traditional realist and pragmatic conservatism, Cameron changed the UK's global role in the EU. Though his instinctive Euroscepticism,, Cameron Manifesto ended in the following approach: "Not only does the statement endorse the historic Conservative approach of promoting our national interests, but also maintains a more liberal need to stand up for values of freedom, fairness and responsibility'. (Redford, Pit and Beech, Matt, 2010: p.1).

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[1]ALDE or the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe is a transnational alliance between two European political parties, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party(formerly known as the European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party) and the European Democratic Party The Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe in the Committee of the Regions is committed to ensuring that the European Union develops legislation in as decentralised a manner as possible, communicating with and listening to Europe's citizens in a systematic way. The main goals of the party are:1) Ensuring the Committee of the Regions continues its development as an effective institution of the EU, working with a clear purpose and vision, and bringing added value to the Union's institutional framework.2) Ensuring the Committee maintains the highest standards of accountability, transparency, and efficiency, responding to the expectations of Europe's citizens and its local and regional authorities.

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Cameron ultimately transcended a national interest and the EU reform within stressing the reciprocally enhanced liberal values and principles. These standards played a decisive role in giving Cameron a Political Branding where apparent combination of ideologies has been personified. Cameron pragmatically romanticised an alliance born out of the contention between his party and the Lib-dims. The core tenets of his realist approach gave Cameron the impression to be "engaged in an ongoing process to woo public opinion" (Needham, 2005: p. 345). However, this initiative broke up before its time. The instead policy differences, tactical decisions of party advantage and the intra-parties dissension precipitated the collapse of the coalition.

4. The collapse of the Conservative-Lib-Dems Coalition

The 2010s General Election gave rise to a new and younger generation of liberal-Conservatives ripe to harness their coalition for determining British foreign policy. Cameron's Conservatives with their Liberal Democrat partners became charged with the responsibility of sharing mandate. The two parties compromised on their opposing ideologies in order to create policy that result in economic and social renaissance. The Con/Lib.Dems Coalition was able to undertake most of the reform agreement at the beginning of their coalition mandate. Their endeavour for easing off austerity[1], reducing deficits and maintaining growth yielded an economic recovery. However, the financial inclusion remains a stubborn challenge in Britain. In their attempt to cope with unexpected long-term shocks of the Eurozone Crisis, the notion of financial has been lost in the last 5 years of Coalition. Meanwhile, the impact of the Eurozone crisis on the British economy marked a watershed in the history of the Coalition.

Furthermore, in examining some current issues in the Coalition, Cameron has increasingly been under pressure from the Eurosceptic backbenchers of his own party. In the three first year of the coalition, Cameron exhibited a tendency to act on behalf the

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[1] Austerity is a set of economic policies implemented with the aim of reducing government budget deficits. Policies grouped under the term 'austerity measures' may include spending cuts, tax increases, or a mixture of both. In most macroeconomic models austerity measures generally increase unemployment as government spending falls, reducing jobs in the public and/or private sector.

conservative sceptics rather than the confine of the coalition. Cameron indeed noticed that the Liberal Democrats might be tiring of their coalition partners. Thus, what promised to be a divisive issue for the two parties has actually become much more of an internal problem causing tension between the Prime Minister and his right-wing backbenchers, and between the conservatives and the Lib-Dems.

Meanwhile, "described as the 'cockroaches of UK politics' by their former Party President Tim Farron[1], the Lib-Dems faced a Labour onslaught and a brutal Conservative micro-targeting blitz" (Andrew, Russell, 2010: p.8). This pressure led the Lib.Dems to withdraw from the coalition at some point before the fixed-term in May 2015. Consequently, Nick Clegg resigned as leader with having taken his party's representation in Westminster backwards at two successive General Elections. Anyway, the experience bore in this coalition tended to be coalition based-backbenchers who attacked the policies of coalition partners. Particularly, the tendency of each party to claim individual ownership of specific policies rather than collective authorship precipitated the collapse of the coalition.

Obviously, while attempting to balance his duties as leader of a coalition government and leader of the Conservative, a new threat to Conservative power loomed in the form of the United Kingdom Independence Party. Yet, in his endeavour of reaching a compromise, Cameron never entertained the idea that he would be challenged by the rise of a hard sceptic party ripe to rebel against the status quo.

5. The Rise of the Populist Eurosceptic UKIP

In a time of dissatisfaction towards the mainstream Coalition, the economic slump, and parties' dealignmentand the loss of national sovereignty; Euroscepticism became the most

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[1]Timothy James Farron (born 27 May 1970) is a British politician who is the current Leader of the Liberal Democrats. He has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for Westmorland and Lonsdale since 2005 and was thePresident of the Liberal Democrats from 2011 to 2015

important driver of UKIP[1]. Infiltrating the psyche of the general public who resent the traditional Westminster politicians, UKIP succeeded in attracting core support to advocate a withdrawal from EU's treaties. In fact, since its foundation in 1993 by Alan Sked[2] who was a member of the 'Anti- Federalist League'[3], the UKIP has polled and adopted particular discourses on issues of national identity (Ford, Goodwin and Cutts : 2010, p.2). The UKIP in essence strives always to harness eurosceptic, populist and nationalist elements to mobilise a diverse array of voters disconnected from mainstream politics. UKIP's currant leader 'Nigel Farage[4]' stressed that "leaving the Union and reclaiming own destiny will create the most exciting opportunity for national renewal in our lifetime" (Farage ,2013).

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[1] The UKIP is a Eurosceptic and right-wing populist political party in the United Kingdom. Its leader is Nigel Farage. UKIP has one Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, three representatives in the House of Lords, and twenty-two Members of the European Parliament, making it the largest UK party in the European Parliament. It has 497 councillors in UK local government and one member of the Northern Ireland Assembly. UKIP has one Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, three representatives in the House of Lords, and twenty-two Members of the European Parliament, making it the largest UK party in the European Parliament. It has 497 councillors in UK local government and one member of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

UKIP was founded in 1991 by the historian Alan Sked as the Anti-Federalist League, a single-issue Eurosceptic party. Renamed UKIP in 1993, the party adopted a wider right-wing platform and gradually increased its support. Under Farage's leadership, from 2009 the party tailored its policies towards the white working-class, before making significant breakthroughs in the 2013 local elections and the 2014 European elections, where UKIP received the most votes. At the 2015 general election, the party gained the third largest vote share and one seat in the House of Commons.

[2] Alan Sked(born 22 August 1947) is Professor of International History at the London School of Economics, and is politically active, opposing Britain's membership of the European Union; he several times stood as a candidate in parliamentary elections, and founded the party that became the UK Independence Party.

[3] Anti Federalist League League was a small cross-party organisation in Britain, formed in 1991 to campaign against the Maastricht Treaty. It is mainly remembered now as the forerunner of the UK Independence Party. The main founder of the Anti-Federalist League was Alan Sked, lecturer at the London School of Economics, leading figure in the Bruges Group and former official of the Liberal Party.

[4] Nigel Farage: Born 3 April 1964, is a British politician and former commodity broker. He is the leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), having held the position since November 2010, and previously from September 2006 to November 2009. Since 1999 he has been a Member of the European Parliament for South East England. He co-chairs the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy . He has been noted for his sometimes controversial speeches in the European Parliament and has strongly criticised the euro.Farage was a founding member of UKIP, having left the Conservative Party in 1992 after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.]After unsuccessfully campaigning in European and Westminster parliamentary elections for UKIP since 1994, he was elected MEP for South East England in the 1999 European Parliament Election. He was subsequently re-elected in2004, 2009 and, most recently, at the 2014 European Parliament Election

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Carrying the banner of hard Euroscepticism as a 'single issue party ', the UKIP marked a major watershed in the dynamics of the British parties' competition. Thus, the UKIP and since its foundation in the wake of the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty faced questions over how far it should move beyond its core Eurosceptic position to campaign on the EU rejection. Precisely, the UKIP approach to the European integration lies in "rejecting both the principle of the 'ever closer union' as well as the current state of the EU institutions" (Daniel T. Dye, 2015: p.8). In fact, the British political studies have been reluctant to set the UKIP within the same framework as the other parties. Hard withdrawalist, Eurorejectionist, or xenophobic; whatever the label can be, the UKIP succeeded in raising Eurosceptic sentiment and in capitalising on the unpopularity of the major parties.

Broadly speaking, the UKIP has cemented its place as the new force in British politics. Its evolution indeed began as a rebellion over Europe and developed a broader populist agenda under its leader Nigel Farage. Therefore, to well understand UKIP's Eurosceptic strategies within the European integration, it is more useful to shed light on four issues: (1) "the role of UKIP MEPs, (2) attitudes to European integration, (3) whether and how UKIP should expand its range of policies and (4) competition between UKIP and its principal rivals, particularly the Conservatives" (Lynch, Whitaker, Loomes,2011 :p. 4).

5. 1. The UKIP's Agenda-Setting for Brexit

As its name suggests, UKIP is a hard sceptic party that broadened its platform on the basis of a British Brexit; a process that UKIP believes will promote the national sovereignty and ship away supranational supremacy. Yet, academic political scientists have characterised UKIP's ideological approach as being that of the broader European radical right. Historically, the UKIP's primary focus was on hard Euroscepticism calling for the UK's exit from the European Union. UKIP furthermore is a party that claims to understand what the people of Britain want. Its leader Farage rebelled against the status quo and the pre-existing parties' structure, asserting that Britain's Prime ministers all "go to the same schools, the same Oxbridge colleges…and not one of them is in politics for principle."(Hull, Christina: 2013, p.43).The UKIP strongly agreed that European integration had a negative impact on British

democracy, British national identity, British sovereignty and British economic competitiveness.

Because it is born solely from hard Euroscepticism, UKIP gained few allies in the European Parliament. However, recent hypothesises have made it evident that UKIP represents a big political threat and challenge to the major political parties. The combination of Islamophobia, xenophobia, and populism1 brought electoral dividends for UKIP across Europe(Ibid) . According to Farage, "independence would give the UK the responsibility for making decisions about its future as part of an international, globalised environment, making a full contribution to the interdependent world. (Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader: 2013). In the ebb of the Cons-Lib Coalition, UKIP was overshadowed by higher-profile and good finance, and its campaigning effort became far more professional and acquired highly specialised discipline of winning elections.

In fact, the UKIP was fourth-placed in 2010 General Election failing to win a seat. This disconnection raises a serious problem for UKIP, and Farage yet recognised that he cannot become a genuine second or third force in British politics without an activist base able to mobilise voters. Thus, Farage as 'an eye-catching media performer who pledged to make UKIP a truly representative party' strived intensively to end his party image as a single-issue pressure group. Meanwhile, facing a dilemma about how to progress, the rejectionist party which has ever been a significant vehicle of xenophobia started to question whether it should take up seats in Parliament (EP). His supporters asserted that engaging within the EP issues would recover the economic slump and enhance the party's profile.

In his competition with the principal rivals, Farage criticised the 'Lib/Lab/Con' for ignoring public opposition to the EU. Farage further claimed that "there is an inherited divide between the political elite and the people, and he further "interprets society as being

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[1] Populism is a political outlook or disposition that appeals to the interests and conceptions (such as hopes and fears) of the general population, especially when contrasting any new collective consciousness push against the prevailing status quo interests of any predominant political sector. Political prarties and politicians often use the terms *populist* and *populism* as pejoratives against their opponents. Such a view sees populism as merely empathising with the public, (usually through rhetoric or unrealistic proposals) in order to increase appeal across the political spectrum

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fundamentally divided between the people (noble) and the elites (corrupt)" (Daniel T. Dye : 2015, p.8). Consequently, the UKIP has been treated as 'a right-wing populist party' that gathers its support from disaffected voters opposed to the political establishment (Abedi and Lundberg, 2009: p.72). So, UKIP's ultimate endeavorwas on broadening its appeal, spelling out how leaving the EU is the key feature to a whole range of malaise. Complementarily, UKIP supporters' views of all three parties' leaders are strongly negative, and they are more likely to express alienation from politics and dissatisfaction with democracy.

