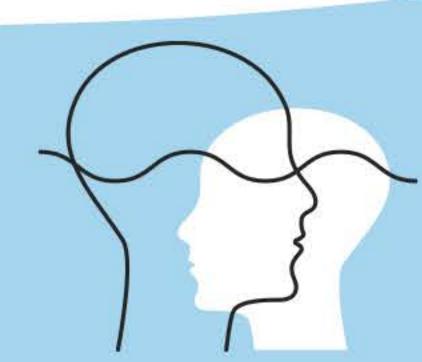


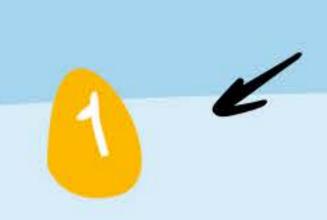
## Differentiated EUrope 2035: Elaboration and Evaluation of Five Potential Scenarios

Janis A. Emmanouilidis, European Policy Centre (EPC)



Differentiated integration (DI) will remain a necessity if Europe wants to overcome stalemate and improve the functioning of the European integration process. The central question is what it will or rather should look like.

> Five potential scenarios, characterized by a very mixed picture of effectiveness and legitimacy/democratic accountability



"Status quo differentiation": the levels of DI and cooperation will not change.



"Muddling upwards":

the EU will be characterised by higher levels of internal and external differentiation but the integration process will merely witness some incremental progress.



"Fundamental disruption" in a major area of differentiation, leading to a dissolution of the euro and/or the Schengen Area and to a minimal union.



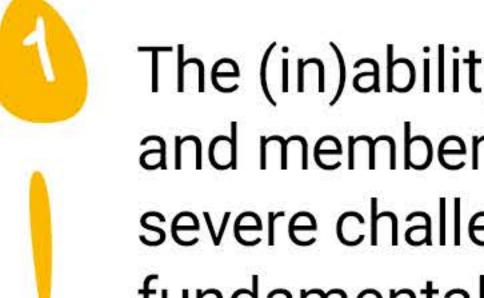
"Creation of an inner core" a coalition of the willing will make a qualitative leap towards a more integrated union.



"A new supranational union": a group of countries will make an irreversible qualitative leap towards a fully fledged federal political and economic union based on a European Constitution.



One cannot predict which of the five scenarios is likely to prevail. However, the analysis shows that three main factors will largely determine the future of a differentiated EUrope:



The (in)ability of EU institutions and member states to react to severe challenges and fundamental crises;



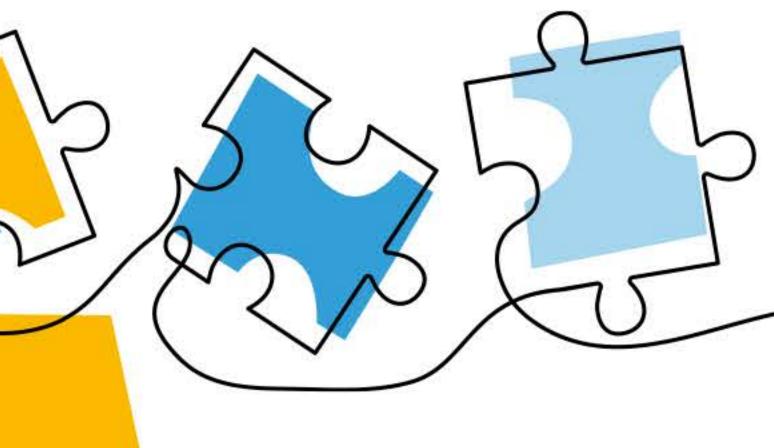
The potential effects of more/less differentiation on Europe's political unity;



The (un)willingness of "pro-European forces" to transfer more competences and pool more sovereignty at the European level.



Taking these three factors into account, the EU and its member states are likely to prefer scenario 2 - "muddling upwards". They will prefer path-dependent and incremental policy responses to more radical solutions.



But future crises might force Europe in another direction. In any case, whatever the eventual outcome, differentiation will be a core feature of European integration.