

**SWEDISH EUROSCEPTICISM:  
POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC DIMENSION**



**Undergraduate Thesis**

**Written as a requirement to complete undergraduate program.**

**Department of International Relations**

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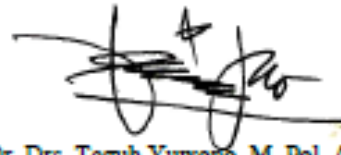
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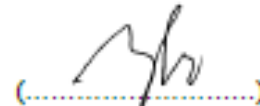


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adalah benar-benar hasil karya saya sendiri dan bukan merupakan plagiat dari skripsi atau karya ilmiah orang lain. Apabila dikemudian hari pernyataan saya tidak benar, maka saya bersedia menerima sanksi akademis yang berlaku (dicabut predikat kelulusan dan gelar sarjananya).

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Tangerang Selatan, 8 Juni 2021  
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*Human plans, but it is for the omnipotent to decide.*

*Like what the Proverbs taught us,*

*“humankind does not know everything,*

*but God does,*

*and He reveals to us what we need to know.”*

*It is not our job to figure everything out.*

*It is God’s.*

*We only need to believe in His plan for us.*

*Therefore, His will be done.*

## FOREWORDS

The word thesis has always been something that I am afraid of ever since I was young. It just sounded so serious, so big, so fearful, and such. I did not think I would be able to write such thing and defend it in front of examiners. I remember there was one (..or countless?) time I even thought to not get into college because of it. Ridiculous, right? But look at me now. Majoring in International Relations, which (to me) is known as a major that comes with the hardest thesis topics to write. Long story short, I have always preferred mathematic, language, and science subjects in school so that I chose to have a major in science in my high school years. My reason for this was because they are something that I can solve, and the answer for every problem there is was absolute and infallible. Unlike social subjects that has so many sides to consider, and there is no right or wrong answer in social subjects.

I do not know when do all of this started but I slowly found myself became more and more interested in international affairs, especially in education and culture areas. I also realized that among my classmates, I was someone who excels in social subjects (though I still excelled in math and science subjects too haha :p). Then there is one teacher, a very memorable teacher for me, who saw this side of me. He was my Japanese language teacher since ninth grade, *Sensei Rai*. He encouraged me to study to explore, not just to pass exams with flying colours. He provided me and my friends with additional weekend classes to study Japanese language, to learn about Japanese culture, and also to learn one or two things about life that was not taught in formal weekdays class. Through him, I learned some very eye-opening lessons. That we need to believe in ourselves, that we should give things a try, that we do not need to be afraid to make mistakes, and that opportunity does not come twice so you might want to grab it as soon as it arrives. I am grateful by the fact that I can proudly say that I grew up surrounded by great teachers. They are very considerate, inspiring, and encouraging. I think because we had a rather small community, it was easier for us students to connect

with our teachers. The connection we made was very valuable. Had it not because of them, I do not think I would have that much gut to join competitions, I do not think I would have the gut to apply for a scholarship in Japan, and most importantly, I do not think I would be who I am now. Most of the cool things I have done was inspired by their encouragement and belief in me. Including pursuing a degree in IRDU. I remember the face they made when I told them the news that I got accepted here. It was a proud and full of happiness faces. And when I told them that I was afraid of the thesis I would need to write in the coming years, they said that I am going to do well and God will enable me to with the help of my future teachers.

Now, I found these past few months of my thesis making process as a reflective time for me. It was a really long reflective time. I am not going to lie that this process indeed has been very stressful and scary. This process is not only about searching for data, analysing it, writing it on my own word, thinking if this all make sense. This is a process where I learned basic adult human life through observation. This is also a process where I learned about the adult life that is waiting for me in the corner. This is the time where I feel like I need to figure everything out. In this time, I noticed some good and bad things that happen to one's life are caused by his/her choice of actions and words. I then realized that this applies to thesis writing process too. Thesis, no matter how hard I tried to write and think about, will have its' plus and minus too. Because I have different values and standards with the people that will read this. Because this is my first time writing a thesis and I am still learning to write a good one.

I am very grateful that through the writing process, I met many good people, friends and lecturers that helped me directly and indirectly. Without them and all the life lessons that came with them unconsciously, I think I would still be trying to figure things out. It is not that I have figured everything out by now, but I believe that now I have move closer to.

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To God to be the glory for only by His grace and only through His presence I am able to finish this research. Words can not describe how grateful I am for His never-ending guidance and unfailing love that He gave upon me once again through this research process.

