Epoka University

Political Integration and the EU (PIR 419)

A Reader

By
Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Tirana, February 2018

Contents

Preface

This Reader brings together materials related to regional integration in Europe. More specifically, it is related with the materials on the course "Political Integration and the EU" (PIR 419), taught at Master program in the Political Science and International Relations at Epoka University.

Lecturer

Dr. Islam Jusufi,
Lecturer and Head, Department of Political Science and International Relations
Epoka University, Address: Rruga Tiranë-Rinas, Km 12, 1039, Tirana/Albania
E-mail: ijusufi@epoka.edu.al.
Web: www.epoka.edu.al.
Personal website: http://ijusufi.epoka.edu.al.

Islam Jusufi, PhD: Lecturer and Head at the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations at Epoka University, Tirana, Albania. Studied Politics at University of Sheffield and International Relations at Universities of Amsterdam, Bilkent and Ankara. He held fellowships at the Wilson Centre, Washington DC; EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris; ERSTE Stiftung, Vienna; UNESCO, Paris; Centre for Policy Studies, Budapest; and NATO, Brussels. His research interests relate to international, European and Balkan politics and security studies.

Assignments

Essay (value: 10%): Each student will prepare an Essay. It should be: a. original, b. related to a topic covered in the course, and c. applied to Albania. Deadline for delivery of Essay (two days before the start of the mid-term exam week). Essays should be between 800-1000 words, uploaded to Turnitin.

Presentations (value: 10%): After the mid-term exam period, students will present their essays. All presentations will be presented in seminar format. No power point. 10 minutes of oral presentation.

Evaluation format for Essays:

Name of student	Content (out of 50 points)	Organization (out of 10 points)	Mechanics - Language (out of 10 points)	Citations and References (out of 10 points)	Style of writing (out of 10 points)	Format (out of 10 points)	TOTAL (100 points)

Evaluation format for Oral Presentations:

Category	Scoring Criteria	Total Points	Score
Organization (10 points)	The type of presentation is appropriate for the topic and audience.	5	
	Information is presented in a logical sequence.	5	
Content (45 points)	Introduction is attention-getting, lays out the problem well, and establishes a framework for the rest of the presentation.	5	
	Technical terms are well-defined in language appropriate for the target audience.	5	
	Presentation contains accurate information.	10	
	Material included is relevant to the overall message/purpose.	10	
	Appropriate amount of material is prepared, and points made reflect well their relative importance.	10	
	There is an obvious conclusion summarizing the presentation.	5	
Presentation (45 points)	Speaker maintains good eye contact with the audience and is appropriately animated (e.g., gestures, moving around, etc.).	5	
	Speaker uses a clear, audible voice.	5	
	Delivery is poised, controlled, and smooth.	5	
	Good language skills and pronunciation are used.	10	
	Visual aids (if not visual aids), the posture is effective, and not distracting.	5	
	Length of presentation is within the assigned time limits.	5	
	Information was well communicated.	10	
Score	**Total Points**	**100**	

Syllabus and Slides

EPOKA UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COURSE SYLLABUS

<table>
<tr><td colspan="9" align="center">COURSE INFORMATON
Course Title: Political Integration and the EU</td></tr>
<tr><td>Code</td><td>Course Type</td><td>Regular Semester</td><td>Lecture</td><td>Recit.</td><td>Lab.</td><td colspan="2">Credits</td><td>ECTS</td></tr>
<tr><td>PIR 419</td><td>B</td><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>0</td><td>-</td><td colspan="2">3</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Lecturer and Office Hours</td><td colspan="6">Dr. Islam Jusufi (ijusufi@epoka.edu.al), E-building</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Teaching Assistants and Office Hours</td><td colspan="6">Ms. Ajsela Toci (atoci14@epoka.edu.al), E-building</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Language</td><td colspan="6">English</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Compulsory/Elective</td><td colspan="6">Elective</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Classroom and Meeting Time</td><td colspan="6"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Description</td><td colspan="6">For 500 years, Europe has been characterized as a group of quarrelling states that fought one another and the rest of the world for territory, physical resources and global domination. Yet, for the past 60 years, Europeans have developed a peaceful alternation. What accounts for this dramatic change? Some of the questions will explore this semester include: What do we mean by political integration. How the Europe could achieved its political integration. What were the main challenges during this political integration pace.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Objectives</td><td colspan="6">This course is on nature of political integration in Europe, i.e. EU. The topic is presented from historical, theoretical and institutional perspectives. The first part is an attempt to conceptualize and provide historical background to EU. The second part offers the theoretical background. The third part focuses on EU's enlargement and international agenda. The aims of the course is to provide overview of history of EU, integration theories and their intellectual history, the EU's political and institutional system, and current public and scholarly debates about EU and its enlargement and international agenda. At no other time the EU has so fundamentally affected the direction of the political integration processes in Europe. The goal is that students come out of the course with a detailed understanding of what is the EU, how it emerged, and how it works. Its objective is to challenge students to critically think about the EU.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9" align="center">COURSE OUTLINE</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Weekly lessons</td><td colspan="7" align="center">Topics</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">1</td><td colspan="7">a. Course introduction, overview of texts, and expectations
b. Conceptualizing Europe

<u>Must readings:</u>
Pagden, pages: 33-54.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">2</td><td colspan="7">Conceptualizing EU

<u>Must readings:</u>
O'Neill, pages: 3-15.
Wallace, pages: 3-10.
Cini, pages: 1-10.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">3</td><td colspan="7">History of European integration

<u>Must readings:</u></td></tr>
</table>

	Majone, pages: 1-18. Weidenfeld, pages: 6-19. Cini, pages: 15-66.
4	**Theorizing "European Integration"** <u>Must readings:</u> Jones, pages: 12-23; 39-52. Wallace, pages: 13-46.
5	**Functionalism and Supranational paradigm** <u>Must readings:</u> Cini, pages: 71-84. O'Neill: Pages: 19-50.
6	**Intergovernmentalism and State centric paradigm** <u>Must readings:</u> Cini, pages: 86-102. O'Neill: 51-75.
7	**New theories of European integration and Syncretic paradigm** <u>Must readings:</u> Cini, pages: 104-121. O'Neill: 76-133.
8	**Democracy, integration and governance** <u>Must readings:</u> Majone, pages: 23-41. Cini, pages: 377-388. Wallace, pages: 483-503.
9	**Widening or Enlargement agenda** <u>Must readings:</u> Weidenfeld, pages: 90-96. Wallace, pages: 402-426. Cini, pages: 418-434. Schimmelfennig, pages: 3-25.
10	**Rationalist and Marxist views of Enlargement** <u>Must readings:</u> Schimmelfennig, pages: 75-91; 198-209; 213-231.
11	**Constructivist views of Enlargement** <u>Must readings:</u> Schimmelfennig, pages: 99-115; 120-137; 143-166; 172-195.
12	**Europeanization** <u>Must readings:</u> Cini, pages: 405-416. Featherstone, page: 3-20; 57-75.

13	**EU as international actor** <u>Must readings</u>: Wallace, pages: 429-455. Cini, pages: 225-256.	
	MID-TERM EXAM (one of the weeks in the middle of semester)	
	FINAL EXAM (15 and 16 weeks of the semester)	
Prerequisite(s)	Papers, oral presentations, and active participation in class.	
Textbook	<u>Must readings</u>: Cini, M. & Borragan, N.P. (2009). *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *(Available online)* Featherstone, K. & Radaelli, C.M. (2003). *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *(Available online)* Jones, E & Verdun, A. (2005). *The Political Economy of European Integration: Theory and analysis*. London: Routledge. *(Available online)* Majone, G. (2005). *Dilemmas of European integration: The ambiguities and pitfalls of integration by stealth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *(Available online)* O'Neill, M. (1996). *The Politics of European Integration: a reader*. London: Routledge. *(Available online)* Pagden, A. (2002). *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. *(Available online)* Schimmelfennig, F. & Sedelmeier, U. (2005). *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical approaches*. London: Routledge. *(Available online)* Wallace, H., Wallace, W., & Pollack, M.A. (2005). *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *(Available online)* Weidenfeld, W. & Wessels, W. *Europe from A to Z*. Institut für Europäische Politik. *(Available online)*	
Other References	<u>Optional readings</u>: Other chapters of above mentioned books can be read as optional	

	materials.
Laboratory Work	-
Computer Usage	No
Others	

LEARNING OUTCOMES AND COMPETENCIES

1	To demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of the EU.
2	To demonstrate ability to critically assess the arguments for political integration.
3	To demonstrate ability to provide an overview of the history, issues, dilemmas and actors in EU.
4	To demonstrate ability to reflect on key cases in the field of European integration.

COURSE'S CONTRIBUTION TO PROGRAM OUTCOMES
(Blank : no contribution, 1: least contribution … 5: highest contribution)

No	Program Learning Outcomes	Cont.
1	Having and using advanced knowledge and comprehension supported by textbooks including actual knowledge in political sciences and international relations literature, materials and the other scientific resources	5
2	Analyzing data, ideas and concepts of current political issues and international relations, determining complex events and topics, making discussions and developing new suggestions in accordance with researches	5
3	Having knowledge and thought about actual topics and problems together with their historical, social and cultural aspects	5
4	Introducing those who are interested in politics and international events with the topics of Political Science and IR and teaching clearly the problems and the types of solutions	4
5	Improving skills of working together with the main social science disciplines and other disciplines which are related to Political Science and International Relations	5
6	Improving critical thinking and skills in making research independently	5
7	Developing solutions about the problems and conflicts which are common in national and international arena	5
8	Improving skills for leadership and research and analyze capacity of those who is responsible with national and international ones	3
9	Knowing any foreign language enough to communicate with colleagues and understand actual researches and articles	3
10	Gaining IT skills to use computer and technology in order to reach actual knowledge	3
11	Gaining skills to follow societal, scientific and ethic values during collecting, interpreting, conducting of data related to social and political developments	5
12	Having consciousness about human rights and environment	5
13	Gaining the skills to follow actual developments and pursue long-life learning	5

COURSE EVALUATION METHOD

In-term studies	Quantity	Percentage
Mid-term	1	30
Essay	1	10
Presentation of Essay	1	10
Final Exam	1	40
Participation	1	10
Total		100

Contribution of in-term studies to overall grade		60
Contribution of final examination to overall grade		40
Total		100

ECTS (ALLOCATED BASED ON STUDENT) WORKLOAD

Activities	Quantity	Duration (Hour)	Total Workload (Hour)
Course Duration (Including the exam week: 16x Total course hours)	16	4	54
Hours for off-the-classroom study (Pre-study, practice)	16	2	32
Assignments	6	1	6
Mid-terms	6	1	6
Final examination	16	1	16
Other	26	1	17
Total Work Load			150
Total Work Load / 25 (h)			6.00
ECTS Credit of the Course			6

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Issues to cover today

A. Introduction of course.

• Review of course objectives.

• Useful references and reading material.

• Outline of subjects to be covered.

• Assignments.

B. Weekly lesson.

Fact sheet

- Course Title: Political Integration and the EU, PIR 419.

- Course hours per week: Once a week, for 3 hours per week.

- Working weeks: 13 weeks (13 lessons).

- Exams: Mid-term (in middle of semester); Final (15 and 16 weeks of semester).

- Assignments: Essay, Presentation of Essay.

Description and Objectives

- Course on nature of political integration in Europe.

- Presented from historical, theoretical and institutional perspectives.

- Provide overview of debates about EU and its international agenda.

Learning outcomes

- Ability to critically assess arguments for political integration.

- Ability to provide overview of history, issues, dilemmas and actors in EU.

- Be challenged to critically think about the EU.

Office hours

- By appointment.

- Students are encouraged to use office hours to discuss readings, exams, and any other matter, including their future professional development.

- Review of individual progress.

- via email: ijusufi@epoka.edu.al.

- Office: E-building.

- Assistant: Ajsela Toci (atoci14@epoka.edu.al), E-building.

Readings

- Wide range of sources.

- <u>Must</u> readings and <u>Optional</u> readings.

- Available with the lecturer.

- If students experience any difficulty accessing material, they should contact the instructor or the assistant immediately.

Must readings

- Cini, M. & Borragan, N.P. (2009). European Union Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Featherstone, K. & Radaelli, C.M. (2003). The Politics of Europeanization. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Jones, E & Verdun, A. (2005). The Political Economy of European Integration: Theory and analysis. London: Routledge.

Must readings - 2

- Majone, G. (2005). Dilemmas of European integration: The ambiguities and pitfalls of integration by stealth. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- O'Neill, M. (1996). The Politics of European Integration: a reader. London: Routledge.

- Pagden, A. (2002). The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Must readings - 3

- Schimmelfennig, F. & Sedelmeier, U. (2005). The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical approaches. London: Routledge.

- Wallace, H., Wallace, W., & Pollack, M.A. (2005). Policy-Making in the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Weidenfeld, W. & Wessels, W. Europe from A to Z. Institut für Europäische Politik.

Optional readings

- Other chapters of above mentioned books can be read as optional materials.

Course Outline, Lessons 1-2

- <u>Lesson 1</u>: a. Course introduction, overview of texts, and expectations; b. **Conceptualizing Europe.**

Must readings: Pagden, pages: 33-54.

- <u>Lesson 2</u>: **Conceptualizing EU**.

Must readings: O'Neill, pages: 3-15; Wallace, pages: 3-10; Cini, pages: 1-10.

Lessons 3-4

- Lesson 3: **History of European integration**.

Must readings: Majone, pages: 1-18; Weidenfeld, pages: 6-19; Cini, pages: 15-66.

- Lesson 4: **Theorizing "European Integration"**.

Must readings: Jones, pages: 12-23; 39-52; Wallace, pages: 13-46.

Lessons 5-6

- Lesson 5: **Functionalism and Supranational paradigm**.

Must readings: Cini, pages: 71-84; O'Neill: Pages: 19-50.

- Lesson 6: **Intergovernmentalism and State centric paradigm**.

Must readings: Cini, pages: 86-102; O'Neill: 51-75.

Lessons 7-8

- Lesson 7: **New theories of European integration and Syncretic paradigm**.

Must readings: Cini, pages: 104-121; O'Neill: 76-133.

- Lesson 8: **Democracy, integration and governance**.

- Must readings: Majone, pages: 23-41; Cini, pages: 377-388; Wallace, pages: 483-503.

Lesson 9

- <u>Lesson 9</u>: **Widening or Enlargement agenda**.

Must readings:

Weidenfeld, pages: 90-96.

Wallace, pages: 402-426.

Cini, pages: 418-434.

Schimmelfennig, pages: 3-25.

Lessons 10-11

- Lesson 10: **Rationalist and Marxist views of Enlargement**.

Must readings: Schimmelfennig, pages: 75-91; 198-209; 213-231.

- Lesson 11: **Constructivist views of Enlargement**.

Must readings: Schimmelfennig, pages: 99-115; 120-137; 143-166; 172-195.

Lessons 12-13

- Lesson 12: **Europeanization**.

Must readings: Cini, pages: 405-416; Featherstone, page: 3-20; 57-75.

- Lesson 13: **EU as international actor**.

Must readings: Wallace, pages: 429-455; Cini, pages: 225-256.

Evaluation and Assignments

- Mid-term Exam   1   30%.
- Essay   1   10%
- Presentation   1   10%.
- Final Exam   1   40%.
- Participation   1   10%.

Evaluation and Assignments - 2

- Mid-term exam (30%): one of the weeks in the middle of the semester.

- Essay (10%): Each student will prepare an Essay. It should be: a. original, b. related to a topic covered in the course, and c. applied to Albania. Deadline for delivery of Essay: Two days before mid-term). Essays should be between 800-1000 words, uploaded to Turnitin.

Evaluation and Assignments - 3

- Presentations (10%): Students will present their essays after Mid-Term.

- Final Exam: (40%).

- Class Participation (10%): You are expected to read materials. 60% compulsory attendance. Attendance (50%) and participation (50%) in class will be assessed and will figure into final grade.

Q and A

- Q and A.

Conceptualizing Europe

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Introduction

- Identity of "Europe" always uncertain and imprecise.

- Source of pride for some and hatred for others.

- Like all identities it is a construction.

- It is elusive because continents, unlike nations, tend to be geographical expressions.

Introduction - 2

- Before 19th century few said that they were "Asian", "African", "American".

- But, Europeans have continuously described themselves, when faced with alien cultures, to be not only British or German but also European.

- There are those who argue that "European" identity is an illusion.

Introduction - 3

- Today, "Europe" now exists as an economic and political entity (EU).

- But, how can EU exist without Europe? There is long history to the birth of EU.

- Construction of "Europe" identity has been struggle to accommodate the reality that origins of Europe are non-European and that there are no precise Europe's frontiers.

History: Europe's Asian origins

- Europe owes to Asia its origins.

- Troyans (Asians) landed in the shores of Latium and founded the city of Rome.

- Rome became basis of "Europe."

- Trojans and native Latins established a new race.

- Christianity began as an Asian religion.

History: Europe's Asian origins - 2

- Greek and Russian Christianity would always be threat to any attempt to establish single European identity with single origin.

