

Theories of European Integration I

**Federalism
vs.
Functionalism
and beyond...**

Theories and Strategies of European Integration:

**Federalism &
(Neo-) Federalism
or Function follows Form**

Forefathers...

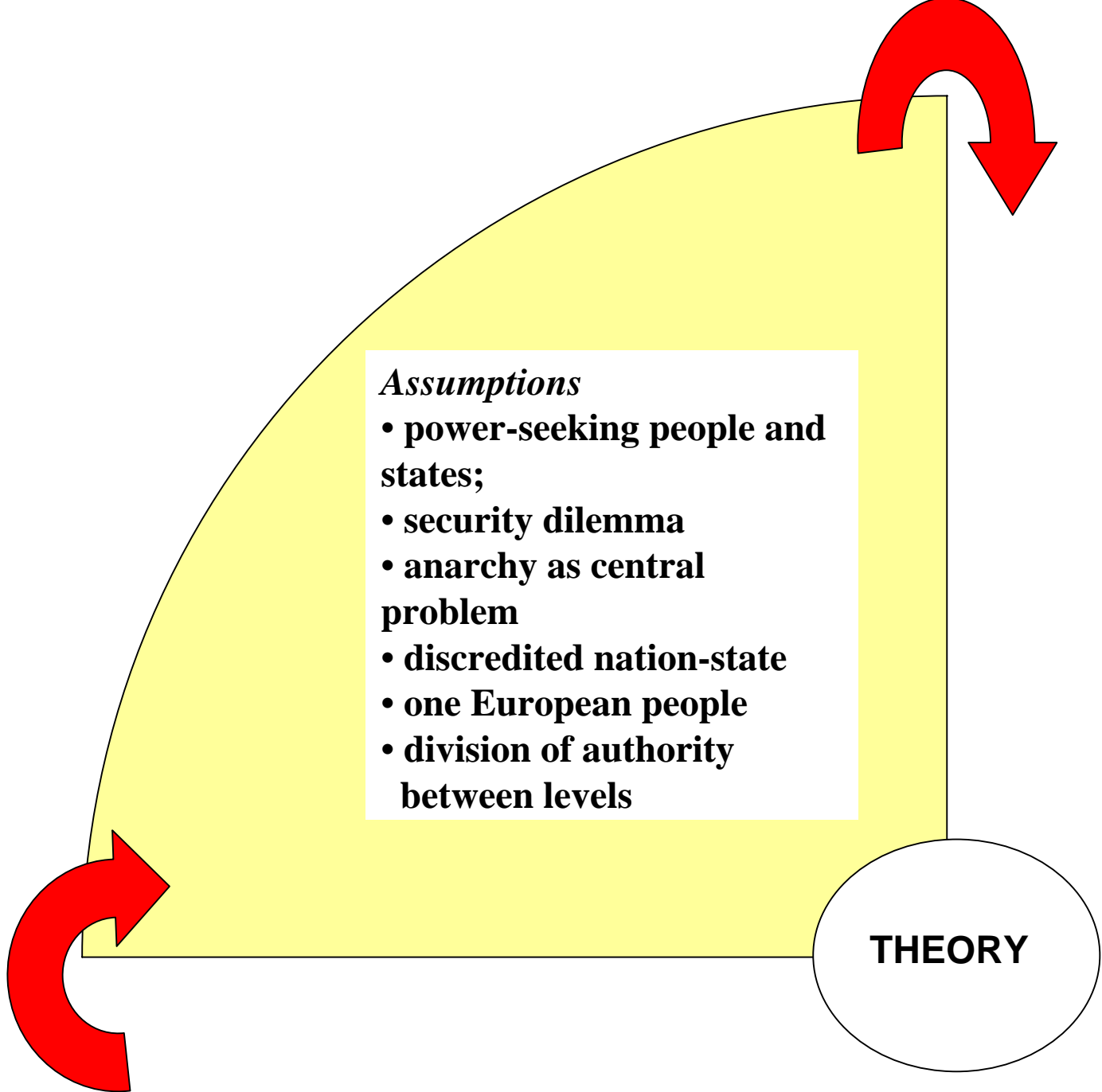
- ***Immanuel KANT***
- “...But peace can neither be inaugurated nor secured without a **general agreement between the nations**; thus a particular kind of league, which we might call a **pacific federation** (*foedus pacificaum*), is required.”
- *Immanuel Kant, **Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch** (1795)*

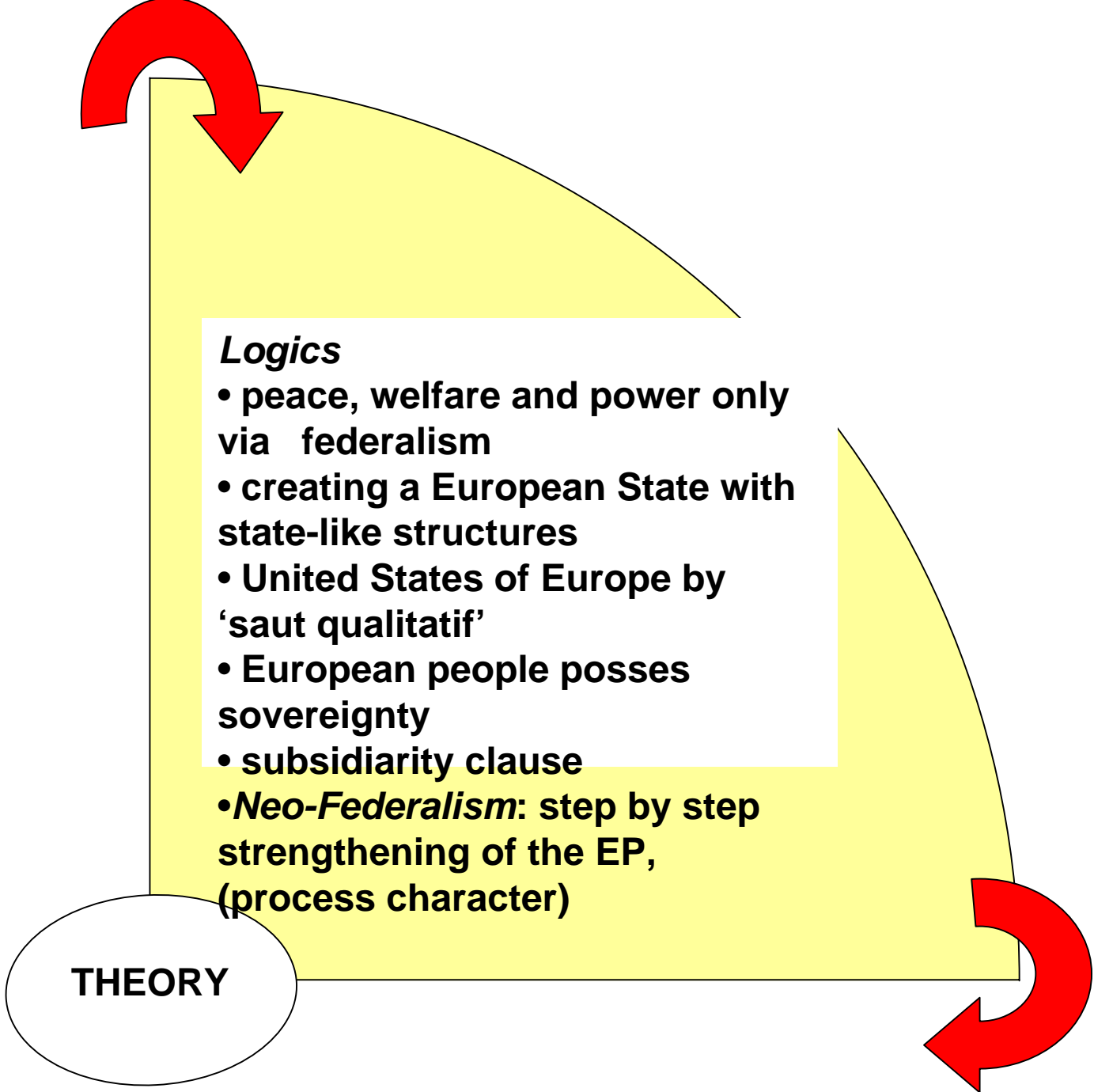
- ***Alexander HAMILTON***
- “*To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent unconnected sovereignties situated in the same neighbourhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages.*”
- *Federalist Papers, Federalist n° 6, Concerning the Dangers from Dissensions between States.*