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Throughout the start of my college year up to this moment, I have met many inspiring, supporting and encouraging people that helped me learned many things. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all lecturers in International Relations department. It was such a great honour to be able to learn from the best. For *Bu* Reni, *Bu* Hermin, *Pak* Tri, *Mba* Ika, *Mba* Shary, *Mas* Basith, *Mas* Rosyid, *Mas* Fendy, *Mas* Faisal, *Mas* Satya, *Mas* Marten. Thank you for all the valuable lessons given. May you always be blessed. To *Mba* Ika, thank you for being an amazing lecturer you are and for the encouragement you give to me. I really want to thank you for the eye-opening advice and encouragement.

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## ABBREVIATION

ACTA	: Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement
AGRIFISH	: Agriculture and Fisheries Council configuration
CAP	: Common Agricultural Policy
COMPET	: Competitiveness Council configuration
COREPER	: Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSO	: Civil Society Organisation
DG	: Directorate General
Ds	: Swedish Ministry Publication Series
EB	: Standard Eurobarometer
EBS	: Special Eurobarometer
ECOFIN	: Economic and Financial Affairs Council
EESC	: European Economic and Social Committee
EMU	: Economic and Monetary Union
ENVI	: Environmental Council configuration
EPP	: Group of the European People's Party
EPSCO	: Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council configuration
ERM2	: Exchange Rate Mechanism
EU	: European Union
EYCS	: Education, Youth, Culture, and Sport Council configuration
FAC	: Foreign Affairs Council configuration
FSC	: Forest Stewardship Council
GAC	: General Affairs Council configuration
JHA	: Justice and Home Affairs Council configuration
LO	: Swedish Trade Union Confederation
MEP	: Members of the Parliament
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organisation
SACO	: Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations

SFS	: Swedish Code of Statutes
Sida	: Swedish International Development Cooperation
SME	: Small and medium-sized enterprise
SOU	: Swedish Government Official Report
S&D	: Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament
TCO	: Swedish Confederation of Employees
TEU	: Treaty on European Union
TFEU	: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TTE	: Transport, Telecommunications, and Energy Council configuration
UNCED	: United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
QMV	: Qualified Majority Voting

## ABSTRACT

From Swexit referendum discourse, refusing to join the eurozone, the growing anti-immigration sentiments, the rise of popularity of right-wing parties which oppose its membership on the union, to several rejections of EU policies, Sweden has been one of the EU member-states with high indicators of Euroscepticism. Most studies of Euroscepticism in Sweden have been focusing on the Euroscepticism itself and few of them discuss the factors behind Swedish Euroscepticism. Previous study of Bacescu (2014) and Sorensen (2017) highlighted four factors driving Euroscepticism in member-states, two of which democratic and social/politics. This research is trying to deeply portray contestations in Sweden's and the EU's culture of democracy and politics and how it contributes in Sweden's scepticism toward the EU. Research finding shows that Sweden and the EU has rather unique differences in their culture of democracy and politics. In some senses, these differences eventually played role in arousing Sweden's scepticism toward the EU. These resulted in Sweden's soft Euroscepticism in which they are sceptical of the Union's dream as a federal Union, but are still okay with and support the cooperation going in the EU.

**Keywords:** Euroscepticism, European Union, democracy, politics, Sweden.



## ABSTRAK

*Mulai dari wacana referendum untuk keluar dari Uni Eropa, menolak bergabung dalam eurozone, banyaknya sentimen-sentimen anti imigrasi, kenaikan popularitas partai sayap kanan yang menentang keanggotaan Swedia di Uni Eropa, hingga beberapa kali menolak kebijakan Uni Eropa, Swedia telah menjadi salah satu negara anggota Uni Eropa dengan indikator Euroskeptisisme yang tinggi. Kebanyakan studi mengenai Euroskeptisisme di Swedia berfokus kepada fenomena Euroskeptisisme itu sendiri dan hanya sedikit dari mereka yang membahas faktor-faktor penyebab Euroskeptisisme Swedia. Studi terdahulu oleh Bacescu (2014) dan Sorensen (2017) membahas mengenai empat faktor yang mendorong Euroskeptisisme di negara-anggota, dua diantaranya adalah faktor demokrasi dan sosial/politik. Penelitian ini mencoba untuk membahas secara mendalam perbedaan kultur demokrasi dan politik milik Swedia dan Uni Eropa dan bagaimana mereka berkontribusi dalam skeptisisme Swedia terhadap Uni Eropa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keduanya memiliki perbedaan yang unik dalam kultur demokrasi dan politiknya. Pada akhirnya, perbedaan-perbedaan ini berpengaruh dalam menimbulkan skeptisisme Swedia terhadap Uni Eropa. Hal ini menimbulkan soft Euroscepticism di Swedia dimana mereka cenderung skeptis terhadap mimpi Uni Eropa sebagai negara federal, namun tetap mendukung dan masih dapat menerima kerjasama yang sudah terjalin di Uni Eropa.*

***Kata Kunci: Euroskeptisisme, demokrasi, politik, Swedia, Uni Eropa.***