

Factors that Affected Policy Making of the European Union 2009-2019

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Abstract

The reform of the European Union (EU) in 2009 with the Lisbon Treaty can be considered as the evolution of the EU, eventually becoming a Politico-Economic Union. It made the EU reach the point that it has become a quasi-federation and a group of nations that have a status of power on par with the world's superpowers. This reform can be regarded as a power reflection of the European People's Party Group (EPPG), which became the leader of the EU in 2004. The EPPG concentrates on consolidating the center of political power and uses laissez-faire economics. To obtain information, this study uses a research method in the analysis and evaluation of empirical phenomena related to the EPPG, political ideology as a factor, and the EU's geopolitics. The research design focused on 2009–2014 and 2015–2019 periods. With the aforementioned methods, it was found that the EPPG guideline makes the EU more state-being and tangible, because it has a political mechanism and bureaucracy that is clearly and significantly separated from member states, for example, the court, central bank, and diplomatic corps, as a result of the Lisbon Treaty, in which EPPG is the main supporter. However, this also causes inefficiencies in handling economic recessions, resulting in mass protests across the EU. In conclusion, although there remain some differences, the European Union maintains political stability and unity in creating common policies together.

Introduction

After the reunification of Germany, the European Union (EU) reached a significant turning point when the Schengen Agreement of 1985 came into effect in 1995, allowing citizens of the EU to move, and visit each other freely. The abolishment of border controls aligns with the fact that the political group within the European Parliament, which functions as a de facto political party, adheres to a Center-Left ideology, currently known as the Progressive Alliance of Socialists

and Democrats (S&D), which rose to power and controlled the mechanisms of the EU during the 1980s.

Concurrently, as explained and published in the summary of the 1993 Maastricht Treaty by the Publications Office of the European Union (2024), officially known as the Treaty on European Union, it had served as a significant milestone. The Maastricht Treaty marks the first official use of the term "European Union" in Article 1 of the Treaty.

It elevated the EU to a stronger politico-economic union with deeper integration compared to the 1970s and the 1980s. It officially changed its name from the European Community to the EU and established a three-pillar system, namely The European Communities¹, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Justice and Home Affairs, which jointly managed the EU in a parallel manner. This treaty is significant as it was the first to use the term “Maastricht Treaty” and endorsed the Schengen Agreement, which had been signed earlier.

For Article 1, paragraph 21 of the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, it can be summarized that to have a role in the international forum, the EU must be driven by the principles of democracy, the rule of law, human rights, fundamental freedoms that are universal and indivisible, respect for human dignity, and the principles of equality and unity. respect for the United Nations Charter and international law.

In terms of the economy, the Maastricht Treaty is an important treaty that emphasized and reformed the EU’s economic system. Specifically, the use of a single currency is a good solution for reducing the economic gap among EU member states. Thus, everyone has the opportunity to contribute to and benefit economically equally.

From 1979 to the early 2000s, the EU had the S&D group as an important core in driving, shaping, creating, and enforcing policies that form the foundation of the current EU. As Woshinsky (2008, 143–146) noted, the center-left ideological approach that the S&D group uses as its main guideline focuses on creating equal opportunities in various aspects.

This is reflected in Europe under the leadership of the S&D group as the core of the EU, along with the Center-Right political party group, the European People’s Party Group (EPPG), and

the centrist political party group, which is currently known as the Renew Europe group (Renew). These three groups jointly define, create, and implement various policies for the development of the European Community into the present EU. The Renew group alternately took the lead in the EU along with the S&D group, with the EPPG group as a key ally.

Before the EPPG group assumed leadership of the EU in the mid-2000s, the S&D group jointly defined, created, and enforced key policies, such as the Schengen Agreement, which was signed in 1985 and came into effect in 1995. Another significant policy was the adoption of a single currency, such as the Euro, under the provisions and plans of the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, which was confirmed by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999. These efforts aimed to reduce economic disparities and promote equal economic opportunities through shared borders and a common currency. This was influenced by the center-left ideological stance, specifically the ideology of social democracy. This was the EU before the EPPG, a center-right ideological group, took over governance in 2004.