... and successors

- **Winston CHURCHILL: Speech to the academic Youth, Zurich, 19.9.1946)**
- “We must build a kind of **United States of Europe...**
...freely joined together for mutual convenience in a **federal system..** ... We must re-create the **European Family** in a regional structure called, it may be, the **United States of Europe. ...**”
- ***Therefore I say to you: let Europe arise!***

- **Altiero SPINELLI**
- ***For a Free and United Europe. A draft manifesto (1944)***
- ***(Ventotene Manifesto)***
- “The question which must be resolved first [...] is **the definitive abolition of the division of Europe into national, sovereign States.**“
- “All problems ... would find easy solutions in the European Federation.“
- **“MOVEMENT FOR A FREE AND UNITED EUROPE“**





THEORY



The diagram consists of a white circle at the top left containing the word 'THEORY'. A vertical line descends from the bottom of this circle to a yellow rectangular area. Inside this yellow area is a white box containing the text 'Institutions' followed by three bullet points. A red arrow on the right side of the yellow area points from the top right towards the bottom right. Another red arrow at the bottom left of the yellow area points from the bottom right towards the bottom left, completing a loop.

Institutions

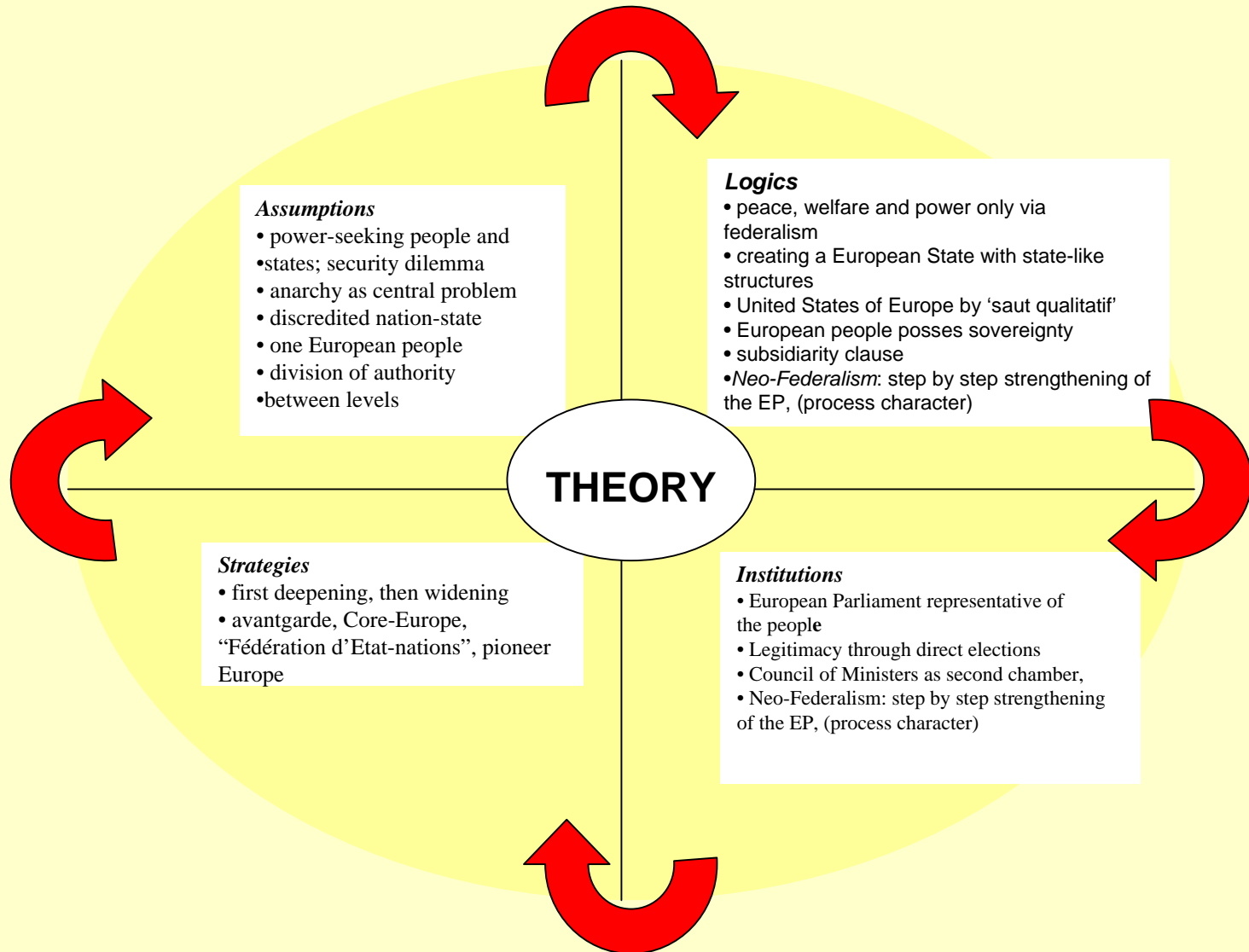
- **European Parliament**
representative of the people
- **Legitimacy through direct elections**
- **Council of Ministers as second chamber,**
- **Neo-Federalism: step by step strengthening of the EP, (process character)**

