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EU finalité conceptions after Brexit

A comparison of German and Polish parties

Presentation and discussion of the research report of the project
„Germany and Poland in a Differentiated European Union“

Online discussion, 30 May 2022, 18:00-20:00

in cooperation with



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STRUCTURE

1. Methodology
2. Finalité conceptions in Poland and Germany
3. Conclusion

METHODOLOGY

- **Research question:** Which EU finalité conceptions prevail among German and Polish parties?
- **Focus of analysis:** deepening and differentiation
- **Case selection:** Germany and Poland
- **Empirical sources and research periods:**
 - 422 plenary protocols: 06/2016 – 01/2020
 - 27 expert interviews: 06/2021 – 12/2021



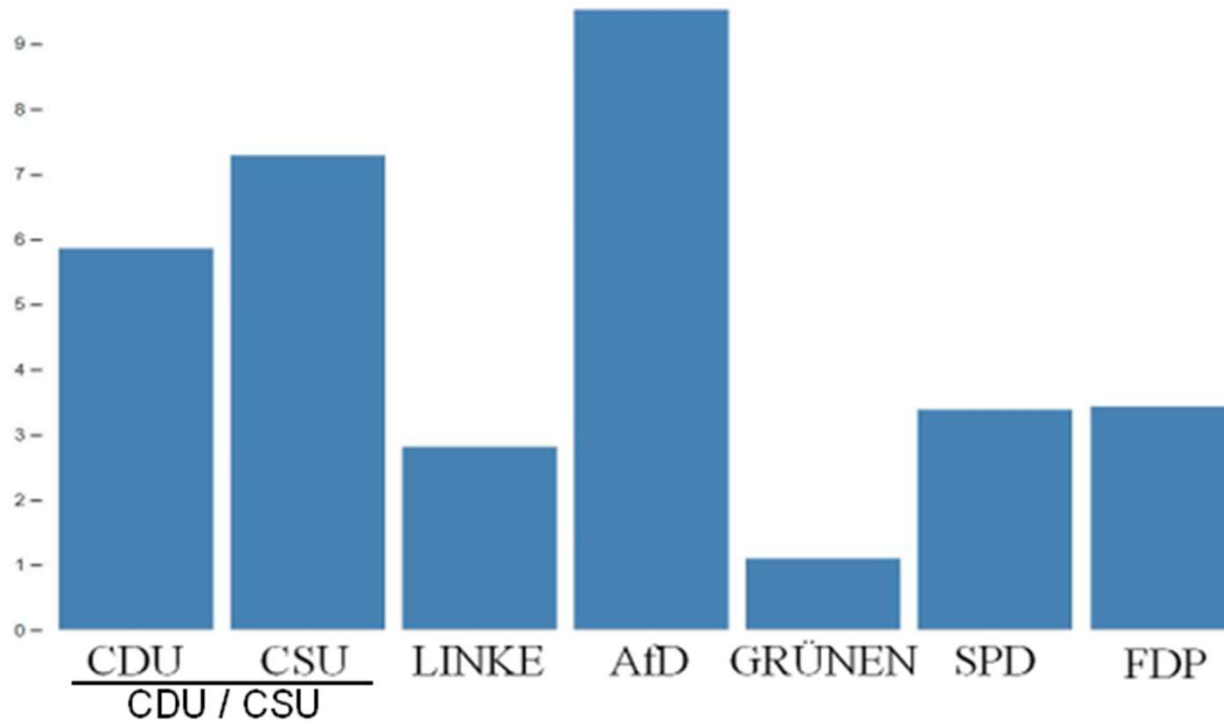
METHODOLOGY

- **Unit of analysis:** political parties or coalitions represented in the Polish Sejm and German Bundestag
- **Classification:** along TAN-GAL logic in order to study the consistency within ideological families based on Chapel House Expert Survey data

