THEORIES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

What is a theory, and what is it purpose?

- To describe a phenomenon
- To explain a phenomenon
- To predict a phenomenon

So we want to describe/explain/predict:

- the speed and direction of European integration overall
- the speed and direction of individual policies
- the failure to establish certain policies
- why progress occurred at certain times and not others

- It was something of a surprise to academic theorists of IR when governments in western Europe began to surrender their national sovereignty in some policy areas.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

- A process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states.(Ernst Haas, 1968)

- The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones.

4 levels of European integration theory

- The EU as an international organization
- Eu as a region within the global political economy
- EU and policy making (interaction among nation-states etc…)
- EU as a sui generic phenomenon

Core theories of European Integration

- 1. Federalism
- 2. Functionalism
- 3. Functional – Federalism
- 4. Neo-functionalism
- 5. Intergovernmentalism
- 6.Liberal Intergovernmentalism
- 7. Constructivism

1. FEDERALISM

- FEDERATION: Division of power between two or more level of governments

- CENTRAL & FEDERAL and a CONSTITUTION

- Normative goal of federalists: establish a federation of European states instead of competing nation states.
- **Political strategy: institutions first!**

1. FEDERALISM

Altiero Spinelli: Ventotene Manifesto (1941) was written by Spinelli and Rossi when they were helo sd political prisoners by the Fascists and called for a European Federation.

Federalists broadly agree that the nation states have lost their property rights since they cannot guarantee the political and economic safety of their citizens

Federalism appealed to the Resistance groups, because it proposed superseding NATIONALISM.

- Spinelli/Rossi: constitutional break and federal constitution for Europe
- Impact on post-war European Federalist
- Movement (Hague Congress 1948)
- The Ventotene Manifesto, 1941

1. FEDERALISM

- The integration of several national actors takes place as a consequence of willful political decisions taken by politicians and nations and based on common political and socio-economic norms and objectives.

- At the beginning of the integration process, a common constitution for the newly integrated actor will be formulated. This actor usually takes the form of a federal state with horizontal and vertical separation of powers; the formerly autonomous units give up their claim to sovereignty and submit to a common will.

- *Distinctive feature*: Solutions of economic and social problems fill a previously established (institutional) framework; pooling of sovereignty of individual actors.

- *Catchword*: Function follows form

2. FUNCTIONALISM

- Technocratic management of economic and social policy leads to the formation of INTERNATIONAL FUNCTIONAL AGENCIES
- SUCH AGENCIES promote economic welfare, thus eventually gaining LEGITIMACY, overcoming ideological opposition to strong international institutions, and IN THE LONG RUN evolving into a sort of INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT, though perhaps not a TRUE STATE
- STRATEGY: transfer functional tasks from governments to international agencies
- Belongs to the LIBERALIST-IDEALIST tradition of INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

2. FUNCTIONALISM

- Example of Mitrany: Communication

“Railways would be organized on a continental basis, shipping would be organized on an intercontinental basis, shipping would be organized on a universal basis.”

“Not only would the dependence of states on these agencies for their day to day functioning make it difficult for governments to break with them, but the experience of the operation of the agencies would also socialize politicians, civil servants, and the general public into adopting less nationalistic attitudes and outlook.”

2. FUNCTIONALISM

Main figure: DAVID MITRANY – A WORKING PEACE SYSTEM

MITRANY was opposed to federalism since:

- World government : not good for individual freedom
- Regional integration : potential super-states
- “The root cause of war was nationalism”

- Political strategy: FORM FOLLOWS FUNCTION
- CRITICISM TO FUNCTIONALISM : Technocratic, naive, poor record of prediction, lack of scientific rigor

3. FUNCTIONAL - FEDERALISM

- Jean MONNET (Schuman Plan with Schuman) –PRAGMATIST
- **Functional aims – Supranational institutions (HIGH AUTHORITY)**

A European scale economy

Control over Germany

Supplies for French industry

- **Political aims**

“We do not build coalitions of states”

“Western Europe unite peoples”

European unification as the end-point of functional co-operation

First: EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

Future: MORE THAN A “COMMON MARKET”…

Functionalism - Federalism - Neofunctionalism

Functionalism

- •rapprochement of sovereign states is best achieved by progressive cooperation within specific issue areas
- •because of increasing socio-economic interdependence, problems within these issue-areas are more effectively dealt with in an international rather than national context
- •driving force: functional necessities

↓

construction of an increasingly intensifying network of common technical (unpolitical) activities and administrative tasks

↓

tightening of interstate relations gradually includes genuinely political problem/ issue areas (reason: cooperation in some specific issue areas induces learning processes that enhance cooperation within other/ related issue areas)

↓

complex network of overlapping, functionally differentiated international and transnational organizations (cobweb-model of international relations)

↓

overarches, erodes, undercuts classical functions and spheres of competence of the state

↓

final result: declining significance of national borders,
demise/ death of nation states