THEORY

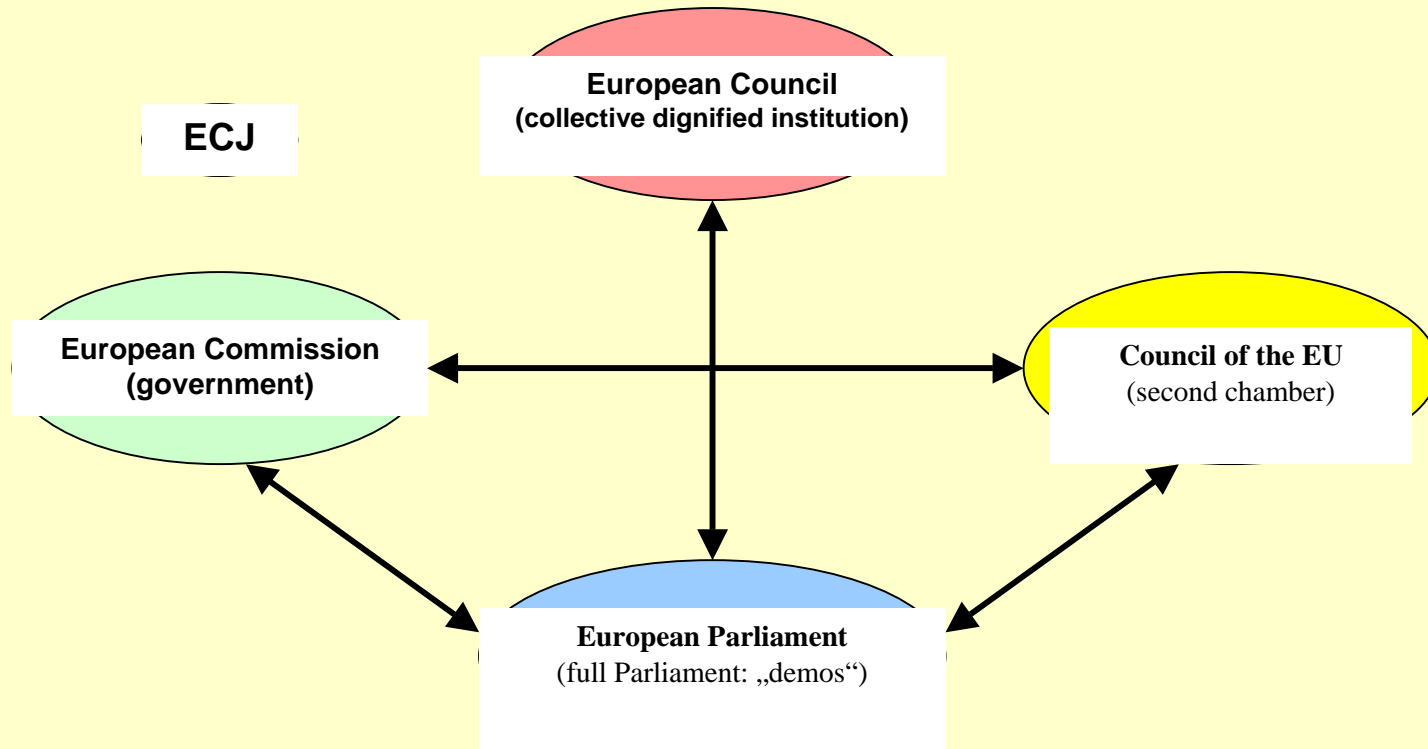
Strategies

- **first deepening, then widening**
- **avantgarde, Core-Europe, “Fédération d’Etat-nations”, pioneer Europe**

(Neo-) Federalism in the ALIS-scheme



Institutional diagram: (Neo-) Federalism



Pious hopes...

- ***John PINDER***
- *The European Union: A very short Introduction, Oxford, 2001*
- „...either the **federal elements** in the institutions will be **strengthened** until the Union becomes an effective democratic polity, **or it will fail** to attract enough support from the citizens to enable it to flourish, and perhaps even to survive.“

Theories and Strategies of European Integration

**Functionalism and
Neofunctionalism
or Form follows Function**

Forefathers...

- **David MITRANY**
- **“One might say indeed that the true task of peaceful change is to remove the need and the wish for changes of frontiers.”**
- *A Working Peace System, Chicago, 1943*

Assumptions:

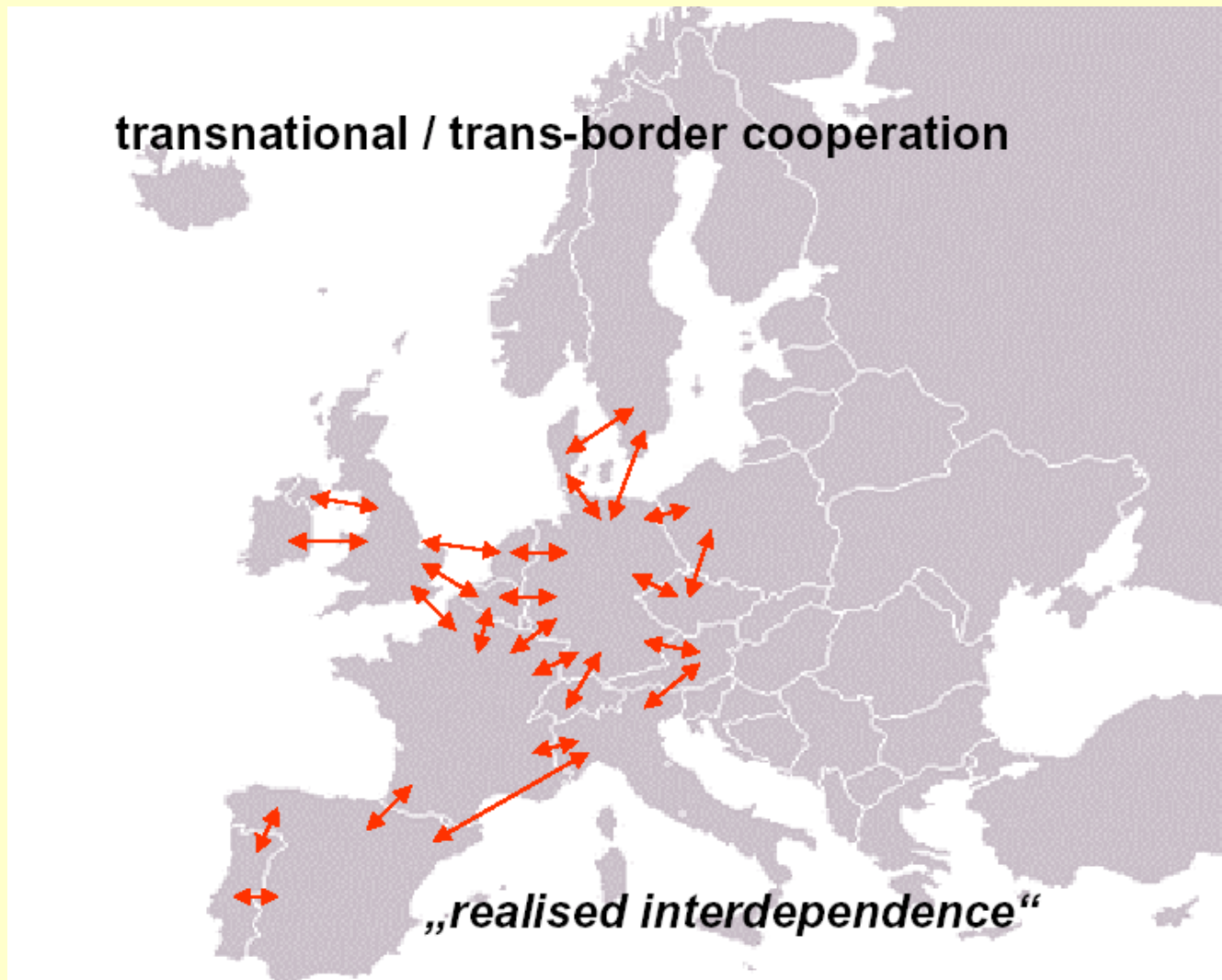
Human nature:

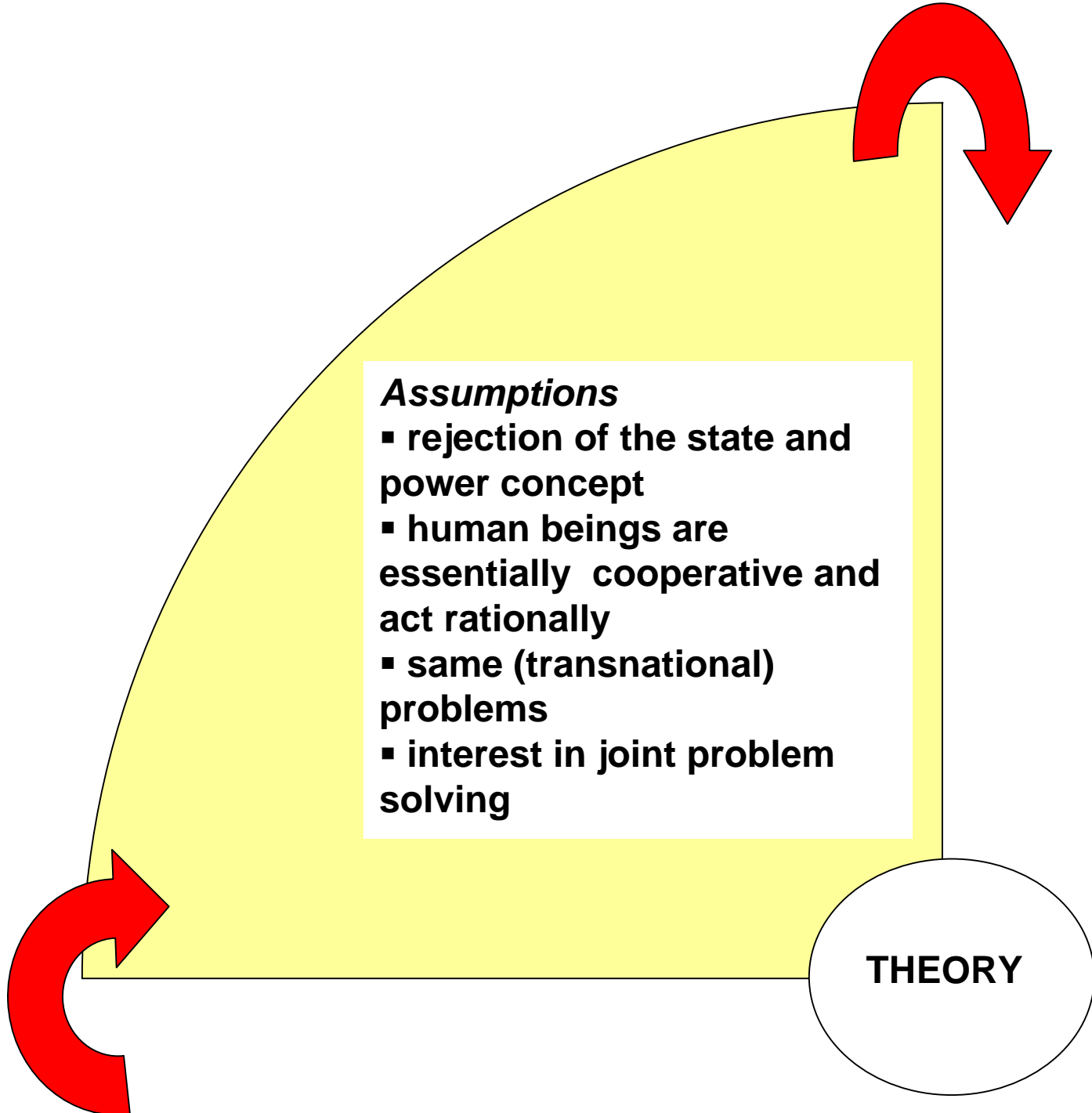
- - rational and cooperative behaviour
- **State:**
- - *need*-centric rather than *state*-centric perspective
- - human needs and public welfare rather than power politics
- **International system:**
- - transnational problem solving
- - interdependence
- - globalisation