UKIP's appeal has further been pivotal over anxiety about national identity, hostility to the EU and a deep disaffection with intra parties and coalition division. The party's distinctive position on Europe has given it a clear identity and a broader platform and professionalisation. The 2010 leadership election witnessed intensive debate on UKIP's future trajectory. In managing the party, "Farage proposed further promotion of candidate selection, sought to put the party's finances on a firmer footing, and renewed his efforts to develop a transnational party" (Lynch, Whitaker and Loomes, 2011: p.11) .

All these issues have enabled the party to recruit angry voters ripe to break the mould of British politics. Meanwhile, featuring the faces of Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg under the slogan "Sod the Lot", Farage wanted people to sit up and take notice and realise that UKIP can provide a viable alternative. Precisely, "Farage described the 2010s election campaign so far as a piddling irrelevancy" (Mulholand : 2010). Relatedly, in the 2010s Electoral Campaign, Farage pointed out the following: "I don't want to be rude about the other parties – it's not my style – but it's no wonder that actually everyone is bored to death," (Farage :2010s Electoral Campaign). Thus, it is salient from the outset that Farage has positioned UKIP to challenge the Conservatives and to exploit dissatisfaction with the major parties.

However, beyond the UKIP profile, most Eurosceptic parties in the EP unveil a 'soft' Eurosceptic agenda and favour reform of the EU rather than Brexit. For them, "Euroscepticism is a set of ideological positions or the result of strategic decisions rather than their defining feature" (Lynch and Whitaker, 2011: p.4). Meanwhile, within the debate on

the impressive performances of the major British parties, a whole system of binding national referendums on the UK's membership loomed. However, the issue of referendum has taken a controversial trend. While some interpreted Cameron's pledge to hold and an 'in/out referendum on as an attempt to curb the rise of UKIP which could prevent them from winning an overall majority in 2015, others underlined a pivotal Blue-Purple Alliance[1].

Anyway, the UKIP decisively unveiled that none of the "failed parties'' could form a government unless they promised a referendum on EU membership. This trend is in essence in close harmony with the Conservative one. In the light of the above, Cameron outlined a referendum of wide-ranging change on Britain status within the European Union,

6. A New Settlement For The United Kingdom In A Reformed EU

> "I am grateful for the technical discussions that have taken place over the last few months and, as we move to the formal stage of negotiations, I welcome this opportunity to explain why these changes are needed and how I believe they can benefit all Member States The European Union has a long history of respecting the differences of its many Member States and of working to overcome challenges in a way that works for the whole European Union." (Cameron: A letter to the President of European Council,2015).

Unlike Margaret Thatcher who was portrayed as the "spiritual mother" of Euroscepticism, David Cameron's European policy "though inspired by Thatcherite legacy, is now based on a clear-cut Eurosceptic agenda which is nevertheless criticised for being more moderate than that of today's Eurosceptics"(Collier, 2014: p. 2). With the biggest challenge of keeping the unity of the European Union, Cameron sent a letter to the president of the European Council in order to put some revised terms to an In-Out referendum. Cameron in earnest set out the areas where he is seeking reforms and addressed the concerns of the British people over the EU membership. Cameron in fact particularly gambled on the likelihood to win the referendum. The success of his gambling depends on a conservative majority in the

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[1]Blue-Purple Alliance Coalition between the Conservative party and the UKIP .

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2015s General Election, and on the gaining of a pre-referendum concession from his European partners.

Thus, Cameron is now fighting his position on multiple fronts: against the European countries who rejected some of his demands, the protests of his own backbenches, and the leaders of his rival parties. All of them are getting a little bit too excited about the 'In-Out Referendum. By one side, the increasing public frustrations at the UK-EU trajectoryis the outcome of the longstanding failure to convince the British people about their country's status in the EU. By another side, the rampant Euroscepticismis due to the sophistication of EU that was undermining the British-European relations. Therefore, Cameron labelled the democratic consent for the EU in Britain as 'a wafer-thin'.

In the light of the above, Cameron pointed out that he would be "delighted" to stage an early referendum on Britain's membership of the EU, if the Conservatives get voted into power in the 2015general election. The Prime Minister strived to redraft the terms on which his country's membership and bring forward the referendum before the current agreed deadline of the end of 2017. However, since his government has emerged as a very difficult partner in many fields of EU policy, Cameron's historic pledge to win the next election was interpreted by some as premature wishes.

Besides that, as the general election campaign entered its last stage, one single issue is perceived by all the pollsters and pundits amid conflicting polls, manifesto launches, and political rhetoric: "no single party is going to win a majority"(House of Common Library: General Election 2015). A Conservative victory on 7 May 2015 is not guaranteed. Far from it, the Labour party is currently neck and neck with the Conservatives in the polls, even slightly ahead. (Dauvergne: 2015, p.1). Moreover; the rise of the UKIP is likely to make the difference and depress the Major parties in a second position. However, unlike the 2010s General Election that resulted in a hung Parliament, the Conservatives won an overall majority in the 2015 General Election. Thus, following these elections, the Conservative Party is the largest with 330 MPs and Labour the second largest with 232. In fact, this is the first

time since 1945 that this position has been held by a party other than the Liberal Democrats or its predecessors. (See the Graph in the next page).

UK General Election 2015: A conservative majority
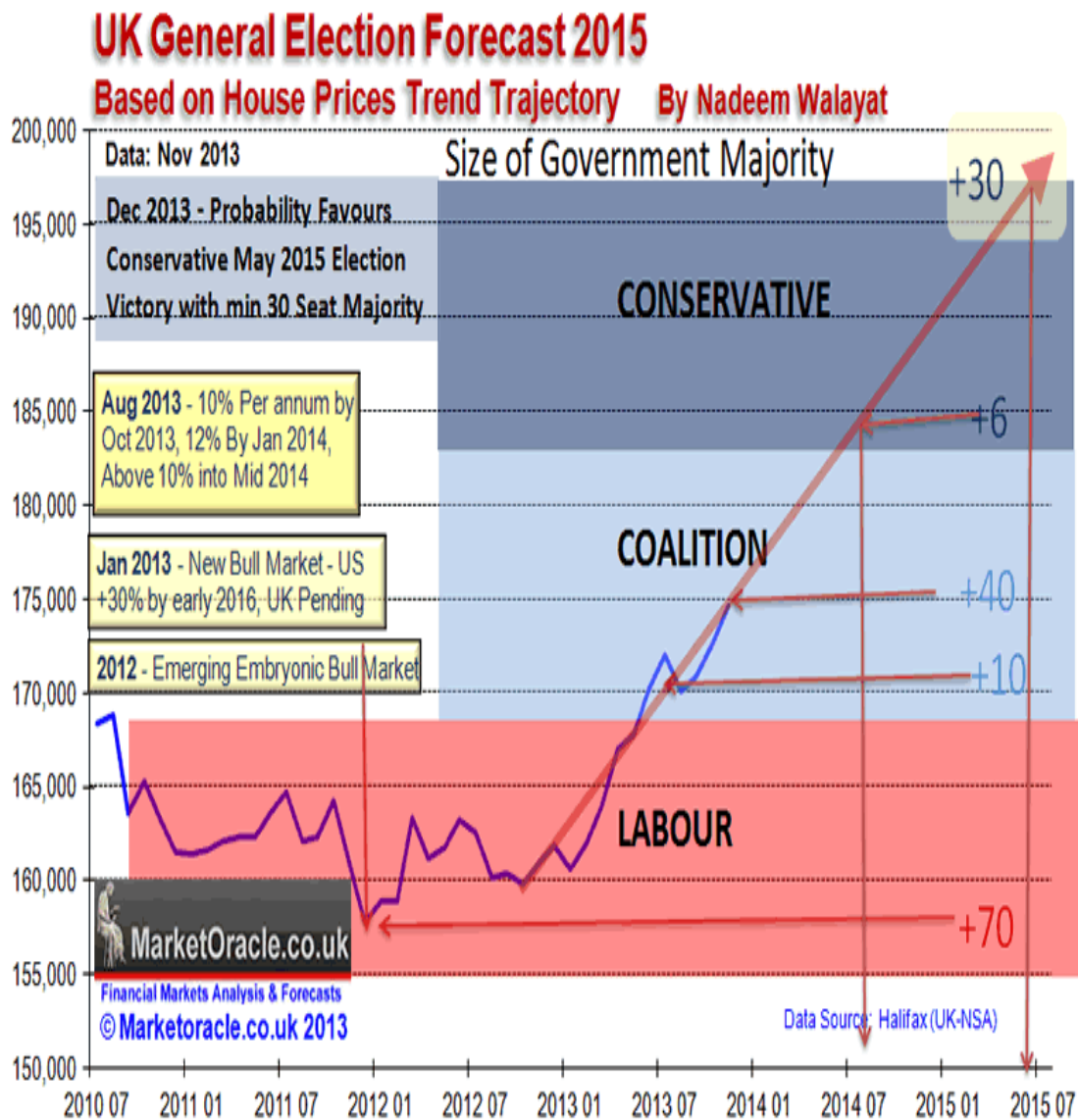
Source: MarketOracle.co.uk 2013

Furthermore, the British Polling Council [1] began an inquiry into the variance between opinion polls and the actual result. The BPC further showed the Conservative Party with 34% support and the Labour Party with 30%. The UK Independence Party (UKIP) had 10% and the Liberal Democrats 9%. Furthermore; there are 330 Conservative MPs following the 2015 General Election, an increase of 24 compared to 2010. The party has a majority of 11 in the House of Commons. Thus, 35 Conservative MPs now hold seats which were not represented by the party in 2010 (The British Polling Council: 2015).

Meanwhile, what spurred a dissent academic controversy is that Britain and the EU are drifting apart at the same time as Cameron is attempting to promote a thorough reform on the EU and negotiate a new settlement within the EU. The two processes indeed seem to be scrappy and incoherent. However, "the ongoing development shows how practical Euroscepticism under David Cameron has come to permeate party leadership in terms of agenda-setting and party management, and propose tentative explanations for Eurosceptic radicalisation in the party" (Collier:2016, p.10). Anyway, since his victory in the 2015 General Election, Cameron's key objective has been fixed towards gambling on the status quo in an In-Out Referendum to advance his pillars of reform.