Federalism

I.:
- •The traditional sovereign nation state causes the negative developments of the international system (⇒ security dilemma)
- •successful peacemaking/ peace stabilisation presupposes the limitation of the sovereign nation states' exclusive title to power
- •the adequate device to fulfill this requirement is the formation of a (European) Federal State by a conscious political decision of politicians/ peoples involved

II.:
- •For the execution of specific tasks in their own interest states may submit partially or completely to a common central authority (pooling of (partial) sovereignties)

↓

The instrument of integration is a supranational constitution in the regulatory framework of which political (and to a lesser degree socio-economic) integration between states takes place

driving force: political will/ political decisions

↓

The partial or complete transfer of sovereignty to the central authority secures the outcome of the integration process; conflicts can be regulated within the framework of commonly accepted and hard to alter constitutional norms

↓

common characteristics:

- •incremental nature of the integration process
- •Spillover as driving force
- •final aim: supersession of the nation state (yet disagreement on by what sort of institution it will be replaced)

Neofunctionalism

INTEGRATION IN 1950s and 1960s

- Dominant theory in IR: Realism
- States focus on power politics/sovereignty ! no room for integration
- Integration slows down + crises in the 50s&60s ! doubts over
- Functionalism/Federalism
- US scholars interested in EC ! two main perspectives

Neo-Functionalism (Haas)

Intergovernmentalism (Feldman)

4. NEOFUNCTIONALISM

ERNST HAAS and LINDBERG developed this theory mainly as a response to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community and the EC. (THE UNITING OF EUROPE – 1968)

- Pluralist approach.

Main assumptions

State is not a unified actor. The concept of the "state" is more complex than realists suggested.

No- state actors are important in international politics.

Interest groups lobby national governments and become international actors

Initial sectoral integration will "**spill over**" beyond states's control !

Integration eventually undermines sovereignty

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IS ADVANCED THROUGH "SPILLOVER" PRESSURES

4. NEOFUNCTIONALISM

In contrast to realists, neofunctionalists argued that **the international activities of states** were the outcome of a political process in which government decisions were influenced from **various interest groups** and bureaucratic actors.

STEPS OF NEO-FUNCTIONALIST INTEGRATION

(1) Integrate modestly in areas of LOW POLITICS which are at the same time “strategic economic sectors”

(2) Create a high authority to promote the integration process.

(3) The integration of particular economic sectors across nations will create functional pressures for the integration of related economic sectors.

(4) Gradually, social interests will shift their loyalty to new supranational center.

(5) Deepening economic integration will create the need for further European institutionalization.

Spillover as the most important driving process of integration

- Deepening of integration in one sector is expected to create pressures for further economic integration beyond that sector, leading to functional needs for a European authority.

NEO-FUNCTIONALISM

- The three crucial concepts to remember from this are:
- spillover: once started, integration quickly becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy with ever new sectors being taken in;
- supranational institutions: progressively strengthened by further and further integration, these institutions employ a new class of functionaries with a vested interest in still deeper integration;
- transfer of loyalty: as supranational institutions show themselves to be more effective in dealing with specific problems than nation-states, national interest groups will re-invent themselves on a regional level and national policy-makers will be socialised into searching regional solutions for their problems.

SPILL OVER

- **FUNCTIONAL SPILLOVER:**

-Not possible to contain integration in single sector

-(Complete) integration of one sector will require integration of other sectors

-Example: transport

- **POLITICAL SPILLOVER:**

-Economic integration generates new political problems

-Interest groups will lobby governments for efficient solutions

-Governments will recognise benefits and will give up (parts of) sovereignty

- **CULTIVATED SPILLOVER:**
- -Commission would “cultivate" spillovers

-By teaming up with interest groups and national officials

CRITICISM TO NEO-FUNCTIONALISM

- No explanation for stagnation
- No automatic transition from functional political spillover

The ‘Empty Chair Crisis’ of 1965-66 demonstrated that spillover was not automatic, that supranational institutions could be defeated and that loyalties had remained very much with the nation-state.

FUNCTIONALISM VS NEOFUNCTIONALISM

Functionalism was never designed as an analytical tool for European Integration.

In fact, Mitrany was always opposed to regional integration since it merely replaced one border with another.

This is what constitutes the fundamental difference between functionalism and neo-functionalism: neo-functionalists specifically study regional integration with European Integration as their foremost case in point.

But as the name suggests, there are many parallels between functionalism and neo-functionalism in other respects. **Both stress the centrality of technocratic decision-making, incremental change and learning processes** (Niemann & Schmitter, 2009).

5. INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

- Stanley Hoffmann, born 1928 (Vienna) (CLASSICAL INTERNGOVERNMENTALISM)

Neo-Functionalists made three huge mistakes

- 1. Regional integration not self-contained
- 2. States/governments remain uniquely powerful
- actors
- 3. Neo-Functionalists fail to distinguish between high and low politics

- REALIST THINKING: KENNETH WALTZ, ANDREW MORAVCSIK, JOHN MEARSHEIMER, STANLEY HOFFMAN

5. INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

- Regional integration is just one aspect of global context and what about international background conditions?
- National governments are powerful and they can still control “national interests”
- The integration process would not spread to areas of “high politics” such as national security and defense.

FROM INTERGOVERNMENTALISM TO LIBERAL INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

Intergovernmentalism reached its prime in the ‘doldrum years’ of European Integation (Wiener & Diez, 2009: 6) during the 1970s, when the failure to get any further with political integration seemed to confirm most of its premises.

But, like neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism was quickly met by events that did not fit its theoretical framework.

The signing of first the Single European Act (1986) and subsequently the Maastricht Treaty (1991) asked serious questions of the dichotomy between low and high politics at intergovernmentalism’s core.

How, for example, was it possible that, with the creation of the European Monetary Union and the European Common Foreign and Security Policy, states ‘willingly surrendered control over issues of central importance to national sovereignty’ (Rosamond, 2000, p.79)?

FROM INTERGOVERNMENTALISM TO LIBERAL INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

Faced with this conundrum and even with a resurgent neo-functionalism, Andrew Moravcsik undertook to adapt intergovernmentalism to the new European reality of the 1990s.

In his efforts to explain European Integration ‘from Messina to Maastricht’ (1998), he devised the concept of ‘liberal intergovernmentalism’.

This differed from classic intergovernmentalism in that it emphasised domestic rather than national interests.

First, on the **domestic level, various interest groups** would compete in order to influence **national preference formation** in integration.

Then, the outcomes of these struggles would go on to inform the positions taken by governments in interstate bargaining.

6. LIBERAL INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

- Andrew Moravcsik (1993)
- Insists that states are still in full control of integration process
- Two levels of analysis

1. Domestic preference formation
2. EU intergovernmental bargaining

- Blends classical intergovernmentalism with a pinch of neo-functionalism

Main assumptions of liberal intergovernmentalism

- Economic interests dominate domestic preference formation
- EU inter-governmental bargaining reflects member states' relative power
- Institutional choice is determined by national desire for more credible commitment

Main assumptions of liberal intergovernmentalism

- There is no body superior to the state
- Integration and supranationalism ways are too suggestive
- His definition of integration: process of merging domestic interests
- Co-operation based on lowest common denominator solutions
- State will only realise economic benefits from “integration”, if integration does not undermine long-term political survival of the state

Example

- The agricultural sector is an important interest group in France, with a high potential for influence at the governmental level.
- They managed to influence the national preference of France regarding the sector at the EU level, favouring the creation of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This would enable French agricultural surpluses to be exported in a liberalised market.
- The transfer to a supranational institution is exemplified by the French government pushing for a highly centralised CAP, in order to ensure compliance by other members.

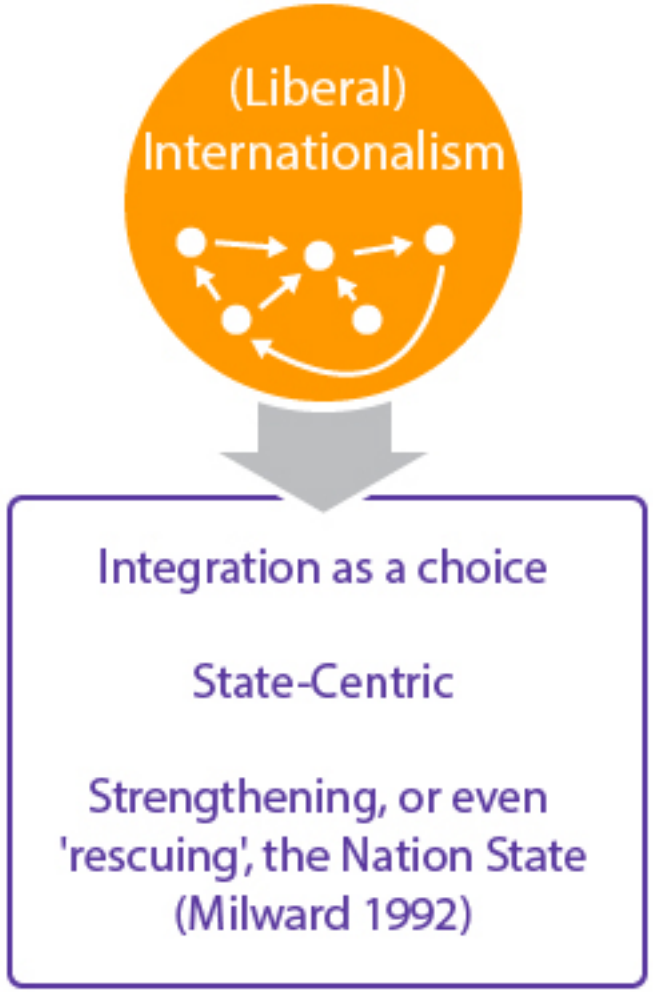
Moravcsik's conclusions:

- The major choices in favour of Europe were a reflection of preferences of national governments, not of the preferences of supranational organizations.
- These national preferences reflected the balance of economic interests, rather than the political biases of politicians or national strategic security concerns .
- The outcome of negotiations reflected the relative bargaining power of the states or wish of governments to ensure that the commitments of all parties to the agreement, rather than a federalist ideology.