Research Question

How much and in what way do Left-Right Political Ideologies and International Relations Theoretical Approaches affect policymaking and the conduct of international relations in the EU, both at the level of member/non-member states and the union?

Research Methodology and Design

This qualitative study focuses on the analysis and evaluation of empirically observed phenomena resulting from the formulation and implementation of policies by EU executives, specifically from the EPPG. The analysis uses a historical background, purposes, objectives, principles, ultimatum goals,

¹ As the comprisal of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), European Economic Community (EEC), and European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom).

and various methods, particularly those related to political ideologies, concerning the formulation, creation, and implementation of EU policies during the eras of 2009 to 2014 and 2015 to 2019.

The rationale behind choosing these two eras is that it is the era in which the EU became the legal entity, according to the implementation and enforcement of the Lisbon Treaty, as it is the first time that the EPPG took full control of the EU's governance, with other political groups being sidelined and also the EU, which was in the status of great power. These eras witnessed important events, such as the Eurozone Crisis and the Brexit event, which affected both the European and global levels.

To emphasize, the setting of the period of analysis and division into two eras corresponds to the Research Question, because it can indicate the development of the EU's politics clearly, because it is the right-lean political group to be the core of the EU's administration, as their power has already consolidated fully, and it was the same time that the right-wing sentiment was about to emerge, comparing when this political group (the EPPG) was the minority group at the time that the left-lean political group still had power and was the core of the EU during the 1970s to the middle of the 1990s.

Literature Review and Theoretical Approaches

There exist studies on factors such as political ideologies that influence the EU's policy-making. This study uses two main theories to analyze various issues: Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Defensive Realism.

The concept of Liberal Intergovernmentalism was developed by Andrew Moravcsik, who aimed to explain the internal politics of the EU, which was considered a *sui generis* political entity. This concept is regarded as an approach within liberalism theory but has been heavily influenced by realism theory.

Moravcsik (1998) explained the concept of Liberal Intergovernmentalism, and this can be summarized that the state is the main actor in political interactions and must exist in a state of anarchy. The EU is an international political institution that helps coordinate nation-states in Europe with several common goals through various forms of negotiation. However, every state understands and realizes that political institutions act as representatives, coordinating the strategic preferences of certain social groups under conditions that require managing issues of economic, social, and cultural interdependence. This leads member states of political institutions to adopt sovereignty as a policy to establish joint commitments. Although states face anarchy, they often make decisions based on the international environment and other circumstances by creating international political institutions based on the expectation of adhering to the same framework and rules.

This concept is based on Liberalism theory, and concurrently, all of the executives of the EU come from centrist political groups, whether they are center-right, center-left, or just centrism groups, whose main ideological foundation is liberalism, combined with conservatism, Christian democracy, and social democracy.

This led the member states of the EU to gather for economic and political benefits, leading to the establishment of the EU to function both as an international organization and a semi-representative of all member states' governments. This makes the EU develop a bureaucratic structure to help represent and enhance the power, influence, wealth, and interests of member states; however, it does not have authority or sovereignty over the governments of member states. As many of its members are not large and influenced by liberalism, it made those member states decide to unite and create the EU as a survival apparatus in an anarchic environment,

strengthening and developing internal mechanisms within the EU to the point of having a quasi-nation-state status, because of its own court of justice, central bank, currency (the Euro currency), the court of auditors, bureaucracy, parliament, leaders, and executives separated from national-level equivalent institutions of member states; therefore, they have worked closely together.

The EU, with its many components, diverse beliefs, ethnicities, and political groups of all ideologies, instead of facing significant problems, has no apparent conflicts. This is because each politician and the political group chooses to use various mechanisms within the EU as a means of managing, administering, and controlling the behavior of member states at both the group and individual levels, keeping them within the framework and order and limiting the scope of conflicts to align with the enhancement of power, influence, wealth, and interests, which are components of the security of the entire EU.