6. 1. Cameron's Main Pillars of Reform: Four suitably elevated headings

Cameron has been gradually moving away from an agenda of repatriating powers to Britain and started extracting special concessions towards an agenda of broader European reform. However, in his endeavour to embed a new relation with the EU, Cameron recognised that to have any hope of bringing stability to the European debate in Britain requires going far beyond the in/out question. The question thus is not confined simply to the narrow choice of whether or not the UK should remain in the EU, but should encompass the UK's

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[1] The British Polling Council is an association of market research companies whose opinion polls are regularly published or broadcast in media in the United Kingdom. The BPC was established in 2004, twelve years after the perceived failure of opinion polls to come close to predicting the actual result of the United Kingdom general election, 1992. BPC members use a range of fieldwork methods (telephone, door-to-door, and internet) and statistical tools.

constitutional arrangements, identity, party politics, political economy, responses to globalisation, and place in a changing wider Europe" (Olivier, 2013: p.78). As a result, on November 10th 2016, Cameron sent a cordial letter to European Council president Donald Tusk[1] addressing his demands for EU reform and asking for the terms of British membership in the EU's renegotiation:

> "The purpose of this letter is not to describe the precise means, or detailed legal proposals, for bringing the reforms we seek into effect. That is a matter for the negotiation, not least as there may, in each case, be different ways of achieving the same result. Our concerns really boil down to one word: flexibility. And it is in this spirit that I set out the four main areas where the United Kingdom is seeking reform."(Cameron's letter to European Council President, 10.Nov.2015).

Tusk said that Cameron's proposals were "difficult" but suggested that it would be possible "to prepare a concrete proposal to be finally adopted in February 2016 (Gostynska-Jakubowska, 2015: p.2). Tusk's response was in essence an effervescent catalyst for Cameron to brand his reform and to start discussing and promoting a wide range of issues during the course of this process. Therefore, starting decisively a full-fledged campaign, Cameron set four flexible main pillars that encompass the impact of EU membership on migration, Britain's economy, the country's welfare bill, and the sovereignty and security of the UK.

However, the question subsequently is which of these issues is likely to matter most when people come to decide whether to vote to Remain or to leave? In fact, Cameron's potential concern in his campaign for reform has been the relationship between 'Euro-ins'[2] and 'Euro–outs'[3] . In the domestic campaign battle for reform, Cameron's most concern was

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[1] Donald Franciszek Tusk (born 22 April 1957) is a Polish politician and historian. He has been President of the European Council since 1 December 2014. Previously he was Prime Minister of Poland (2007–2014) and a co-founder and chairman of the Civic Platform party. Tusk was officially designated as Prime Minister on 9 November 2007 and took office on 16 November. In October 2011, Tusk's Civic Platform won a plurality of seats in the Polish parliamentary election.On 30 August 2014, it was announced at an EU Council meeting that Tusk would be the next President of the European Council. On 9 September, Tusk submitted his resignation as Prime Minister.

[2] Euro-Ins Countries that accepted the ratification the Maastricht Treaty and accepted the of the Eurozone

[3] Euro-outs Countries of the EU but opted-out the Maastricht Treaty (outside the Eurozone)

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in "the position and the status of the City of London[1] which is currently far and away the most important financial centre in Europe" (Vibert, 2016: p.7) Yet, as one of the four areas to be addressed, Cameron unveiled the damages that the Eurozone's decisions may have on countries outside the single currency. It is cogent that Cameron is not 'in détente' with the compulsory changes and decisions that the Euro-ins adopted.

Ultimately, Cameron's endeavour is to fight initially the discrimination and the disadvantage for any business on the basis of the currency. "Cameron extremely asserted that "Taxpayers in non-Euro countries should never be financially liable for operations to support the Eurozone as a currency" (Cameron's letter to European Council President, 10.Nov.2015). Hence, it is obvious from this pillar that measures and changes taken to secure the long-term future of EU's currency should create a balance between the integrity of the Single Market and the legitimate interests of non-Euro members. In the same trend, the second elevated heading lies in the competitiveness which seeks to create a generis organisation within a constellation of huge European powers block monopolising the globalised economic system.

Competitiveness according to Cameron is about "improving the single market, scaling back unnecessary legislation, and proceeding with international trade liberalisation" (Ibid). This pillar strives to help the EU promoting further strides towards a single market and help get finance to entrepreneurs and growing businesses. Complementarily, the issue of 'National Sovereignty' has been central to the debate about UK-EU relation. Because the involvement process within the EU has gone further than integration that Cameron's endeavour is to bring the full tide of the 'ever closer union' into ebb. In many directives, decisions and regulations are issued by the EU. Therefore, Cameron strives to enhance the role of national parliaments by proposing a new arrangement where groups of national parliaments, acting together, can stop unwanted legislative proposals.

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[1] The City of London is a city and county within London. It constituted most of London from its settlement by theRomans in the 1st century AD to the Middle Ages, but the agglomeration has since grown far beyond the City's borders. The City is now only a tiny part of the metropolis of London, though it remains a notable part of central London. It is one of two districts of London to hold city status; the other is the adjacent city of Westminster.

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Making intergovementalism his most concern, Cameron asserted in his letter of reform that he want an involvement in a formal, legally-binding and irreversible way (Cameron's letter to European Council President, 10.Nov.2015). In effect, this means that the British parliament is the supreme law-making body and can never be challenged by the EU's Institutions (as the Council of the European Union, European Parliament and the European Commission.). Meanwhile, unlike the previous issues that faced some stumbling blocks, the last pillar of reform was indeed welcomed and supported by the European Colleagues.

Cameron's main focus in the fourth pillar is to make "Britain a less attractive destination by denying access to welfare benefits" (Ibid). The ultimate objective behind negotiating the issue of immigrants' movement within the Schengen group is to restrict the welfare to the immigrants and control the flow of immigrants into the UK. Relatedly, this pillar strives to ensure that 'free movement will not apply to those new members until their economies have converged much more closely with existing Member States. (Viberts, 2016: p.11).Obviously, it was a fear of an ever-continuing pressure on British future budgets that lead Cameron to crack down this type free movement. Thus, with expecting the UK to become the most populous country in the EU, an extra period of Budget Austerity might be inevitably inescapable.

At a first glance, it seems that the UK won their assertions in the negotiation. However, the real evaluations over the settlement in a reformed EU will be proven by the coming full-scale domestic campaign and the actual voting result of the referendum. Hence, while opponents perceive the UK negotiations as the "behaviour deviating from the substance of the Brexit discussions" (Takeda, 2016: p.1), the proponents show rather a cool response to Cameron's headings. Accordingly, the campaign for reform has been a Pyrrhic victory. The flexible approach in this case requires a Down-Top achievement ranging from national 'Yes Referendum' to EU Concessions. Only gambling on these two issues can urge the Brexit backers to change their mind, and can win the unanimous agreement of all the EU's member States.

6. 2. Cameron's Referendum: Gambling on Multifaceted Question

Europe as an issue has dogged British politics for half a century. The European question in British politics is a multifaceted one. Yet, with many more aspects than whether, the UK wishes to be in or out of the EU. This status can be touched through the underlying tensions that have long characterised Britain's relationship with the EU. Accordingly, the insular mentality, the history of strained relations and the pragmatic rather than the visionary approach were the main factors behind disability to respond to the EU's global sophistication. In fact, "Cameron failed to consider whether these underlying tensions, many present in Britain's debate about Europe long before the UK joined what was then the European Economic Community, can be resolved through a referendum" (Oliver, 2012: p.5).

However, Cameron agenda indeed was already very clearly set out in his speech in January 2013. Repeating it with insistence on several occasions, Cameron asserted that "we do not want an ever closer union; we want trade and collective action" (Ibid). In the same harmony, on 15 March 2014, Cameron set out a plan to reduce Brussels' supranationalism on the expense on the British intergovermentalism. Cameron in earnest called for national parliaments to:

> "block legislation proposed by the Commission, to be liberated from rulings by the European Court of Human Rights ;favour enlargement to new States but with restrictive controls for their citizens in terms of migration within the EU; and the removal – at least for the United Kingdom – of the political objective of an ever closer Union between the peoples of Europe" (Cameron Speech: A Seven-Point Plan to Reduce Brussels' Power: 15 March 2014).

It is salient that Cameron has triggered fire on the EU's constitutions which present the supreme political authority. The original assumption behind Cameron's policy is "that there would be a major intergovernmental conference, and that the British renegotiation could take place within that context (Cameron's Bloomberg speech"1, 2013).

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The trajectory of the British-European relations during Cameron's premiership was well stored and archived on vetoes and opt-outs, and sometimes on aloofness. At the same time, Cameron's government has actively engaged into a thorough reform in order to secure further integration. These binary dissent approaches have not only caused governments problems at home, but "it has also often caused the rest of the EU to become frustrated at Britain's unwillingness to engage wholeheartedly. Yet, because the negotiation seemed perilous, Cameron's endeavour to restore some allies on some of the pillars of reform he advance had been daunting. Therefore, the UK's foreign Secretary Philip Hammond1 pointed out that "the failure to deliver on "big areas of concern" will lead to losing the referendum" (Candon : 2015, p.1).

Meanwhile, adding fuel to the Euroscepticism, Conservative councillors wrote to Cameron warning that he will risk splitting the party if his renegotiations fail. Their blackmail was obvious in their message "…you made clear that if you did not get the deal you wanted in Europe you would not rule out campaigning for Britain to leave the European Union yourself, and we hope you will now unite your party and Britain in doing so"(The Daily Telegraph,12.Apr.2016). Additionally, USA also entered the debate warning that the UK's influence in the world depends very much on its membership of the EU. Thus, in his big stride to pre-empt and counter any negative reactions from his European partners, Cameron asked for flexible and imaginative response towards his demands.

However, "by his own admission, the changes that he calls for would require a modification of the existing treaties. To do this, "he would need the unanimous agreement of all twenty-eight Member States" (Dauvergne , 2015: p.2). But such flexibility will not extend to undermining the fundamentals of the EU itself. The majority of the EU's member states

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[1]Bloomberg Speech is a speech of David Cameron on the future of the EU at Bloomberg headquarters in London, January 2013while he discussed the future of the European Union at Bloomberg. For more information see ,https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-speech-at-bloomberg.

[1] Philip Anthony Hammond PC MP (born 4 December 1955) is a British Conservative politician who has been theSecretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs since 15 July 2014.

want the UK to stay in Europe, but not with a different status. Thus, to keep the UK in the EU and to deliver a 'stay' vote; Cameron gambled on multifaceted issues. (See the graph bellow).