CRITICISM TO INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

- Does not explain well some European waves of integration (Single European Act, Maastricht Treaty)
- Does not explain well growing weight of Germany within the EC/EU.
- Moravcsik neglects transnational actors (Sweet/Sandholz)

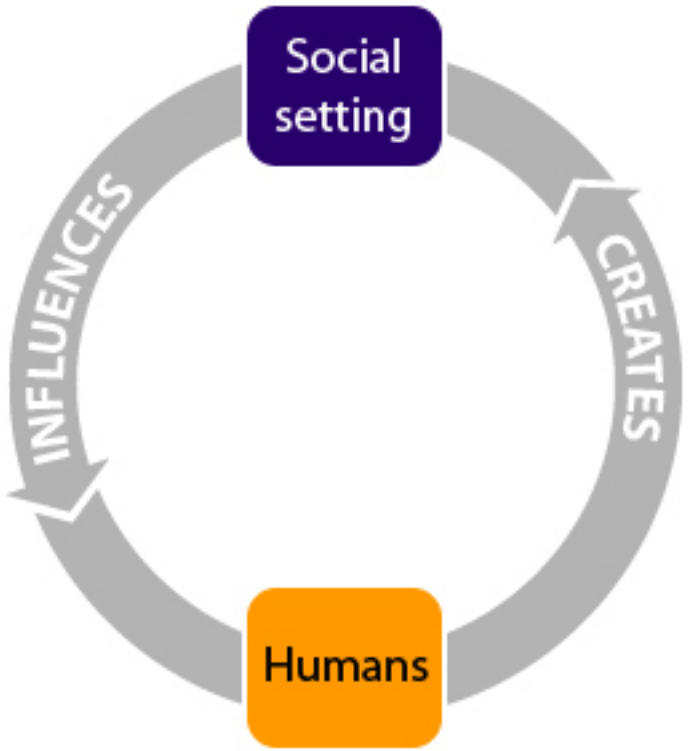
(neo)functionalism and (liberal) intergovernmentalism are still the two absolute classics of European Integration Theory.

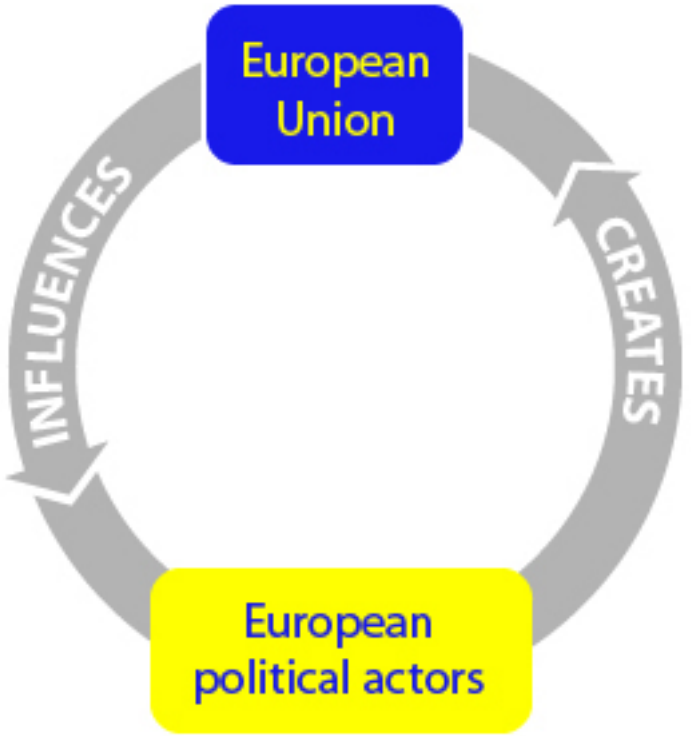


7. CONSTRUCTIVISM

- Constructivists hold the view that the building blocks of international reality are ideational as well as material, that ideational factors have normative as well as instrumental dimensions.
- Antje Wiener, Thomas Diez, Thomas Risse
- Consequences of social interaction of states on international system
- Consequnences of national norms on international politics
- Impact of European norms on changes in domestic politics.

It is based on the premise that as humans we do not exist independently from the social situation we find ourselves in. We are both influenced by our social setting and the creator of it. We ‘construct’ our social reality.





WHAT ABOUT FUTURE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION?

- DIFFERENTIATED INTEGRATION?