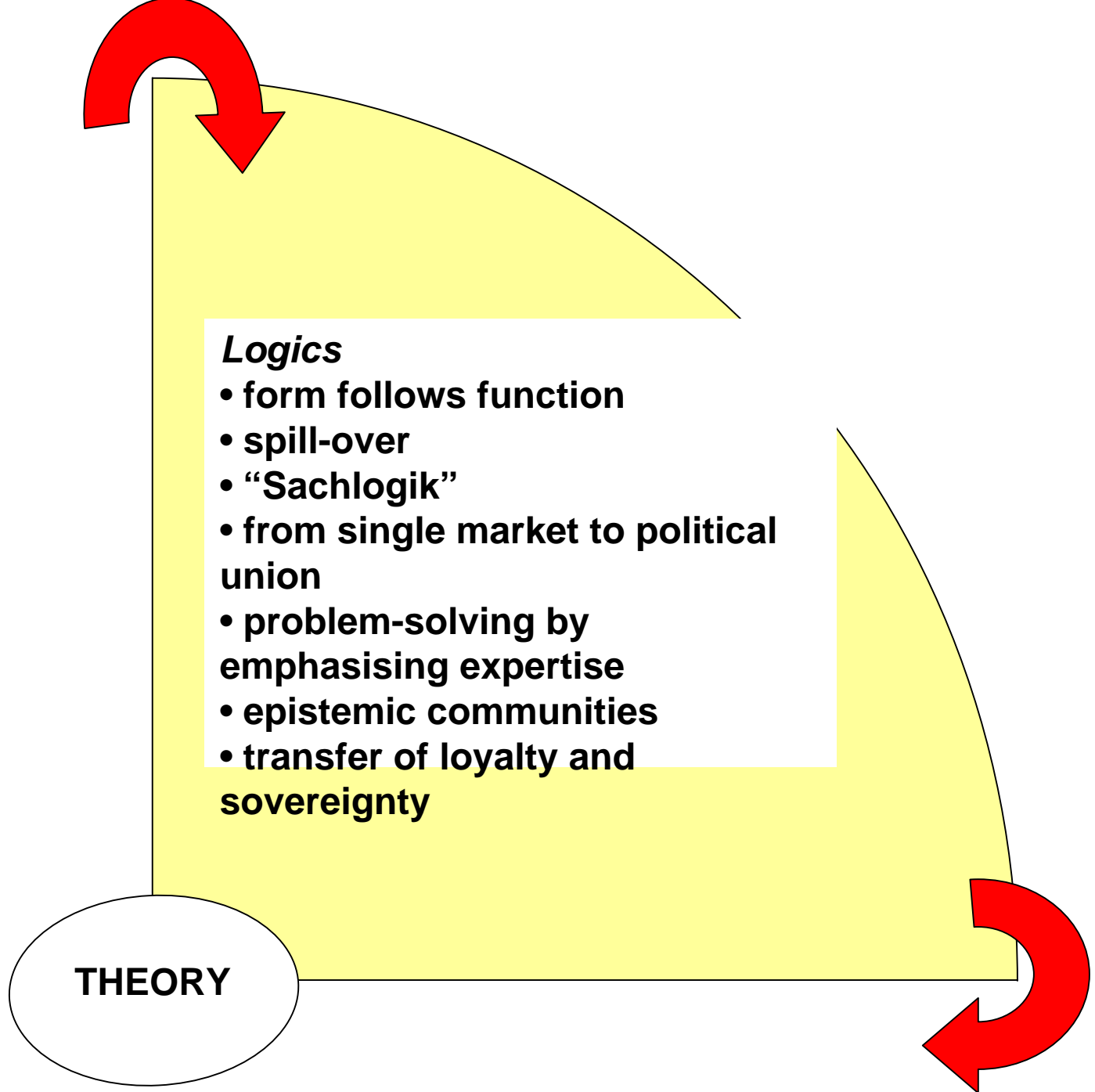
Assumptions II

- International agencies:
- render war irrational / impossible through collective transnational problem solving and mutual dependence.
- more conducive to the maintenance of international peace and stability
- transcend any anarchical structures in world politics

The Logic of transborder cooperation



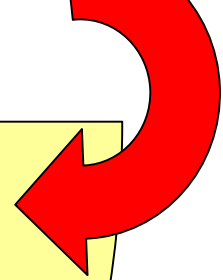
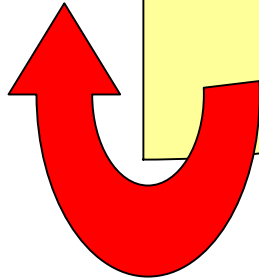




THEORY

Institutions

- technocracy
- European Commission as engine of integration, produces consensus
- technocratic knowledge as source of legitimacy (ECB)
- close interaction between administration and interest-groups