Brexit polls: February 2016
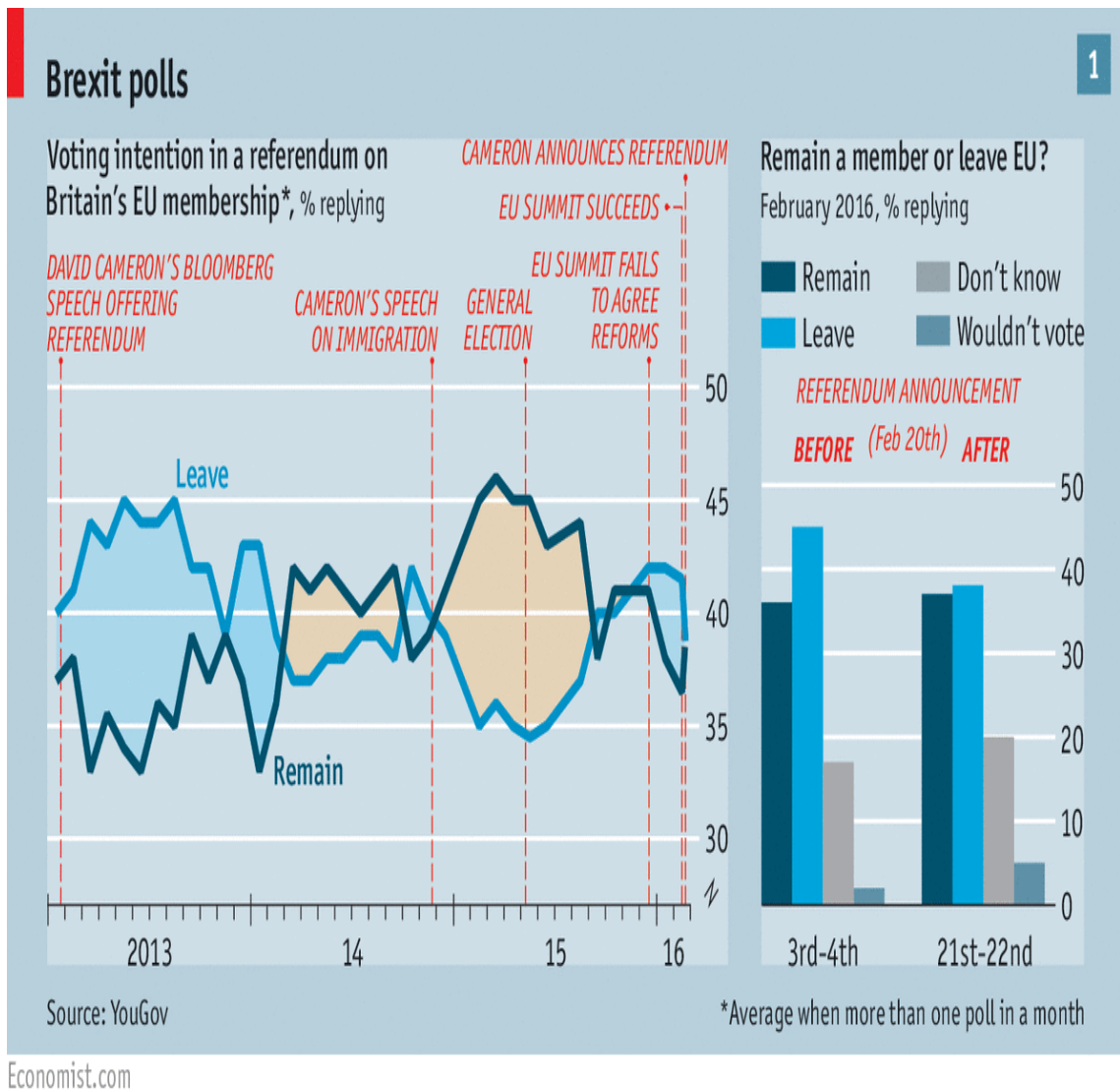
Source www.economist.com

Broadly speaking, Cameron would need the unanimous agreement of all twenty-eight Member States. He need all 28 EU leaders to back the deal hammered out with the European Council Therefore, he strived "to convince his European partners for a pre-referendum concessions, a process that the EU leaders will not be able to accept" (Candon: 2015, p.5)..In

fact, neither the European partners nor the presidents of EU's Institutions want the British to leave, but just how far the British are willing to go to keep their neighbours over the Channel is vague.

Controversially, proponents of referendum perceive Cameron's appeal as the key feature for dealing with the situation quo and conceive the concession as well the 2017 in-out Referendum as a decisive tool for efficient and sufficient reform. Whether by keeping Britain inside the EU on renegotiated terms and /or a renewed mandate, or taking it outside the Union altogether, the result will be in the British benefits. Furthermore, in his speech to the Independent Newspaper, Cameron stressed that "the British-European trajectory will be safer, stronger and better off by remaining in a reformed European Union." Thereafter, in his final set-piece speech on the issue", Cameron pointed out:

> "Our plan for Europe gives us the best of both worlds. It underlines our special status through which families across Britain get all the benefits of being in the European Union, including more jobs, lower prices and greater security. But our special status also means we are out of those parts of Europe that do not work for us. So we will never join the Euro, we will never be part of Eurozone bailouts, never be part of the passport-free no borders area, or a European Army or a EU super-state. Three years ago I committed to the British people that I would renegotiate our position in the European Union and hold an in-out referendum. Now I am delivering on that commitment. You will decide. And whatever your decision, I will do my best to deliver it."(Cameron's EU referendum date announcement (The Independent: 20 February 2016).

The reactions to the speech were predictable. At home, the clash between the xenophobic UKIP party and the Conservatives subdued. The UKIP was pleased at Cameron's appeal but asked for a premature referendum. The Conservative eurosceptic supporters were also pleased and ripe for any negotiation. Moreover, unlike the pioneers of the 'Red-Blue Coalition', The Labours do not have a strong view on Europe. Since the older generation of pro-Europeans is gone, the majority of the labour party's MPs remain ambivalent in this ongoing debate. However, while the small left-wing that wants the UK to leave the "capitalist club", "there is a larger group of pro-European Labours edging towards an in/out referendum. The Labours in essence "believe that Cameron' referendum pledge would neutralise Europe as a general election issue and, assuming a positive outcome, lock Britain into the EU for the

foreseeable future"(Kilcourse,2013: p.6). The implications of Referendum as well the dissent responses to the pillars of reform have been a feverish quest that projected its outlets into the EU's Summit.

7. European council's Summit 2016: The Implications of the Reform

In the light of the above, Tusk scheduled a special summit at the end of February to hold talks with some of the doubters. However, the determination of the European Council president to hammer out a deal between Cameron and the rest is only one factor influencing the result of the negotiations. The final say over Cameron's reform package belongs to all member-states (Gostyńska-Jakubowska, 2015 : p.14). Therefore, if Cameron strikes a conciliatory tone, his European partners will try to help him and encourage hardliners to follow suit. However, if he bangs the table and questions the fundamental principles of the European project, his partners will complicate and protest any effort to get an agreement. Accordingly, Cameron's demands should not extend to erode the fundamentals of the EU.

Arguably, though the European Council rarely takes decisions by vote, but with the failure to find a compromise between Cameron and his counterparts; answering the reform on the ballot paper seemed pivotal. The London School of Economy LSC unveiled that Sweden, the Netherland and Denmark are the most likely to vote the same way as Britain in the British Council Vote for reform. In the same fashion and for diverse raisons, many Member States have affinities with the UK. The German Prime Minister Angelina Merkel for example is so enthusiastic to the need for EU reforms and reducing regulatory burdens of the EU's excusive, judiciary and legislative bodies. Merkel's remark that "where there's a will there's a way" has been interpreted as a willingness to make important concessions (Candon: 2015, p.2). In the same trend, the Dutch also realised that the UK provides an important counterweight in the EU balance of power. Complementarily, France PM Laurent Fabius[1]

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[1] Laurent Fabius (born 20 August 1946) is a French Socialist politician who served as Prime Minister of France from 17 July 1984 to 20 March 1986. Fabius was 37 years old when he was appointed and is, so far, the youngest prime minister of the Fifth Republic. Later, Fabius was President of the National Assembly from 1988 to 1992, and again from 1997 to 2000. Fabius served in the government as Minister of Finance from 2000 to 2002, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2012 to 2016.

asserted and stressed this approach by unveiling that changing the supranational rules to prevent abuse of social welfare systems is also in France's interest (Ibid).

Controversially, the Centre of European Reform CER[1] unveiled a European paradoxical legacy shaping the trajectory of Cameron's reform package. The fear that Europhobic powers will push Cameron into advocating impossible reforms is behind the ring fence the potent that the pro-Europeans have built the against Cameron's initiative for reform. In fact, Spain which believes in strong supranational institutions seems to be the most vehemently opposed. Complementarily, the charismatic mayor of London Boris Johnson[2] has recently embraced the idea of reforms, "but his list is so far from being negotiable that it looks like a tactic to push Britain out of Europe"(Candon, 2015: p.5). But Johnson said he did not believe any of Cameron's proposed reforms had been agreed, and he did not think the negotiations would be easy. Johnson further asserted the following:

> "If we can knock out social and environmental legislation, if we can knock out the Common Agricultural Policy, if we can repatriate powers over global justice and home affairs, if we can manage migration ourselves, if we can genuinely complete the single market in services, then maybe, maybe we're going to win this argument"(The Guardian , 2014)

Anyway, during the Summit, the members of the European Council strived to find mutually and reciprocally satisfactory solutions for the package of the EU's reforms. If Cameron' European Partners are divided on giving the UK a special status, they are indeed united on many areas of reform. The mutual areas of reform indeed range from restricting

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[1] CRE or The Centre for European Reform is a think tank based in London, which aims to improve the quality of the debate on the European Union. It is a forum where people who have ideas, of Great Britain as the rest of the continent, can discuss the many political, economic and social challenges facing Europe. It seeks to work with similar organizations elsewhere in Europe, North America and around the world. The CER is pro-European but that did not stop criticising the Union. He sees European integration as largely beneficial but recognises that in many respects the Union is not working properly. The ERC promotes new ideas to reform the European Union.

[2] Boris Johnson (born 19 June 1964) is an English politician, popular historian, and journalist who has served as Member of Parliament (MP) for Uxbridge and South Ruislip since 2015. Johnson previously served as the MP for Henley from 2001 until 2008, and as Mayor of London from 2008 to 2016. A member of the Conservative Party, Johnson considers himself a "One-Nation Tory" and has been described as a libertarian due to his association with both economically liberal and socially liberal policies.

benefits to migrants to increasing the role of intergovermentalism rather supranationalism. Yet, the EU summit which had attracted much attention as the occasion that would define the future of the UK ended finally at around half past 22:00 local time on February 19[th]2016 within gaining concessions from both of the EU and the UK. Finally, the European Council agreed that the reform package is fully compatible with the EU's Modus operandi. Hailing the deal, the EU by one side urged all EU institutions and Member States to take strides for better regulation in order to deliver, foster and enhance EU competitiveness and flexibility. By another side, Cameron's comprehensive strategy agreed is looking like a plausible move towards keeping the UK in the EU. Five months in fact were able to constitute an appropriate response to the concerns of the United Kingdom.

Conclusion

Cameron's weakened supports have geared the British European policy towards an increasing awkwardness vis-à-vis the EU. Therefore, a domestic and European campaign battle on the opposing official organisations 'Britain Stronger in Europe' versus Brexit' has been launched where Cameron in earnest built his successful deliberate strategy. Initially,since the top-down parties ruling have proved a failure, Cameron triggered new political trend characterised by balancingas well bandwagoning with the Lib-Dems. Thus, a massive transformation from traditional Conservatism into modern Liberalism has been adopted. Yet, although the both parties campaign for reform involved different senses and reached audiences in different contexts, but their political marketing were tailored to similar ambitions and preferences. Meanwhile, failing in the strides to balance his duties as leader of a coalition government and leader of the Conservative, Cameron never entertained the idea that he would be challenged by a new threat looming in the form of a hard Eurosceptic party known as the UKIP.

Complementarily, in a time of dissatisfaction towards mainstream coalition, economic slump, parties' dealignment and the rise of the UKIP, Cameron gambled on a down-top achievement ranging from national 'Yes Referendum' to 'EU concessions'. Cameron ultimately outlined plans to announce a referendum of wide-ranging change on Britain status within the European Union and strived to a British settlement in a reformed EU. Cameron

then fought his position on multiple fronts: against the European countries which rejected some of his demands on reform, the protesters on his own backbenches, and the leaders of rival parties who were little bit excited about the flexibility of his reforms. Therefore, to deliver a 'stay' vote, Cameron succeeded to convince first his 28 European partners for a pre-referendum concessions, and then to call the British to answer the issue of the European involvement on the ballot paper.