- Asia gave Europe a name; political and cultural identity; and religion.

- Course of civilization, like the sun moves from East to West.

- Hegel: Europe was "the centre and end" of History, but History had begun in Asia.

Europe according to ancient Greeks

- World divided into: Europe, Asia, Libya (Africa).

- Europe meant Hellas - lands around Aegean Sea.

- "Europe" had no natural frontiers.

- Northern parts: inhabited by brave but "uncivilized."

- South - the Asians: intelligent, but corrupt (Oriental).

- Current use of terms "developed" and "developing" is a legacy of this.

Union and interdependence in Greek city states

- Greeks gave Europe the philosophy and the mathematics that made possible its subsequent scientific development.

- Greek city states could survive only by developing the great commercial networks.

- Because of intense competition, they were forced into political unions.

Greek political culture: city - polis

- Greek political culture was centered on "city".

- "Politics" has its root in Greek term "polis".

- "Civil," "civility," "civilization" had origins in "civitas", describing same political entity.

- "Polis" and "civitas" became abstract nouns, later translatable as "state" or "commonwealth".

State of nature

- For Aristotle there could be no life beyond limits of the city; the city was the source of law; beyond was the wilderness (the state of nature).

- To live in the state of nature, is to live like a "barbarian".

- The polis was bounded space; but it was also conceived as community that could transform all those who entered it.

Rome

- European communal life reached its peak with domination of Rome.

- Rome was source of law, which was now protected by massive walls.

- It welcomed outsiders within its walls.

- "Roman Empire" was extension in space of city of Rome.

Rome and law

- Rome gave Europe its legislative habits.

- Europeans as law-governed peoples.

- Law as sole guarantor of "civilization".

- Different cultures of Europe shared common system of law.

- Roman law as unifying feature of the continent.

- Single legislative order as historical ambition; today held by European Court of Justice.

Rome and Church

- Church became source of moral authority.

- Rome as "Christendom".

- Rousseau: "Europe is indebted to Christianity than to any other influence for the union".

- When Europeans converted to Christianity, they acquired common religion.

Rome and language - Latin

- Scattered communities of Europe also shared language: Latin.

- Latin survived as language of Church and of elites until 18th century.

- Later Italian, then French, then English.

- Europe possessed four unifying features: power of former imperial authority, Roman Law, religion, and Latin.

Frontiers of Europe

- Despite religious, cultural, and linguistic unity, Roman Empire was not identical with "Europe"; Much of the Roman Empire lay in Asia and in North Africa.

- Christianity had begun as Asian religion, and first Christian churches were established in North Africa.

- No one is certain where Europe's frontiers lie.

Frontiers of Europe - 2

- Only Atlantic and Mediterranean provide "natural" boundaries.

- Europe as indeterminate geographical significance.

- Europe's southern frontiers were indeterminate.

- As the lands in the West, whose limits were unknown.

Frontiers of Europe - 3

- Eastern frontiers were forever undecided and on the move (Urals? Vladivostok? Istanbul? Cyprus?).

- The factor of Russia/Eastern Europe: sometimes friend, sometimes foe, European, Eastern Christian, laying beyond Romanized "civilization", occasionally "Europeanized", and often the "other."

Ownership factor

- European identity has been closely associated with property ownership.

- Citizenship in Europe has long been restricted to property owners.

- The right to property could be established in a number of ways: by autochthony, by inheritance, by purchase, or by what in Roman law was called prescription - prolonged and unchallenged possession.

Role of science

- Assumption that science would always be superior to simple force.

- Claim was that European science could never fail against Asian ignorance.

- European belief in capacity of European science to dominate the world (discovery of America).

- America, was named after Amerigo Vespucci, a European explorer.

Europe-centric map of the world

- World Maps were so arranged that no matter where the viewer stands, Asia, Africa, and America can only be seen in relation to Europe.

- Europe as the point from which all the other continents must be viewed.

Colonization

- "Commercial society" became basis for colonization, in which less civilized peoples of world would welcome the "civilizers".

- Ability to control the resources of the natural world, gave Europe its assumed superiority among the peoples of the world.

Europe's superiority

- Belief that Europe or "The West" or "The North" is exceptional.

- Europe exercised technological and political mastery over much of the rest of the world.

- Record of those achievements served to define that culture (Europe).

Continental identity

- Europeans share a sense that it is possible to belong to something larger than family, tribe, state.

- Asians sometimes call themselves as Asians, but this is because of domination of world economy by European concepts, compelling them to do so.

- African nations feel belonging to "Africa" largely because of European colonization.

- But being African in Africa or Asian in Asia provides limited cultural or political cohesion.

Political union vs single state

- "Europe" has for long been space for political unions.

- There has existed continuous objective to establish European federation that would put end to wars and enhance the welfare of all peoples of continent.

- Only after two world wars, this project has any chance of being realized, in the form of the European Union.

Political union vs single state - 2

- Despite the single market and the single currency, there is still uncertainty over the notion of a single European identity.

- It has never constituted single state or single ethnic group; under current circumstances again difficult.

- But the European Union has been closest than any other historical political order in Europe in establishing "European" identity.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Pagden, pages: 33-54.

Conceptualizing EU

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Introduction

- EU is most important agent of change in contemporary policy-making in Europe.

- Around 80% of legislation in EU states framed through EU institutions.

- EU agreements penetrate policy-making activities of EU states and their neighbors.

What is the EU?

- What kind of body: unique body somewhere between international organization and a state.

- EU as family of European countries acting collectively through institutionalized system of decision making.

- Consisting of treaties, legislation (acquis communautaire) and shared values of democracy, human rights, rule of law.

- Diverse Union: 28 states, 500 million people.

What is the EU? - 2

- Authority over its members.

- Governance beyond member states.

- Binding decisions without being subject to approval by the states.

- Supranational authority: Member states giving up their rights in certain areas; transferring this right to EU.

- Pooled sovereignty: decision making shared between member states and EU institutions.

Why EU?

- Anti-war rationale - experience of WWII.

- Maintaining peace immediately after WWII.

- Although idea of union of European states is historical, EU is novel.

- Cooperation was essential in order to rebuild war-torn economies.

- "Peace" and "economic reconstruction" as goals; EU as an instrument.

Why EU? - 2

- Are original objectives still relevant? Some argue "not", some argue "yes".

- War possibility among EU states is slim, showing the success of EU.

- "Security" in its old and new version, stands as a source of existence of EU.

- "Welfare" and "redistribution" stand as other reasons for its existence.

Scope of Integration

Meaning of European integration operates at two levels:

- Ideal level: political ideal to be prescribed or resisted depending on values.

- Practical level: European integration consisting of particular projects.

Support and opposition to idea of European integration

- Support for idea of EU grew in response to WWI and WWII.

- Integration offered solution for national rivalries that led Europe into two wars.

- Opposition focused on belief that nation state as only viable political community; integration as unnatural and illusory; deflecting statesmen from their primary task.

Ideas of EC or EU

- In 17th century, French diplomat Sully, suggested 'Grand Design' for Europe.

- Another French, Abbé Saint Pierre, 18th century, suggested permanent league of European monarchs.

- Kant (1795) recommended virtues of federalist republic rather than national statehood as best guarantee of public good.

Union ideas challenged by reality

- Turbulent times of 17th-19th centuries were not conducive to Union ideas.

- Triumph of populism after French revolution, encouraging rise of nationalism/nation state.

- French philosopher Saint-Simon rejected state-centric arrangement.

- Another Frenchman, Proudhon advocated federal solution to dangerous division of Europe into militant nation states.

Emergence of initial ideas for continental solutions

- Emergence of attempts for continental solutions in 19th century. E.g. Hague Conferences, 1899, 1907 raised continental organization as a way of ensuring peace.

- WWI failed to dislodge idea of nationhood as central organizing principle.

- Count Coudenhove-Kalergi's "Pan European movement" proposed federalist solution, but failed as Europe went to WWII.

Impact of WWII

- WWII did make people to be receptive to cooperative solutions to Europe's problems.

- WWII's destruction became defining moment in modern European history.

- Regional integration moved from margins of political debate to become mainstream theme.

Impact of WWII - 2

- Initially, there was no consensus over direction of such a project.

- But everybody was convinced that Europeans should devote their energies to building continental system to replace system of competing nation states.

- Realist – sceptical tradition discounted prospects of anything more novel than intergovernmental cooperation.

Impact of WWII - 3

- European idea took firm root in political imagination during WWII. E.g. wartime Resistance movement across the continent was active in promoting federal solutions.

- Eastern Europe fell under Soviet domination leading western Europe to face this threat; this increased support for closer cooperation at the regional level.

Theoretical debates

- Federalist approach: enjoyed influence immediately after WWII, and recently.

- Functionalist paradigm: favored by David Mitrany directly influenced European debate: nation state was a spent force, and 'inalienable' sovereignty could be 'sliced', sector by sector.

Emergence of "inter-governmentalism"

- 1960s saw backlash in defense of nation state (de Gaulle rejected EC's attempt to extend supra-nationalism).

- Luxembourg Accords of 1966 gave veto rights to protect from supra-nationalism.

- Leading to state-centric phase in European integration (inter-governmentalism).

Meaning of integration

- "Process of becoming" than a clear outcome or a definitive political end state.

- Integration cannot be captured in decisive moment or in particular institutional outcome.

- It is a moveable rather than conclusive phenomenon.

- Limited forms of cooperation at one extreme, and more intensive supranationalist outcomes at the other.

EU institutionally

The EU is built on:

1. Three separate Communities (each with different powers, characteristics, policy domains) – known as "First Pillar".

2. Other 'Pillars'.

Three separate Communities – First Pillar - Supranational

- European Coal and Steel Community, 1951, Treaty of Paris.

- European Economic Community, 1957, Treaty of Rome.

- European Atomic Energy Community, 1957, another Treaty of Rome.

Together known as European Community (EC), or "first pillar"/"supranational"; "EU" term introduced with (Maastricht) Treaty on European Union (TEU), 1992.

Other Pillars/Intergovernmental

- "Second Pillar": Common foreign and security policy (CFSP), promoted in Single European Act (SEA) 1986, formalized in TEU, 1992.

- "Third Pillar": cooperation in Justice & Home affairs (JHA), established by TEU, 1992.

- Further development of JHA, in Treaty of Amsterdam (ToA), 1997, incorporating Schengen treaties.

Other Pillars/Intergovernmental - 2

- Consolidated Treaty of the European Community (TEC), 1997 which renumbered treaty provisions.

- Treaty of Nice (ToN), 2001, making some rule changes.

- Treaty of Lisbon, 2007, simplifying and amending treaties (TEU, Treaty of Rome), combining pillars into overarching framework.

Stages of EU economic integration

Stages of integration	Content
Free trade area	Removal of tariffs
Customs Union	Free trade area + common external tariff
Common Market	Customs Union + free movement of labor, capital, goods and services
Economic Union	Common Market + harmonization of regulations

EU's main aspects

- <u>West European experience</u>: EU policy process is based on west European experience; until 2004, members were west European countries.

- <u>Multilateralism</u>: intense multilateralism; culture of institutionalized cooperation.

- <u>Multidimensional</u>: active in many policies.

- <u>Dynamism</u>: continuous systemic changes.

Pattern of EU policymaking

- <u>Community framework/Communitarization</u>: EU supranational institutions as main actors.

- <u>Inter-governmentalism</u>: Increasing dynamics in new agencies (European Central Bank, Europol) where national policy-makers dominate.

- Tendency towards 'inter-governmentalism' (process in which states predominate) over 'supra-nationalism' (process in which European institutions enjoy autonomy and authority).

EU's two level policy making

- EU as policy arena rests on combination of two levels of governance: national and EU.

- EU policy-makers are from both EU institutions and member states.

- National EU policy makers, work as both national and EU policy-makers.

- EU policy makers work only for EU institutions.

EU's two level policy making - 2

- Country-defined policies are set in shared European framework to generate collective policies, most of which later are implemented back in EU states.

- Thus, it is important to understand both national institutional settings and EU-level institutions in order to make sense of EU policy process.

Other levels of EU policymaking

- There are other levels: local or regional authorities, with direct links to EU.

- Regulatory and self-regulatory agencies: Proliferation of bodies with public policy functions outside central governments, with direct links to EU.

- Cross-agency coordination becoming key EU feature.

Other features of EU policy making

- Policy-making spreads from country, to EU, to global levels.

- EU policy-makers are active in different levels.

- Policy becoming choice between these levels.

- Assignment of different segments of a given policy to different levels.

- Question is whether EU institutions provide main place where connections are made?

EU as a unique arena?

- Is EU distinctive kind of polity? How it compares with other political arrangements? Such as Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, EFTA.

- One view is that EU is richly developed example of international organization.

- Second view is that EU is state-like arena.

- Third view argues that traditional forms of government are transformed, thus it is better to talk of "governance" than of "government".

EU institutions

EU Institutions: Council of Ministers (Council of the EU, European Council), European Commission, European Parliament, Court of Justice.

Other EU Bodies: Economic and Social Committee, Committee of the Regions, Court of Auditors.

Community agencies.

Membership in EU

Membership in EU expanded from 6 in 1951 to 15 by 1995, to 25 in 2004, to 27 in 2007, and to 28 in 2013.

- 1951 - Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy, Netherlands.
- 1973 - Denmark, Ireland, the UK.
- 1981 – Greece.
- 1986 - Portugal, Spain.

Membership in EU - 2

- 1995 - Austria, Finland, Sweden.
- 2004 - Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.
- 2007 - Bulgaria, Romania.
- 2013 - Croatia.

Potential members: Albania, Bosnia, Iceland, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey, (and others).

Who can become EU member?

- Every sovereign European state.
- Admission is with decision of the Council of the EU.
- Suspension of membership rights possible; A member can also be expelled.
- Politics involved in membership issues.
- Rise of membership from 6 to 28.

Criteria for membership

- No treaty mentioned criteria for EU membership.

- 1993 Copenhagen European Council defined the criteria (Copenhagen Criteria): political and economic criteria, and ability to assume membership obligations.

EU financing

- "Community budget": share from customs duties and VAT, and 1.25% of GDP of member states.

- 7 year framework (2014-2020).

- Budget policymaking: Commission, Council and Parliament.

- Highly political process.

EU decision making

- EU can decide on issues on which it has authority.

- 5 modes of decision making: Classical community, regulatory, distributional, policy coordination, intensive transgovernmentalism.

- In Pillar 1, Commission holds exclusive right to propose legislation, and the Council decides.

- Every policy area has different mode of decision making.

Legislative procedures

- Co-decision procedure: decision making procedure for EU (1st pillar); no decision can be made without agreement of Council/Parliament.

- Consultation procedure: Parliament gives its opinion to Commission's draft before Council takes a decision.

- Assent procedure: Council has to get the agreement (yes or no, no right for amendment) of the Parliament before deciding. E.g. Enlargement.

Legislative procedures - 2

- <u>Cooperation procedure</u>: Used in economic and monetary union decisions.

- <u>Open method of coordination</u>: policy convergence in various areas, with EU institutions having limited say.

General voting procedure in Council: qualified majority voting and unanimity in exceptional issues.

EU citizenship

- EU Citizenship awarded besides national ones.

- Rights given in Charter of Fundamental Rights.

- Challenge: democratic deficit; European identity.

EU's success and challenges

- Success in ensuring peace and prosperity in Europe.

- Success in transformation of communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

- Model for other regions.

Must readings for this week were:

Must readings:

- O'Neill, pages: 3-15.

- Wallace, pages: 3-10.

- Cini, pages: 1-10.

History of European integration

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU
Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University

Path to European Integration

- Since Westphalia (1648), Europe has had some cultural, economic, political unity.

- It was system of states competing and cooperating with each other.

- Search for unity continues in different ways.

- History of European integration cannot be limited to EU; neither geographically nor functionally does it represent the entire continent.

Path to European Integration - 2

- 1948, founding of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC, later OECD).

- In 1946, Churchill put forward idea of 'United States of Europe', which became basis for Council of Europe, 1949.

- US lended its support to European unification project (Marshall Plan).

Council of Europe

- CoE was moment when contemporary European integration was born.

- CoE with broader mandate than EU; but lacks power to make binding laws.

- Instruments: European Convention for Human Rights (ECHR) and European Court of Human Rights, that provide for enforcement structure.

- ECHR constituted first expression of supranationalism.

Other European integration arrangements

- CSCE (1973), renamed in 1995 to OSCE is another cooperative arrangement much broader than the EU framework.

- NATO, European Space Agency.

Community method

- European Coal and Steel Community, 1951, established independent institutions who had power to bind member states.

- It set up four institutions: High Authority, Assembly, Council, Court of Justice.

- EUT rejected community model; it accepted three-pillared structure: EC (first pillar), CFSP (second pillar), and JHA (third pillar).

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

- Schuman Plan, 1950: "Europe will not be made all at once. It will be built through concrete achievements. Europe requires elimination of France and Germany".

- 1951, signing of European Coal and Steel Community.