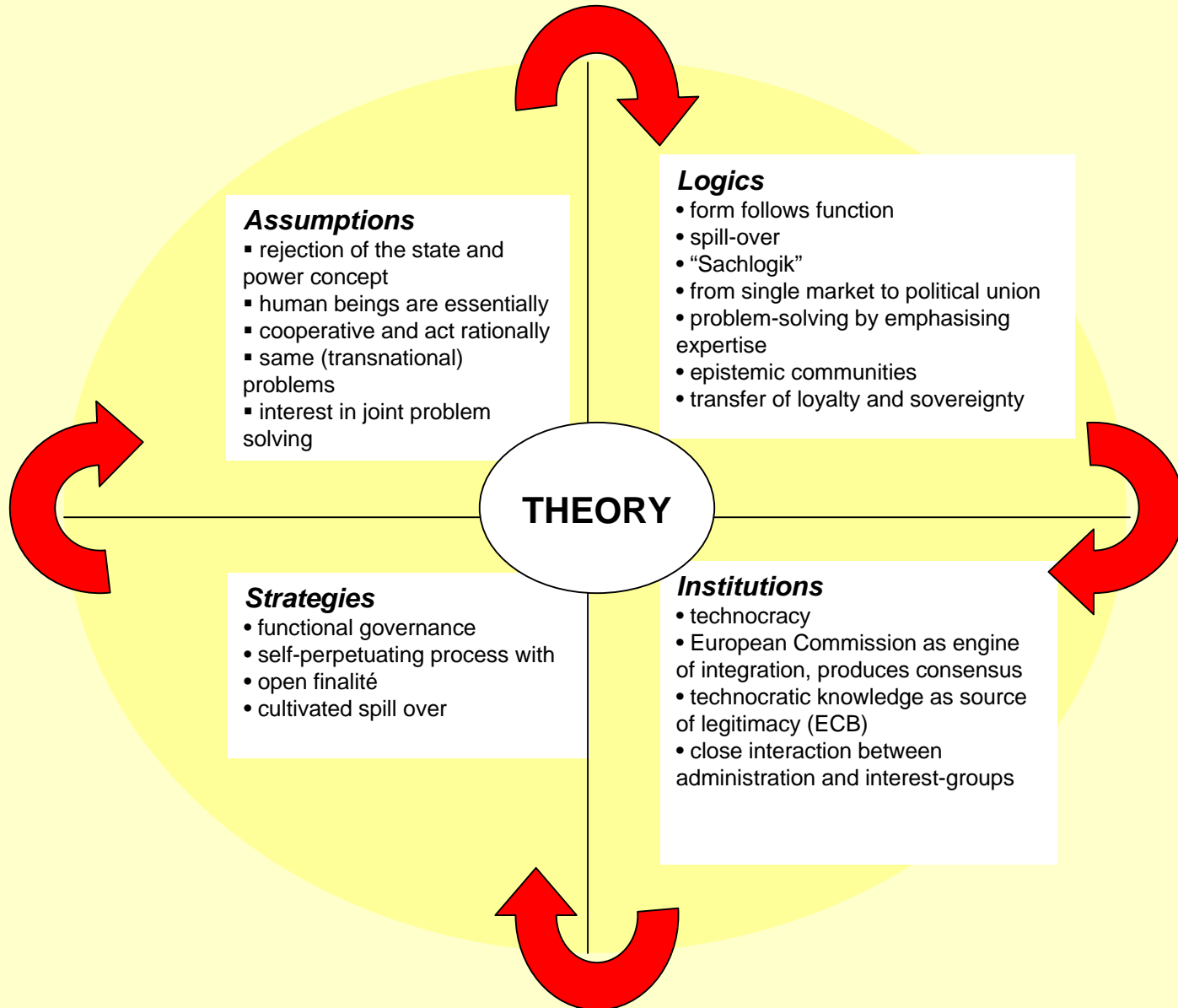


THEORY

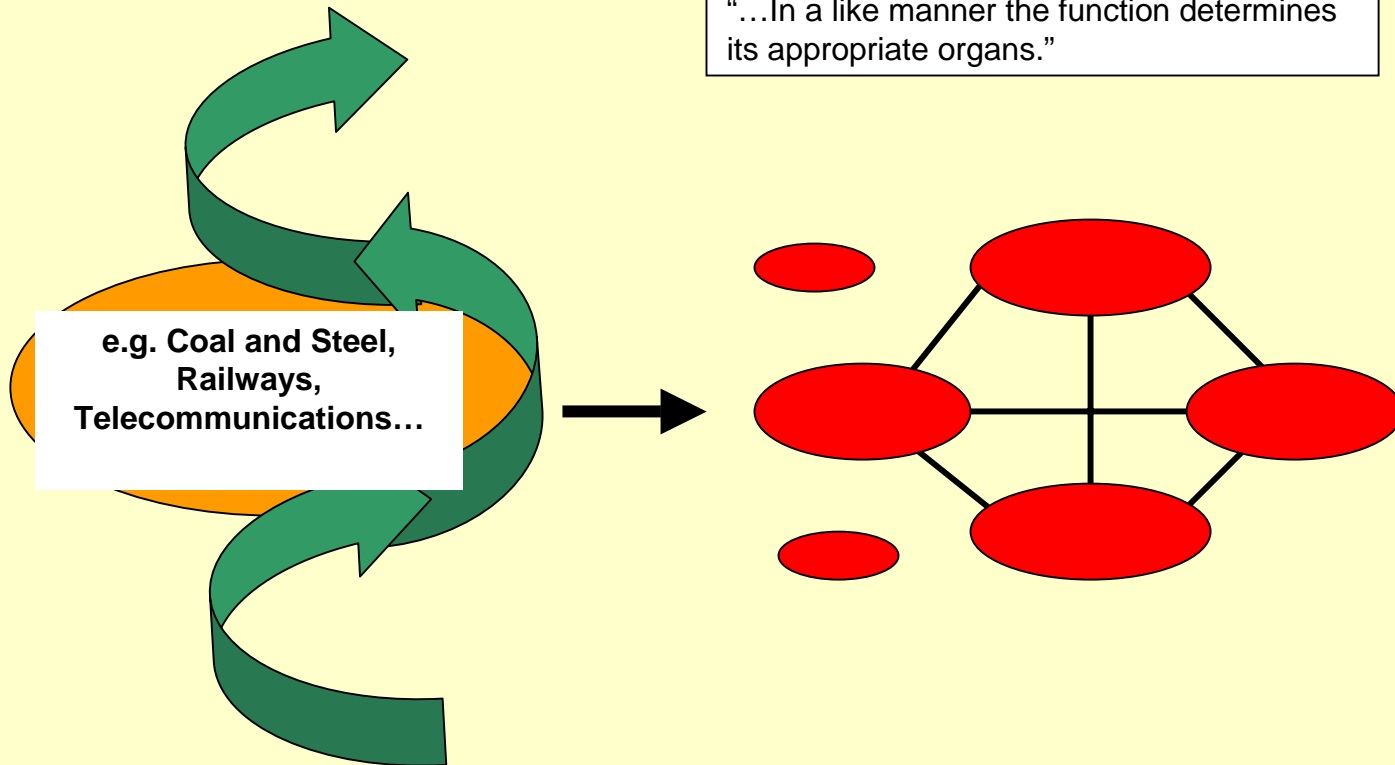
Strategies

- **functional governance**
- **self-perpetuating process with**
- **open finalité**
- **cultivated spill over**