Ultimately, the Conservatives' victory on 7 May 2015 General Election and the compatible package reform- though seemed as a pyrrhic triumph- but they marked the prelude for a British settlement in a reformed EU. The framework agreed in December 2016 will only yield effective feedback if all the stakeholders pursue jointly and accumulatively the EU's competitiveness agenda. Only in this case, the EU can emerge from its current challenges more united and integrated. Thus, because Cameron perceived The EU as a means to an end and not an end in itself that the absolute prefix in his reform campaign has been 'Re'. Cameron strived to a re-examination of the UK-EU relationship among both political elites and the general British public with keeping mindful eyes on the EU's renegotiation, recovery, restoration and reform.

General Conclusion

In looking at the background of the British European relationship since 1973, the first mark to point is that there was a spectrum of scepticism which can be characterised as peculiar and paradoxical Euroscepticism. While the UK has remained the most persistently Eurosceptical of all European states, it leads in parallel a huge campaign for reforming the EU. Yet, literature on British Euroscepticism bred a pluralistic debate that nourished the discourse on regional integration and the EU's reform. Therefore, from the moment the Western European powers began to organise themselves into huge regional grouping, different emphases in the type of this integration were evident.

Broadly speaking, framing Britain's status and designing its foreign policy identity after two overwhelming wars are an increasingly difficult perception especially when the contours of the global order are uncertain. In my on-going research about British-European alliance, I have explored three various perceptions shaping the British Euroscepticim: 1) opposition to the EU's regional integration2) an involvement without commitment and 3) a resettlement in a reformed EU. Precisely, the path that Britain went through to undergo a fierce opposition, sceptical integration and finally a massive reform campaign is a long story.

Initially, because the involvement process within the EU has gone further than integration, that the economic, political and social evolvement has been a very lively site for theoretical speculation. In the sophistication of the European projects, many theories have been created with the objective to explain the process of integration and its characteristics. Thus, most scholars set the EU at the centre of intersection in which Intergovermentalism, Supranationalism and Neo-functionalism are its traffic lights. The question subsequently is whether the EU is currently moving in a particular direction.

In the big strides toward European integration, most of the theoretical frameworks revolved around the Neo-functionalism and Intergovermentlism. However, the EU emerged as a global powermonopolising the economic and political system. Thus, the modus operandi of the EU is compatible with Supranationalismwhich is ultimately the most salient factor shaping Euroscepticism in the UK. The development of the European project from EEC to EU with no flexible or eclectic 'community method' for integration made Britain not just sceptical but also prophetic about the implementation of the EU's sophistication. Ultimately,

if the British have the status of 'awkward partners', it is because they perform vividly to detect the key issues related to the process of integration.

Complementarily, the framework of each theory is focused upon the proteiform dimension of three term-concepts: Region, Regionalism, and Regionalisation. The globe-straddling networks of regional integration promoted attraction on economic, political, and social materials to construct functional regions. Thus, it is obvious that the EU is a region that promotes the concept of spill over which is ultimately the corner stone of Neo-functionalism. In addition to that, the EU as a region is measured by degree and the level of regioness, regionality and regionhood.

Furthermore, through my research I explored that literature distinguishes between regionalism and regional integration 'tout court', and most of the time, the terms are used interchangeably. In Europe, the European Coal and Steel Community, established in 1953 initiated in essence the process of regional integration. Hence, in this case inter-states conciliation is viewed as the catalyst for integration. May be the most salient issue in the European regionalism is the eradication of centralist states and their traditional nationalism to reach an 'ever closer union'. Thus, over the years, the term of 'union' has taken a supranational connotation.

Obviously, the Maastricht Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty are the best examples of this monopoly which replaced the concept of union by the concept of supranational community .In the same trend, the foundation of the European Council and European Commission at the head of the EU was to decentralise the national sovereignty of many nations, and this is why Britain triggered fire on these institutions.. Thus, member states lose the right to veto and they become bound by majority decisions. Moreover, the third pillar in the process of integration is Regionalisation which implies both Europeanisation and globalisation. Regionalisation is defined as an increase in the cross-border flow of capital, goods, and people within a specific geographical area. In the same trend, the history of the European Union has been marked by the creation of the Single Market as a catalyst for economic integration. This case is seen in the establishment of the EEC where the tariff barriers were abolished between the state founders.

Besides, Europeanisation is accordingly the process in which a notionally non-European subject (a culture, a language, a city or a nation) adopts a number of European features. This issue is introduced through the 'us-them' relation between the UK and the European partners. No one can deny that European unity was born with the seeds of the bloody experiences of the WWII. The overwhelming consequences of the WWII indeed shoved the West to launch a kind of federal Europe. However, the British and far of being proud of their great sea-born empire, and of having launched a whole progeny of European nation stocks in other countries, they have always preferred the splendid isolation rather than European involvement. Geographically, the British live on an island on the edge of the continent and have always been inspired by the oceans. Historically, as an empire builder and major trading power, it was inevitable that Britain would come into conflict with rivals vying for the same weight.

Therefore, to curb this potential hegemony before it becomes too strong, Britain admired the economic and commercial freedom of the EFTA as against the political 'straitjacket' of the EEC. Hence, the end of WWII did not sign any radical rethinking of Britain's friction or attraction with Europe. The pivotal theme of this era was labelled as the era of anti-Marketeers. The relation "us-them" is an identification that unveils a big xenophobia of collective identity. As a fait accompli, only after the sheer lost of power, did Western Europe figured as an arena for regional integration. Yet, confronting the realities of domestic decline and the uncertain international order marked the need for Britain to rethink its European identity.

However, embarking to an own ultimately successful application to European involvement without commitment has been a feverish. While a ring fence against the British involvement had been built from, it was in the British parliament that the battle to pass the EEC Bill would be fought and won. Because the involvement with the EU has gone further than integration, that the political evolvement has been a very lively site for debatable speculation. Precisely, since regional integration urges states to pool their sovereignty, the idea of ceding aspects of national sovereignty to a supranational body explains the fluctuations inherent in Britain's courant policy. Britain often refuses to participate in developments suggesting a move towards a closer political union. In this perception, I have approached three oppositional binaries: (Integration versus Extension), (Involvement versus Commitment) and (Brexit versus Reform). The political arena has witnessed a conflicting

opposition to European integration ranging from hard to soft Euroscepticism. Furthermore, Eurosecptics are to be found intensively within the Conservative party comparing to the other parties. The trajectory thus of the ebb and tide of opposition brought about a paradoxical legacy where each Prime Ministers exhibited a reluctant attitude.

The inconsistency and ambiguity on Britain's role in Europe that has manifested in the premierships of successive British leaders was driven by recognition that supporting Europe often results in intra-party malaise. Anyway, while each British Prime Minister has dealt with the European issue in a different manner, it seems that they all supported the Soft Euroscepticism. However, David Cameron's Bloomberg speech in 2013 added a new chapter to the British-European troubled history known as "Reform versus Brexit'. In the likelihood of the failure of this endeavour, Cameron vowed that his government will use the issue of Europe as a political tool, making claims about EU's involvement depending on public sentiment and electoral gains.

Broadly speaking, Cameron's endeavour for approaching a European Reform has been gradual and cumulative. Precisely, Britain is perceived as a 'mauvais élève' whereas Cameron is playing a leading part in reforming the EU. The processes in essence seem disconnected. However, this equation can be understood through delving into: 1) factors behind Blue-Yellow Coalition, 2)Cameron's political branding, 3)the EU little bit excitement about the 'In-Out Referendum, and 4) the ramifications of Brexit. Yet, in a time of dissatisfaction towards mainstream Coalition, economic slump, parties' dealignment and the rise of the UKIP; Cameron gambled on a Down-Top achievement ranging from national 'Yes referendum' to 'EU concessions'.

The realities of domestic decline and the uncertain international order marked the need for Britain to rethink its governmental identity. Complementarily, through his political branding, Cameron aims at making assessment on to what extend can the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of electoral campaign trigger a political marketing. The standards encompassing competence, excitement, ruggedness, sincerity and sophistication were a 'conditio sine qua non' for gaining and maintaining voter's trust.

Anyway,the experience bore in this Coalition tended to be 'coalition backbenchers' who attacked the policies of coalition partners. Furthermore, while attempting to balance his duties as leader of a coalition government and leader of the Conservative, Cameron faced a new threat looming in the form of the United Kingdom Independence Party the (UKIP). The combination of Islamophobia, Xenophobia, and Populism brought electoral dividends for UKIP across Europe. Hence, with the biggest challenge of keeping the unity of the EU, Cameron outlined plans to announce a referendum of wide-ranging changes on Britain's status, and a pre-European referendum to gain concession for his pillars of reform.

In fact, the reactions to these campaigns were predictable. At home, the clash between the xenophobic, anti-European UKIP party and the Conservatives subdued. However, at the European level, since the final say over the reform package belongs to all member-states, Cameron strived to strike a conciliatory tone and keeps his demands modest. Thus, since his victory in the 2015 General Election, Cameron's key objective has been fixed towards gambling on multiple fronts : First on the European countries who rejected some of his demands, and then on his own backbenches protestors and the leaders of his rival parties who are getting a little bit excited about the 'In-Out Referendum'.

For diverse raisons, many Member States have affinities with the UK and shared the willingness to make important concessions. Controversially, the fear that Europhobic powers within the Conservative Party will push Cameron into impossible reforms was behind the ring fence that the pro-Europeans have built against Cameron's campaigns. Meanwhile, the implications of referendums as well the dissent responses to the pillars of reform have been a feverish. Therefore, a special summit was scheduled at the end of February to hold talks with some of the doubters. The summit ultimately ended on February 19th, 2016 within gaining concessions from both of the EU and the UK.

Cameron' six years of struggle between Britishness and Europeanism was caped with two victories: one in 7 May 2015 General Election and the other in 19 February 2016 on compatible package reform agreed by his European partners. Meanwhile, the link between these two victories is viewed as a pyrrhic triumph. Agreement between Cameron's major achievements will be put to an In-Out referendum on 23 June 2016. Ultimately, while recent opinion polling points to strong and growing support for withdrawal, there are other

perceptions which assert that this withdrawal would have a profound implications and costs for the UK and the EU.

Ultimately, on 23 June, the UK will settle a question that's been rumbling close to the surface of British politics for a generation: should the country remain within the European Union, or leave the organisation and go it alone. Both sides insist that the outcome of the vote will settle the matter of Britain's EU membership for the foreseeable future. The greatest uncertainty associated with leaving the EU is that no country has ever done it before, so no one can predict the exact result. Nevertheless, many have tried.

Accordingly, the EU would lose an influential liberalising member, shifting the balance of power in the European Council. Moreover, there would likely be a new regulatory dynamic with the UK outside the EU. Complementarily, there is little prospect of London being dislodged from Europe. This is indeed sustained by inherent advantages and a large network of financial and professional services that are hard to replicate. Anyway, Euroscepticism continues to be a challenging theme and still raises many questions that remain unsolved. Only the result of the referendum in June 2016 can bring the full tide of Euroscepticism into ebb. Thus, If Cameron gets a 'Yes, he could have settled the question for a generation. But if it is a 'No', he will be known as the prime minister who lost the final battle to Euroscepticism and took Britain out of the EU.

Glossary

- **Anti-Marketeers** are those who were against the European Common Market, the term is used interchangeably with Eurosceptics.

- **AquisCommunautaire**: the EU legislation that must be taken on board by any state joining the organisation. It includes policies as well as legislation.

- **Austerity**is a set of economic policies implemented with the aim of reducing government budget deficits. Policies grouped under the term 'austerity measures' may include spending cuts, tax increases, or a mixture of both.

- **Balancing and Banwagoning'** is a Theory used first by Stephen M. Walt, an American professor of international affairs. According to Walt, balancing is allying with others against the prevailing threat, and bandwagoning is the alignment with the source of danger.