Multi speed Europe

Multi-speed Europe or **two-speed Europe** (called also **variable geometry Europe** or **Core Europe** depending on the form it would take in practice) is the idea that different parts of the European Union should integrate at different levels and pace depending on the political situation in each individual country.

Indeed, multi-speed Europe is currently a reality, with only a subset of EU countries members of the eurozone and of the Schengen area.

The concept entered political discourse when, after the end of the Cold War, an eastward enlargement of the European Union began to materialise and the question arose how "widening" could be made compatible with "deepening.

Europe à la carte

Europe à la carte is the most radical method. It allows member states to pick and choose their European policies.

Proponents of an à la carte Europe regard the increasing social, political, and economic heterogeneity of the EU as an insurmountable obstacle to the creation of an aver closer union.

Proponents à la carte integration argue that each member state should be allowed to decide which policies it wishes to participate in.

Most à la carte proposals, however, require a common base of policies in which all countries must participate if they want to become an EU member state. À la carte integration will produce numerous partnerships of varying membership and potentially different degrees of supranationality.

Europe à la carte

À la carte integration also allows deepening of the EU to continue, it permits states that are willing to integrate to leave unenthusiastic countries behind and ensure that the latter do not hold back the integration process.

Moreover à la carte integration also speaks to the perception that uniform integration is no longer desirable in an Union of 25 or more members.

It allows groups of member states with similar problems to find solutions that are most appropriate for them.

Concentric circles

Europe of concentric circles method tends to look at the European continent as a whole.

It divides Europe into several concentric circles, so that around the smallest central layer several other layers are arranged.

Membership in one circle is not permanent, however, and upward mobility. It will not be possible, using this method, to decide, to deepen only one single policy.

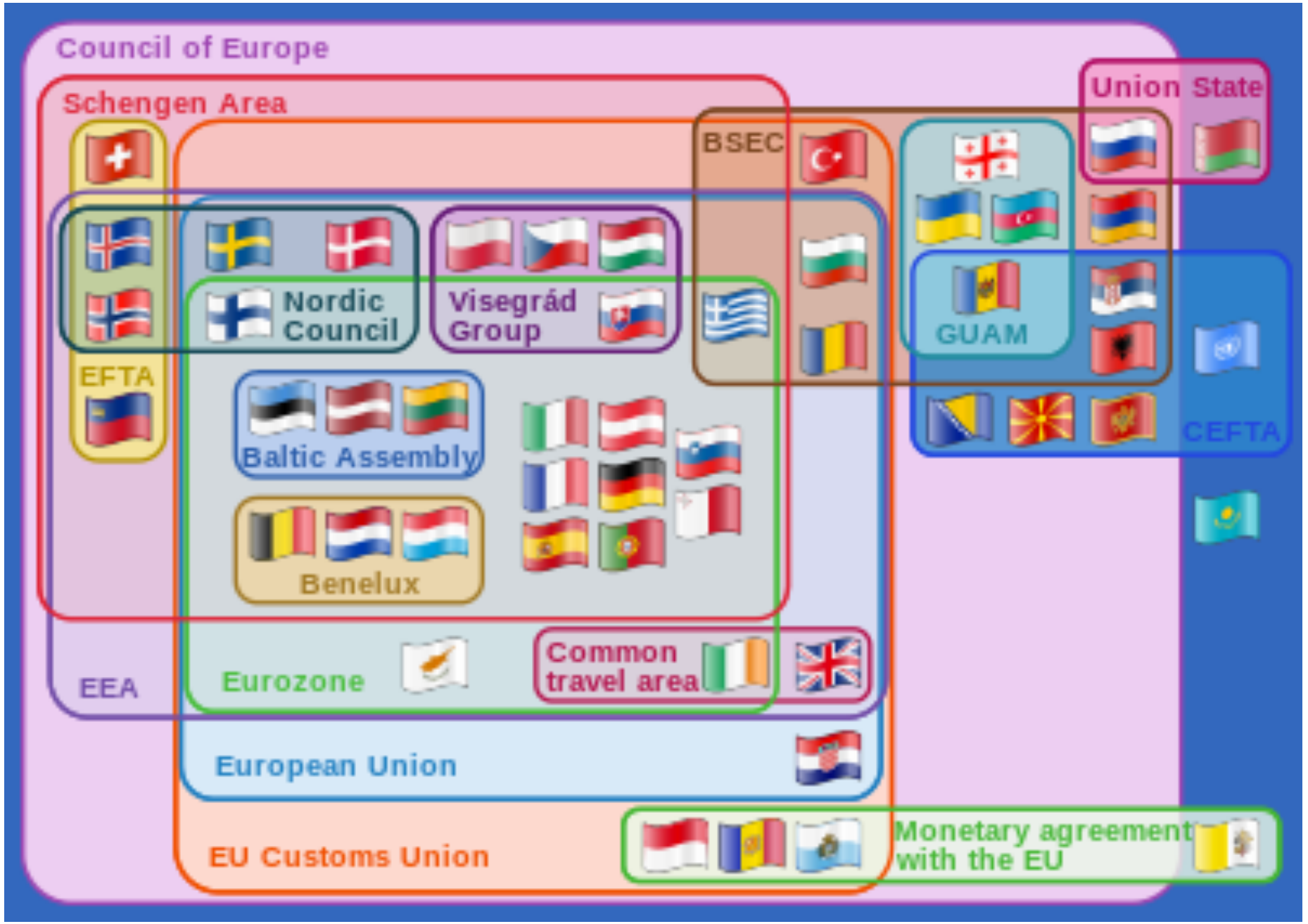
Rather, the different layers are made up of a whole set of policies: the more highly integrated a circle is, the more the policies within it are communitarized or Europeanized.