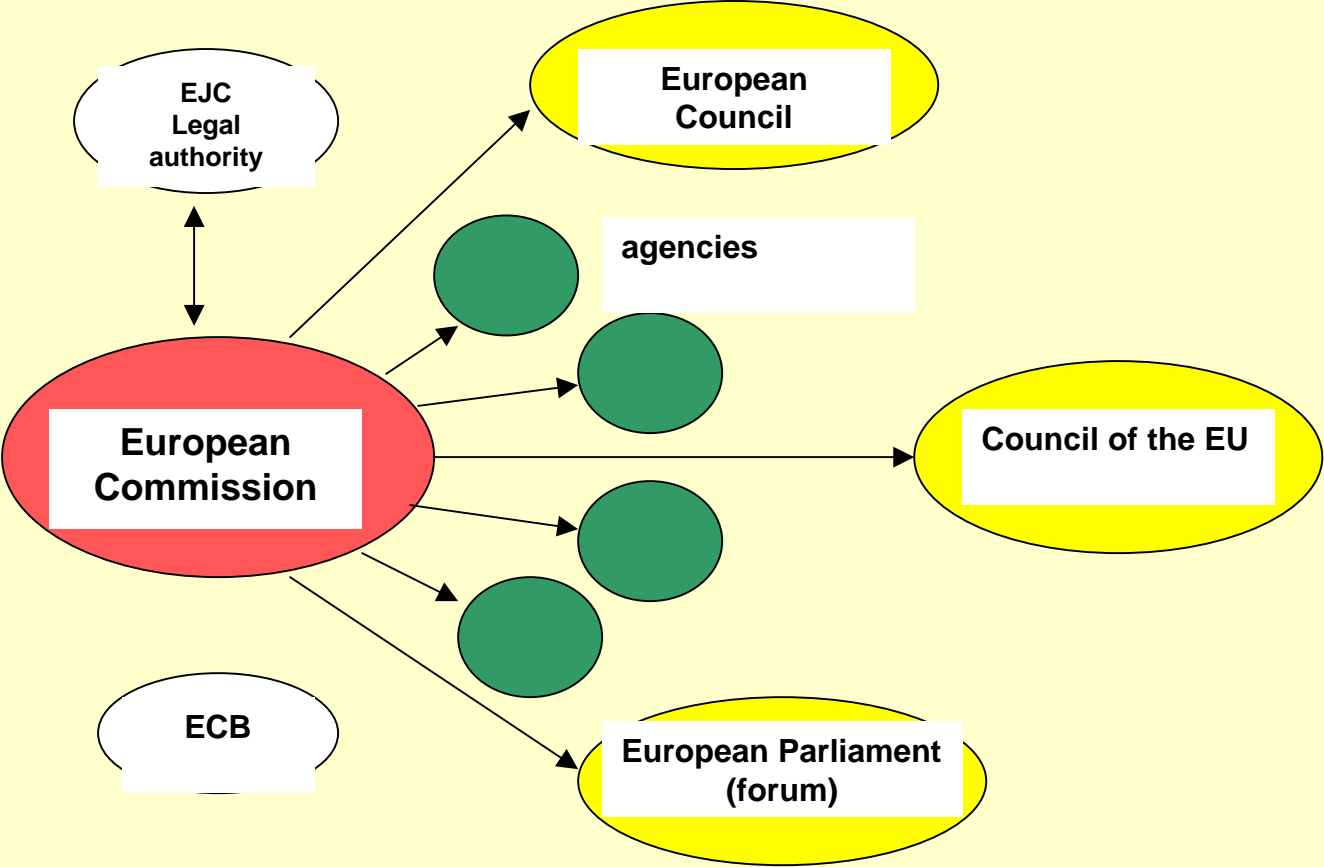
(Neo-) Functionalism in the ALIS-scheme



functional and technical fields



Institutional Diagram



Recommended Reading

- **Michael O'Neill: The Politics of European Integration. A Reader. London: Routledge 1996**
- **Ben Rosamond: Theories of European Integration. Basingstoke: Macmillan 2000**
- **Antje Wiener/Thomas Diez (eds.): European Integration Theory. Repr. Oxford: OUP 2005**
- **Hans-Jürgen Bieling/Marika Lerch (eds.): Theorien der europäischen Integration. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag 2005**
- **Anne Faber: Europäische Integration und politikwissenschaftliche Theoriebildung. Neofunktionalismus und Intergouvernementalismus in der Analyse. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag 2005**

I'M
TIRED...



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BUT I'M NOT
SLEEPY...



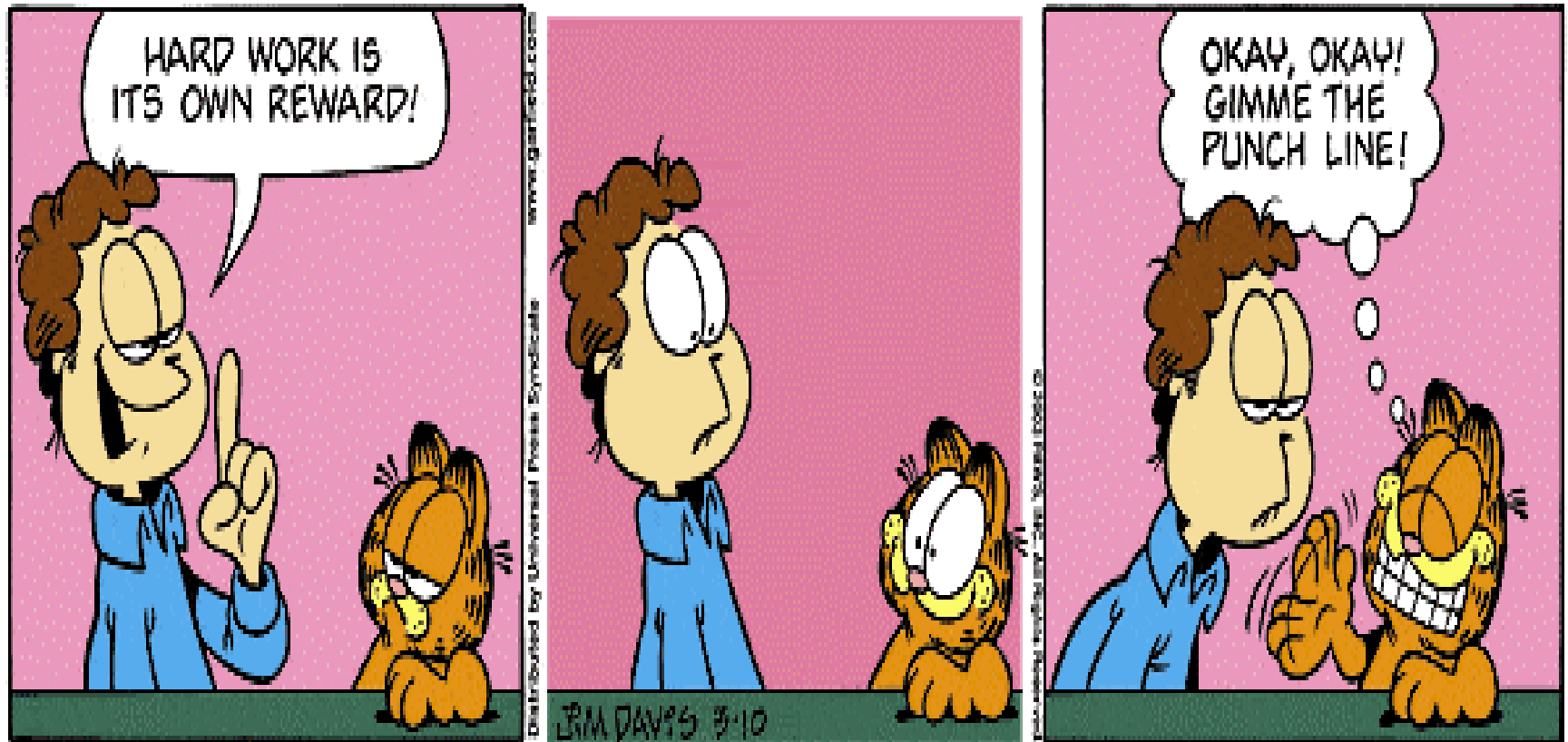
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JIM DAVIS 7-5

I WANT MY
MONEY BACK!