- **Blue-Yellow Coalition:** (Known also as 'the Cons/ Liberal. Democrat Coalition).

- **Brexit:** is an abbreviation of "British exit" that mirrors the term Grexit. It refers to the possibility that Britain will withdraw from the European Union. The country will hold an in-out referendum on its EU membership on June 23.

- **Bruges Speech** : is the Thatcherite speech launched in September 20, 1988 at the College of Europe in Bruges . The generis basis of that speech came as opposition to the Maastricht Treaty and the establishment of Eurozone.

- **Coalition Government:** It is a cabinet of a parliamentary government in which several political parties cooperate, reducing the dominance of any one party within that coalition. The usual reason given for this arrangement is that no party on its own can achieve a majority in the parliament. A coalition government might also be created in a time of national difficulty or crisis

- **Consumerism:** it is a way of life combining high levels of material affluence with an emphasis on symbolic and emotional meanings associated with shopping and possessions.

- **Corporatism:** (also known as corporativism), it is the sociopolitical organisation of a society by major interest groups, or corporate groups, such as agricultural, business,

ethnic, labour, military, patronage, or scientific affiliations, on the basis of common interests. It is theoretically based on the interpretation of a community as an organic body. The term corporatism is based on the Latin root word "*corpus*" (plural – "*corpora*") meaning "body".

➢ **De facto**is a Latin expression that means "in fact, in reality, in actual existence, force, or possession, as a matter of fact.

➢ **Euro-Ins**: Countries who adopted the Single currency and who are inside the Schengen Area.

➢ **Euro-Outs:** Countries of the EU but opted-out the Maastricht Treaty (outside the Eurozone) .

➢ **Europhilia** a term coined to unveil optimism toward European Integration.

➢ **Europhobia** is the hostility or opposition among Europeans and non-Europeans against Europeanism (eg. opposing the values of the EU).

➢ **Extrapolation**: forming an opinion or making an estimate about something from known facts.. In social science, 'Extrapolation' means extension of a method, assuming similar methods will be applicable. Extrapolation may also apply to human experience to project, extend, or expand known experience into an area not known or previously experienced so as to arrive at a (usually conjectural) knowledge of the unknown.

➢ **Federalism:**it is a political concept describing the practice whereby a *group* of members are bound together by agreement or covenant (Latin: *foedus*, covenant) with a governing representative head. It refers to a system of government in which sovereignty is constitutionally shared between a central governing authority and constituent political units (such as states or provinces).

➢ **Globalisation**is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas and mutual sharing, and other aspects of culture.

➢ **Intergovermentalism:** is a term in political science with two meanings. The first refers to a theory of regional integration originally proposed by Stanley Hoffmann; the second treats states and the national government as the primary factors for integration. Intergovernmentalism treats states and national governments in particular, as the

primary actors in the integration process. Intergovernmentalist approaches claim to be able to explain both periods of radical change in the European Union because of converging governmental preferences and periods of inertia because of diverging national interests.

➢ **Lame Duke:** an official (especially the president) in the final period of office, after the election of a successor.

➢ **Mauvais Elève**: is a French expression used interchangeably with the English one 'Awkward Partner'. This epithet was first in the late 1990s by Stephen George. The durability of the term relies upon the concept of 'semi-detached' member of the EU, the brilliance of the concept rested on a link between the tenor and history of UK-EU relations with attitudes and experiences of the warp and weft of everyday life in England.

➢ **Modus operandi** is a Latin phrase, approximately translated as "method of operation". The term is used to describe someone's habits of working, particularly in the context of business or criminal investigations. In English, it is often shortened to *M.O.*

➢ **Monnet-Schuman:** strategy is the statement laid forward by the French foreign minister Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950. Inspired and for the most part drafted by Jean Monnet, this was a proposal to place Franco-German production of coal and steel under on one common High Authority. This organisation would be open to participation to other European countries. This cooperation was to be designed in such a way as to create common interests between European countries.

➢ **Neo-Functionalism:** it is a theory of regional integration, building on the work of Ernst B. Haas, a German-born American political scientist. The explicit purpose of neo-functionalism was to utilise the pioneering European experience of integration to generate hypotheses for testing in other contexts.

➢ **Out-opt**to choose not to participate in something: i.e. The rejection of the Maastricht treaty 1992.

➢ **Phytogeography:** it is the branch of biogeography that is concerned with the geographic distribution of plant species and their influence on the earth's surface.

➢ **Political Branding:** this expression refers to the strategies or stratagems politicians adopt to gain popularity and power in election. It helps the party or candidate to change or maintain reputation and support create a feeling of identity with the party or its candidates and create a trusting relationship between political elites and consumers.

➢ **Polity:** A particular form or system of government. It is also the condition of being constituted as a state or other organised community or body. It is also s any kind of political entity. It is a group of people that are collectively united by a self-reflected cohesive force such as identity, that have a capacity to mobilise resources

➢ **Populism** is a political outlook or disposition that appeals to the interests and conceptions (such as hopes and fears) of the general population, especially when contrasting any new collective consciousness push against the prevailing status quo interests of any predominant political sector. Political parties and politicians often use the terms *populist* and *populism* as pejoratives against their opponents. Such a view sees populism as merely empathising with the public, (usually through rhetoric or unrealistic proposals) in order to increase appeal across the political spectrum.

➢ **Preferentialism:** it is a philosophical movement which began in Paris in the early 1990s. In direct opposition to the relativism of Existentialism, Preferentialism stresses objectivity and natural law principles, applying the latter to epistemology as well as to morality and ethics. Preferentialism states that there are certain absolute preferential frames of reference which are preferred by nature, in opposition to the individualistic relativism of Existentialism. Preferentialism has application in the social sciences

➢ **Ratification**is a principal's approval of an act of its agent where the agent lacked authority to legally bind the principal. Ratification defines the international act whereby a state indicates its consent to be bound to a treaty if the parties intended to show their consent by such an act.

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multilateral treaties the usual procedure is for the depositary to collect the ratifications of all states, keeping all parties informed of the situation.

➢ **Regionalisation:** It is the tendency to form decentralised regions. Regionalisation can be observed in various disciplines: geography, economy and politics.
In globalisation discourse, it represents a world that becomes less interconnected, with a stronger regional focus. In politics, it is the process of dividing a political entity or country into smaller jurisdictions (administrative divisions or subnational units) and transferring power from the central government to the regions.

➢ **Regionalism**: it is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose combined with the creation and implementation of institutions that express a particular identity and shape collective action within a geographical region.

➢ *Spillover:* an unexpected consequence of the spreading of cooperation from one area to another

➢ **Supranationalism:**is when powers are ceded to the EU Institutions. It suggests a movement towards supranationalism . This is especially the case when the EU is able to force member states to adopt particular policies, even there is national reluctance.

➢ **Xenophobia**: is the fear of that which is perceived to be foreign or strange. Xenophobia can manifest itself in many ways involving the relations and perceptions of an in group towards an out group, including a fear of losing identity, suspicion of its activities, aggression, and desire to eliminate its presence to secure a presumed purity.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Churchill's Zurich Speech 1946

Winston Churchill was one of the first to call for the creation of a 'United States of Europe'. Following the Second World War, he was convinced that only a united Europe could guarantee peace. His aim was to eliminate the European ills of nationalism and war-mongering once and for all. He formulated his conclusions drawn from the lessons of history in his famous 'Speech to the academic youth' held at the University of Zurich in 1946:

The Churchill Society

London

**Mr Winston Churchill speaking in Zurich
I9th September 1946.**

I WISH TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY about the tragedy of Europe.

This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth; enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modem times.

If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations, which we have seen even in this twentieth century and in our own lifetime, wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind.

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced?

Some of the smaller States have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, care-worn and bewildered human beings gape at the

ruins of their cities and homes, and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror.

Among the victors there is a babel of jarring voices; among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair.

That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient States and nations, that is all that the Germanic Powers have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide.

Indeed, but for the fact that the great Republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realised that the ruin or enslavement of Europe would involve their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succour and guidance, the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor.

They may still return.

Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted, would as if by a miracle transform the whole scene, and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today.

What is this sovereign remedy?

It is to re-create the European Family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom.

We must build a kind of United States of Europe.

In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.

The process is simple.

All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong, and gain as their reward, blessing instead of cursing.

Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the Pan-European Union which owes so much to Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and which commanded the services of the famous French patriot and statesman, Aristide Briand.

There is also that immense body of doctrine and procedure, which was brought into being amid high hopes after the First World War, as the League of Nations.

The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those States who had brought it into being. It failed because the Governments of those days feared to face the facts and act while time remained. This disaster must not be repeated. There is, therefore, much knowledge and material with which to build; and also bitter dear-bought experience.

I was very glad to read in the newspapers two days ago that my friend President Truman had expressed his interest and sympathy with this great design.

There is no reason why a regional organisation of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organisation of the United Nations. On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon coherent natural groupings.

There is already a natural grouping in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken, on the contrary they strengthen, the world organisation. They are in fact its main support.

And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty continent and why should it not take its rightful place with other great groupings in shaping the destinies of men?

In order that this should be accomplished, there must be an act of faith in which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part.

We all know that the two world wars through which we have passed arose out of the vain passion of a newly united Germany to play the dominating part in the world.

In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed for which there is no parallel since the invasions of the Mongols in the fourteenth century and no equal at any time in human history.

The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war.

But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, there must be an end to retribution. There must be what Mr Gladstone many years ago called 'a blessed act of oblivion'.

We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years that are to come the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past.

If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery, and indeed from final doom, there must be an act of faith in the European family and an act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past.

Can the free peoples of Europe rise to the height of these resolves of the soul and instincts of the spirit of man?

If they can, the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted will have been washed away on all sides by the miseries which have been endured.

Is there any need for further floods of agony?

Appendices

Is it the only lesson of history that mankind is unteachable?

Let there be justice, mercy and freedom.

The peoples have only to will it, and all will achieve their hearts' desire.

I am now going to say something that will astonish you.

The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany.

In this way only can France recover the moral leadership of Europe.

There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany.

The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honour by their contribution to the common cause.

The ancient states and principalities of Germany, freely joined together for mutual convenience in a federal system, might each take their individual place among the United States of Europe. I shall not try to make a detailed programme for hundreds of millions of people who want to be happy and free, prosperous and safe, who wish to enjoy the four freedoms of which the great President Roosevelt spoke, and live in accordance with the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter. If this is their wish, they have only to say so, and means can certainly be found, and machinery erected, to carry that wish into full fruition.

But I must give you warning. Time may be short.

At present there is a breathing-space. The cannon have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped; but the dangers have not stopped.

If we are to form the United States of Europe or whatever name or form it may take, we must begin now.

In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield and protection of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a State and nation which we know will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom. But it may well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilisation, but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I must now sum up the propositions which are before you.

Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations Organisation.

Under and within that world concept, we must re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe.

The first step is to form a Council of Europe.

If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join the Union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and those who can.

The salvation of the common people of every race and of every land from war or servitude must be established on solid foundations and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than submit to tyranny.

In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together.

Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America, and I trust Soviet Russia - for then indeed all would be well - must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live and shine.