The liberal approach to intergovernmental cooperation has aligned with another theory, that is, realism. Waltz (1979) proposed Defensive Realism, which has five key principles:

1. The international system is anarchic.
2. States inherently possess some offensive military capability, which gives them the ability to hurt and possibly destroy each other.
3. States can never be certain about the intentions of other states.
4. The basic motive driving states is survival.
5. States think strategically about how to survive in the international system.

After Waltz's Defensive Realism, Mearsheimer (2001) developed the concept of "Offensive Realism," which focuses on the maximization of power to prepare for proactive measures and offensive in foreign policy, while Defensive Realism focuses more on the maximization of security in a defensive manner. The countries in Europe, whether they are members of the EU or not, have faced two

world wars, threats from terrorism, economic problems, and the impact of the United Kingdom's exit from the EU (Brexit).

In Europe, the people, political groups, and the EU as a whole have clear political ideologies and concepts of Pan-Europeanism/ Euroscepticism. They were well aware that to survive, it is necessary to strive for cooperation in resolving conflicts and seeking mutual benefits among EU member states to drive the goals of strengthening collective security and peace.

Most of the EU's states are also members of a military alliance led by the United States, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), or even the EU's security agencies, such as the European Defense Union, under the regulation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Therefore, even with political polarization, it remains at a controllable level, not affecting security, the conduct of relations among member states, external affairs, or the overall policies of the EU.

The details indicate that Left-Right political ideology and spectrum are a characteristic, criterion, and factor that influences the policymaking of various countries in Europe, a concept that has been in use since the 19th century. At present, the political world has changed significantly, leading to criticisms, comments, or opinions from many academics questioning whether the left-right political spectrum can still be applied to the 21st-century political world and in which parts of the world it remains relevant. Various studies have critically examined left-right political ideology and its relevance to policymaking.

For example, the article of Fraccaroli and Cheysson (2019) who were part of the editorial team for the educational web blog of the London School of Economics (LSE), raised the question, given the numerous factors and variables that have emerged in recent times, it can be explained that, in the case of the EU, far-right parties have adopted certain ideas and elements from the left

in their party's approach, and in some cases, those parties have declared themselves as "the Third Way/Position," meaning they are neither left nor right, but a third alternative instead.

Fukuyama (1992), in his book "The End of History and the Last Man," stated that the end of history is "...the end-point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." This implies that the left-right division can no longer evolve. However, upon closer consideration, the arguments in the article of the LSE and Fukuyama's book do not align with the current reality or the actual situation. In other words, many political ideologies are fluid and not permanent but rather represented as political turns. If the EU can resolve dissatisfaction or find a compromise, the political conflict will naturally decrease in intensity.

Another point is that Fukuyama's statement which was stated more than 30 years ago has been proven wrong. In addition to the excessively Eurocentric perspective, it seems that both new and old political ideologies have evolved and become more complex. Most importantly, nowadays, not every country utilizes or is a liberal democrat in the Western system. Conversely, as noted in the article by Schedler (2002), out of 200 countries worldwide, approximately 115 countries, or 57.5% of the world, are not liberal democracies. This may align with various definitions by academics such as in the article of Collier and Levitsky (1997), and a book by Levitsky with Way (2010), such as *Democracy with Adjectives and Hybrid Regimes*, meaning that most countries are not liberal democracies in the western sense. Therefore, Fukuyama's predictions were not accurate according to observable reality, and the division of left-right ideologies continues to develop.

Nimni (1991) compared and presented both the agreements and disagreements of two oppos-

ing ideologies: Marxism (left) and Nationalism (right)—in his work, particularly regarding the concept and importance between national and international contexts. Nimni cited views from important thinkers such as Karl Marx and Otto Bauer. He concluded that Marx viewed the nation as a matter of historical materialism, a product of the oppression of capitalists and the bourgeoisie. If the modern proletariat wants to be free, they must create their state beyond the concept of a nation dominated by capitalists. For Bauer, it is necessary to use the principles and rationale of Immanuel Kant's idealism, along with economics, to create a modern state that transcends the concept of a nation-state.