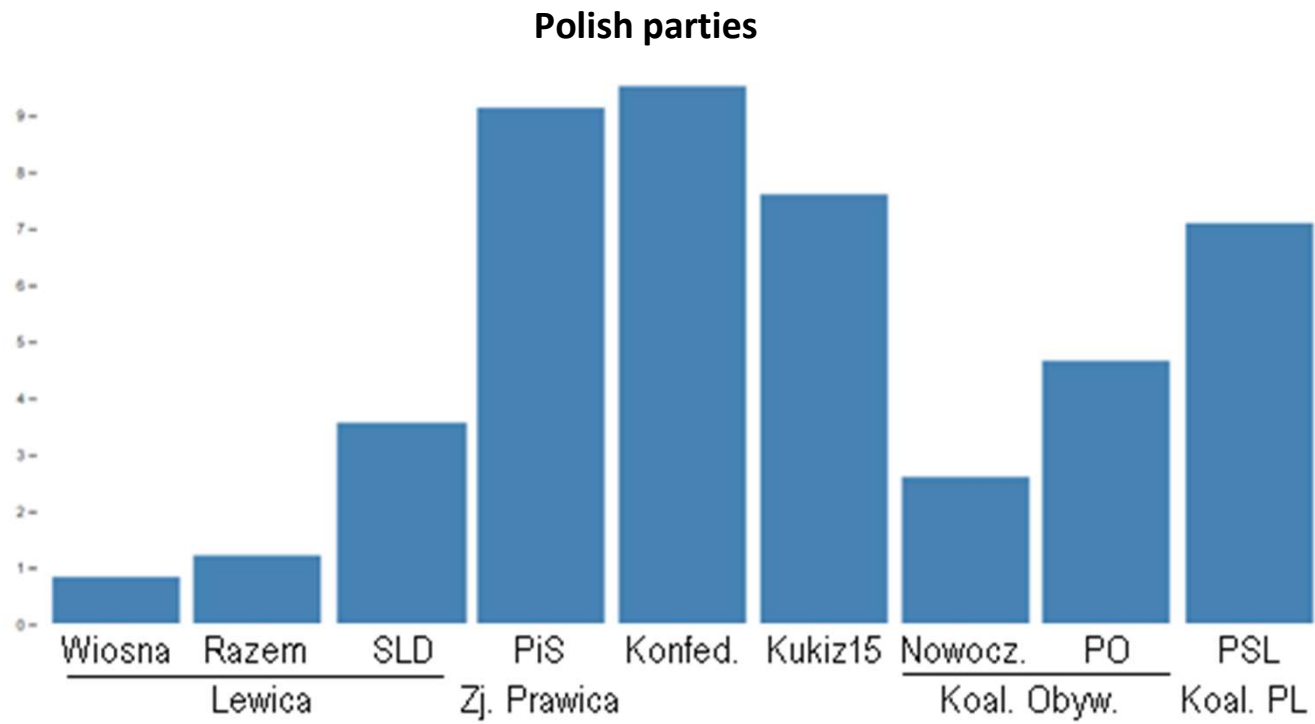
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METHODOLOGY

German parties



METHODOLOGY



METHODOLOGY

Classification of German and Polish parties

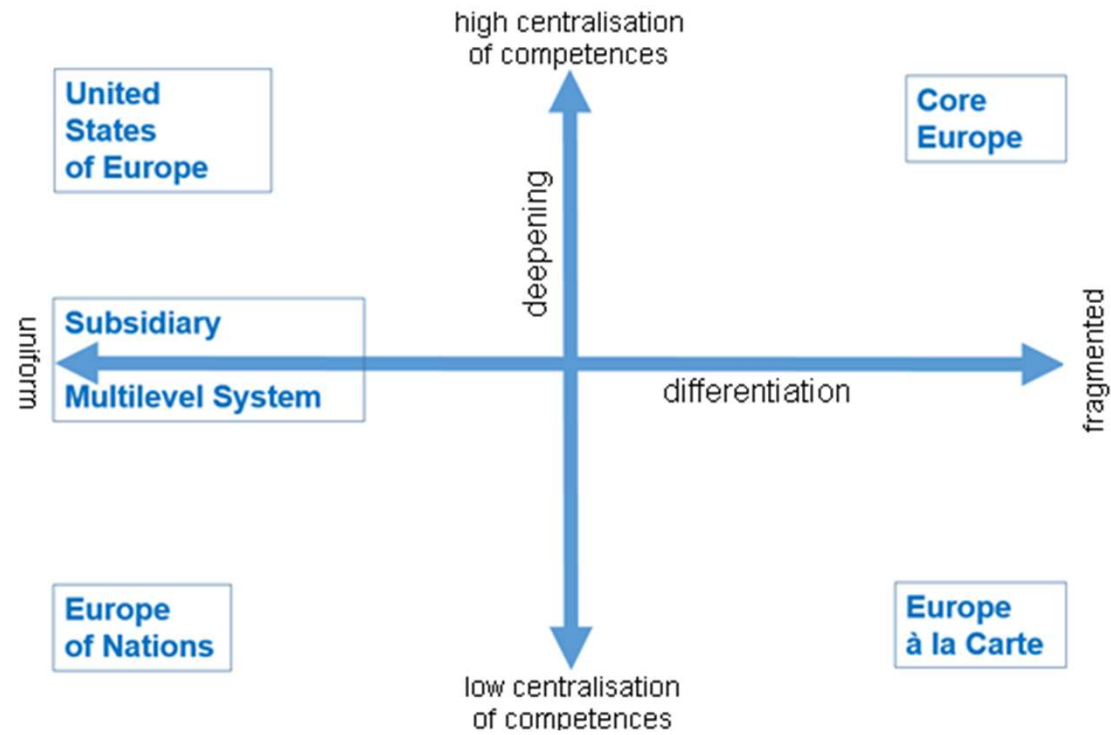
traditional	centrist	libertarian
Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)	Koalicja Obywatelska (KO)	BÜNDNIS90/DIE GRÜNEN
Konfederacja	Polska 2050 (P2050)	DIE LINKE
Kukiz'15 (K'15)	Christlich-Demokratische Union / Christlich-Soziale Union (CDU/CSU)	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)		Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)
Zjednoczona Prawica (ZP)		Unia Europejskich Demokratów (UED)
		Lewica