Variants of Integration Theory



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

Functionalism

- Emergence and growth of international organization is a consequence of the autonomy of industrial societies, characterized by the progress of the forces of production , and the internationalization of socio-economic problem complexes, which can only be resolved by means of inter-state or supra-state cooperation. Thus, international organizations can be compared to administrative/ executive unions or a *Zweckverband*, active in primarily technical nonpolitical issue-areas. They simultaneously relieve states of some of their tasks and deprive them of some of their power without incorporating them in a superior political entity. The internationalization of problem complexes is governed by the logic of functional necessity; functional necessities thus produce on the international level mechanisms of collective problem resolution and the concomitant adequate organisational forms.
- *Distinctive feature:* Economic and social problems produce their own (framework of) respective solutions; international cooperation is legitimized by the usefulness and efficiency of concrete, issue-specific (technical) cooperation and its outcomes.
- *Catchword:* Form follows function.

Neofunctionalism

- As socioeconomic problems of highly industrialized societies, due to their border-transgressing causes and consequences, cannot be resolved any longer by individual state action but require comprehensive solutions that encompass all actors, the integration of several actors arises out of purely functional necessities.
- At the beginning of the integration process actors formally agree (contractual arrangements) to solve problems within technical, functional, non-political and small sector-based issue areas (low politics) in a technocratic and non-ideological way. As cooperative management and problem solving approaches prove to be successful, they expand to other related functional task-areas and will finally *spill over* into genuinely political (high politics) issue areas, where they also initiate a gradual process of integration (*logic of integration by sectors*: supranational communitization of state functions in a succession of neighbouring policy areas produces quasi-automatic integration by means of spillover effects)
- *Distinctive feature*: Political actors play a decisive role in the process of combining the requirements of problem solutions and adequate institutional provisions; they transfer their loyalties and benefit expectations in an ever-intensifying manner to the supranational level, thereby legitimizing and stimulating the integration process.

Hegemonic Stability Theory

- **The free-rider problem inherent in the management of the global economy requires a hegemonic power capable of providing collective/ public goods. Motivated by its own (enlightened) self-interest, the most powerful state existing in an international system in a given period in time creates specific international regimes in order to defend / pursue its self-interest throughout the system. Though set up by a hegemonic power, these regimes occasionally continue to exist even after the decline of the hegemon, because nation states assumed to be rational, egoistic utility-maximisers develop an interest in the regime's persistence.**

Interdependence Theory

- **Within the context of growing interdependence and integration, the modernization/ industrialization/ internationalization of the exchange of commodities and services does increase the sensitivity of actors to developments within other actors. Mutual interdependence and changes in the interdependence structure entail - often unequally distributed - costs and benefits. Whereas *sensitivity* describes the costs of the actor's reaction towards changes within the system, the term *vulnerability* denotes the costliness of a substantial change within the system structure.**
- **=> cobweb model of international politics (John Burton)**

Complex Interdependence

- **International relations are characterized by a complex conglomerate system of inter- and transnational interrelationships between a wide range of governmental and nongovernmental national as well as international actors. The traditionally given hierarchy of security issues over welfare/ socio-economic issues is replaced by variable sets of themes and preferences depending on the specific policy area. As national actors are integrated into a complex network of mutual interdependencies, the importance of the resort to force/organized violence as an instrument of foreign/ state policy is likely to be diminished.**

Intergovernmentalism

- The horizontal coordination of government policies and the vertical coordination of policies of governments and supranational institutions characterizes e.g. the EU as a co-operative communal project of nation states. Within a common institutional framework that improves the conditions for cooperative action, nation states are striving
- for the reduction of transaction costs;
- for the achievement of gains/ avoidance of losses from cooperation;
- for the increase of the efficiency of intergovernmental negotiation and bargaining processes;
- for the effectivisation of governmental instruments and means of action.
- Within a framework of a complex multi-layered institutional structure horizontal decision-making networks are dominating over hierarchically organized decision-making structures. They are, however, frequently characterized by multi-level policy interlocking (or even interblocking) and by possible suboptimal outcomes of problem solutions („Politikverflechtungsfälle“ (interlocking policy trap): multi-level decision networks generate inadequate decisions/ solutions, while simultaneously being unable to change the institutional conditions underlying their decisional logic).
- Instead of being conceived of as a goal, the transfer of sovereign power is turned into a calculated instrument that serves a specific purpose: to further cooperation between states within a protected institutional framework, thus removing it from the realm of international anarchy and its hostile effects on cooperative endeavours.

Regime Theory

- **Factual and empirical problems lead to the formation of *informal* networks of agreements, principles, rules, norms and decision-making procedures that enhance the institutionalization of the political management of conflicts and interdependence problems and mitigate conflicts through means of (legal) regulation and control. Thus, they contribute to the civilization of the relations among the actors and stabilize the predictability of the actors' decisions/ actions. Regimes support, supplement, undercut or overarch the spheres of competence of the traditional society of states and integrate the cooperation of actors into a complex multi-level system of political or socio-economic decision-making processes that do account for the actors' regulatory interests in each particular issue area.**
- **Within that context, the EU could be conceived of as a relatively effective international regime constructed for the management of problems of *economic* interdependence by means of negotiated *political* coordination processes.**

Neoliberal Institutionalism

- Drawing on Interdependence Theory, Neoliberal Institutionalism identifies tendencies towards the institutionalization and normative regulation of conflict and cooperation. While accepting the neorealist image of the international system as regulated anarchy in which a central authority is absent, it rejects the idea that the system structure does exclusively determine the politics/behaviour of states. It rather insists on the importance of institutions, regimes, IGOs/INGOs within the structure of the international system and their influence on the behaviour of various actors. Credo: „Institutions matter“. System and structure of international relations constrain the behaviour of states, but states, in turn, can exert influence on those structures by building up institutions. Cooperative structures are able to persist in a multipolar system without a hegemonic power because
- they enhance the actors' knowledge and information about other actors' intentions;
- their demise or break-down would induce costs on those no longer willing to cooperate;
- they foster linkages across issue/ problem areas by negotiating package solutions, facilitate arrangements and reduce the transaction costs for the negotiation of international agreements;
- they affect the actor's definition of its self-interest and fundamental preferences.
- The emergence/ extension of cooperative networks does neither reflect a harmony of interests nor economic interdependence, but rather indicates the actors' national self-interest in easing processes of interstate negotiation and collaborative action.

Feyerabend for Integration Theory...

