

Theories of European Integration

EU Integration after Lisbon

Before we begin ...

- ▶ JHA Council last Thursday/Friday
- ▶ Harmonised rules on
 - ▶ the law applicable to
 - ▶ divorce and legal separation of bi-national couples
- ▶ Will apply from mid-2012 *in 14 member states*
- ▶ How?

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- ▶ How?
- ▶ First “enhanced co-operation” in the history of the EU
 - ▶ Amsterdam – Nice – Lisbon
 - ▶ Co-operation between at least 9 member states in area of non-exclusive EU competence
 - ▶ “Last resort” – only co-operating states vote in Council
 - ▶ Must not hurt Union/interest of other states



Intro

Theories

Pre-1950s

Neo-Functionalism

Classical

Intergovernmentalism

Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Summary

Five main contenders

Core theories of European Integration

1. Federalism
2. Functionalism
3. Neo-functionalism
4. Intergovernmentalism
5. Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Integration theory – what is it good for?

What is a theory, and what is its purpose?

- To **describe** a phenomenon
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- ▶ the speed and direction of individual policies
- ▶ the failure to establish certain policies
- ▶ why progress occurred at certain times and not others

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Description, explanation, prediction **vs** normative theories

Spinelli and European Federalism

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- ▶ Federalism supported in (left-wing) resistance

The Ventotene Mani-
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- ▶ Impact on post-war European Federalist Movement (Hague Congress 1948)
- ▶ But national political elites already restored

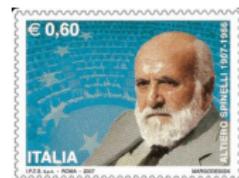
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- ▶ Spinelli
 - ▶ Involved in (failed) EDC
 - ▶ Member of EC 1970-76
 - ▶ MEP 1979-

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- ▶ Developed his ideas in the 1930s
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 - ▶ Regional integration → potential super-states

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- ▶ Influenced later advocates of integration

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 - ▶ “Western Europe unite peoples”
- ▶ European unification as the end-point of functional co-operation



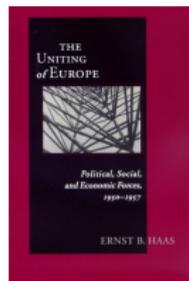
Integration Theory in the 50s/60s

- ▶ Dominant theory in IR: Realism
- ▶ States focus on power politics/sovereignty → no room for integration
- ▶ Integration slows down + crises in th 50s/60s → doubts over Functionalism/Federalism
- ▶ US scholars interested in EC → two main perspectives
 - ▶ Neo-Functionalism (Haas)
 - ▶ Intergovernmentalism (Feldman)

Haas and Neo-Functionalism

- ▶ Ernst B. Haas, 1924-2003
- ▶ Many contributions to IR/European Integration
- ▶ Main assumptions
 - ▶ State *not* unified actors
 - ▶ Interest groups lobby national governments and become international actors
 - ▶ Initial sectoral integration will “spill over” beyond states’s control →
 - ▶ Integration eventually undermines sovereignty

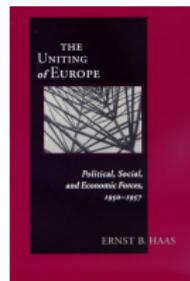
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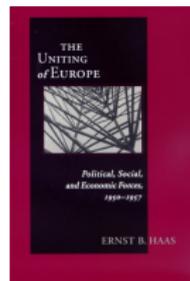
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 - ▶ Integration eventually undermines sovereignty
- ▶ Heavily influenced by early EC developments
- ▶ For a time, the “official theory” of European Integration

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Various types of “spillover”

1. Functional spillover

- ▶ Not possible to contain integration in single sector
- ▶ (Complete) integration of one sector will require integration of other sectors
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3. Cultivated spillover

- ▶ Commission would “cultivate” spillovers
- ▶ By teaming up with interest groups and national officials

Neo-Functionalism in critical perspective

- ▶ No explanation for stagnation and intergovernmentalist integration
- ▶ No automatic transition from functional → political spillover
- ▶ But: revival during 1990s (SEM, Political Union, EMU)



Hoffmann and Intergovernmentalism

Intergovernmentalist Credo

“There is nothing inevitable about the path of European integration process and neither was there any evidence of any political will to create a federal state in Europe”

“Obstinate or obsolete? The fate of the nation state and the case of Western Europe”, 1966



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- ▶ Stanley Hoffmann, born 1928 (Vienna)
- ▶ 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

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Moravcsik and Liberal Intergovernmentalism

- ▶ Andrew Moravcsik, born 1958
- ▶ Insists that states are still in full control of integration process
- ▶ Two levels of analysis
 1. Domestic preference formation
 2. EU intergovernmental bargaining

"The Choice for Europe", 1998



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- ▶ Now a widely (but not universally) accepted account of what's going on

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Main hypotheses

- ▶ There is no body superior to the state
 - ▶ “Integration” and “supranationalism” way 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

Method

- ▶ Testing *many* hypotheses derived from federal, functional, liberal intergovernmentalist approaches
- ▶ Five case studies (1955-58, 1958-69, 1969-83, 1984-1988, 1988-1991)
- ▶ Based on primary sources (treaties, documents etc.)

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Tests ...

1. National preference formation: economic interests vs. geo-politics
2. Interstate bargaining: asymmetrical interdependence vs. supranational entrepreneurship
3. Institutional choice: federalist ideology vs. centralised technological management vs. more credible commitment

Findings

- ▶ 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

Criticism on Moravcsik I

- ▶ Selective on sources
- ▶ Did not account for institutional independence (e.g. ECJ)
- ▶ Disregarding impact of strong EU or Commission presidency (Delors)
- ▶ Underestimates global interdependence
- ▶ Overestimates national sovereignty
- ▶ Domestic positions change during negotiations and are not pre-fixed (Forster)
- ▶ Governments have own (often multiple and divergent) interests and do not only represent industrial demands
- ▶ Moravcsik neglects transnational actors (Sweet/Sandholz)

Criticism on Moravcsik II

- ▶ Maastricht: negotiation outcomes not clear and the implications unforeseeable (= states not rational actors, relative bargaining power blurred)
- ▶ Schimmelfennig: “LI is a theoretical school with no disciples and a single teacher”

Summary

Early Phase (60s/70s) “Polity Making”, nature of EC, triggers for integration Neo- Functionalism vs. Intergovernmentalism; Attempt to include EC in IR theory	Grand Theories
Second Phase (70s/80s) “Policy Making” Evaluation of single policies (Environment, taxes); IR theory abandoned	Meso Theories
Third Phase (90s-) renewed interest in “polity making”; Europeanization of domestic politics; Comparative analysis; Policy-Analysis	Approaches and eclectic theories

Class questions

- ▶ Has (liberal) inter-governmentalism replaced neo-functionalism as the main approach to the study of European integration?
- ▶ What evidence is there in favour of the various approaches?
- ▶ Could there be a division of labour between the approaches? What would it look like?