- ECSC was designed to establish a common market for coal and steel, common control, planning and exploitation of these raw materials and products.

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) - 2

- Supranational: High Authority, was empowered to take decisions binding on member states of ECSC, and on coal and steel companies.

- Functional: establishment of common market in coal and steel; not merely about coal and steel, but in the direction of European unity.

- Sector policy and integration objectives to be pursued simultaneously.

European Defense Community

- In 1952 ECSC member states signed European Defense Community (EDC) Treaty.

- Treaty defined EDC as supranational community, with common institutions, armed forces, budget.

- However, it collapsed in 1954, which ended plans for federal union.

European Political Community

- In 1952, plan was proposed for European Political Community.

- ECSC and EDC were to be integrated into the Political Community.

- In 1954 the EPC was defeated in the French National Assembly.

- Since then, no federalist plan has ever been seriously considered.

The Treaties of Rome

- Spaak Report of 1955, recommended two objectives of sectoral integration (atomic energy and common market) be realized in separate organizations, with separate treaties.

- European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) Treaty and EEC Treaty (common market), both signed in Rome in 1957.

Euratom

- Spaak Report proposed integration in two further areas.

- Aim of Euratom was growth of nuclear industries.

- Objective was less to develop energy needs than to drive forward the integration process.

- However, Euratom did not produce significant success.

- When Euratom institutions merged with those of EEC and ECSC in 1967 (Merger Treaty), Euratom virtually lost its identity.

EEC and Euratom institutional structure

- EEC and Euratom also consisted of a Commission (equivalent of ECSC High Authority), Council of Ministers, Assembly (the precursor of EP), and a Court of Justice. However, the Rome Treaties located the center of decision-making powers in the Council.

- Basically, under the ECSC Treaty, the High Authority decided on the Council endorsement, while under the treaties of Rome, the Council decides on the Commission's proposal.

EEC and Euratom institutional structure - 2

- Member states did not wish to give full legislative powers to Commission, reserving ultimate policy choices to themselves.

- Commission's task was making proposal, implementing legislation, supervising compliance.

- Commission's monopoly of initiative means that if the Commission does not make proposal to Council, then no progress is possible.

- This mechanism was original feature of Community method.

Franco-German Friendship Treaty and Luxembourg compromise

- Franco-German Friendship Treaty of 1963 was the next major step forward in terms of integration.

- Treaty was concluded by Adenauer and De Gaulle with view to establish close political cooperation.

- 1966 Luxembourg compromise represented a setback: member states acquired a right of veto should its vital interests be affected.

Enlargement to the north

- Hague summit-1969 decided to enlarge to northern Europe.

- It was also decided to introduce economic and monetary union (EMU) by 1980, to reform institutions, to hold direct elections for EP and grant it additional powers.

- Accession of Denmark, Ireland, UK in 1973; Norway rejected membership.

Inter-governmental initiatives

- Two inter-governmental took place outside Community framework (1958-1970s): Establishment of European Political Cooperation (EPC) and of European Council (composed of heads of state or government).

- EPC was precursor of today's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); President of the European Council with the Lisbon Treaty.

European Political Cooperation

- EPC was consultations to precede individual foreign policy initiatives, and desirability of European solidarity whenever it was possible, in particular in UN.

- In this way, a habit of foreign policy consultation and coordination began to emerge, that later led to CFSP.

European Council

- Not a European institution in legal sense.

- Platform for EPC discussions.

- It shaped integration process.

- Council counteracted rigidity and formalism of the Community method.

- It compensated for inadequate democratic legitimacy of the supranational institutions.

European Council - 2

- Role of European Council was defined in TEU: It shall provide political guidelines.

- Council: decision-maker of last resort; agenda setter and institutional architect; ultimate negotiator, in the case of treaties; 'collective head of state' when acting internationally; as policy initiator.

Impact of EC law through the ECJ

- ECJ introduced two principles (1960s): direct effect and supremacy of Community law.

- Direct effect: capacity of a norm of Community law to be applied in domestic court proceedings, provided the norm is unambiguous, unconditional, and not dependent on any national implementing rule.

- Supremacy: capacity of that norm to overrule inconsistent norms in national law.

Reform reports

- Davignon Report (1970): proposed European Political Cooperation.

- Werner Plan (1970): Steps towards EMU.

- Tindemans Report (1974): assigned European Council role of decision-making body and emphasized need for European integration, at 'two speeds' if necessary.

- Three Wise Men Report (1979): on the reform of European Institutions.

Reform reports - 2

- Spierenburg Report (1979): on reform of European Commission.

- Genscher–Colombo Draft European Act (1981): to unify all decision-making procedures of Communities and EPC by assigning competence for all matters to the European Council and the Council of Ministers, but also to give more powers to the EP.

Other results by the end of 1970s

- Free movement of goods ensured.

- Common customs tariff was introduced.

- Laws were harmonized to dismantle barriers to trade and to taking up occupations.

- Common foreign trade policy was introduced.

- Common development policy.

- European Monetary System introduced.

- However, some objectives were not met: freedom of movement was still limited.

Problems of 1980s

- Economic problems.

- Solidarity was on the wane.

- Problems regarding its institutional structure: Commission had lost a great deal of its political weight; Council of Ministers were on the driving seat; parliamentary element remained underdeveloped.

Enlargement to the south

- Greece joined in 1981.

- Spain and Portugal in 1986.

- The enlargement changed the political architecture of EC: trend towards political was replaced by a more economics-oriented approach and towards Mediterranean.

Single European Act, 1986

- It focused on completion of Single European Market.

- SEA conferred new powers in the areas of social policy, economic and social cohesion, research and technological development, and environmental protection.

- It introduced qualified majority voting.

- It increased the legislative role of the EP.

Single European Act, 1986 - 2

- Most important innovation was requirement for harmonization (approximation) of national laws with Community requirements.

- But with derogation possibility to apply national law for important reasons.

- Derogation was condition for adoption of qualified majority voting and balancing national and supranational interests.

- Derogation was rarely used.

Maastricht Treaty, 1992: Birth of the European Union

- European Union.

- Monetary union, European citizenship.

- 'Three-pillar' structure: Community, CFSP, JHA.

- Powers with regard to the environment, foreign policy, internal and external security.

- Opt-outs, derogations, subsidiarity.

Second Pillar: CFSP

- Second pillar strictly 'intergovernmental'.
- Based on guidelines from European Council.
- Council of Ministers adopts 'common positions' and 'joint actions'.
- Commission does not have exclusive right of initiative, and exercises no supervision.
- EP is entitled only to be consulted.
- No review by the Court of Justice.

Third Pillar: JHA

- Partly inter-governmental.

- Policies: asylum, migration, 'third country' nationals (since 1997 Amsterdam Treaty 'communitarized').

- Other issues: police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters (area of freedom, justice and security).

- Council of Ministers adopts joint positions and drawing up agreements.

Amsterdam Treaty, 1997 and Nice Treaty, 2001

- Amsterdam Treaty: Possibility of closer cooperation within the single institutional framework: member states may establish closer cooperation in the first and third pillar, within the institutional framework of the EU.

- Nice Treaty: Possibility of enhanced cooperation was extended to second pillar (CFSP).

Treaty of Lisbon, 2007

- Union as legal personality replacing Community.

- Everything will function according to Community method in principle.

- Opt-out possibilities.

- Many areas of enhanced cooperation.

- EU as a body based on powers conferred by member states.

Treaty of Lisbon, 2007 - 2

- "Co-decision" as basic legislative procedure.
- QMV as main voting procedure in the Council.
- EP received extra powers in budget issues and with veto power over appointment of the President of the European Commission.
- European Council as new legal institution.

Treaty of Lisbon, 2007 - 3

- Emphasis on values and rights with Charter of Fundamental Rights gaining legal status.

- High Representative for CFSP, also Vice-President of the European Commission.

- European External Action Service.

- Introducing citizen's initiative.

Conclusion

- History of European integration depended on member states and treaties.

- European integration remains complex structure.

- It remains a need to engage citizens for future European integration architecture.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Majone, pages: 1-18.

- Weidenfeld, pages: 6-19.

- Cini, pages: 15-66.

Theorizing European Integration

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Overview of most influential theories of European integration

- Neo-Functionalism.

- Inter-Governmentalism.

- Institutionalism.

- Constructivism.

- Rationalist theories of comparative public policy.

- Governance approach.

Theories of European Integration

- Early literature sought to explain process of European integration (rather than policy-making).

- It drew on theories of IR.

- Initial focus was on neo-functionalism as integration proceeded well in 1950s and 1960s.

- In 1970s, 1980s, when things went wrong, it was 'inter-governmentalism' used.

NEO-FUNCTIONALISM

Sectoral/Functional spill-over

- Placement of a certain sector under supranational authority establishes pressures to extend authority of institutions into other areas.

- Sectoral integration would produce unintended integration in additional issue areas.

Political spill-over

- Supranational and subnational actors establish pressures for further integration.

- Interest groups would have to interact with supranational organization.

- Over time, these groups would transfer their demands, expectations, loyalties from national governments to supranational level.

Political spill-over - 2

- Supranational actors would encourage such a transfer of loyalties and seek to 'upgrade the common interest'.

- As a result of sectoral and political spill-over, sectoral integration would become self-sustaining, leading to establishment of a new political entity with its centre in Brussels.

Community method

- Neo-functionalists conceptualized 'Community method'.

- Community method: process driven by Commission and featuring supranational deliberation among member-state representatives in the Council.

Community method's elements

1. Governments accept Commission as partner in building policy consensus.

2. Governments have commitment to problem-solving, how to reach collective decisions.

3. Governments, Commission, do not make unacceptable demands.

4. Unanimity is the rule; negotiations continue until all objections are overcome.

Growth and decline of community method

- Community method used in 1958-1963, in building Customs Union and CAP.

- Decline in use of Community method: Emergence of QMV in 1966, Luxembourg consensus, establishment of European Council (as inter-governmental body), growing role of Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper) and of national gate-keeping institutions.

INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

PIR 419, jusufi, epoka university

Emergence of inter-governmentalist school

- Member state, rather than supranational organizations, played central role in development of EU.

- Integration process strengthened, rather than weakened the member states.

- Resilience of nation-state.

Liberal intergovernmentalism

- Three-step model:

(1) national preference formation (National preferences are determined domestically, not shaped at EU level);

(2) intergovernmental EU-level bargaining;

(3) Supranational institutions providing 'credible commitments' for member governments.

Liberal intergovernmentalism - 2

- In 2nd stage, member states bring their preferences to table in BXL, where agreements reflect relative power of member states, where supranational organizations exert little or no influence.

- By contrast, neo-functionalists emphasized entrepreneurial and brokering role of Commission and upgrading of common interest among member states in Council.

Liberal intergovernmentalism - 3

- At 3rd stage, member states adopt particular institutions - pooling sovereignty through QMV, or delegating sovereignty to supranational actors – in order to increase the credibility of their mutual commitments.

- Member states face strong temptation to cheat or 'defect' from their agreements.

- Pooling and delegating sovereignty allows states to commit themselves credibly to their mutual promises, by monitoring state compliance.

'NEW INSTITUTIONALISMS' IN RATIONAL CHOICE

Rational choice institutionalism

- New studies on role of institutions.

- Three 'institutionalisms' developed.

- First - <u>rational choice institutionalism</u>: effort to understand origins and effects of US Congressional institutions; how actors choose or design institutions to secure mutual gains, and how those institutions change or persist over time.

Rational choice institutionalism - 2

- Study of EU institutional rules. E.g. cooperation and co-decision procedures; unanimous voting.

- Causal importance of EU rules in shaping policy outcomes rather than inter-governmentalism or supra-nationalism.

Sociological institutionalism

- It defined institutions much more broadly to include informal norms, conventions, rules.

- Such institutions can 'constitute' actors, shaping their identities and preferences.

Historical institutionalism

- HI focuses on effects of institutions over time.

- How institutions, once established, can influence or constrain behavior of actors who established them.

- HI having dual effects: influencing constraints on individual actors and their preferences.

- HI's distinctive is its emphasis on effects of institutions on politics over time.

Historical institutionalism - 2

- Institutions establish incentives to stick with and not abandon existing institutions.

- Inertia (resistance to change) in institutions despite political change.

- Critical role for timing and sequencing, in which small/surprising events at critical juncture shape events that occur later.

Path Dependence

- Early decisions provide incentives to continue institutional choices inherited from the past, even when resulting outcomes are inefficient.

- PD in EU: understanding European integration as a process that unfolds over time, and conditions under which PD processes are most likely to occur.

Path Dependence - 2

- Despite primacy of member states in design of EU institutions, 'gaps' occur in their ability to control subsequent development of institutions and policies.

Four reasons:

1. Member states because of electoral concerns agree to EU policies that lead to a long-term loss of national control in return for short-term electoral returns.

Path Dependence - 3

2. Unintended consequences of institutional choices can establish gaps, which member states may not be able to close.

3. New governments inherit *acquis* negotiated by previous governments; due to requirement of unanimous or QMV to overturn past institutional and policy choices, member states are likely to find themselves 'immobilized by weight of past initiatives'.

Path Dependence - 4

4. EU institutions and policies can become locked-in as societal actors develop interest in continuation of specific EU policies.

- E.g. ECJ developed jurisprudence on gender equality; these decisions are difficult to roll back, both because of need of unanimous agreement to overturn ECJ decisions and because domestic constituencies have developed interest in their application.

Path Dependence - 5

- PD offers tool kit for predicting and explaining under what conditions we should expect institutional lock-ins and path-dependent behavior.

- We should expect that institutions and policies will be most resistant to change: where their alteration requires a unanimous agreement among member states; and where existing EU policies mobilize cross-national bases of support.

Path Dependence - 6

- E.g. Structural funds must be reauthorized at periodic intervals by a unanimous agreement, giving states periodic opportunities to veto; structural funds have varied public support. Thus, EU states were able to reform structural funds with less PD incidence.

- E.g. CAP does not need to be reauthorised regularly and there is strong public support, which has indeed resisted all change.

CONSTRUCTIVISM

Constructivism

- Constructivism insists that human agents do not exist independently from their social environment and culture.

- Social environment in which we find ourselves, 'constitutes' who we are, our identities as social beings.

- Constructivism rejects rationalist 'logic of consequentiality'; it adopts 'logic of appropriateness'.

Constructivism - 2

- Actors do not seek to maximize their expected utility, but look to socially constructed roles/rules and ask what sort of behavior is appropriate in that situation.

- Institutions influence identities, preferences, and behavior in more profound ways (constituting role).

- EU institutions shape not only the behavior, but also preferences and identities of actors.

Integration theory today

- Today, in place of traditional neo-functionalist/intergovernmentalist debate, there is emergence of new dichotomy in EU studies: rationalism against constructivism.

- Growing dialogue between rationalism and constructivism.

- Two offering EU as a laboratory for IR processes such as globalization, institutionalization, and socialization.

What is future direction of integration?

- Neo-functionalists: through functional and political spillovers.

- Constructivists: through changes in identities and preferences as a result of cooperation.

- Both see as good news establishment of new institutions and policies in second and third pillars; increasing use of 'open method of coordination' to address issues that are not under EU competence.

What is future direction of integration? - 2

- Rationalist and inter-governmentalists are sceptical regarding claims of both spill-over and socialization, pointing to the poor record of Commission and limited evidence for socialization of national officials into European preferences or identities.

- For them, integration is unlikely to change substantially for foreseeable future.

- Others point to disintegrative tendencies.

PRINCIPAL - AGENT MODEL

Principal - Agent model

- It is framework for examining difficulties that arise from contracting.

- Agency relationships are established when one party (*principal)*, enters into a contractual agreement with second party (*agent*), and delegates to the latter responsibility for carrying out a function.

- Why state delegate powers to EU?

EU POLICY-MAKING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

EU as a political system similar to other domestic political systems

- Other scholars approached EU as a political system, similar to domestic political systems. E.g. comparing EU to federal systems.

- They did not use IR, but comparative politics.

- According to them, EU is less than a Weberian state, but it is a political system with dense web of legislative, executive, and judicial institutions that adopt binding public policies and thus influence 'authoritative allocation of values' in European society.

Horizontal separation of powers: the EU as a federal system

- EU is not a federation.

- "Federalism" was a powerful normative ideal motivating EU founders.

- Recognizing resistance to federalism, founders opted for sectoral approach.

- But, later EU developed federation features, making theories of federalism capable of explaining EU.

What is federalism?

- Federalism is system in which: (a) authority is divided between subnational units and central government; (b) each level of government has some issues on which it makes final decisions; (c) federal high courts adjudicate disputes concerning federalism.

- Popular interests represented in lower house; territorial units represented in upper house.

Is EU federal?

- EU is federation: separation of powers between EU and MS, and dual system of representation via EP and Council of Ministers.

- Most difficult issue is distribution of powers among federal and state levels.

- EU history is full with centralizing initiatives, followed by periods of devolution.

- European integration, is not a sui generis, but familiar from other federal systems.

EU regulatory federalism

- In EU there is no 'fiscal federalism'.

- Most federal systems engage in substantial fiscal transfers across states.