Available at: http://www.churchill-society-london.org.uk/astonish.html

Appendix II

The Eurozone

The eurozone officially called the euro area is a monetary union of 19 of the 28 European Union (EU) member states which have adopted the euro (€) as their common currency and sole legal tender. The other nine members of the European Union continue to use their own national currencies, although most of them are obliged to adopt the euro in future.
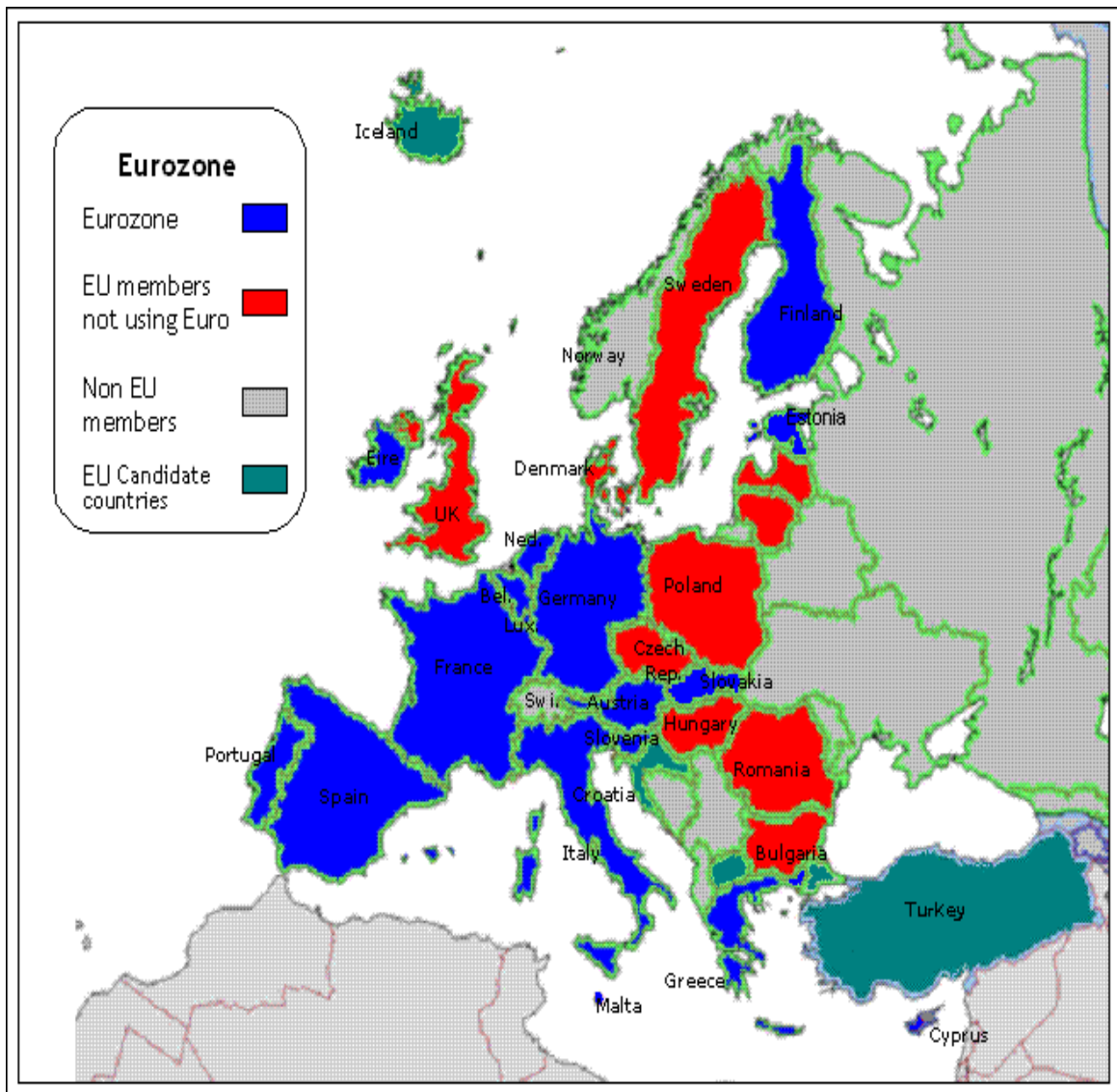
Source : Civitas.Org.UK

Appendix III

The Thatcherite Bruges Speech

The Thatcherite Bruges Speech is a speech by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher September 20, 1988 at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium on the occasion of the opening of the academic year, to nearly eight hundred people whose Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens. This is the beginning of a tour during which she took the opportunity to present his vision of Europe, explaining how it must evolve if it wants to succeed in the field of economy, defense, quality of life and influence in the world. In his speech, Europe must operate in the cooperative method, must be the tool of creation of the common market and the Member States should be placed in internationalist logic. Margaret Thatcher caters mainly to its European partners by warning that their choice for Europe is not good but his speech also some internal use. It therefore wants to persuasive, its objective being to impose a new doctrine for Europe.

1988 Sep 20 Tu
Margaret Thatcher
Speech to the College of Europe ("The Bruges Speech")

By Margaret Thatcher
7:10PM BST 19 Sep 2008
Prime Minister, Rector, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:
First, may I thank you for giving me the opportunity to return to Bruges and in very different circumstances from my last visit shortly after the Zeebrugge Ferry disaster, when Belgian courage and the devotion of your doctors and nurses saved so many British lives.
And second, may I say what a pleasure it is to speak at the College of Europe under the distinguished leadership of its Rector [Professor Lukaszewski]. The College plays a vital and increasingly important part in the life of the European Community.
And third, may I also thank you for inviting me to deliver my address in this magnificent hall. What better place to speak of Europe's future than a building which so gloriously recalls the greatness that Europe had already achieved over 600 years ago.
Your city of Bruges has many other historical associations for us in Britain. Geoffrey Chaucer was a frequent visitor here. And the first book to be printed in the English language was produced here in Bruges by William Caxton .

Britain and Europe

Mr. Chairman, you have invited me to speak on the subject of Britain and Europe. Perhaps I should congratulate you on your courage. If you believe some of the things said and written about my views on Europe, it must seem rather like inviting Genghis Khan to speak on the virtues of peaceful coexistence!

I want to start by disposing of some myths about my country, Britain, and its relationship with Europe and to do that, I must say something about the identity of Europe itself.

Europe is not the creation of the Treaty of Rome. Nor is the European idea the property of any group or institution.

Europe's future

This is no arid chronicle of obscure facts from the dust-filled libraries of history. It is the record of nearly two thousand years of British involvement in Europe, cooperation with Europe and contribution to Europe, contribution which today is as valid and as strong as ever.

Yes, we have looked also to wider horizons - as have others - and thank goodness for that, because Europe never would have prospered and never will prosper as a narrow-minded, inward-looking club.

The European Community belongs to all its members. It must reflect the traditions and aspirations of all its members.

And let me be quite clear. Britain does not dream of some cosy, isolated existence on the fringes of the European Community. Our destiny is in Europe, as part of the Community.

Willing co-operation between sovereign states

My first guiding principle is this: willing and active co-operation between independent sovereign states is the best way to build a successful European Community.

To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardise the objectives we seek to achieve.

Europe will be stronger precisely because it has France as France, Spain as Spain, Britain as Britain, each with its own customs, traditions and identity. It would be folly to try to fit them into some sort of identikit European personality.

Some of the founding fathers of the Community thought that the United States of America might be its model

The British approach

Mr. Chairman, I believe it is not enough just to talk in general terms about a European vision or ideal. If we believe in it, we must chart the way ahead and identify the next steps. And that is what I have tried to do this evening.

This approach does not require new documents: they are all there, the North Atlantic Treaty, the Revised Brussels Treaty and the Treaty of Rome, texts written by far-sighted men, a remarkable Belgian - Paul Henri Spaak - among them.

However far we may want to go, the truth is that we can only get there one step at a time. And what we need now is to take decisions on the next steps forward, rather than let ourselves be distracted by Utopian goals. Utopia never comes, because we know we should not like it if it did.

Let Europe be a family of nations, understanding each other better, appreciating each other more, doing more together but relishing our national identity no less than our common European endeavour.

Let us have a Europe which plays its full part in the wider world, which looks outward not inward, and which preserves that Atlantic community - that Europe on both sides of the Atlantic - which is our noblest inheritance and our greatest strength.

May I thank you for the privilege of delivering this lecture in this great hall to this great college.

(Available at http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107332)

Appendix IV

EU speech at Bloomberg

From: Cabinet Office, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street

Delivered on: 23 January 2013 (Original script, may differ from delivered version)

First published on 23 January 2013

This speech was published under the2010 to 2015 Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government.

This morning I want to talk about the future of Europe.

But first, let us remember the past.

70 years ago, Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict in a generation. A war which saw the streets of European cities strewn with rubble.The skies of London lit by flames night after night.And millions dead across the world in the battle for peace and liberty.

As we remember their sacrifice, so we should also remember how the shift in Europe from war to sustained peace came about. It did not happen like a change in the weather. It happened because of determined work over generations. A commitment to friendship and a resolve never to re-visit that dark past - a commitment epitomised by the Elysee Treaty signed 50 years ago this week.

The abandoned checkpoints.The sense of excitement about the future.The knowledge that a great continent was coming together.

The map of global influence is changing before our eyes. And these changes are already being felt by the entrepreneur in the Netherlands, the worker in Germany, the family in Britain.

Deliver prosperity, retain support

So I want to speak to you today with urgency and frankness about the European Union and how it must change - both to deliver prosperity and to retain the support of its peoples.

But first, I want to set out the spirit in which I approach these issues.

I know that the United Kingdom is sometimes seen as an argumentative and rather strong-minded member of the family of European nations.

And it's true that our geography has shaped our psychology.

We have the character of an island nation - independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty.

3 major challenges

But it's essential for Europe - and for Britain - that we do because there are 3 major challenges confronting us today.

First, the problems in the Eurozone are driving fundamental change in Europe.

Second, there is a crisis of European competitiveness, as other nations across the world soar ahead. And third, there is a gap between the EU and its citizens which has grown dramatically in recent years. And which represents a lack of democratic accountability and consent that is - yes - felt particularly acutely in Britain.If we don't address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit.

I do not want that to happen. I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it.

That is why I am here today: To acknowledge the nature of the challenges we face. To set out how I believe the European Union should respond to them. And to explain what I want to achieve for Britain and its place within the European Union.

Let me start with the nature of the challenges we face.

First, the Eurozone.

The future shape of Europe is being forged. There are some serious questions that will define the future of the European Union - and the future of every country within it.

The Union is changing to help fix the currency - and that has profound implications for all of us, whether we are in the single currency or not.

Britain is not in the single currency, and we're not going to be. But we all need the Eurozone to have the right governance and structures to secure a successful currency for the long term.

And those of us outside the Eurozone also need certain safeguards to ensure, for example, that our access to the Single Market is not in any way compromised.

Second, while there are some countries within the EU which are doing pretty well. Taken as a whole, Europe's share of world output is projected to fall by almost a third in the next 2 decades. This is the competitiveness challenge - and much of our weakness in meeting it is self-inflicted.

Third, there is a growing frustration that the EU is seen as something that is done to people rather than acting on their behalf. And this is being intensified by the very solutions required to resolve the economic problems.

Appendices

People are increasingly frustrated that decisions taken further and further away from them mean their living standards are slashed through enforced austerity or their taxes are used to bail out governments on the other side of the continent.

We are starting to see this in the demonstrations on the streets of Athens, Madrid and Rome. We are seeing it in the parliaments of Berlin, Helsinki and the Hague.

And yes, of course, we are seeing this frustration with the EU very dramatically in Britain.