This study analyzes and explains the outcomes of how political ideologies have influenced and affected the policymaking of the EPPG, the main policymaker and leader of the EU since 2004, by evaluating and analyzing the implementation of policies and events based on various academic literature to understand their impact on the political situation, geopolitics, international relations, and security of the EU.

Results and Discussion

1. 2009–2014 era

Since the 2009 EU reform with the Lisbon Treaty, the EPPG is the true power of the EU. They have continuously won elections in several EU member countries as well as in the European Parliament. It has been able to appoint its staff to various important offices in the EU, such as the President of the European Commission, with José Barroso serving from 2004 to 2014 and Jean-Claude Juncker serving from 2014 to 2019. Although the Lisbon Treaty is considered the pseudo-constitution of the entire EU, it has undergone several revisions, changes, and developments from many previous treaties, such as the Maastricht Treaty (1993), the Treaty of Amsterdam (1999), the Treaty of Nice (2003), and even

earlier treaties, such as the Treaty of Brussels (1967), the Treaty of Rome (1958), and the Treaty of Paris (1952).

The Lisbon Treaty (2009) used some content from the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe in 2004, which was an attempt by the EPPG to unify the provisions and create a new unified direction for the EU's policies.

However, although most member states agreed to and ratified this treaty, the rules of the EU required unanimous consent from all member states. Therefore, opposition from France and the Netherlands rendered this treaty unenforceable, and it was removed from consideration, becoming merely a draft document with no legal effect. Franck (2005) explained that the main reasons for these concerns were the possible loss of national sovereignty, the rejection of new member states, and the liberalization of services. When the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe in 2004 ceased to exist and was no longer legally binding, it was transformed, revised, and amended into the Treaty of Lisbon (2009), which has been legally affecting until today.

Despite having similar content, the key points in each version, whether the constitution or various treaties of the EU have different focuses or important issues. There is an emphasis on "Citizen of the European Union" according to Article 8 of The Maastricht Treaty of 1993, and it grants citizens of all nationalities of EU member states, has the status of being a citizen of the EU as well (Publications Office of the European Union, 2024b).

These are the main significant achievements of the EPPG, which has made the group become a leader in defining and implementing various policies of the EU. This is because it is the most concrete policy and the only one under the administration of the EPPG. In comparison to the period when the S&D was in power, the definition and implementation of various EU policies from

the 1980s to the late 1990s were driven, designed, and implemented by S&D. The two most concrete and impactful policies on the EU were the Open Border Policy among EU member states under the Schengen Agreement, and the Economic and Monetary Union under the Maastricht Treaty.

Leadership and power within the executive branch can be considered the main mechanisms driving the entire EU. It marked the first time that the President of the European Council had become a permanent position following the reforms of the EU in 2009, as referenced in Article 9 B of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty (Publications Office of the European Union, 2024a).

Therefore, despite the major reforms within the EU, when the key policy enforcers were Reinfeldt, the Swedish Prime Minister as the rotating President of the European Council, Count Van Rompuy, the permanent President of the European Council, and Barroso, the President of the European Commission, all of them were from the EPPG, the EPPG has since then completely controlled the administration of the EU.

After the Lisbon Treaty came into effect in 2009, Fredrik Reinfeldt, the Prime Minister of Sweden, who held the position of President of the European Council (Rotational) at that time, had to resign from the presidency to make way for the European Council to elect the first-ever permanent president. Reinfeldt was the last person to hold the rotational presidency.