- But EU budget is predominantly devoted to agricultural and cohesion spending.

- EU is not engaged in substantial redistribution.

- EU is engaged in regulatory activity.

Vertical separation of powers

- EU has a vertical separation of powers in legislative, executive, and judicial functions.

- Not one institution enjoys sole control of any of these three functions.

- Legislative: shared by Council of Ministers and EP, with agenda-setting role by Commission;

- Executive: shared by Commission, member states, independent regulatory agencies.

- Judicial: shared by ECJ, national courts.

Legislative politics: towards bicameralism

- Council: under unanimity voting, EU legislative rules provide each member government with equal voting weight; Moving to QMV raised possibility that states can form winning coalitions.

- EP: best predictor of voting in EP not nationality, but 'party group'; EP legislative powers grew from 'consultation' to 'cooperation' to 'co-decision' procedure.

Executive politics: delegation and discretion

- Member states (principals) delegate powers to supranational (agents), such as Commission, ECB, ECJ.

- Member states delegate powers to supranational organizations to lower the *transaction costs* of policy-making.

- Wide range of control mechanisms established to limit the discretion of agents.

Judicial politics and ECJ

- Principal-agent analysis: ECJ as a means to solve problems of monitoring compliance.

- ECJ has been far more autonomous through ECJ introduced principles: direct effect and supremacy of Community law.

GOVERNANCE APPROACH

Governance approach

- It draws on both IR and Comparative Politics and considers EU as neither a traditional international organization nor a domestic 'political system', but rather as 'governance without government'.

- It has four dimensions.

1. It theorizes EU governance as non-hierarchical, networks of private and public actors, who engage in problem-solving efforts.

Governance approach - 2

2. It is suspicious of 'off the shelf' models, advocating the need for a 'new vocabulary' to capture the distinctive features of EU governance.

3. It emphasizes capacity of EU to foster 'deliberation' and 'persuasion'.

4. It expresses normative concern with 'democratic deficit' in EU.

Governing without Government: Characteristics of Governance

1. Interdependence between organizations - governance broader than government, covering non-state actors as well.

2. Continuing interactions between network members.

3. Game-like interactions - rules agreed among actors.

4. Significant amount of autonomy from the state.

Fragmentation, Steering, and Accountability issues in governance

- <u>Fragmentation</u>: centralized state bureaucracies outsource public services to other actors.

- <u>Steering</u>: governments may 'steer' public policies, but in practice may not be control policy direction.

- <u>Accountability</u>: accountability concerns to electorate when contracting out public functions.

Multi-level governance

- Increased interdependence of governments operating at different territorial levels.

- Concerned with distribution of authority between nation-state and EU; shift of authority from states to supranational & subnational actors.

Europeanization as part of MLG

- EU influences national policies.

- Europeanization as product of: (1) pressures of varying 'goodness of fit' between EU and national rules; (2) domestic intervening variables, such as veto points.

- EU influences by constraining national choices and by instilling new norms.

- EU impact result from socialization and conditionality.

Democratic legitimacy

- Critique is made that EU decisions erode national rules, thus thwarting preferences of electorate.

- Thus, challenging democratic legitimacy.

- Lost legitimacy may not be regained at EU level as it possesses democratic deficits.

Three reform tracks as solution to democratic legitimacy concerns

- <u>Parliamentarization</u>: strengthening EP's powers; strengthening EU party groups; subordination of Commission to EP.

- <u>Constitutionalization</u>: establishment of rules that would ensure transparency and public participation in EU policy-making.

- <u>Deliberative democracy</u>: citizens or their representatives would deliberate in search of best solution to common problems.

Three 'logics of social action'

- Logic of consequentiality (or utility maximization) – rationalism.

- Logic of appropriateness (rule-following behavior) – constructivism.

- Logic of arguing - theory of communicative action for Deliberative Democracy (via comitology, open method of coordination).

Must readings for this lesson:

- •Jones, pages: 12-23; 39-52.

- •Wallace, pages: 13-46.

Functionalism and Supranational paradigm

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

SUPRANATIONAL PARADIGM

Transcending the nation state: Supranationalist paradigm

- Cost of WWII made some to regard nation-states as wasteful and destructive.

- Supranationalists saw nation-state as not suitable format for Europe.

- Supranationalists believed that nation-state must be transcended.

Supranationalism

- Supranationalist paradigm included: Federalists & Radical Constitutionalists.

- Federalism appealed to those who were attracted to institutionalized social pluralism and cultural diversity.

- Federalism was argued as antidote to international anarchy.

Differences between Federalism and Functionalism

- Federalists were convinced to reconstitute Europe's political arrangements.

- Functionalism concentrated on importance of process, rather than prescribing *a priori* its precise form or outcome.

Differences between Federalism and Functionalism - 2

- Federalists regarded political change as direct consequence of radical shift in collective political imagination.

- Functionalists regarded as important circumstances under which sectoral integration in specific policies might help to build 'a working peace system'.

Differences between Federalism and Functionalism - 3

- Federalism opted for radical 'bottom up' model of political change.

- 'Europe' as grand project that would be built by cooperative compact between elites and peoples.

- Functionalists expected changes in Europe's political arrangements to follow on from increasing cooperation between elites.

Differences between Federalism and Functionalism - 4

- Functionalism adopted a 'top down' model of international change.

- Elites have a mission to save the masses.

- Functionalists put emphasis on technocratic logic rather than a populist one.

Federalism

- Federalism offers prospect of sudden rather than incremental transformation.

- Federalists called for disaggregation of power away from centralized government, and its relocation to a multinational federal state.

- Federalists suggested transnational governance of sovereign states.

Federalism - 2

- This arrangement required formal compact to be negotiated between these pre-existing nation states, and contract between elites and 'the people'.

- These complicated agreements would be struck in a constituent assembly which expressed will of Europe's people.

Assumptions of Federalism

1. Production and consumption increasingly unites Europe.

2. New world shaped in economic sphere beyond nation states, could also be politically organised as federalism.

- In Federalism, every nation is completely self-governing in its own internal affairs, yet all people are united in single federal union.

Divisions within Federalist movement

- Brits were hostile to anything which threatened national sovereignty.

- Monnet's strategy of functional approach was not shared by federalists as a whole.

- His pragmatism distinguished his functionalist method from federalists.

Monnet method of European Integration

- To Monnet's mind, form that integration takes is not important.

- Monnet remained convinced that there can be no Europe other than Europe of States.

- Instead of constitutional revolution, Monnet suggested modest incursions into national sovereignty.

- Monnet chose gradualist strategy.

Monnet method of European Integration - 2

- Monnet's pragmatism and compromise with status quo, was antithesis to federalism.

- Federalism failed to capture political initiative.

- ECSC attracted support from pragmatic federalists who followed Monnet's example.

SUPRANATIONAL PARADIGM/ FUNCTIONALIST MODELS

Functionalism: Prospect of international change

- As strategy for effecting cooperation and coordination between states.

- As theory which explains process of international change.

- Intensification of exchanges in the world encouraged need to better coordinate these transactions, long before EU project. E.g. International Telegraph Union (1865), Universal Postal Measures (1875).

Early Functionalists

- Functionalist approach was concerned with identifying factors which would bring order and stability to anarchic world.

- There was assumption among functionalists that cooperation in technical and commercial matters would have positive consequences for political integration.

Mitrany's critique of the nation state

- David Mitrany (1930s) made most contribution to development of functionalism.

- He saw little difference between nation states and regional federations.

- Both were political entities and both were competitive, divisive, destabilizing forces in international society.

Mitrany's critique of the nation state - 2

- His proposal was for global rather than regional integration.

- Mitrany exposed limits of nation-state.

- He advocated for technocratic approach in solving problems of war and peace.

- In the place of nation states, he advocated system of international functional agencies.

Mitrany's Functionalism

- 'Continuous transfer of functions and authority should take place from the jurisdiction of the state to that of international organs'.

- Common needs cut across national boundaries.

- Meeting the needs is possible by setting up joint agencies for dealing with these common needs.

From Mitrany to Neo-Functionalism

- Neither federalism, nor Mitrany's project for world peace system, made headway in Europe's postwar establishment.

- Elites were at least receptive to need for closer regional cooperation.

- Mitrany became precursor of neo-functionalism.

Functionalist paradigm revised: neofunctionalist variant

- Neofunctionalism represented reaction by group of American theorists (E.g. Haas, 1958, *Uniting of Europe*) to what they regarded as previously inadequate attempts to predict course of international change.

- They were academic social scientists and, as such, were concerned with methodological rigor rather than with the moral prescription offered by Mitrany's work.

Neofunctionalist critique of nation-state

- Neofunctionalists discounted nation-state as irrelevance rather than as evil.

- Territorial states are redundant force, on empirical rather than on *a priori* grounds.

- Nation states have perpetuated social and ideological divisions that they themselves are responsible for establishing.

Neofunctionalist critique of nation-state - 2

- States as culturally insular and, as such, incapable of meeting new functional or welfare needs of modern citizens.

- Economic transactions and welfare needs as real source of positive cooperation.

- These needs could only be met by international cooperation.

Neo-Functionalism

- Neofunctionalists adapted Mitrany's basic precepts in explaning regional integration.

- Functionalist revisionists (Monnet) differed from Mitranian functionalism: rejected Mitrany's global focus as wholly unmanageable.

- Neo-Functionalists concentrated on prospects for manageable integration on regional scale.

Neo-Functionalism - 2

- Politics played a central role in this revisionist model, without dominating the process.

- It claimed to be scientific methodology rooted in actual behavior rather than on moral philosophy.

- By late 1940s there were signs that neo-functional approach, institutionalised as ECSC offered feasible route to regional integration.

Three theses of neo-functionalism

- Spillover.

- Elite socialization.

- Supranational interest group.

"Spillover"

- International change unfolds by incremental degrees and in clear stages.

- Sectoral cooperation will result in instilling values suited to political integration.

- Structural and cognitive change go hand in hand in this account.

Functional Spillover

- Cooperation in one area necessitates cooperation in another area.

- Cooperation in one area establishes pressure in similar area, placing it on political agenda, thus leading to further integration.

- Integration new policies assures achievements of previous policy areas.

Political Spillover

- Politicians find useful to argue for European rather than for national solutions.

Cultivated Spillover

- Supranational actors act as entrepreneurs pushing integration forward.

- These actors tend to have their own political agendas, triumphing over national agendas.

- Spillover process as automatic; beyond control of political leaders.

Elite Socialization

- Politicians shift their loyalties to new centre.

Formation of supranational interest groups

- Getting organized at European level.

- Placing demands on their own national governments for further integration.

Monnet and Schuman Plan: rise of neo-functionalism

- Monnet's proposal was taken up by French government for reasons of state rather than for supranationalism.

- Schuman Plan that embodied limited but innovative functional scheme.

- It involved modest surrender of national sovereignty over important commodities, in exchange for distinct national economic and political advantages.

ECSC and neo-functionalism

- ECSC suggested a way of integrating Europe by stealth.

- Without directly confronting interests, sensibilities or identity of nation-states.

- Participating states will be abandoning some degree of sovereignty in favor of a Common Authority and will be accepting a fusion or pooling of powers.

ECSC's reluctance damaging neo-functionalism

- ECSC's High Authority was reluctant to push its supranational powers even to limits permitted by founding treaty.

- Subsequent attempt by Monnet in 1950 to repeat his tactic into more sensitive realm of defense and foreign policy cooperation, proved to be premature.

- EDC failure slowed the pace of regional integration based on neo-functionalism.

Revival of neo-functionalism in late 1950s

- Messina Conference (1955) and Spaak report embarked on modest neo-functionalist route: "establishment of common market" and "atomic energy community".

- Rome treaties signed in 1957.

- Neo-functionalism was kept alive.

Consolidation of intergovernmentalism put neo-functionalism on defensive

- Some began by reformulating 'spillover' to account for variable pace of integration.

- They abandoned positivism of 'spillover' concept in face of resurgence of national interests.

- Neofunctionalism showed no sensitivity to likelihood of different integration outcomes.

Neo-functionalism on defensive

- It focused on factors that relate to a region; it ignored the impact of external factors.

- Empirically: It no longer fitted the reality of Community starting from 1970s.

- Theoretically: Denied existence of elite socialization.

Neofunctionalist Legacy

- Neofunctionalism undoubtedly helped to uncover important variables at work in regional process.

- But it failed to be definitive paradigm of regional integration.

- There was emergence of *interdependence* theory that looked to similar processes.

Neofunctionalist Legacy - 2

- Neofunctionalism directed attention to the process.

- It identified precise interactions of socio-economic and cultural factors in shaping political change.

- Its main advantage over pure functionalism was its regional rather than global focus, and its emphasis on empiricism.

Neofunctionalist Legacy - 3

- It underestimated residual power of nation-statehood and national preferences.

- State of European integration later brought problems of national interests.

- By 1970s EU was already hybrid arrangement; neither supranational nor intergovernmental.

Community as arena of competing national interests

- Community did retain a sense that it was engaged in unique experiment in transnational cooperation.

- It became arena for pursuing and reconciling competing national interests.

- In these conditions, any supranational impetus, became difficult, although it could not be entirely written off.

Integration process with uncertain outcomes

- Integration becoming a process with uncertain outcomes.

- This stands in contrast to positivism of neofunctionalists.

- Intergovernmentalism has proved to be resilient.

Integration process with uncertain outcomes - 2

- National sovereignty is focus of conflict, jeopardizing existence of Community.

- Nation states provide resistance to supranational elites with ambitions to effect transnational integration.

- Modern politics is characterized by persistent tension between national interests and global impulses.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Cini, pages: 71-84.

- O'Neill: Pages: 19-50.

Intergovernmentalism and State centric paradigm

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

What is Inter-Governmentalism (IG)?

- IG or its contemporary variants, dominate academic discourse on EU integration.

- It is characterized by its state-centrism.

- It privileges the role of states within EU integration.

What is Inter-Governmentalism (IG)? - 2

- Political integration is limited to areas that do not touch on fundamental issues (*High Politics*) of national sovereignty.

- EU as driven by *interests* and *actions* of nation states.

- It advocates reducing role of supranational institutions in favor of greater role for Council.

Resilience of the nation state

- ECSC went to replace Europe's state-centric system.

- But, nation-state survived the challenge of supranationalism.

- It re-emerged as principal agency of diplomacy and governance.

Resilience of the nation state - 2

- Nation-state re-emerged as primary focus of popular allegiance in postwar Europe.

- Today, nation state is still with us.

- It is at the centre of debate regarding Europe's future.

Resilience of the nation state - 3

- Order consisting of separate states, as best solution to continent's problems.

- IG became route used in integration.

- Integration as limited arrangement.

- EC as process of saving rather than surrendering the nation state.

Resilience of the nation state - 4

- EC as a stage in development of state.

- 'Integration' as response of medium-sized and modestly resourced states to global pressures.

- In these challenging circumstances they were required to cooperate, rather than compete, in order to pursue their interests.

Resilience of the nation state - 5

- State as sacred historic trust, passed down through generations.

- Insularity and xenophobia which colors this outlook is opposed to even limited integration.

- IG did dominate both practice and academic discourse after 1965 crisis.

IG as Realist account

- IG drew its inspiration from realism.

- Replacement of state as principal actor by super-ordinate agencies is unnatural.

- States remain key actors.

- States as only legitimate source of authority.

IG as Realist account - 2

- Integration does not imply merger of national sovereignties.

- It is reconciling competing agendas of states.

- Most that can be expected from integration is enhanced inter-governmental cooperation and identification of mutual regional policy interests.

IG as Realist account - 3

- Although drawing upon realism, IG is not synonymous of realism.

- IG is not only associated with the EU; it deals with type of decision making that occurs within all IOs.

- IG prefers to talk of European *cooperation* rather than *integration*.

IG as Realist account - 4

- According to IG, there are costs and benefits attached to involvement in EU integration.

- Common solutions are often needed to resolve common problems.

- Cooperation not related with ideology; but it is rational conduct of states to deal with issues that confront them in world.

IG as Realist account - 5

- There is nothing special about EU; other than it has taken a highly institutionalized form.

- There is no process of integration; and it is not heading towards some sort of European political community.

- EC facilitated survival of the state in the post-WWII.

IG as Realist account - 6

- Some supported a view that integration will not survive Cold War (Mearshimer).

- EC implies *pooling* or *sharing* of sovereignty, as opposed to *transfer* of sovereignty.

- There is a *delegation* of sovereignty; thus supranational institutions as servants of states.

IG in practice

- Luxembourg Compromise of 1966 reflected EC's retreat from Supranationalism.

- EC project as attempt to effect series of national common denominators, compromises or bargains between states.

- De Gaulle signalled his determination to pursue IG when he came to power in 1958.

IG in practice - 2

- Balance of power in EC after 1966 shifted away from Supranationalism to IG.

- Impetus for IG was confirmed by events.

- Changes in scale and complexity of global political economy increased sense of vulnerability among Europe's states.

IG in practice - 3

- US' decision in 1971 to abandon responsibilities under Bretton Woods Accord to manage international monetary system caused anger in Europe.