Available at: www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-speech-at-bloomberg

Appendix V

The Rise of the UKIP

With its second elected MP at Westminster in as many months, the UK Independence Party has cemented its place as the new force in British politics. But its achievements are no overnight success.The UK Independence Party has, as its name implies, one key policy - to leave the European Union.It is a simple, understandable message, which has led to the party gaining bigger and bigger support in European elections, culminating in it topping the vote in May this year.But it is also a message which meant people often dismissed it as a single-issue party, unlikely to transfer its success to Westminster politics.
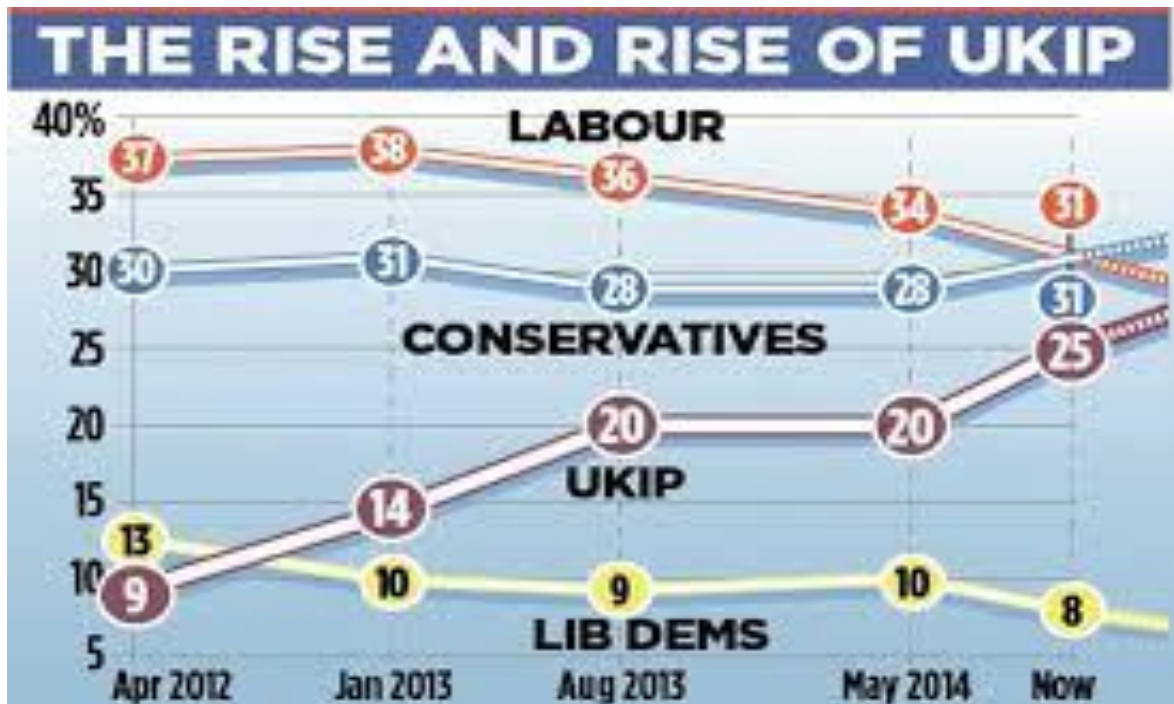
Source: www.daily mail.co.uk

Appendix V

Brexit poll tracker

The Conservative election victory last year activated a manifesto pledge to hold an in/out referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union by the end of 2017.David Cameron made the promise of an EU referendum at a time when he was under pressure from Eurosceptic backbenchers within his own party – and when the Tories appeared to be losing votes to UKIP.

This graph summarises the opinion polling on the matter.Latest developments
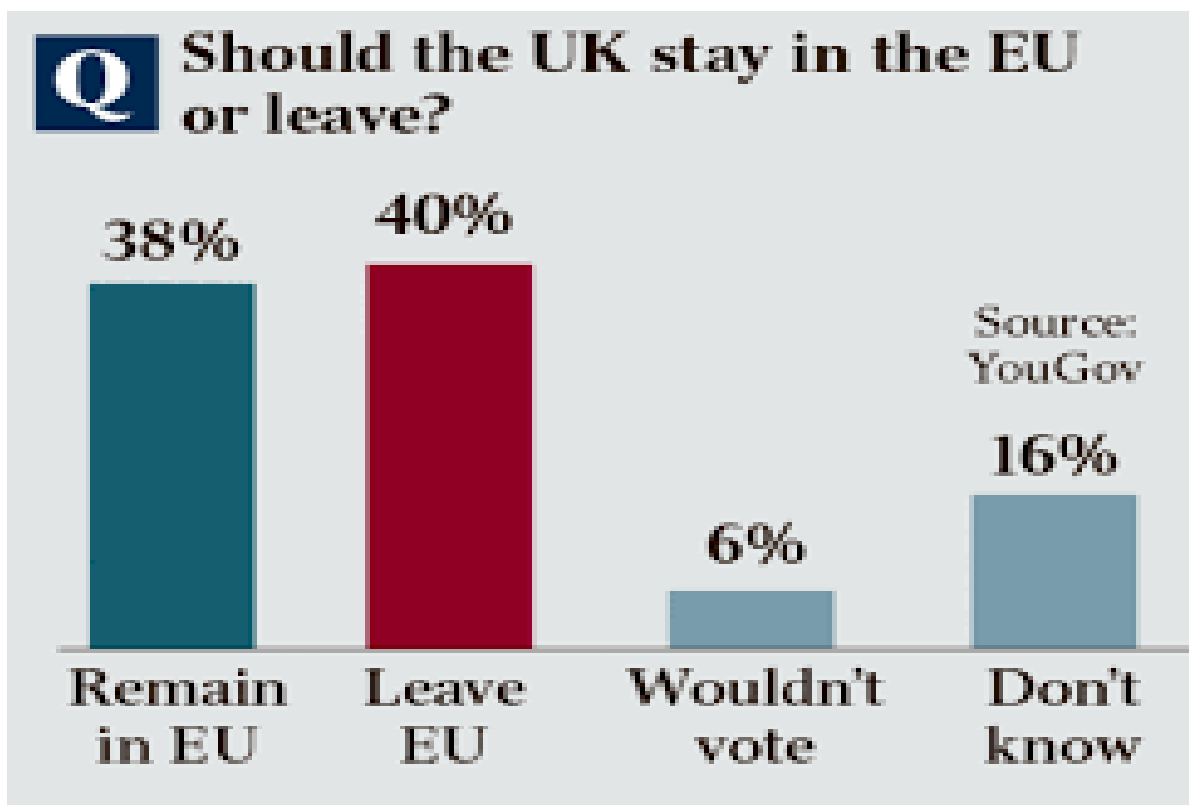
Source: www.order.order.com

Appendix IV

History of the EU

The Founding Fathers of the EU

Available at: http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm

       The following visionary leaders inspired the creation of the European Union we live in today. Without their energy and motivation we would not be living in the climate of peace and stability that we take for granted nowadays. From resistance fighters to lawyers, the Founding Fathers were a diverse group of people who held the same ideals: a peaceful, united and prosperous Europe. Beyond the Founding Fathers described below, many others have worked tirelessly towards, and inspired, the European project. This section on the Founding Fathers is therefore a work in progress.

- Konrad Adenauer
- Joseph Bech
- Johan Beyen
- Winston Churchill
- Alcide De Gasperi
- Walter Hallstein

- Sicco Mansholt
- Jean Monnet
- Robert Schuman

- Paul-Henri Spaak

- AltieroSpinelli

The Sophistication of the EU

1945 - 1959
A peaceful Europe – the beginnings of cooperation

The European Union is set up with the aim of ending the frequent and bloody wars between neighbours, which culminated in the Second World War. As of 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community begins to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace. The six founding countries are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The 1950s are dominated by a cold war between east and west. Protests in Hungary against the Communist regime are put down by Soviet tanks in 1956. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome creates the European Economic Community (EEC), or 'Common Market'.

1960 - 1969
A period of economic growth

The 1960s is a good period for the economy, helped by the fact that EU countries stop charging custom duties when they trade with each other. They also agree joint control over food production, so that everybody now has enough to eat - and soon there is even surplus agricultural produce. May 1968 becomes famous for student riots in Paris, and many changes in society and behaviour become associated with the so-called '68 generation'.

1970 - 1979
A growing Community – the first enlargement

Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the European Union on 1 January 1973, raising the number of Member States to nine. The short, yet brutal, Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 results in an energy crisis and economic problems in Europe. The last right-wing dictatorships in Europe come to an end with the overthrow of the Salazar regime in Portugal in 1974 and the death of General Franco of Spain in 1975. The EU regional policy starts to transfer huge sums of money to create jobs and infrastructure in poorer areas. The

European Parliament increases its influence in EU affairs and in 1979 all citizens can, for the first time, elect their members directly. The fight against pollution intensifies in the 1970s. The EU adopts laws to protect the environment, introducing the notion of 'the polluter pays' for the first time.

1980 - 1989
The changing face of Europe - the fall of the Berlin Wall

The Polish trade union, Solidarność, and its leader Lech Walesa, become household names across Europe and the world following the Gdansk shipyard strikes in the summer of 1980. In 1981, Greece becomes the 10th member of the EU, and Spain and Portugal follow five years later. In 1986 the Single European Act is signed. This is a treaty which provides the basis for a vast six-year programme aimed at sorting out the problems with the free flow of trade across EU borders and thus creates the 'Single Market'. There is major political upheaval when, on 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall is pulled down and the border between East and West Germany is opened for the first time in 28 years. This leads to the reunification of Germany, when both East and West Germany are united in October 1990.

1990 - 1999
A Europe without frontiers

With the collapse of communism across central and eastern Europe, Europeans become closer neighbours. In 1993 the Single Market is completed with the 'four freedoms' of: movement of goods, services, people and money. The 1990s is also the decade of two treaties: the 'Maastricht' Treaty on European Union in 1993 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999. People are concerned about how to protect the environment and also how Europeans can act together when it comes to security and defence matters. In 1995 the EU gains three more new members: Austria, Finland and Sweden. A small village in Luxembourg gives its name to the 'Schengen' agreements that gradually allow people to travel without having their passports checked at the borders. Millions of young people study in other countries with EU support. Communication is made easier as more and more people start using mobile phones and the internet.

2000 – 2009

Further expansion

The euro is now the new currency for many Europeans. During the decade more and more countries adopt the euro. 11 September 2001 becomes synonymous with the 'War on Terror' after hijacked airliners are flown into buildings in New York and Washington. EU countries begin to work much more closely together to fight crime. The political divisions between east and west Europe are finally declared healed when no fewer than 10 new countries join the EU in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. A financial crisis hits the global economy in September 2008. The Treaty of Lisbon is ratified by all EU countries before entering into force in 2009. It provides the EU with modern institutions and more efficient working methods.

2010 – today

A challenging decade

The global economic crisis strikes hard in Europe. The EU helps several countries to confront their difficulties and establishes the 'Banking Union' to ensure safer and more reliable banks. In 2012, the European Union is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Croatia becomes the 28th member of the EU in 2013. Climate change is still high on the agenda and leaders agree to reduce harmful emissions. European elections are held in 2014 and more Eurosceptics are elected into the European Parliament. A new security policy is established in the wake of the annexation of Crimea by Russia. Religious extremism increases in the Middle East and various countries and regions around the world, leading to unrest and wars which result in many people fleeing their homes and seeking refuge in Europe. The EU is not only faced with the dilemma of how to take care of them, but also finds itself the target of several terrorist attacks.