The European Council appointed Count Herman Van Rompuy, the former Prime Minister of Belgium, as the first permanent President of the European Council, with the support of José Barroso, the President of the European Commission. Owing to the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, José Barroso was able to serve another term, totaling 10 years in office, and became the second person who could do this since 1979; succeeded Jacques Delors, who served as President of the European Commission from 1985 to 1995,

and was one of the key persons in designing, drafting, and implementing the Schengen and Euro policies from the S&D.

From 2009 to 2014, the EU reached its greatest expansion since 1979, with the addition of Croatia as the latest member state in 2013. This brought the total number of EU member states to 28, marking the most extensive expansion of the EU before the United Kingdom's withdrawal shortly afterward. According to the European Commission (2022), after becoming an EU member, Croatia took another 10 years to join the Schengen Agreement and adopt the Euro as its currency, replacing its original currency, which has been governed by the Renew, S&D, and EPPG groups collectively as the country's government leaders. These political groups are at the core of the EU, influencing the design and implementation of various policies and ensuring cohesive operations within the EU.

One important event occurred during this era. That is, the European sovereign debt crisis as a consequence of the economic crisis in the United

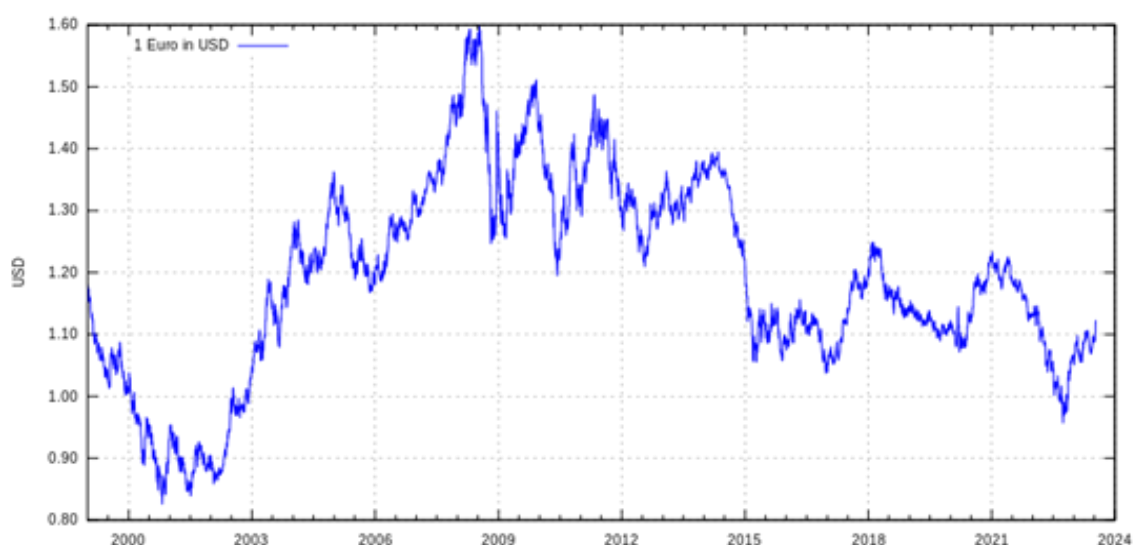
States in 2007. The crisis in Europe occurred from 2009 to 2014, severely affecting five member countries of the EU : Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain—which suffered from public debt problems.

According to data from the European Central Bank (ECB, 2024), before the economic crisis, the exchange rate of the Euro currency was 1 Euro per 1.60 US Dollars. This was an upward tendency following the major expansion of the EU in 2004, marking the point at which the Euro was at its strongest.

When the economic crisis occurred, the Euro depreciated by approximately 22 to 25 percent, with an average exchange rate of 1 euro to 1.25 US dollars. According to the Occasional Paper of the ECB, this resulted in a decrease in the value of export goods and simultaneous import issues across the EU (Mauro et al., 2010). Since then, the Euro has not regained its strength at the level of 1 Euro to 1.60 US Dollars.