- Rise of détente, encouraged EC states to search for closer forms of political cooperation, outside supranational arrangements.

IG in practice - 4

- EC enlarged in 1973.

- Council consolidated its hold by developing presidency functions and by extending involvement of COREPER - members' permanent diplomatic corps in Brussels - in shaping direction EC policy process.

- It instituted bi-annual summit meetings of the European Council.

IG in practice - 5

- European Council was part of IG strategy to keep supranational ambitions under control by states.

- It extended scope of integration, but without deepening in line with supranationalism.

- All these pointed to limits of supranationalism and to primacy of nation-state (IG).

Fate of nation state; Hoffmann thesis

- Most sophisticated account of IG was given by American academic, Hoffmann.

- State, although modified, remained principal actor.

- States are communities of belonging; they embody human need to belong somewhere; thus, states are more culturally rooted, than structures envisaged by federalists or functionalists.

Fate of nation state; Hoffmann thesis - 2

- Any suggestion that Europe can follow American way to political union is illusion.

- Europe, unlike America of 18th century, has a diverse past.

- Memories of past conflicts and mistrust have left legacies that will not be easily overcome.

Fate of nation state; Hoffmann thesis - 3

- There are deep differences on geopolitical interests among European states.

- Any possible Federal Europe would become a larger nation state; it would be a tribute to durability of state.

- Europe's integration is due to US' shelter provided to Europe.

Fate of nation state; Hoffmann thesis - 4

- Nation state remains as omnipotent (unlimited power) and obstinate (stubbornly refusing to change) rather than obsolete player.

- Nation-state co-exists with European enterprise rather than being taken by it.

- Nation states accommodated well to Community game.

Fate of nation state; Hoffmann thesis - 5

- Integration has come to rescue nation-state and has enabled it to adapt to new demands of global political economy.

- By focusing on *process*, neofunctionalists forgot the *context*.

- 1960s highlighted differences among member states rather than common interests.

Critique of Hoffmann

- Hoffmann attracted its own critique.

- It is challenged his assumption that inviolable (never to be broken) boundary exists between national states and wider environment in which they operate.

- Evidence of global interdependence has raised serious doubts about ability of states to operate as independent actors.

Critique of Hoffmann - 2

- Cooperation occurs not only 'low' policy issues, but also in 'high' policy issues.

- Modern territorial states do inhabit more interdependent universe.

- Every state finds itself drawn into global networks, regional regimes and transnational arrangements, that erode states' sovereign autonomy.

Critique of Hoffmann - 3

- Problems that confront all states big and small now have extra-territorial dimension.

- They all face what are increasingly regional issues or global problems requiring common solutions.

- Elites whose task it is to address these issues inhabit common experiences, and share similar lifestyles and aspirations.

Critique of Hoffmann - 4

- EC illustrates continuing flow between distinctiveness and commonality.

- It reflects fluidity of what were earlier regarded as impermeable boundaries between states and their wider environments.

- EC offers best example of engagement of states with their wider hinterlands.

Critique of Hoffmann - 5

- EC witnessed expansion of common agendas.

- Requirement of states to respond to demands imposed on them by modern economics leads them to pool sovereignty.

- This in turn, has challenged resistance of states.

Critique of Hoffmann - 6

- Hoffmann's assessment of situation in 1970s was selective; he took events largely out of context.

- He chose to minimize significance of recession.

- States certainly do retain their place at the centre of the regional process; but they are no longer cohesive actors.

From IG to Confedealism

- Shortcomings of IG became apparent during 1970s.

- Paul Taylor's confederalism represented attempt at theoretical revisionism.

- Dualism of regional process - balance between domestic interests and regional outlook in which common interests play role, was concern of new theories.

From IG to Confederalism - 2

- This was attempt to adapt intergovernmental model to new needs of 1970s.

- It was confederalist refinement of IG.

Meaning of Confederalism

- Confederation is antithesis of federation.

- Federations are states in their own right.

- Confederation is concert of sovereign states.

Confederalism

- Confederations amount to little more than a pooling of non-critical elements of their members' de jure sovereignty.

- They are interstate rather than intrastate arrangements.

- They encompass everything from security and crisis management to diplomatic collaboration.

Confederalism in practice

- Changes consolidated EC's role in world.

- EC became a new category of international organization.

- Taylor made these changes focus of his confederalism.

- This model became influential in 1970s-1980s.

Confederalism in practice - 2

- Fashioned in IG, it focused on *institutions* rather than on *processes*; on *structures* rather than *functions*.

- As such, its account of what was underway was partial.

- Nevertheless, Taylor's confederalism did provide useful insights.

- There was sufficient evidence that EC had entered a confederal phase.

Confederalism in practice - 3

- It took account of wider environment; environment as source of cooperation requiring responses and solutions.

- It draw attention to constraints which have impinged on medium sized and not well resourced states.

- Confederalism amounts to rational regrouping of nation states in order to survive the global change.

Confederalism in practice - 4

- EC as attempt by states to coordinate their efforts to facilitate cooperation and maximise their common interests.

- As a way of ensuring survival of state.

- Regional states pursuing national interests remain critical actors and continue to be raison d'être of regional process.

Confederalism in practice - 5

- Confederalist approach is particular type of IG.

- While retaining state – centric approach, it recognized distinctiveness of EU integration process.

- Scope of integration is extensive, but level of integration is low.

From Confederalism to Interdependence

Confederalism saw integration as a two way process:

- Resilience of state.

- Rising sense of joint endeavors and mutual interests, search for common regional strategies necessary to save European nation state from global forces which threaten its survival.

From Confederalism to Interdependence - 2

- It was a revision of IG rather than entirely fresh account of integration.

- But, Taylor's work did help to encourage another paradigm shift in the intellectual quest for European integration.

- It gave way to development of theories that looked to interdependence between domestic preferences and global forces.

Interdependence theory

- It based its account on tension between IG and supranationalism.

- This was bound to be unpredictable and one which permitted number of possible regional outcomes, depending on balance of political forces in play on any particular policy issue.

Interdependence theory - 2

- It emerged in 1970s (Keohane, Nye).

- It set IG in a broader context.

- Some of effects of European integration do not belong to EC; but to other wider phenomena.

- World has become *inter-dependent* and this has changed the way states interact.

PIR 419, jusufi, epoka university

Interdependence theory - 3

- ID theory is not per se EU integration theory.

- But it does add to our understanding on background conditions that facilitate or constrain integration process.

- Thus, EU is not unique.

Domestic Politics approach

- Emerged in 1970s, 1980s.

- It criticized IG for failing to capture transnational nature of policy process.

- It sought describe impact of domestic politics on EU integration: Domestic determinants of preference formation.

- European policy as one side of national politics.

Inter-Locking politics approach

- German approach to study of federalism.

- Emphasizes importance of institutional factors.

- National interests as primary driving force of integration.

- It links integration to progress of the state, becoming as a welfare state.

Inter-Locking politics approach - 2

- In order to sustain a welfare state, states need economic growth, for which they need to open markets and to jointly manage common problems.

- It is *fusion* of the state: merger of public resources.

- Leading to loss of the state's ability to act autonomously.

Neo-liberal variant of IG – Liberal Intergovernmnetalism - Andrew Moravcsik

- Concerned with the *formation* of state preferences or national interests.

- Tripartite explanation: national preference formation, inter-state bargaining, institutional delegation.

- Two-level game: first level - how states define their preferences at domestic level; second level - striking inter-state bargains at international level.

LI

- It incorporates both neo-realist and neo-liberal elements.

- States behave rationally: utilizing best means to achieve goals.

- Agreements at EC level are reached on a lowest-common-denominator basis.

- When economic interests converge, integration takes place.

LI - 2

Three factors:

- <u>Economic interest</u>: domestic economic problems. (CAP, TEU, SEA are results of national economic interests).

- <u>Relative power</u>: influence of larger states – UK, FR, DE.

- <u>Credible commitments</u>: improving efficiency of inter-state bargaining.

Critique of LI

- Selective in its empirical references, with focus only on issues that related to economy and to issues with unanimous voting.

- LI can explain big treaty changes; rather than daily EU politics.

- EU is much more multi-level than two-level polity.

- Commission is more than facilitator.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Cini, pages: 86-102.

- O'Neill: 51-75.

New theories of European integration and Syncretic paradigm

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University

Introduction

- Neo-Functionalism and Inter-Governmentalism failed to capture everything on EU.

- Recent years has seen attempts to think about the EU in different ways.

- New theories are not grand theories; but middle-range theories.

New Theories

- New theories offer new explanations on "integration" and on "EU governance".

- New theories take into account the role of supranational institutions and of non-state actors.

- Major discussion has been on how the SEA (1986) came about.

New Theories - 2

- New theories say that "integration" is not only about EU; it is wider process.

- Need to go beyond "state fixation" as EU comes as particular polity.

- They seek to explain particular aspects of phenomenon; rather than its whole.

- Focus became on EU's outputs.

"New Regionalism" approach

- "Regionalism" as way for regions to respond to globalization processes.

- It suggests that states have seen need to pool resources in order to recapture some of authority lost with globalization.

- Regionalism as a collective insurance against globalization.

"New Regionalism" approach - 2

- Are regional organizations established to regulate existing "regionalization" (cross-border regional economies)?

- "Regionalism" (regional institutions) lead to emergence of regional economies.

- "New Regionalism" makes comparisons between different regional arrangements in various parts of the world.

"EU as an actor" approach

- Is EU an actor in its own?

- It is about EU's role in global politics and economy.

- Case: EU speaks with common voice in trade agreements.

- What kind of an actor? "State" like or another type of entity? Although it is not state, it tries to act as a state.

Other new theories

- Institutionalism and its different variants.

- Multi-Level governance approach. and

- Others.

SYNCRETIC PARADIGM: UNION OF DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Theoretical revision

- European integration produced uncertain outcomes than predicted by classical paradigms.

- It became pointless to claim to have found elemental nature of a process; world politics refuses to remain same.

- Theory-making shifts between events and efforts of scholars to explain them.

Theoretical revision - 2

- Theoretical revision as cumulative process that builds on previous endeavors.

- Shift of ideas does not represent a failure of intellectual effort.

- Intellectual tensions help to map accurately the developments.

Integration as a hybrid process

- Latest theories choose to see EU as hybrid; composed of international and domestic variables.

- Process driven by mixed motives, in several directions and at variable speeds.

- New syncretic model offers less predictable account of the process.

Integration as a hybrid process - 2

- Integration as more complex process than described in classical accounts.

- Syncretic paradigm's appeal is its hybrid quality: incorporating assumptions about nature of European project drawn from both neofunctionalism and inter-governmentalism.

Integration as a hybrid process - 3

- Re-launching of process in 1984–6 suggested that integration was open to several different impulses simultaneously.

- No single factor suffices.

- Processes of international change amount to competition between different interests.

Integration as a hybrid process - 4

- No single theoretical model can capture entire process.

- Cooperation in pursuit of national preferences, may encourage, over time, new habits: pursuit of mutual objectives.

- Domestic and supranational interests accommodated within international change.

Roots of regional interdependence

- By late 1970s, debate on European integration became confused.

- Mixed impulses at work were increasingly evident.

- Paradoxical quality of European integration process: frustration without disintegration and resilience without progress.

Roots of regional interdependence - 2

- Regional process never driven solely by domestic priorities of member states.

- Neither push towards a Pan European polity.

- Syncretism avoided theoretical exclusivisms.

- It acknowledged contribution of both domestic and regional interests.

Search for new paradigm

- Unexpected revival of project (with Single European Act, 1986), influenced direction of theoretical debate.

- It sparked search for new paradigm.

- There was no consensus among revisionists about dynamics of the process or over likely outcome of European integration.

Search for new paradigm - 2

- Syncretists drew insights from those very paradigms they set out to challenge.

- European integration was revisited rather than reinvented.

- It is closer to functionalism than to federalism: process takes precedence over institutions.

"State" in new paradigm

- 'State' remains key actor; but not as 'black box'; their linkages with wider environment are fluid.

- Informal exchanges and political relationships reveal insights.

- Power of best resourced states is reduced as the process has depleted their scope for independent action.

"State" in new paradigm – 2

- Effectiveness and legitimacy of states vis-à-vis their domestic clienteles diminished.

- Authority of national governments is undermined by impact on popular perceptions of transnational influences.

- They are by no means obsolete; but neither are they exclusive actors.

"State" in new paradigm – 3

- States are less able to pursue their exclusive national preferences.

- States are not replaced as central actors of world politics; but their place is revised.

- States become supplemented by civil societies, international institutions and policy networks.

Fluidity of national boundaries

- Fluidity of national boundaries (E.g. national law superseded by EC law).

- Patterning of regionalism is thus open to influences in both directions: from domestic and from global.

- Domestic politics shapes regional processes.

Fluidity of national boundaries - 2

- Two-way traffic: domestic policy open to external influence and vice versa.

- Global dimension imposes its influences and constraints.

- It is interdependence: boundaries between domestic and international are replaced by flows within and between different levels and agencies.

No single national interest

- Domestic interests compete for influence.

- Single national interest is fanciful.

- Transnational flows enhances sensitivities of societies to one another and increases their mutual vulnerability.

Coordination leading to contacts

- This has implication to regional integration.

- It makes government policies sensitive to one another.

- Result of which is attempt for coordination of these flows, which in turn increases contacts among governments, which may give opportunities for international organisations to play significant roles.

Where the EC was moving?

- New approach advocated that EC was not moving towards particular outcome, nor was it moving according to certain logic.

- Rather, EC was defined as arena where multiple preferences, mixed motives and competing visions remained in play.

Logic of interdependence

- Rising sense of common agenda and of a common fate in Europe.

- European states were responding to new global arrangements that affected states.

- Transnational cooperation (acquis) as rational response by medium-sized states to fast changing global environment.

Logic of interdependence - 2

- Thus, EC as response of states to interdependent international economy.

- Integration not as inevitable outcome of international change, but as response.

- Experience of integration reflecting states' doubts and dilemmas about future.

Two level game

- Blurred distinction between domestic and international levels of 'game' of states.

- Increasing interpenetration between domestic and external parts of processes.

- Close interaction between two levels of what earlier was considered to be exclusive realms.

Two level game - 2

- Two distinct but interacting environments: domestic politics, and interactions of states in international sphere in pursuit of their interests.

- Politics thus as a two level game: first level played at domestic level; variety of groups compete to persuade governments to defend their interests.

Two level game - 3

- Under pressures of interdependence, political leaders need to engage in their international role in order to carry out their domestic functions.

- Permanent pursuit of bargains and reconciling of domestic preferences within regional regime.

Two level game - 4

- New regional governance is developed that deals with problems normally associated with domestic politics.

- No solutions to pressing national problems found at home; rather at regional level.

- Statesmen do inhabit two overlapping universes.

Two level game - 5

- Later, leaders became gatekeepers of both systems.

- Electoral costs of ignoring 'local' interests abroad need to be balanced by dangers of loss of national prestige vis-à-vis allies in international stage.

- Significance of impact of political leadership in determining events.

Two level game in 1986 and 1992

- Two level game rooted after Milan Summit of 1985, in Single European Act of 1986.

- 1992 (Maastricht) was not about a federal Europe.

- It was about survival of states in ensuring their capacity to compete in competitive world economy.

'International Regimes'

- IR occupy that 'second level' of decision-making.

- IR: norms, rules, institutions around which expectations unite regarding a specific international problem. e.g. dealing with inter-dependence.

- Collaboration among states can increase benefits for all.

'International Regimes' - 2

- Formation of regimes as reaction to patterns of interdependence.

- EC was seen as a regime.

- 'Cooperative logic' at work which encourages mutuality and nurtures empathy.

- Need for rule enforcement to ensure compliance in interdependent world.

'International Regimes' - 3

- Regime concept did not offer sufficient account of logic of integration.

- 'Regimes' as useful middle range concept; not substitute for fully articulated theory.

- Regime concept assisted with refinement of interdependence paradigm.

EC as a 'regime'

- EC worked as regime because its members share more positive attributes than bad memories.

- They are all committed to liberal democracy and free market economy.

- They share a strong sense of common purpose vis-à-vis their own region and wider world.

EC as a 'regime' - 2

- EU regime works because its members share identical problems or shoulder same burdens.

- Such regime provides restraints and opportunities.

- It limits state's freedom of unilateral action; but it gets others to share one's burdens.

EC as a 'regime' - 3

- Coalition building, issue by issue, year by year.

- Not every member state gets what it wants from every regime.

- But EC has capacity to fulfill its members' interests on many things.

- Enough to make exit option unthinkable (Exception: Greenland left EC in 1985).

'Cooperative Federalism'

- It is mixed system; cohabitation within single regime of different decision-making philosophies.

- Integration as a process, but not interim stage between minimal integration and maximal outcome.

- CF avoids narrowly exclusive definitions.

DEBATES REVISITED

Debates revisited

- Theoretical revisionism gained impetus recent years, as EC was transformed into EU.

- 1992 project also revived interest in pre-existing paradigms.