METHODOLOGY

- **EU finalité conceptions:** teleological visions of the state, into which the EU`s institutional architecture shall transform in the long run
- **methodological approach:** ideal type construction (Max Weber)
 - „pure“ or „logical“ forms of a phenomenon usually along one defining feature, but here: deepening and differentiation in the EU

METHODOLOGY





EU FINALITÉ CONCEPTIONS

- Corresponding ideal types of uniform integration (deepening)
- Prioritised policy fields
- Corresponding ideal types of fragmented integration (differentiation)

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TRADITIONAL PARTIES

EU finalité conceptions (uniform integration)

Party	Ideal type
AfD	Europe of Nations
ZP	Europe of Nations
Konfederacja	Europe of Nations
K'15	Europe of Nations
PSL	Subsidiary Multilevel System



TRADITIONAL PARTIES

Prioritised EU policy fields

Party	EMU
AfD	withdrawal
ZP	No Euro in Poland!
K'15	national currency = flexible response to market changes
Konfederacja	Euro may coexist with a national currency
PSL	Euro is inevitable and desirable but Poland is not yet ready



TRADITIONAL PARTIES

Differentiated integration (fragmented integration)

Political party	Europe à la Carte	Multi-speed Europe	Core Europe
AfD	+	-	-
Konfederacja	+	+	+
ZP	-	-	-
K'15	-	-	-
PSL	-	-	-

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CENTRIST PARTIES

EU finalité conceptions (uniform integration)

Party	Ideal type
CDU/CSU	Subsidiary Multilevel System
Polska 2050	Subsidiary Multilevel System
KO	Subsidiary Multilevel System / United States of Europe

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CENTRIST PARTIES

Prioritised EU policy fields

Party	Security
CDU/CSU	internal and external security affairs
Polska 2050	internal and external security affairs
KO	internal and external security affairs



CENTRIST PARTIES

Differentiated integration (fragmented integration)

Political party	Europe à la Carte	Multi-speed Europe	Core Europe
CDU/CSU	-	+	-
Polska 2050	-	-	-
KO	-	-	-

LIBERTARIAN PARTIES

EU finalité conceptions (uniform integration)

Party	Ideal type
SPD	United States of Europe
B'90/Die Grünen	United States of Europe
Lewica	United States of Europe
UED	United States of Europe
Die Linke	Subsidiary Multilevel System
FDP	Subsidiary Multilevel System

LIBERTARIAN PARTIES

Prioritised EU policy fields

Party	Priorities vary
SPD	Social Europe
B'90/Die Grünen	Social Europe
Lewica	Social Europe
Die Linke	Social Europe
UED	Security related policy fields
FDP	Security related policy fields