Figure 1

The Euro exchange rate against US Dollar



Member states with strong economic foundations and extensive business networks can survive economic crises. However, this is not the case for Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain. According to an article by the Asian Development Bank Institute, scholars such as Collignon (2012) have noted that Germany, as a primary core of the EU, particularly during Angela Merkel's Chancellery, has tried to compromise to create unity between the benefactor and recipient countries of economic aid. However, not all countries accepted these compromises, leading to what Collignon referred to as "Political inefficiency," which increases the cost of economic aid and poses risks to economic credibility.

When delving into the details, it becomes apparent that one of the main reasons for the issues in political communication between the benefactor and recipient member states within the EU is the difference in the political ideologies of both union - and national-level leaders of the EU member states.

In other words, union-level leaders such as Count Van Rompuy, President of the European Council; José Barroso, President of the European Commission; former Prime Ministers of Belgium and Portugal; and national leaders such as Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany; Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France; and Jean-Claude Juncker, Prime Minister of Luxembourg all belong to the EPPG group.

This has led the EU to adopt a right-leaning economic perspective in line with the core ideologies of the political group (Conservatism of the EPPG). Although they faced similar economic problems, most of the leaders of the governments of Portugal, Ireland, and Spain at that time belonged to the same political group as the key decision-makers in the EU's policy-making (EPPG), resulting in similar approaches to problem-solving.

In Italy, according to a report by the Voice of America, with political stability issues along-

side the economy, Silvio Berlusconi, the Prime Minister of Italy, had to resign from his position, and Italy had to change its Prime Minister three times in five years. However, because Berlusconi was one of the national leaders of the EU affiliated with the EPPG, Italy received assistance and support from EU core leaders (Ridgwell, 2011). Italy is one of the world's leading industrial nations and is a member of the Group of Seven (G7), along with France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Japan, with the EU as a non-enumerated member.

However, in the case of Greece, as Collignon explained, during the period of the economic crisis, Greece was under the leadership of Prime Minister George Andreas Papandreou, who rose to become the leader of the national-level political party that was affiliated with the S&D group in Greece (The Panhellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK], 2012).

The main reason for the already high internal conflicts in Greece's political and economic situation was the economic crisis that exacerbated these problems. Prime Minister Papandreou was not a member and often conflicted with the policies of the EPPG, which held power in the EU. For this reason, Greece did not receive sufficient support and assistance. Consequently, Papandreou had to resign from his position.

This also led to riots and protests across Greece from 2010 to 2012 because of the Greek government's need to cut budgets, suspend social welfare, and raise taxes in exchange for debt relief from the European Commission and other related political entities of the EU, collectively called as, "The Greek Austerity." These riots have resulted in several deaths and injuries among the populace. Politically, Greece had to change its prime minister five times in four years. Although the main political groups, including the European People's Party, Socialist group, and Liberal group, attempted to connect the control of the Greek government to the European Council and

European Commission directly through both formal and informal contacts, none of the three groups could directly control the Greek government. The position of the Greek Prime Minister was changed to the leader of the opposition party and the core member of the Confederal Group of the European United Left–Nordic Green Left (EUL–NGL group) of the European Parliament, like Alexis Tsipras, from 2015 to 2019. This reflects the issues arising from disagreements in political ideology (Horner, 2017). However, the four main political groups also attempted to find ways to compromise.

The reform of the EU, resulting from the Lisbon Treaty, granted the EU legal personality status and consolidated political power, aligning with the center-right ideology of the EPPG. However, it also created some unexpected issues that significantly impacted the period from 2015 to 2019, particularly by emphasizing or clarifying withdrawal from membership. The EU, which the United Kingdom used as a point to proceed with its exit from the EU.

2. 2015–2019 era

In terms of leaders and those in power in the executive branch, the EPPG continues to hold leadership and control over all mechanisms of the EU, with Donald Tusk, the Prime Minister of Poland and the national-level leader of the EPPG, becoming the President of the European Council, and Jean-Claude Juncker, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, serving as the President of the European Commission. Juncker is considered highly experienced in the EU's executive, since he held the position of President of the European Council (on a rotating basis) twice while still serving as Prime Minister of Luxembourg, specifically in the second half of 1997 and the first half of 2005.