- Federalism and Neo-Functionalism were revisited.

Federalism revived

- It is not dead.

- Federalist ideas continue to be nurtured within supranational institutions and among some of national elites.

- Re-emergence in EP in 1980 of campaign for political union, revived interest in federalist idea at both political and academic levels.

Federalism revived - 2

- Enlargement of 1980s added impetus to federalism.

- Challenge of accommodating 12 member states increased appeal of federalism.

- Federalism makes a constitutional virtue out of social diversity.

Federalism revived - 3

- Its rationale rests on accommodation of separation of powers and sharing of sovereignty within a polity.

- It ensuring effective decision-making and equitable resource allocation in large scale union of states.

- Globalism propelling nation states towards federalism.

Neofunctionalism revisited

- SEA was claimed by neofunctionalists as re-emergence of spillover as factor.

- Revisionists offered conditional definition of spillover as 'process variable'.

- 'Automaticity of spillover' is not abandoned but qualified by other occasionally disintegrative processes that delay or deflect the integration.

Neofunctionalism revisited - 2

- Idea of certain destination is replaced by more qualified account, in which actors transact their bargains rationally.

- Journey, then, becomes unpredictable.

- But it leads to a destination that reflects instincts of supranationalism.

- Significant change in both structure and culture of European politics underway.

Intergovernmentalism reconstituted

- Realism accepted that globalism challenges states, altering context in which they operate (interdependence).

- Intergovernmentalists became neorealists.

- Neorealists assume that states coexist in 'anarchy' under some order rather than chaos.

Intergovernmentalism reconstituted - 2

- There are positive payoffs to states that are prepared to coordinate their future.

- Despite anarchy, beneficial forms of cooperation can be promoted.

- Regional integration providing channels or networks for negotiating mutual non-zero-sum accommodations, even between adversaries.

Intergovernmentalism reconstituted - 3

- Regional integration as form of 'preference convergence'.

- Competitiveness is likely to be costly even to powerful states.

- States that share fundamental values and inhabit same geography may go beyond peaceful coexistence and enjoy more positive forms of integration.

Syncretic model refined

- SEA (1986) as response to growing Japanese and/or American competitiveness.

- Regional integration as structural and behavioral responses to rising interdependence.

- Process as a synergy of national, regional and global trends.

Syncretic model refined - 2

- EU as a unique regime in which two level game is underway, played by different sets of rules, in pursuit of competing goals, and for the benefit of different audiences.

- Ambivalence rather than certainty.

- Divisions between maximalists and minimalists.

Syncretic model refined - 3

- Regional process as coexistence within hybrid polity system of two entirely distinct policy styles.

- Syncretic model occupies a medium position between two extremes.

- It avoids the rigid determinism.

Conclusions

- European integration theory has come full circle.

- Recent changes call for new paradigms to explain EU dynamics.

- So far "politics" and "economics" dominated debates; what remains is "sociology" to be explored.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Cini, pages: 104-121.
- O'Neill: 76-133.

Democracy, integration and governance

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Paradox of integration and democracy

- EU membership conditional on acceptance of 'principles of democracy, human rights, rule of law' (EC Treaty).

- 'Serious and persistent breach of these principles may entail suspension of rights ... including voting rights in Council' (EC Treaty).

- These principles have quasi-constitutional status.

'Democratic deficit' in EU

- But, EU itself does not fully satisfy criteria of representative democracy.

- Democratic deficit as paradoxical – if EU was a state it could not be member of EU.

- It imposes conditions on others which itself is unable to satisfy?

Definitions of democratic deficit

- 'Lack of harmony between requirements of democracy and actual conditions in EU'.

- 'EU decisions insufficiently representative of, or accountable to people in Europe'.

- 'Transfer of powers to EU level and exercise of those powers not by EP; before the transfer national parliaments held power to pass laws in those areas'.

What is democracy?

- Democracy rests on demos: political community of shared values and identities.

- 'Institutional arrangement for arriving at publicly binding decisions, with legitimacy of those decisions resting on competitive elections'.

Discussions of democratic deficit

- Earlier, EU legitimacy came from promise the peace that integration would bring rather than aspirations for democracy.

- Questions of democracy emerged when EU moved from being diplomatic forum towards a political system.

- Deficit discussions focus on institutional and psycho-sociological aspects.

Institutional perspective

- Loss of control by national parliaments.

- De-Parliamentarization process.

- Growing influence of the executive.

- Solution suggested: more powers to be given to EP and to national parliaments.

Socio-Psychological perspective

- Absence of European demos.

- Absence of common identity.

Consociation

- Democratically organized <u>society of states</u> rather than state like system.

- Consociationalism: *grand coalition* where decisions are taken by elites; *proportionality* where societal forces are represented reflecting their size; *segmental authority* with each elite having control over their own territory; and *mutual vetos* where each segment acts as a potential veto player.

Idea of 'Republic of Europeans'

- It has three primary objectives: Rule of law; constitution; and citizenship.

- Republican idea projects a more participatory and balanced form of collective governance and citizenship.

Democracy and treaty reform

- Maastricht Treaty introduced the principles of: codecision, subsidiarity, and proportionality.

- Later amendments did not further the democracy in Europe.

- State-centrism remained order of the day.

This deficit is not paradoxical

- It is necessary consequence of: preference of European voters and nonexistence of European demos/nation.

- Pitfall consists in treating the EU and its member states as if they were members of the same class.

Associations are supposed to be governed democratically

- There are problems in extrapolating democratic principles from decisions taken by a community comprised not of individuals but of corporate members.

- Basic democratic principle of 'one person, one vote' when applied to corporate bodies of unequal size, would enable 'minority to give law to whole'.

Category Mistakes

- Individuals and corporate bodies belong to different categories.

- Standards applied to a category become misleading when applied to different category.

- *Category mistake* is discussing facts as if they belonged to one category, when they actually belong to another.

Category Mistakes - 2

- Category mistake is done as EU is not a state, but an organization of states and institutions.

- Citizenship of EU, but only for persons already holding nationality of a member state.

- Citizenship is not autonomous concept of EU; it is defined by legislation of states.

Category Mistakes - 3

- EP consists of 'representatives of peoples of States'.

- Its competences do not include powers of truly legislative body: taxing, initiate legislation, form a government.

- EP does not represent European people in sense in which national institutions represent.

'We the People'

- Impossibility of replicating US model in EU as consequence of absence of European demos.

- Invention of 'American People', distinct from peoples of thirteen states, US managed to avoid the category mistake.

'We the People' * 2

- None available in Europe: Common language and law; homogeneous population; joint war against enemy.

- EU citizenship derived from possession of nationality in a member state implicitly denies existence of 'European People'.

- Also, no practical increase in European identity among EU citizens.

'We the People' - 3

- EU is 'government over governments'.

- In EU, notions of popular sovereignty and representation, direct democratic legitimation, are problematic.

- EU's source of legitimacy: governments and peoples of member states.

- But, this is indirect – via states.

Three arguments about democratic deficit based on standards of legitimacy

1. Arguments by analogy, use national standards or parliamentary democracy.

- Equating EU institutions with national institutions or assuming that EU will converge towards model of states.

- Urging EP to have independent legislative power as national parliaments.

Three arguments about democratic deficit based on standards of legitimacy - 2

- EP as only repository of democratic legitimacy in EU.

- Calling for re-modeling EP into bicameral system: representing citizens and representing states.

- Commission would lose its independence from other institutions and its monopoly of legislative initiative.

Three arguments about democratic deficit based on standards of legitimacy - 3

2. EU legitimacy proceeds from democratic character of member states.

• Veto power of each member state is 'single most legitimating element' of EU since it excludes possibility that preferences be overrun.

• Majority voting at root of democratic deficit.

Three arguments about democratic deficit based on standards of legitimacy - 4

3. Dissatisfaction with slow pace of political integration.

- EU lacks democratic legitimacy because it fails to provide sufficient equality and social justice.

- But, EU has no role in social policy as member states did not surrender control of such sensitive policy.

Argument by Analogy (1ˢᵗ)

- Democratic deficit of EU twofold:

1. Executive (Council, Commission) rather than EP is primarily responsible for legislation.

2. Within executive, Commission is unusually strong with respect to Council whose members are subject to control of national parliaments.

Argument by Analogy (1ˢᵗ) - 2

- One of features of EU architecture is impossibility of mapping functions onto specific institutions.

- EU has no legislature but a legislative process.

- Similarly, there is no executive, since executive powers are shared by Council, Commission, member states.

Road not Taken

- Europeans did not choose to integrate politically (EDC, EPC would have given EC common institutions, army, independent taxing powers, accountable executive to elected EP).

- As political union was discarded, question was to integrate economies while preserving sovereignties.

Disjunction of Politics and Economics

- Attempt to transfer to European level domestic interventionism (CAP), Economist of 1990 called 'single most idiotic system of economic mismanagement'.

- Emphasis became separation of state from market (competition, agriculture, fisheries policies).

Disjunction of Politics and Economics - 2

- Idea of reducing democratic deficit by assigning larger role to EP is old one.

- Continuous expansion of EP powers since 1980s has not been sufficient.

- Alternative suggests to reduce overload of European institutions to level compatible with their normative basis.

Democratic Deficit and Non-Majoritarian Institutions

- 'Democratic deficit' is also used to describe problems when powers are delegated to regulatory bodies (E.g. ECB).

- They exercise public functions but are not directly accountable to voters or their elected representatives.

- They do not fit well into traditional framework of democratic controls.

Stable system or one under continuous negotiation?

- EU is stable system and in constant flux.

- EU institutions developed rules that form stable patterns of policy-making.

- EU as a system has also been under continuous renegotiation, in terms of size, structure, policy coverage.

Stable system or one under continuous negotiation? - 2

- Inertia of acquis - bargains once struck are difficult to reopen.

- Path dependence - established patterns of policymaking; it is easier to use existing channels than to set up new policy structures.

- Except at critical junctures: After 9/11, EU turned to extend JHA agenda.

Flow of policy

- No single pattern of policy-making in EU.

- Different modes of policy-making for different policies.

- 'Classic' Community method remains characteristic of some sectors; but not dominant pattern.

- From 1980s, *regulation* became dominant paradigm.

Flow of policy - 2

- Open Method of Cooperation provided way in promoting policy convergence.

- Flow of policy is shaped by established procedures and institutional frameworks (institutions matter).

- Governance by committees (Council and Commission committees and working groups).

Flow of policy - 3

- Commission uses consultative groups to coopt national officials into collective endeavor.

- Network of committees and working groups sustain flow of policy from one European Council to another.

- Policy initiatives emerge from many different sources (Commission, member governments).

Ideas and identities

- Ideas influence policies across sectors.

- Ideas - conventional wisdom, fashionable paradigms, ideologies of policy-makers - set limits to policy options.

- As governing ideas change, so new ways of formulating policy open up.

Ideas and identities - 2

- When new issues emerge, pre-negotiation phase focuses on how to define the issue: economically, socially, or scientifically.

- European policies are constructed through moving consensus.

- But, Europe-wide discourse is weak.

Ideas and identities - 3

- Nevertheless, there are exchanges among élites, through networks.

- National officials work for periods in Brussels, learning to balance national perspectives with EU roles.

- Thus, EU is collective system of governance, resting on overlapping élites.

Governance without statehood: post-sovereign politics

- EU is a collective political system, not intergovernmental regime.

- Some placed EU in same category as NAFTA, APEC.

- But dispute settlement procedures of NAFTA are weaker than federal jurisdiction of EU law.

Governance without statehood: post-sovereign politics - 2

- Interests, loyalty, power is shared between EU and member states.

- Multiple identities, multiple tiers of policy-making, and interblocking processes of ratification.

- Slow-moving, but still moves.

Governance without statehood: post-sovereign politics - 3

- Not possible to explain policy outcomes without taking into account the <u>interests</u>.

- But, not everything is influenced by big players.

- Dutch played role in Amsterdam and Maastricht treaties; Danes shaped environmental policies.

Governance without statehood: post-sovereign politics - 4

- Spanish (fisheries, cohesion fund); Poles (foreign policy).

- Small states benefit disproportionately from voice that EU gives them.

- EU is system of collective governance because it serves the interests of all its members, large and small.

Governance without statehood: post-sovereign politics - 5

- Geography is crowded in Europe.

- Policy-making in EU is post-sovereign.

- Mutual interference in each others' internal affairs.

- States remain central to EU process, but they are no longer the only significant actors.

EU as a partial polity

- EU is partial polity; not with all features of a democratic political system.

- Resting on 'output-oriented legitimacy', while lacking 'input-oriented legitimacy'.

- EU provides <u>government for the people</u>, but does <u>not represent government by the people</u>.

EU as a partial polity - 2

- Legitimacy of EU decisions depends on achievement of consensual goals.

- Passive popular consent rests upon consensual policy-making system to provide outcomes sufficiently satisfactory to avoid dissent.

- Regulatory policymaking is technical and non-transparent.

EU as a partial polity - 3

- EU policy-making as élite process, without wider public attention.

- Issues on which wider opinion is aroused, are questions of taste or values (E.g. migration).

- EU system as 'cartel of élites', through which popular opinion is indirectly represented.

EU as a partial polity - 4

- Collective governance moves slowly, coopting coalition of interested groups into the consultative committees and working groups, in order to legitimize the policy outcome.

- NGOs are invited into process in order to engage them, so to prevent them from attacking eventual outcomes.

EU as a partial polity - 5

- EU-level organized interests now cluster around Brussels institutions.

- EU encouraged emergence of supportive NGOs.

- But, this top-down approach of organizing civil society, risks alienating those who are sceptical of transferring further authority to Brussels.

EU as a partial polity - 6

- EU wraps political issues in technical language.

- Had the EU budget now reached 4–5% of GDP, it would attract more attention.

- There is limit imposed on budget, leaving Commission with weak hand in its attempts to build constituencies of support.

EU as a partial polity - 7

- There is a wide gap between Commission's self-perception of its role and outside perceptions.

- National governments are responsible for implementing most EU policies. But, recent record has been poor (Greece, Belgium, France, Italy at the bottom of table in implementation).

European government between national policy and global negotiation

- Policy-making within the EU responds to both internal and external demands.

- Technological change has also driven EU policy, transforming nature of problems and instruments.

- Often policies are made in reference to US competitiveness and responding to US-led global preferences.

European government between national policy and global negotiation - 2

- US as supportive to European integration. (?)

- European integration is not an autonomous phenomenon; it is nested within liberal world economy.

- Regional integration thus acts to moderate pressures of global integration.

Persistence of the provisional

- Provisional political structure: between sovereignty and integration.

- Persistence and adaptability of the provisional.

- EU demonstrated considerable flexibility in adapting its institutional practices to demands of a shifting agenda.

Persistence of the provisional - 2

- But, EU is slow to adapt to challenges of rapidly changing environment.

- EU policy-making is sticky (e.g. budget).

- Increasing diversity of modes of policymaking.

Persistence of the provisional - 3

- Governments continue to delegate new responsibilities to Commission.

- New agencies are set up.

- Spread of variable geometry: circles of cooperation in which only some EU members or neighbors are involved.

Persistence of the provisional - 4

- Candidate states have no right to opt-out from acquis (Denmark, UK have number of opt-outs).

- Norway, Iceland, Switzerland participate in Schengen, while not being EU members.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Majone, pages: 23-41.

- Cini, pages: 377-388.

- Wallace, pages: 483-503.

Widening or Enlargement agenda

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Membership in EU

Membership in EU expanded from 6 in 1951 to 15 by 1995, to 25 in 2004, to 27 in 2007, and to 28 in 2013.

- 1951 - Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy, Netherlands.
- 1973 - Denmark, Ireland, the UK.
- 1981 – Greece.
- 1986 - Portugal, Spain.

Membership in EU - 2

- 1995 - Austria, Finland, Sweden.
- 2004 - Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.
- 2007 - Bulgaria, Romania.
- 2013 - Croatia.

Potential members: Albania, Bosnia, Iceland, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey, (and others).

Current enlargement countries

Enlargement as integral part of EU integration process.

- Negotiating countries (Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey);

- Candidate countries (Albania and Macedonia);

- Potential candidate countries (Bosnia and Kosovo).

Who can become EU member?

- Every sovereign European state.
- Admission is with decision of the Council of the EU.
- Suspension of membership rights possible; a member can also be expelled.
- Politics involved in membership issues.

Legal bases for accession

- Any European State may apply to become a member (EU Treaty).

- Meeting geographical requirement that it must be European State is not sufficient.

- Any acceding State must be democracy.

Legal bases for accession - 2

- But, States which meet all the conditions have no legal entitlement to join.

- Decision on membership is act of political discretion.

Accession procedures

- European State wishing to join EU sends application to Council.

- This declaration of intent can be withdrawn by applicant State at any time before accession document is ratified (as happened with Norway in 1994).

- Commission provides opinion to Council on readiness of applicant for membership.

Accession procedures - 2

- Council decides by simple majority on opening of negotiations.

- Negotiations are conducted by Presidency on behalf of Member States and with assistance of Commission.

