European integration continues to deepen despite major crises and attempts to take back sovereignty. A growing number of member states are reacting to a more constraining European Union by negotiating opt-outs. This book provides the first in-depth account of how opt-outs work in practice. It examines the most controversial cases of differentiated integration: the British and Danish opt-outs from Economic and Monetary Union and European policies on borders, asylum, migration, internal security and justice. Drawing on over 100 interviews with national representatives and EU officials, the author demonstrates how representatives manage the stigma of opting out, allowing them to influence even politically sensitive areas covered by their opt-outs. Developing a political sociological approach to European integration, the book shows how everyday negotiations transform national interests into European ideals. It is usually assumed that states opt out to preserve sovereignty, but Adler-Nissen argues that national opt-outs may actually reinforce the integration process.

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Opting Out of the European Union

Diplomacy, Sovereignty and European Integration

REBECCA ADLER-NISSEN
University of Copenhagen
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Abbreviations

AFSJ  Area of Freedom, Security and Justice
ASEAN  Association of South-East Asian Nations
BEPGs  Broad Economic Policy Guidelines
COREPER  Committee of Permanent Representatives (Comité des représentants permanents)
DG ECFIN  Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs, European Commission
DG JLS  Directorate General for Justice, Freedom and Security, European Commission
DIIS  Danish Institute for International Studies
DKRep  Danish Permanent Representation to the European Union
DUPI  Danish Foreign Policy Institute
EBRD  European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC  European Communities
ECB  European Central Bank
ECJ  European Court of Justice
ECOFIN  Economic and Financial Affairs Council
EEA  European Economic Area
EFC  Economic and Financial Committee
EFTA  European Free Trade Association
EGW  Eurogroup Working Group
EMS  European Monetary System
EMU  Economic and Monetary Union
EP  European Parliament
EPC  Economic Policy Committee
ERM II  Exchange Rate Mechanism II
ESCB  European System of Central Banks
EU  European Union
FCO  Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FOCJ  functional, overlapping, competing jurisdictions
IGC  Intergovernmental Conference
**List of abbreviations**

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Expansion</th>
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<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
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<td>JHA</td>
<td>Justice and Home Affairs</td>
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<td>MEP</td>
<td>Member of the European Parliament</td>
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<td>Mercosur</td>
<td>from the Spanish <em>Mercado Común del Sur</em></td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>QMV</td>
<td>qualified majority voting</td>
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<td>SGP</td>
<td>Stability and Growth Pact</td>
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<td>TEC</td>
<td>Treaty Establishing the European Community</td>
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<td>TEU</td>
<td>Treaty on European Union</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UKRep</td>
<td>UK Permanent Representation to the European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>US/USA</td>
<td>United States/United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAT</td>
<td>value-added taxation</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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