During this era, several significant events occurred such as economic troubles in the EU, the

need to handle the wave of Euroscepticism, and major security issues for Europe since the end of the Cold War. One of these events was Russian control of the Crimean Peninsula, which had been under Ukrainian control since 1991, becoming part of Russia as it was during the Soviet era. According to reports by The Guardian in March 2014, it was a response from Russia after the pro-Russian Ukrainian government was overthrown by the pro-West Ukrainian group one month before the major protests in Kiev and the declaration to expel Russian troops from the Crimean Peninsula (Walker and Sauer, 2024).

Although political groups in the EU and the European Parliament have different ideologies, the United Kingdom wants to leave the EU. However, in terms of security, military affairs, and geopolitics, both the United Kingdom and the EU cooperate and share consistent views. This was demonstrated in a joint statement from the European Union External Action Service (EEAS) led by Baroness Catherine Ashton, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and the Vice President of the European Commission from the United Kingdom, affiliated with the S&D group (2014).

In this statement, the EU called on Russia and Ukraine to gradually negotiate a resolution to the conflict and urged Russia not to annex Crimea as an associate member of the Group of Eight (G8). The EU jointly issued The Hague Declaration to suspend Russia's membership in the G8, which has been in place since 1997, reverting the G8 back into the G7. This can be considered a consensus among the group (Do, 2014).

The United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union (Brexit) was considered the most significant issue for the EU from 2015 to 2019. The United Kingdom opted for the Schengen Agreement and did not use the Euro. Owing to its geopolitical status as an island separate

from the European continent, when the Eurozone Crisis occurred, and it was necessary to provide financial assistance to other member countries facing economic problems, the UK government decided to hold a referendum in 2016; and subsequently, 17,410,742 of British citizens, or 51.89% ("EU Referendum Results," 2024), agreed to the government's decision to leave the EU by invoking Article 50. This event brought about changes at all levels in the United Kingdom, the EU, and the world.

Although both groups share conservative ideologies, the term "conservative" in the United Kingdom and the EU refers to different matters. The Conservative Party in the United Kingdom is not a member of the EPPG. Brexit caused dissatisfaction among the EU's high-level policymakers. For instance, Donald Tusk, the President of the European Council, has warned the United Kingdom, that Brexit could destroy the political civilization of the Western world in addition to the EU itself (Dickson, 2017). Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, expressed dissatisfaction with the decision of the United Kingdom, and he agreed that if English were to be removed from the official languages of the EU, English would gradually disappear and lose its significance in the EU (Rankin, 2017).

Later, Juncker's opinion was strongly opposed because, in addition to the United Kingdom, Ireland and Malta also use English as an official language (Moreno-Tenero et al., 2018). Therefore, it is impossible to remove English from the official language of the EU. This proves that Tusk and Juncker failed to persuade the United Kingdom to change its mind and not leave the EU despite their efforts to negotiate to maintain its stability and unity of the EU. This aligns with the theory noted by Beckstein and Cheneval, as some conservative principles that the EPPG has adhered to since its establishment in 1953, often prefer to maintain the status quo for as long as

possible (2016), the efforts were unsuccessful because the United Kingdom successfully proceeded with Brexit.

Baron David Cameron, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, decided to resign to take responsibility for being unable to prevent withdrawal and persuade the British public not to agree to the United Kingdom withdrawing from the EU, after which political turmoil ensued in the UK, with four prime ministers changing hands over a span of six years. Euroscepticism, as another factor influencing the formulation, design, and implementation of EU policies, alongside political ideologies, has reached its peak during this period.

Although the United Kingdom has left the EU, the economic recovery resulting from the Eurozone Crisis requires generating significant revenue for the EU to repay substantial debts, as well as managing the growing Euroscepticism and controlling political ideological differences.