- By unanimous vote the Council decides whether to grant the request for membership.

Accession procedures - 3

- During negotiations, EP is kept informed of progress of talks.

- EP has to agree to accession by absolute majority of its Members.

- Treaty of Accession requires ratification by all the contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

Accession procedures - 4

- As soon as Treaty of Accession enters into force, acceding State becomes contracting party to all Treaties establishing European Communities.

- It acquires rights and obligations of a Member State of EU.

- With accession, EU legislation (acquis communautaire) has force of law in new Member State.

Criteria for membership

- No treaty mentioned criteria for EU membership.

- 1993 Copenhagen European Council defined the criteria (Copenhagen Criteria).

Criteria for membership - 2

Criteria for accession:

1. Stability of democracy and its institutions;

2. Functioning market economy, able to cope with competitive pressures in the single market;

3. Ability to assume obligations arising from Community law.

Enlargement to the East

- As means of reinforcing security and modernization in Eastern Europe.

- Enlargement to east challenged consensus on integration policy and tested capacity for reform of EU.

- It exacerbated conflicts about distribution between Cohesion Fund countries and net contributors in the EU.

Enlargement to the East - 2

- End of cold war made Enlargement permanent item at EU's agenda.

- New democracies in Europe declared membership as foreign policy goal, as part of 'return to Europe'.

- Unprecedentedly long list of applicants, with countries at very different development stages.

Enlargement to the East - 3

- Challenge for the EU was to find agreement on whether to enlarge, given strongly diverging preferences of member governments.

- Enlargement threatened balance of power between member states, functioning of EU institutions.

CEECs' four routes towards EU membership

1. bilateral "Europe agreements".

2. Implementing national alignment programs.

3. Participating in structured relations with EU institutions.

4. Management of accession which begins with application for membership.

Chronology of Eastern enlargement

- April 1987 - Application of Turkey.

- December 1991 - EAs signed with Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia.

- February 1993 - EA with Romania.

- March 1993 - EA with Bulgaria.

- June 1993 - Copenhagen European Council (endorsement of membership perspective).

Chronology of Eastern enlargement - 2

- October 1993 - EAs with Czech Republic and Slovakia.

- December 1994 - Essen European Council (agreement on pre-accession strategy).

- June 1995 - EAs with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

- December 1995 - Madrid European Council (indicative date for accession negotiations).

- June 1996 - EA with Slovenia.

Chronology of Eastern enlargement - 3

- July 1997 - Commission's Agenda 2000 published.

- December 1997 - Luxembourg European Council (decision on candidates for accession negotiations).

- March 1998 - Start of accession negotiations with first five CEECs and Cyprus.

- March 1999 - Berlin European Council (agreement on budget for 2000–6).

Chronology of Eastern enlargement - 4

- December 1999 - Helsinki European Council (decision to start negotiations with three more CEECs and Malta).

- December 2000 - Treaty of Nice (ToN) (decision on institutional reforms).

- April 2001 - SAA with Macedonia.

- October 2001 - SAA with Croatia.

- December 2002 - End of accession negotiations for ten countries.

Chronology of Eastern enlargement - 5

- April 2004 - Commission recommends opening accession negotiations with Croatia.

- May 2004 - Accession of Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia,

- Lithuania, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta.

Chronology of Eastern enlargement - 6

- May 2004 - Council requests the Commission to prepare an Opinion on Macedonia's application.

- 2005 - Accession negotiations with Turkey and Croatia.

- January 2007 – Accession of Bulgaria and Romania.

- 2013 – Accession of Croatia.

'Classical method' of enlargement

- Candidates accept acquis communautaire in full (no permanent opt-outs); negotiations only focus on practicalities of candidates' adoption of acquis.

- Only incremental adaptation of EU's institutional structure to address increased diversity in enlarged EU.

- EU preference for parallel negotiations with groups of applicants.

Enlargement as a composite policy

- Enlargement is not policy area in its own right, it is not a single-issue policy, and it does not have a single location in the policy process.

- Enlargement affects all of EU's policy areas.

- It is constitutive policy, as it has profound effects on the EU's institutional set-up.

Enlargement policy's particular characteristics

- A composite policy has two distinctive dimensions: 'macro-policy', and 'meso-policies'.

- Macro-policy concerns overall objectives and parameters of policy.

- Meso-policy concerns technical aspects.

Enlargement policy's particular characteristics - 2

- Policy-makers responsible for macro-policy include officials in Commission's Directorate-General for Enlargement (DG ELARG), and its Commissioner, as well as officials of member states' foreign ministries.

- Decision-making competences for various meso-policies rest with sectoral policy-makers who have relevant technical expertise.

EU's reactions to political changes in CEECs

- Challenge of devising new relationship with CEECs shot onto EU's agenda in late 1980s, prompted by political changes taking place in Soviet Union.

- Previously, relations between EU and CEECs were virtually non-existent.

- Joint EC–CMEA declaration in June 1988 establishing official relations between two sides.

EU's reactions to political changes in CEECs - 2

- Rapid political changes of 1989, bringing down the communist regimes.

- EU had no policy with which to define the new relationship, no contingency planning, and no precedents to build on.

- EU responded with a number of initiatives.

EU's reactions to political changes in CEECs - 3

- EU was given coordination role in relations with CEECs.

- Germans saw it as way to reassure other member states and to share burden of stabilizing CEECs.

- CEEC governments framed their goals of reforms with explicit references to European integration.

EU's reactions to political changes in CEECs - 4

- Commission developed bilateral Trade and Cooperation Agreements with individual countries and coordinated the aid.

- Emergency humanitarian aid.

- Macro-economic assistance.

- Technical assistance program for economic restructuring: Phare - (*Pologne, Hongrie: aide à la restructuration économique*).

Policy framework: "Europe Agreements"

- Europe agreements as framework for relations with CEECs, 1990.

- They consisted of: free trade area for industrial products, 'political dialogue', financial assistance.

- Key criticism was that EAs did not establish clear link to future EU membership.

Accession perspective for CEECs

- Endorsement of CEECs' membership objective by Copenhagen European Council in 1993.

- Commission considered EFTA applicants as immediately eligible for membership.

- Madrid European Council 1995 shifted EU policy firmly towards enlargement.

Towards an enlargement policy: Agenda 2000

It gave pathway for addressing challenges of enlargement policy:

- Institutional reform,

- Internal policy reform (especially the CAP and structural funds),

- Accession negotiations (including selection of candidates), and

- Accession preparations of CEECs (on basis of assumption of adoption of acquis).

Towards accession

- Queue for EU membership included CEEC candidates, plus Cyprus and Malta.

- Initially, 'Regatta' option was chosen: all candidates start accession race, but might row at different speeds towards finishing line.

- Later, "big bang" option was chosen for accession: simultaneous accession of all candidates, except for Bulgaria and Romania.

Towards accession - 2

- Accession negotiations with five CEECs and Cyprus opened in March 1998.

- Then, Commission's 'screening'.

- Helsinki European Council in December 1999 started accession negotiations also with remaining candidates (Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania).

Towards accession - 3

- Negotiations were concluded in Dec 2002.

- After ratification of accession treaties by member states, by EP, and via referenda in candidate countries, new members joined on 1 May 2004, in time to participate in EP elections.

Wider Europe

- Bulgaria and Romania, joined in 2007.

- Accession negotiations with Turkey since 2005 ('official candidate' for accession at the Helsinki European Council, 1999).

- Croatia joined in 2013.

Wider Europe - 2

- 'Stabilization and Association Process' for countries of South-East Europe.

- Feira European Council in 2000 affirmed their status as 'potential candidates'.

- First step towards membership consists of Stabilization and Association Agreements (SAAs), modeled on EAs, but with much more detailed political conditionality.

- All Western Balkan countries signed SAAs.

European Neighbourhood Policy

- Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, but also participants in Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

- Main components: trade liberalization, regulatory alignment, cooperation on JHA, and foreign policy; cooperation is

- not geared towards accession.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Weidenfeld, pages: 90-96.

- Wallace, pages: 402-426.

- Cini, pages: 418-434.

- Schimmelfennig, pages: 3-25.

Rationalist and Marxist views of Enlargement

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

Theories on enlargement

- EU enlargement neglected issue in theory of regional integration.

- Neo-functionalism mentioned geographical growth of international communities only in passing.

- Analyzing establishment of regional organizations preceded studying their territorial expansion.

Theories on enlargement - 2

- Heyday of regional integration theory came to end before EU's first enlargement in 1973.

- New integration theories (neo-corporatism, network analysis) did little to further research on enlargement.

- Revival of integration studies in 1990s still focused exclusively upon 'deepening'.

Enlargement literature

- Enlargement resulted in sizeable literature.

- EFTA and Eastern enlargement triggered theory-oriented work.

Weaknesses that characterize the study of enlargement

1. Its insularity from study of other international organizations;

2. Lack of comparative research designs;

3. Neglect of important dimensions of enlargement;

4. Neglect of exploring alternative explanations.

"Enlargement" as *horizontal institutionalization*

- "Horizontal institutionalization of organizational rules and norms".

- Institutionalization as a process by which actions and interactions of social actors come to be normatively patterned.

- 'Horizontal' and 'vertical' institutionalization corresponds to 'widening' and 'deepening'.

"Enlargement" as *horizontal institutionalization - 2*

- <u>Formal horizontal institutionalization</u>: association agreements or accession treaties.

- <u>Informal horizontal institutionalization ('diffuse')</u>: spread beyond boundaries of the organization, both to aspiring members and to states that have no intention to join.

- Such diffusion results from desire to mitigate negative externalities of regional integration.

"Enlargement" as *horizontal institutionalization - 3*

- Enlargement as process that begins before and continues after admission.

- Even in absence of full membership, outside actors might follow certain organizational norms and rules.

- Non-members align with organizational rules as a result of organization's accession conditionality.

Consequences of such a definition of enlargement

1. By defining enlargement as institutionalization, there is a link with study of institutions.

2. It widens enlargement studies. E.g. impact of horizontal institutionalization in applicants, member states, organization itself.

Four dimensions of enlargement that generate separate dependent variables for study of enlargement

1. Applicants' enlargement politics.

2. Member state enlargement politics.

3. EU enlargement politics.

4. Impact of enlargement.

Applicant enlargement politics

- Why and under which conditions non-members seek accession.

- Under which conditions outsiders pursue a change in their institutional relationship with regional organization and what kind of institutional relationship they prefer.

Member-state enlargement politics

- Under which conditions a member state of a regional organization favors or opposes enlargement to a particular applicant country.

EU enlargement politics

- Under which conditions does regional organization admit new member?

- Two related dimensions: macro-dimension and substantive dimension.

- Macro-dimension concerns candidate selection – why organization prefers to admit one state rather than another.

EU enlargement politics - 2

- Substantive dimension concerns substance of organizational rules.

- It seeks to explain specific outcomes of accession or nature of conditionality.

- Key question is to what extent outcomes reflect preferences of actors, such as applicants, member states, societal interest groups, or institutional actors.

Impact of enlargement

- Enlargement affects both organization and new member state.

- How enlargement affects distribution of power and interests in organization and its effectiveness and efficiency; how enlargement influences organization's identity; what is the effect of widening on prospects for deepening.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES: RATIONALISM

Rationalism foundations

- Rationalism is based on individualism and materialism; assumes logic of consequentiality.

- Causal status of institutions remains secondary to that of individual/material interests.

- Institutions as intervening variables between material interests and material environment of actors.

Rationalism foundations - 2

- Institutions provide constraints and incentives, not reasons for action; they alter cost–benefit calculations, not identities and interests.

- International organizations designed to help states pursue their interests.

- They are attractive to states because they reduce transaction costs.

Rationalism foundations - 3

- States join international organizations in order to 'constrain and control one another'.

- They are not autonomous actors in international politics.

- International organizations as clubs or voluntary groups; members would not join unless a net gain results from membership.

Rationalist hypotheses

- Explanations of enlargement in two steps:

1. Explanation of applicant and member state enlargement preferences,

2. Explanation of organizational collective enlargement decisions at macro and policy levels.

Applicant and member state politics

- Expected costs and benefits determine states' enlargement preferences.

- State favors kind and degree of horizontal institutionalization that maximizes its net benefits.

- State favor integration under conditions that these benefits exceed benefits it would secure from alternative form of horizontal institutionalization.

Costs and Benefits

- Three categories of costs and benefits relevant for states' enlargement preferences :

1. Transaction (or management) costs and benefits.

2. Policy costs and benefits.

3. Autonomy costs and benefits.

Transaction costs and benefits

- Transaction costs rise for member states because additional members require additional organizational infrastructure.

- New members increase heterogeneity.

- Applicants incur costs for establishing delegations at headquarters of the organization.

- These costs are balanced by benefits such as organizational services to member states and coordination between member states.

Policy costs and benefits

- For member states they have to share collective goods with new members.

- For applicants, policy costs involve membership contributions and adaptation of domestic policies.

- Incumbent members obtain policy benefits from contributions of new members to club goods and applicants can expect to benefit from being able to participate in club goods.

Autonomy costs and benefits

- Autonomy costs arise because there is foregoing of unilateral policy options both for member states and for applicants.

- Under EU's qualified majority voting rule, member states' degree of control over outcomes decreases with enlargement.

- Member states may gain better control over political developments in applicant states.

Autonomy costs and benefits - 2

- New member benefits from protection of state autonomy provided by the organization.

- States favor enlargement if this is necessary to balance superior power or threat of a third state.

- State leaders accept autonomy costs in order to retain political power.

Sources of enlargement preferences

- Systemic conditions: changes in world economy, in technology, or security environment.

- Deepening of economic integration in organization will establish negative externalities for outsiders.

- But, high degree of integration may deter states that value autonomy highly.

Sources of enlargement preferences - 2

- Positional characteristics of states - extent of their economic dependence on regional organization.

- Domestic conditions - relative strength of export oriented economic sectors, greater demand for integration.

EU macro- and substantive politics

- According to club theory, organization expands if marginal benefits of enlargement exceed marginal costs.

- In club-theoretical perspective, enlargement will continue until marginal costs equal marginal benefits.

- This equilibrium indicates optimal size of organization.

EU macro- and substantive politics - 2

- Enlargement also results from unequal bargaining power among incumbents.

- Member states that expect net losses from enlargement will agree to enlargement if their bargaining power is sufficient to obtain full compensation.

- EU policies that are affected by enlargement (such as agriculture) are governed by different policy rules that privilege individual governments and interest groups in politics of enlargement.

Focus in EFTA and Eastern enlargement

- Theory-oriented research on enlargement concentrates on: 1995 enlargement to EFTA members and ongoing eastern enlargement.

- While research on EFTA enlargement concentrated on applicant politics, studies of eastern enlargement predominantly analyzed EU (macro-)politics.

- Rationalist explanations dominate in EFTA rather than in eastern enlargement.

EFTA enlargement: applicant enlargement politics

- Why did EFTA countries, after long period, developed interest in EU membership?:

1. End of Cold War removed obstacle to EU membership, since most of EFTA countries were neutral and non-aligned.

2. Changes in world economy, e.g. oil crisis, globalization.

3. Negative externalities resulting from deepening of EU integration.

EFTA Enlargement

- Export-oriented Swedish firms pushed Swedish government to pursue EU membership by threatening to relocate their investment.

- Economic downturn persuaded Finnish and Swedish governments of need for change in economic policy.

EFTA Enlargement - 2

- Negative outcome of Norwegian referendum was fact that economic performance gap with EU disappeared between application and ratification.

- Norway was less dependent on European market (Finland and Sweden more due to their export-oriented markets).

- Rationalist explanations, however, cannot account for the Swiss case.

Eastern enlargement: Applicant politics and member-state politics

- Work on Eastern enlargement has focused on EU politics.

- Material cost–benefit calculations would lead to expect strong CEEC interest in EU membership.

- Main result of EU membership is to redress economic distortions and to maximize welfare.

Eastern Enlargement: EU macro-politics - Why EU decided to enlarge?

- Uneven distribution of costs and benefits from enlargement led to opposition from some member states; but costs were not large for them to block enlargement.

- Asymmetrical power between incumbents and CEECs allowed reluctant EU members to minimize costs to detriment of new members.

- Wars following breakup of Yugoslavia raised concerns about stability.

MARXIST OR HISTORICAL MATERIALIST ANALYSIS OF ENLARGEMENT

Marxist perspective

- Enlargement as part of globalization process.

- Free movement of capital institutionalized by EU, leading to mergers and increasing significance of TNCs.

- Outcome of enlargement as result of class struggle.

Neo-Gramscian perspectives

- Drawing on work of Italian communist Antonio Gramsci (1971) as interpreted by Robert Cox (1981, 1983), it conceptualizes historical specificity of capitalism by taking production as starting-point of analysis.

- Production gives rise to social forces as most important actors.

Neo-Gramscian perspectives - 2

- Class struggle as exploitation and resistance to it.

- This leads to opposition between bourgeoisie, owners of means of production, and workers, who can only sell their labor.

- Transnationalization of production as expression of class struggle between national capital and labor and transnational forces of capital and labor.