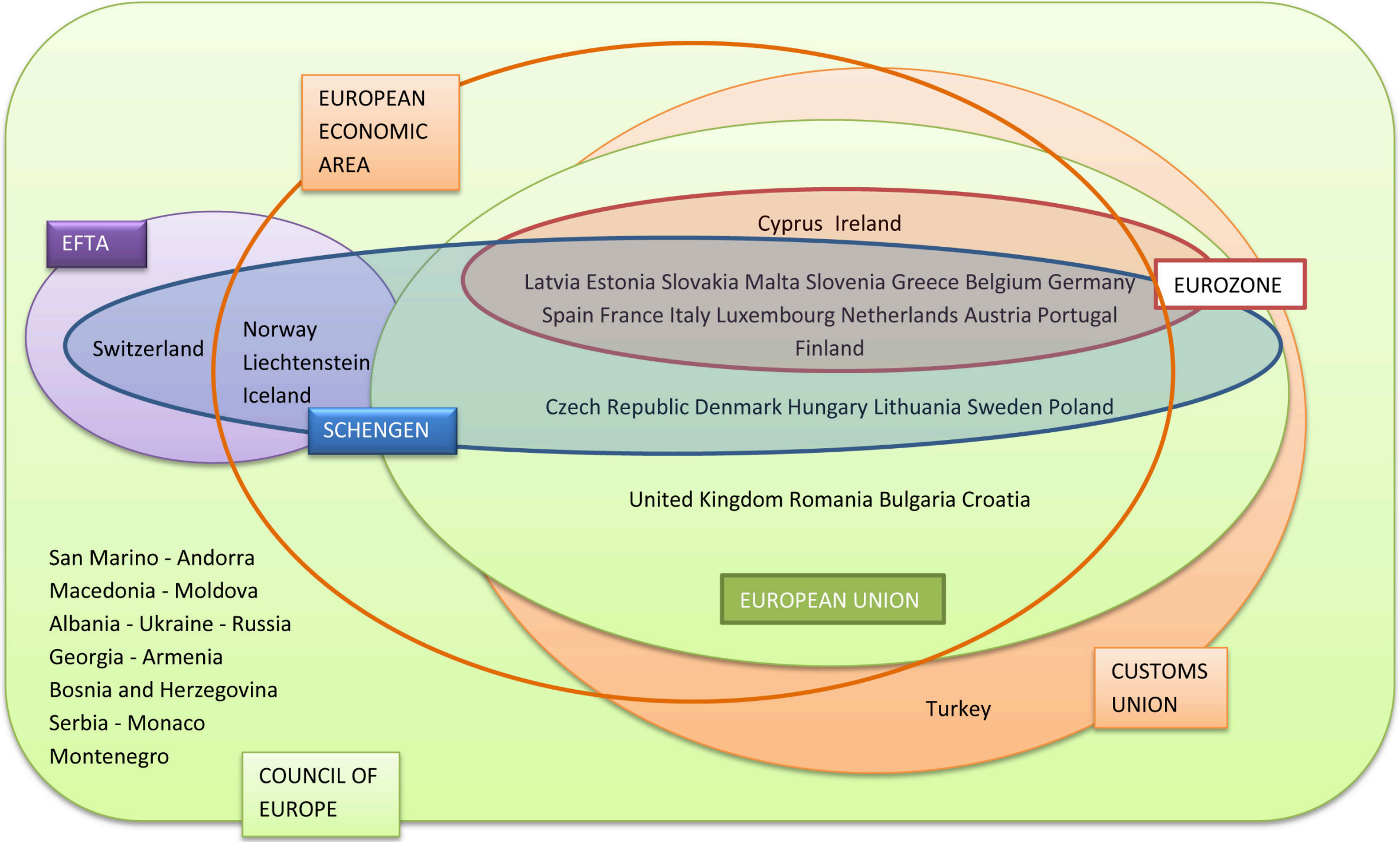
Multispeed Europe differentiates by time, à la carte integration by policy area, and concentric circles by space.