From the aforementioned issues, although the EPPG, which has been managing and setting policies for the EU since 2004, had to use a significant number of resources to address these problems, the fact that the EU has developed itself to become more tangible and recognized as a legal entity in international law is a result of the Lisbon Treaty.

Overall, although it has not yet been able to concretely and effectively solve various problems, including the economic living conditions of the people, it can be said that the EU still holds influence on the global stage, possesses political power, and maintains a high level of stability in terms of security under the administration of the EPPG.

Conclusion

The ideology of the political group of the European Parliament, which holds executive power in the EU at any given time, is one of the key factors influencing the formulation and

implementation of EU policies. Since 2004, most of the EU's executives have come from the EPPG, which primarily adheres to conservatism. This ideology focuses on maintaining the existing environment and increasing tools and mechanisms, in other words status quo, to further develop political institutions; however, it does not promote equal opportunities in politics, economics, and society. Furthermore, this ideology does not encourage governments to regulate or intervene in economic mechanisms.

For this reason, the design and implementation of policies are influenced by this ideology, the most significant of which is the 2009 EU reform, supported and emphasized by the EPPG. This led to the design and enforcement of the Lisbon Treaty, which primarily involved the revision of the Maastricht Treaty and the power enhancement of EU institutions, transforming them into a legal personality capable of diplomatic negotiation and conducting "foreign" relations with nation-states outside the EU.

As the EU has been under the leadership of the EPPG political group for more than 20 years since 2004, it has resulted in the political nature of the entire EU not undergoing any significant changes for a long time. Moreover, the focus on developing the structure of the EU, which has not set, developed, or implemented new policies directly regarding its citizens, has led to dissatisfaction among people. This, in turn, has resulted in protests and riots throughout the EU when compared to the Schengen Agreement policy and the Euro currency policy, which were promoted and implemented by the S&D, which was in charge of the policymaking and governance of the EU from the 1980s to the early 2000s.

Moreover, the Eurozone Crisis and Brexit have continuously impacted the EU, affecting the resolution of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine war, and the Israel-Palestine conflict in the post-2019 period. Although this situation

seemed to allow the EU to have a unified stance, it does not mean that the citizens of its member states are satisfied with the current economic conditions and rising cost of living. This remains a problem that the EU, under the leadership of center-right conservative groups, such as the EPPG, will have to handle in the future.

Theoretically, analyzing the factors that affected the policymaking of the EU from 2009 to 2019 reveals two major factors: Political Ideology and Euroscepticism. As the EU's main core idea is Liberalism, while Moravcsik's Liberal intergovernmentalism theory also has a significant influence from realism, it can be explained that the political ideology has shaped and emphasized what Moravcsik's theory has outlined: all member states of the EU create this union as the apparatus for increasing their role in world politics, which clearly reflects influence from Liberalism, as it gives importance to integration, it also has a strong influence from realism, that all member states of the EU still play a significant role in administrating the Union, in addition to the fact that the EU also has its own bureaucrat, system, and many mechanisms that can also be considered as a pseudo nation-state.

Furthermore, this can also relate to another theory, that is Defensive Realism, instead of developing and concentrating on offensive capability. Under the leadership of the EPPG, the EU is focused on the defense of its territory, and tries to use other means to maintain its status in world politics; those alternatives for offensive capability are a stronger union (like the Lisbon Treaty) and the power of the economy (the Euro Currency).

In conclusion, political ideology is the main factor influencing the formulation and implementation of the EU's policies at all levels. Since 2004, the European People's Party has adhered to a conservative ideology, which has led to the EU facing challenges in dealing with economic crises,

the cost of living, and energy expenses, resulting in protests and riots by the public. Overall, the EU is considered a strong and significant player and one of the great powers in international politics. This reflects the EU's choice to compromise on conflicts and differing political ideologies to maintain the unity of member states, overall security stability, and the shared interests of the entire members, according to the EU's official motto "In Varietate Concordia" or English, "United in Diversity."

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