

## DiCE Expert Survey on Differentiated Integration, October-December 2020

### General Normative Questions

2. Please place your views about the acceptability of this type of flexibility on a scale where 0 = Completely oppose a flexible Europe and 10 = Completely support a flexible Europe.
3. To what extent do you agree or disagree that differentiated integration is contrary to the ideal of the EU as a community of equal Member States?
4. Member states can be temporarily excluded, or secure a temporary exemption, from certain EU policies, such as the Eurozone, because they cannot meet the criteria to join (Capacity DI). Please place your views on how legitimate you consider this form of differentiated integration to be from 0 = Entirely Illegitimate to 10 = Entirely Legitimate.
5. Member states can seek to negotiate permanent opt outs from certain Treaty provisions (e.g. membership of the Euro in the case of Denmark) due to concerns relating to particular national values or objections to the transfer of certain state powers (Sovereignty DI). Please place your views on how legitimate you consider this form of differentiated integration to be from 0 = Entirely Illegitimate to 10 = Entirely Legitimate.
- 6a. Please select which of the following statements about differentiated integration in the EU you agree with.
- a) Differentiated integration should not be permitted in certain EU policy areas.
  - b) Differentiated integration should be permitted in all EU policy areas.
- 6b. Please state the specific EU policy areas where you believe differentiated integration should not be permitted.

### Benefits and Risks of Differentiated Integration

7. The following list presents a number of potential benefits that differentiated integration may have. Please rank these benefits in order of their importance (1 = what you believe to be the strongest benefit, 2 = the second strongest benefit etc.) up to a maximum of 4.
- Differentiated integration is important for the integration project to be able to move forward.
  - Differentiated integration is important for recognising the diversity of policy preferences that exist within the EU.
  - Differentiated integration is an important tool for overcoming collective action problems in EU policy making.
  - Differentiated integration is important for ensuring that member states remain committed to the European project.
  - Differentiated integration (in its sovereignty form) is an important tool for recognising the rising levels of Euroscepticism within the EU.

-Differentiated integration (in its capacity form) recognises that one size does not always fit all given relevant differences in the economic systems of member states, and thereby promotes equality in the EU.

- Differentiated integration gives a comparatively small number of member states an opportunity to pioneer new measures.

**8.** The following list presents a number of potential risks that differentiated integration poses to the EU. Please rank these risks in order of their severity (1 = what you believe to be the strongest risk, 2 = the second strongest risk etc.) up to a maximum of 4.

-Differentiated integration reinforces existing divisions within the EU.

-Differentiated integration weakens trust between states by creating permanent 'insiders' and 'outsiders'.

-Differentiated integration strengthens the negotiating power of member states which participate in all forms of integration and can as a result impose their will on others.

-Differentiated integration increases the risk of member states free riding on the efforts of others.

-Differentiated integration strengthens national identity and weakens European identity thus undermining the EU as a political project.

-Differentiate integration (in its sovereignty form) allows challenges to the rule of law within the EU.

- Differentiated integration leads to solidarity between member states becoming reliant on the goodwill of the stronger states within the EU.

-Differentiated integration sets members states on different pathways of policy and institutional development that leads to even greater divergence, rather than convergence, in the long run.

-Differentiated integration undermines the unified legal order of the EU and creates different classes of citizenship.

### **Democracy and Differentiated Integration**

**9.** To what extent do you agree or disagree that sovereignty DI is a legitimate way for protecting national self-determination?

1 (Strongly Disagree)   2 (Disagree)   3 (Neither)   4 (Agree)   5 (Strongly Agree)

**10.** To what extent do you agree or disagree that differentiated integration is a fair way of dealing with differences between EU member states?

1 (Strongly Disagree)   2 (Disagree)   3 (Neither)   4 (Agree)   5 (Strongly Agree)

**11.** To what extent do you agree or disagree that differentiated integration leads to increased domination by specific EU member states?

1 (Strongly Disagree)   2 (Disagree)   3 (Neither)   4 (Agree)   5 (Strongly Agree)

## **Brexit and Differentiated Integration**

**12.** Some believe that the precedent of Brexit will act as a catalyst for further EU disintegration in the future while others believe it will lead to greater levels of integration. Please place your views on a 10 point scale where 0 = The precedent of Brexit will lead to further EU disintegration in the future to 10 = The precedent of Brexit will lead to an increase in EU integration in the future.

**13.** To what extent do you think that the EU has been too inflexible in the Brexit negotiations with the UK? Please place your views on this issue on a 10 point scale where 0 = EU negotiation approach has been far too inflexible to 10 = EU negotiation approach has been far too flexible.

**14.** In the run-up to the British 2016 membership referendum, then PM David Cameron put a number of demands to the EU to address the British desire for less integration. Please place your views on how the EU should respond to a similar scenario in the future on a 10 point scale from 0 = The EU should accept any demands for less integration that would prevent a member state from leaving the Union to 10 = The EU should reject any demands for less integration from a member state that is threatening to leave the Union.

**15.** Please use this space to state what other impact you believe Brexit will have on differentiated integration in the EU.

## **External Differentiation**

**16.** The European Economic Area is a form of external differentiated integration, whereby Norway and Switzerland have integrated in several core areas without becoming full members. To what extent do you agree that the EU should establish some form of (potentially weaker) external differentiated integration for countries that are its near neighbours such as Turkey and Ukraine (and potentially the post-Brexit UK)?

1 (Strongly Disagree)   2 (Disagree)   3 (Neither)   4 (Agree)   5 (Strongly Agree)

**17.** To what extent do you agree that non-EU member states, such as Norway and Switzerland, that participate in the Single Market, should be granted more decision-making power over the development of EU policies in which they participate than they currently have?

1 (Strongly Disagree)   2 (Disagree)   3 (Neither)   4 (Agree)   5 (Strongly Agree)

**18.** The EU has made a deal over immigration with Turkey despite Turkey not being fully democratic. Please state how acceptable you consider this to be on a scale where 0 = This is completely unacceptable to 10 = This is completely acceptable.

## **Impact of Differentiated Integration**

**19.** Please place your views of the long-term impact of differentiated integration in the EU on a scale where 0 = differentiated integration will lead to the long-term disintegration of the EU to 10 = differentiated integration is the key to the EU's long-term survival.

**20.** To what extent do you agree or disagree that differentiated integration in the EU can be used as a mechanism to address Euroscepticism within member states?