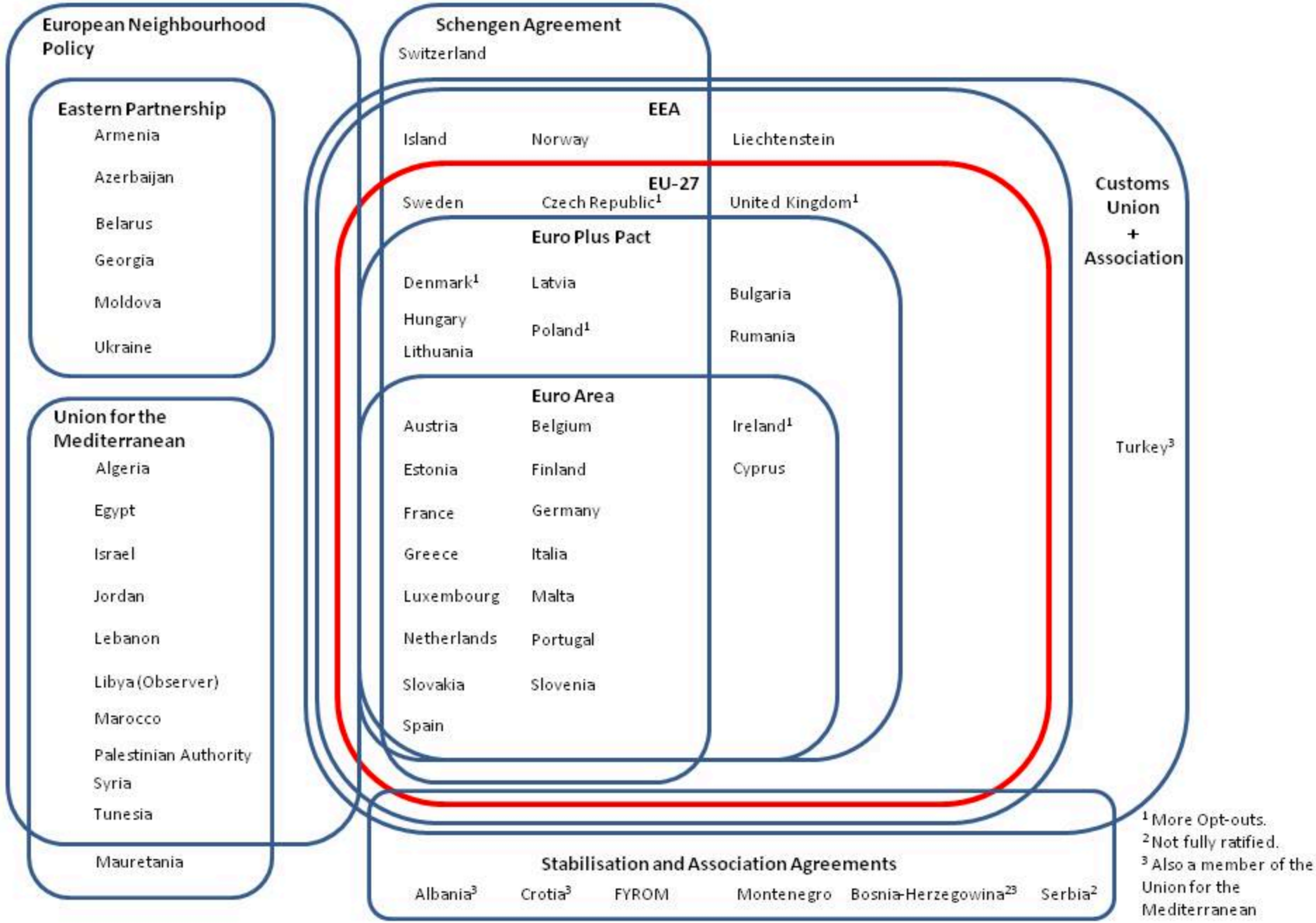
As multispeed integration merely differentiates by time, it eventually produces a higher degree of integration for every member state.

Europe à la carte, by contrast, results in permanently different degrees of integration, as a member state participate in different policies.

The concentric circles method, finally, creates a deeper form of integration across a wide range of issues for some member states, and lower levels of integration for others, as it groups member states into circles depending on their ability and willingness to progress.


Council of Europe
Schengen Area
Union State
BSEC
Nordic Council
Visegrád Group
GUAM
EFTA
Baltic Assembly
CEFTA
Benelux
EEA
Eurozone
Common travel area
European Union
EU Customs Union
Monetary agreement with the EU


EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AREA
EFTA
Switzerland
Norway
Liechtenstein
Iceland
SCHENGEN
Cyprus Ireland
Latvia Estonia Slovakia Malta Slovenia Greece Belgium Germany Spain France Italy Luxembourg Netherlands Austria Portugal Finland
EUROZONE
Czech Republic Denmark Hungary Lithuania Sweden Poland
United Kingdom Romania Bulgaria Croatia
EUROPEAN UNION
Turkey
CUSTOMS UNION
San Marino - Andorra
Macedonia - Moldova
Albania - Ukraine - Russia
Georgia - Armenia
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Serbia - Monaco
Montenegro
COUNCIL OF EUROPE



Source: Own compilation based on de Neve, Jan-Emmanuel (2007): The European Onion? How Differentiated Integration is Reshaping the EU. In: Journal of European Integration, 29:4, 503-521 (507).