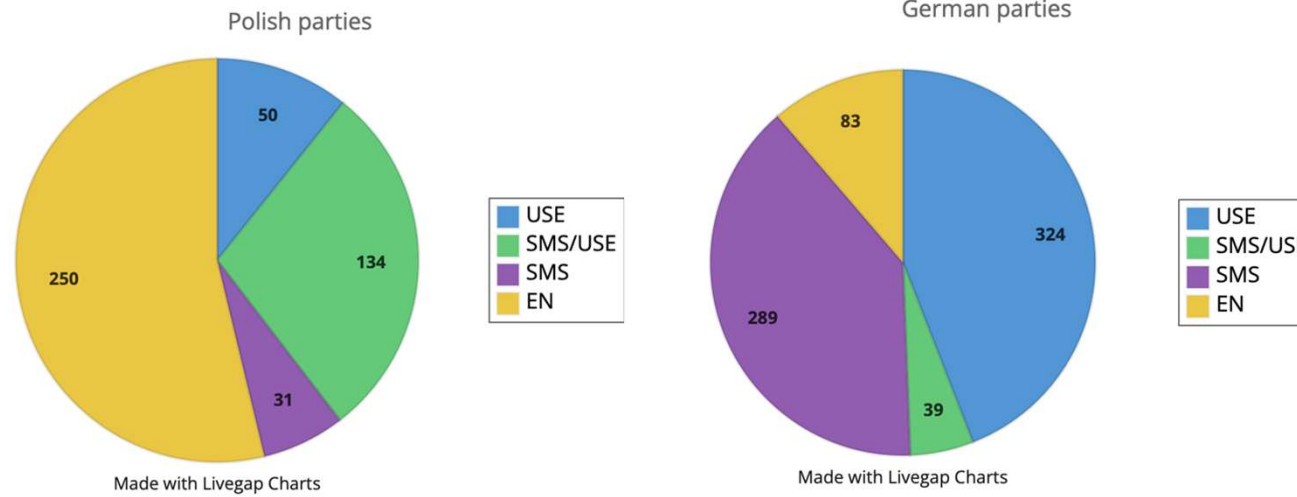
LIBERTARIAN PARTIES

Differentiated integration (fragmented integration)

Political party	Europe à la Carte	Multi-speed Europe	Core Europe
SPD	-	+	-
B'90/Die Grünen	-	+	-
FDP	-	+	-
Die Linke	-	+	-
Lewica	-	-	-
UED	+	+	+

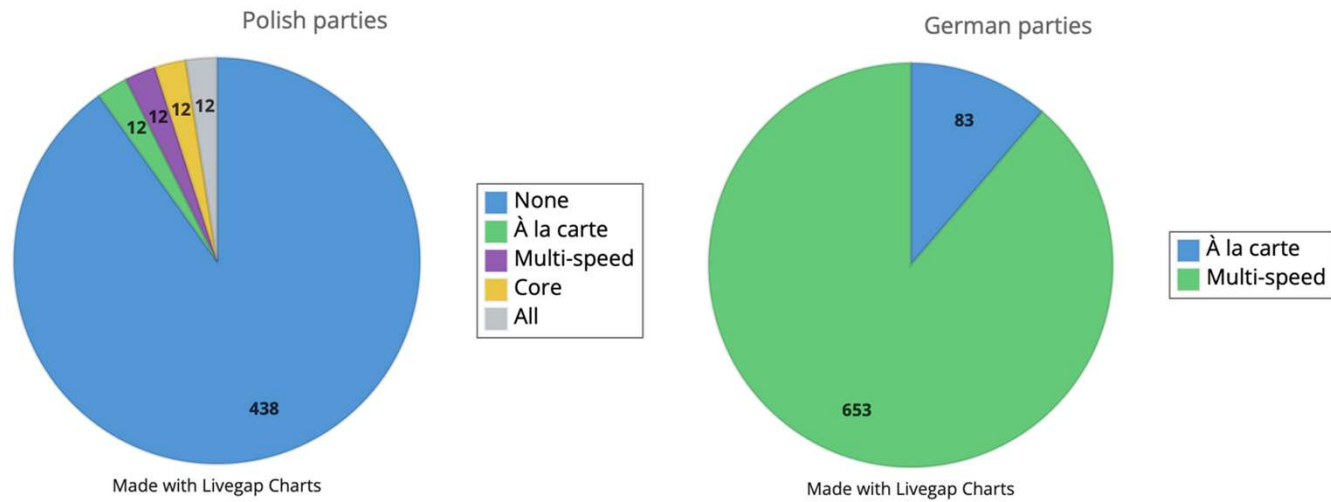


SUPPORT FOR IDEAL TYPES OF UNIFORM INTEGRATION





SUPPORT FOR IDEAL TYPES OF FRAGMENTED INTEGRATION





CONCLUSION

- **methodology:**
 - ideal types covered the majority of EU finalité conceptions
 - Subsidiary Multilevel System serves well but entails deficiencies
- **ideological convergence on deepening:**
 - relatively high consistency among ideological groups
 - limited potential for strategic cooperation in European politics between Polish and German governments



CONCLUSION

- **national divergence on differentiation:**
 - high conflict potential for bilateral relations due to support of DI in Germany but disapproval in Poland
 - BUT:
 - Poland might access the Eurozone
 - German parties consider DI as a means of last resort, reject Core Europe and mostly favour Multispeed Europe