MULTI-SPEED EUROPE

Progress of EU member states towards climate and energy goals for 2020, milestones 2011-2013

20 percent less greenhouse gas emissions than 1990

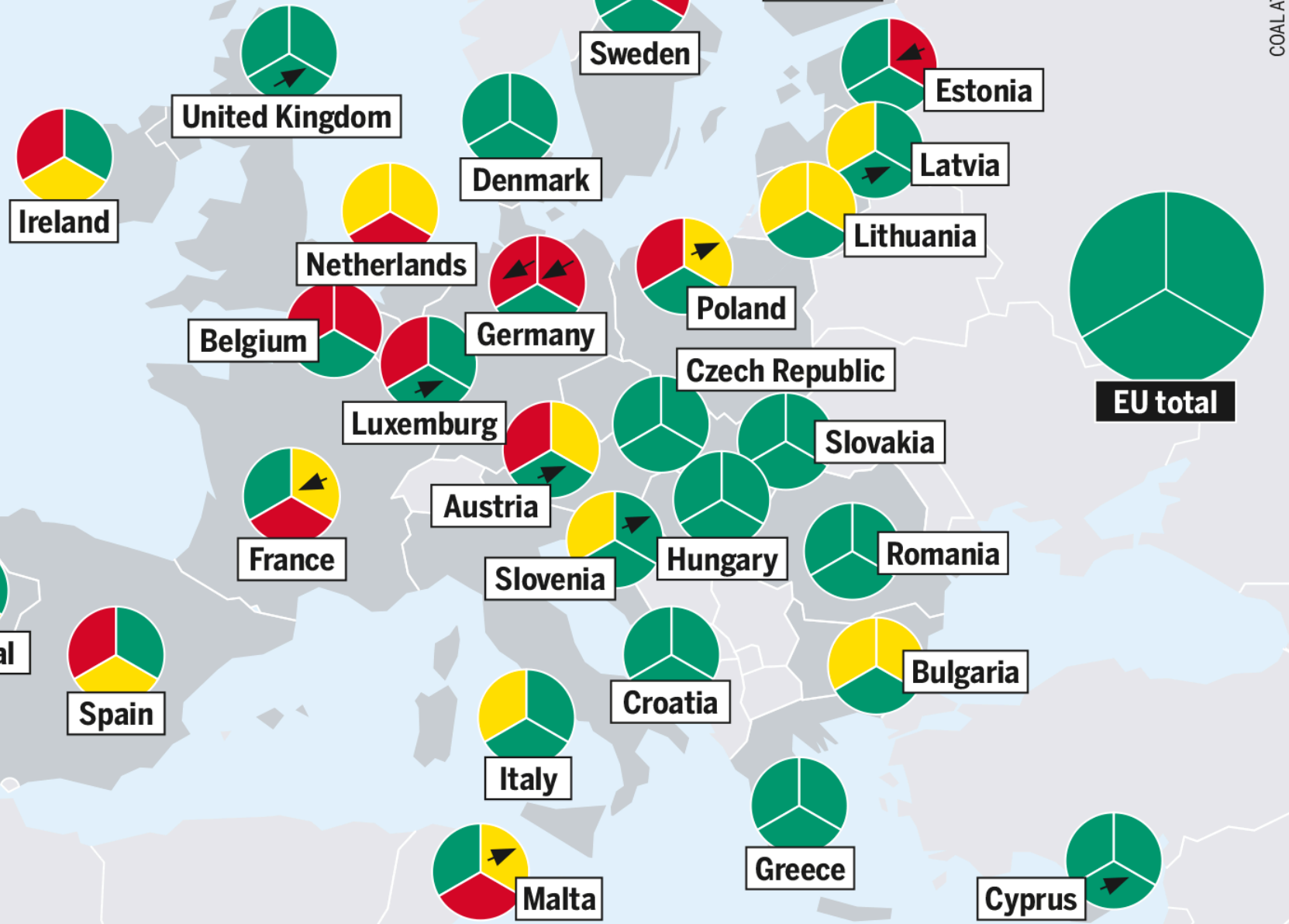
20 percent renewable energy for end-users

20 percent less energy consumption

On track
Partly on track
Not on track

Compared to previous year

Better
Worse
Same



COAL ATLAS 2015 / EEA

Resource:

http://hum.port.ac.uk/europeanstudieshub/learning/module-4-theorising-the-european-union/3-intergovernmentalism-liberal-intergovernmentalism/