Neo-Gramscian perspectives - 3

- Social forces established by production processes organized at national level producing predominantly for domestic consumption, and internationally oriented social forces, stemming from national production, which is export oriented.

- Way production is organized in countries where some social forces are in favor of membership and others against.

Austria's EU accession

- About 50% of Austrian domestic production sheltered against international competition.

- Line of division between nationally oriented capital and labor and internationally oriented capital and labor.

- While former rejected EU membership, latter supported accession.

Austria: formation of pro-EU bloc

- Main actor to start debate was Austrian Federation of Industrialists.

- It was concerned about possible barriers by EU Internal Market project.

- It called in 1987 for Austria's membership in EU.

Sweden's EU accession

- Sweden's production structure characterized by TNCs.

- Main line of division in Sweden between national capital and labour and transnational capital and labour.

- Swedish TNCs realized that they must be part of Internal Market.

Sweden: power of transnational capital

- Transfer of production units had a significant impact on the government.

- No camp feared that EU would undermine Swedish welfare system.

- Problem of 'no' forces was lack of a hegemonic project which went beyond rejection of membership and provided a clear alternative.

Restructuring of CEECs and EU eastern enlargement

- Social relations of production in CEE were restructured with goal of integrating into global economy.

- 'Double transformation': establishment of liberal democracies and market economies.

- CEE financial markets were liberalized.

Restructuring of CEECs and EU eastern enlargement - 2

- After privatization, national production became transnationalized.

- Social consequences of restructuring: decline in GDP and rising unemployment.

- Result was social hardship for large parts of the population.

Restructuring of CEECs and EU eastern enlargement - 3

- Elites had to secure their neo-liberal project externally through EU membership ('passive revolution').

- In 'passive revolution' state replaces local social groups in leading a struggle.

- EU membership is seen to make it easier to cope with social hardship resulting from neo-liberal restructuring.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Schimmelfennig, pages: 75-91; 198-209; 213-231.

Constructivist views of Enlargement

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

History of Constructivism

- Newest theory in IR.

- Emerging in late 1980s.

- Initial literature: Wendt (1987, 1992); Onuf (1989); Kratochwil (1989).

- Intellectual traditions upon which it relies have long histories.

About Constructivism

- It looks at powerful role that <u>ideas</u> play in international politics.

- Although it does not deny importance of material factors (money, weapons), it argues that effects of these factors are not predetermined.

- Instead, the effects of these factors depend on how we think about them.

Ideas of Constructivism

Constructivism focuses on three key kinds of ideas:

- interests,

- identities, and

- norms.

Interests

- Constructivists do not assume interests, but ask where interests come from.

- Interests do not follow from material factors; interests are "socially constructed".

- Enemies become friends without much change in material factors. E.g. Franco-German friendship after WWII.

Norms

- Norms play important role in shaping behavior, in part because those who violate shared norms pay a price in terms of losing moral influence.

- In terms of effects, norms shape the way that states define their interests.

Identities

- Actors' perceptions of who they are and what their roles are.

- Identities change.

- As identities change, interests/behavior change.

- Theories that ignore role of identity, will miss important source of change.

EU as community representative

- International organizations are 'community representatives' and community-building agencies.

- Its goals and procedures are shaped by the values and norms of the community they represent.

- Thus, enlargement is value and norm-driven.

States that share values can become a member

- A state that share collective identity and have adopted values and norms of international community will also seek to become a member of the organization that represents it.

- In turn, the international organizations, will admit those states that have adopted the community values and norms.

EU representing liberal values and norms

- EU represent the European international community of liberal values and norms.

- Liberal human rights are fundamental values and norms of this community.

- States that deviate from community standards will be expelled from or leave the community organization.

EU representing liberal values and norms - 2

- Enlargement of EU depends on spread of liberal values and norms among states.

- Other ideational factors may also be more important. E.g. civilization hypothesis – EU resting on 'shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity' (Huntington).

- Thus, Slavic-Orthodox and Muslim countries will not qualify for membership (even if they are liberal states and lie in Europe).

Constructivist hypotheses

- Enlargement shaped by cultural factors. Such as: 'community', 'cultural match', i.e. degree to which actors inside and outside organization share collective identity and beliefs.

- Studying enlargement in constructivism, consists in analysis of social identities, values, and norms.

Constructivist hypotheses - 2

- Institutions shape actors' identities and interests.

- Institutions do not act only as constraints and incentives; but also provide meaning to rights and obligations of actors.

- Actors conform with institutionally prescribed behavior out of normative commitment.

Applicant and member-state politics

- Applicants and members 'construct' their relationship on basis of ideas that define the community.

- More applicant state identifies values and norms of the organization, stronger ties it seeks with this organization and more member states are willing to pursue enlargement.

Applicant and member-state politics - 2

- Questions is whether applicant state is 'European', subscribes to 'ever closer union', adheres to liberal-democracy, or shares norms underlying specific EU policies.

- Degree of consensus on applicant state's identity and norms, will affect the resulting enlargement preferences.

EU macro- and substantive politics

- Incumbents and outsiders continuously seek to redefine boundaries of the community, between 'us' and 'them', and to reinterpret the organizational norms.

- As a result, there will be change in the definition of the community and in its enlargement practices.

EU macro- and substantive politics - 2

- Organization expands to outside states to extent that these states share its identity, values, and norms.

- The better cultural or normative match, faster and deeper will be enlargement.

- Enlargement will continue until cultural borders of community and institutional borders of the organization match.

Interest formation in enlargement

- How and why enlargement became part of the agenda despite serious doubts?

- EU enlargement can be explained by commitment to widen to other democratic states in Europe.

- Meaning and language are central to constitution of identity and interest.

- Norms act as a cause of enlargement.

Speech acts, contextual change and institutional interests

- 'Iron curtain' represented 'border of order' for EU, as it played a crucial role in identity formation for EU.

- This order was built on liberal democratic principles that were established and sustained by negative definition in relation to other side of the iron curtain (communist East).

Speech acts, contextual change and institutional interests - 2

- These identities were profoundly challenged by post-Cold War.

- Enlargement is not simply a means to extend membership to a new member state; it also involves incorporating what was previously the Other.

- East and West established a framework of peaceful coexistence.

Helsinki Final Act, 1975

- Helsinki Final Act, 1975 guided relationship between East and West.

- Expansion was non-issue; détente cemented division of Europe, granting communist East a legitimacy.

- Each bloc interpreted the document selectively.

- West emphasized Western values, while East emphasized non-interference in their affairs.

Speech acts: the promise of Helsinki

- Final Act imposed moral obligation on signatories to translate its promises into reality.

- Significance of the Act lay in constructing a moral obligation.

- Goal was to translate promise of Helsinki into reality.

Changing contexts, changing meaning

- From 1989 to 1991, political landscape of Europe was transformed.

- EU was forced to redefine its identity.

- End of Cold War established pressures to expand EU at a time when it had been preparing to 'deepen'.

Changing contexts, changing meaning - 2

- Past promises became stable features in uncertain situation.

- These promises were reinforced by conceptualization of end of Cold War as 'victory' for liberal democracy.

- CEECs referred to their liberation as return to original state (return to democracy, to capitalism, to history).

Changing contexts, changing meaning - 3

- West, and its institutions, represented a normative ideal.

- CEECs were encouraged to act in accordance with these ideals in resisting totalitarianism.

- West had a responsibility to assist CEECs in recovery, to assist them in upholding these values.

Changing contexts, changing meaning - 4

- West had encouraged adoption of democratic ideals, but prescribed cure (non-enlargement), was exacerbating tensions.

- EU was accused of lukewarm response to Eastern problems.

- Existence of norms supporting enlargement was dramatized by CEECs who pointed to discrepancy between Western promises and actions.

Changing contexts, changing meaning - 5

- Cold War promise to Eastern Europe became, in a new context, a threat of instability should the West fail to act.

- But the threat went even deeper.

- Failure to act on promise became a threat to the identity of EU.

Redefining interests: challenge to institutional identity

- Actors used past promises to hold up a mirror to current practices.

- The mirror was first held up to East, who in Final Act, promised to respect human rights and then proceeded to abuse dissidents.

- In aftermath of Cold War, these same dissidents, held a mirror up to West, arguing that West had responsibility to those it had encouraged to adopt those ideals.

Redefining interests: challenge to institutional identity - 2

- If one's identity are dependent on recognition of others, promise-keeping becomes important.

- It is at the point that others recognize the violation of normative expectations, or the failure to live up to previously stated ideals, that shame or disrespect are experienced.

Redefining interests: challenge to institutional identity - 3

- Inconsistency between the normative ideals which the West represented and its practices towards the CEECs would be damaging to the identity of the EU.

- EU was now less ready to take on responsibility it had assigned for itself earlier when eastern enlargement was not yet in sight (absorption capacities).

Redefining interests: challenge to institutional identity - 4

- Policy was developed which involved adding conditions for enlargement. E.g. respect for minority rights, which was not explicitly mentioned in the acquis to which the Western members have adhered.

- We can, therefore speak of hurdles constructed for Eastern candidates.

- There was clear tension between promises of the past and emergence of concerns.

Redefining interests: challenge to institutional identity - 5

- Next to issues of "institutions", "minority rights", "security", "money" later appeared to be constraint in enlargement.

- EU states quarreled over who should bear financial burden of enlargement ('favourite toy of Germans now is the calculator').

- 'if' of eastern enlargement was decided, but 'how' and 'when' remained to be decided.

Discourse of EU identity towards the CEECs

- Formation of EU's identity towards CEECs began in early Cold War era.

- Statements by policy-makers from both EU institutions and member governments deplored involuntary exclusion of CEECs from integration project, and asserted that, without them, this project remained incomplete.

Discourse of EU identity towards the CEECs - 2

- This discourse, when Cold War ended, suddenly became real possibility, and provided script for EU policy-makers to assert specific role for EU towards CEECs.

- There was continuity in the discourse about its role towards the CEECs.

- EU policy-makers at successive European Council meetings, pledged support for CEECs.

Discourse of EU identity towards the CEECs - 3

- 'Determination to act with renewed hope to overcome division of continent' (Rhodes 1988);

- 'Community and its Member States are fully conscious of common responsibility which devolves on them in this decisive phase in the history of Europe (Strasbourg 1989);

- 'Conscious of its special responsibility towards CEECs (Rome 1990).

Discourse of EU identity towards the CEECs - 4

- EU's own discourse was endorsed and perpetuated from outside sources.

- CEECs declared their ambition to 'return to Europe' by joining the EU.

- US administration stated that CEECs were largely 'Europe's responsibility'.

- Continuity in discourse and validation from outside sources reinforced EU's role and became associated with EU's self-image.

Policy impact and uneven effect of EU's collective identity towards the CEECs

- Merely to establish existence of such collective identity is not sufficient to infer causal effect on policy.

- Group of policy advocates emerged in Commission.

- These people identified most strongly with EU's role towards CEECs and internalized EU's identity towards CEECs.

Policy impact and uneven effect of EU's collective identity towards the CEECs - 2

- EU identity towards CEECs did not determine policy outcomes.

- Internalizing identity was not enough to have effect.

- Criticism of delaying membership had a strong normative dimension which emphasized failure of EU to live up to the role it had declared for itself.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Schimmelfennig, pages: 99-115; 120-137; 143-166; 172-195.

Europeanization

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU
Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University

What is 'Europeanizaton'?

- 'Europeanization' as term describes variety of changes within European politics and international relations.

- Not synonym for European regional integration or convergence.

- It is process of structural change, affecting actors and institutions, ideas and interests.

Europeanization as a structural change

- Structural change is related with 'Europe'.

- 'Europeanization' involves response of actors to EU policies.

- Scope of 'Europeanization' is broad; stretches across existing member states, applicant states and wider.

Europeanization as a structural change - 2

- Not new label for 'neofunctionalism'.

- 'Europeanization' is a matter of degree.

- Its structural effects are not necessarily permanent or irreversible.

- Its impact is incremental, irregular, uneven over time and between locations.

Europeanization as a structural change - 3

- Difference between 'Europeanization' and 'globalization' difficult to make, obscuring key independent variable.

- Cause and effect in the 'Europeanization' process can be deceptive. E.g. 'small' technical EU obligations may have widespread domestic ramifications.

Typology of Europeanization

In literature, 'Europeanization' applied within four broad categories:

1. As historical process;

2. As matter of cultural diffusion;

3. As process of institutional adaptation;

4. As adaptation of policy and policy processes.

As a Historic Phenomenon

- 'Europeanization' took different meanings throughout modern history.

- It referred to 'export' of European authority and social norms. E.g. Imperialism by UK, FR, ES, PT linking civilization with spread of European norms and habits.

As a Cultural Diffusion

- As increasing transnationalism, i.e. diffusion of cultural norms, ideas, identities, behavior on a cross-national basis within Europe.

- Used to describe changes in education, sports, food, political culture, citizenship, ideology, immigration.

PIR 419, jusufi, epoka university

As an Institutional Adaptation

- Associated with domestic adaptation to pressures emanating directly or indirectly from EU membership.

- How actors and institutions are affected.

- How public administrations adapted to obligations of EU membership.

As an Institutional Adaptation - 2

- 'Historical institutionalism' - EU effect on actor preferences/interests to establish dictinct paths of development in policies and institutions.

- 'Fusion' of national and European institutions.

- Shift towards 'Europeanization' in political parties, NGOs, universities, legal system, public sector, elite behavior.

As an Institutional Adaptation - 3

- Relating it to emergence of "multilevel governance".

- Emergence of network mode of governance.

- How interests and capabilities redefined as 'two-level' bargaining structure.

As an Institutional Adaptation - 4

- Domestic empowerment from EU across range of actors and policy spheres.

- Defensive strategy with respect to onset of 'globalization' and neoliberalism associated with it.

As an Adaptation of Policies and Policy Processes

- Constraints on domestic policy posed by EU regulation.

- Domestic inputs into EU policy making.

- Progress in EU foreign policy coordination.

As an Adaptation of Policies and Policy Processes - 2

- Reorientation of foreign policies of individual states as a result of EC entry.

- Shift in NATO towards strengthening European 'pillar'.

- Emergence of EU as foreign policy actor.

- Involvement of EU states in conflicts taking place elsewhere.

As an Adaptation of Policies and Policy Processes - 3

- Domestic adaptation as a result of EU membership.

- Evidence for convergence at three levels: emergence of a European political agenda; forms of interest representation; and modes of operation of various actors.

'Europeanization' as a Conceptual Framework

- Initially, Europeanization referred to emergence of EU level of structures.

- Later, it defined EU effects on countries.

- Europeanization as particular type of transition i.e. adopting EU regulations.

- Process of institutionalization of European system of governance at national level.

Changes in understandings of Europeanization

Ladrech (1994) provided one of first definitions:

- 'process reorienting direction and shape of politics to degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of organizational logic of national policy-making'.

Olsen on Europeanization

- Olsen (1996) described it highlighting changes underway in domestic systems.

- Olsen saw the process in EU-centric and top-down fashion.

Olsen on uses of Europeanization

1. as changes in external territorial boundaries,

2. as development of institutions at EU level,

3. as penetration of national governance,

4. as exporting forms of governance typical for Europe beyond European territory,

5. as project aiming at unified Europe.

Caporaso et al. on Europeanization

- As political institutionalization: development of rules governing politics at EU, national, and subnational levels.

- Different levels on which Europeanization may take place: institution-building at European level; impact of EU membership at national level; and as response to globalization.

Knill and Lehmkuhl on three mechanisms of Europeanization

1. 'positive integration' - when EU obligations prescribe institutional model to which domestic arrangements adjust.

2. 'negative integration' - occurs where EU legislation alters domestic rules of game.

3. EU policy alters beliefs and expectations of domestic actors.

Schmidt on Europeanization

- Three key dimensions of adjustment: economic, institutional, and ideational.

- Outcomes: inertia, absorption, or transformation.

New Institutionalism on Europeanization

- Concept of 'goodness of fit' (or 'misfit'), between EU and domestic policies.

Two 'logics' in operation of institutions:

- 'logic of appropriateness' – actors internalize EU norms.

- 'logic of consequentialism' – actor's opportunities and constraints affected within institutions.

Borzel on Europeanization

As a two-way process: bottom-up and top-down dimension.

- Bottom-up dimension - as uploading, constructing EU system of governance.

- Top-down dimension – as downloading, about its domestic impact.

Others on Europeanization

- Schmidt: EU having greater impact on member states with unitary character, than to those with federal structures.

- Jorgensen: Europeanization leading to "multi-level governance", according to which "decision making competencies are shared by actors at different levels".

Responsive and Intended Europeanization

Europeanization as "Responsive" or "Intended".

- <u>Responsive</u>: where little effort is made to introduce into domestic system EU norms; it comes as response to pressures.

- <u>Intended</u>: intention to transfer into political systems the norms of the EU.

Europeanization stages

Stages of intensity of Europeanization:

- <u>Europeanization episode</u>: Articulation of EU occurs as a singular event.

- <u>Issue Europeanization</u>: When there is entry of EU in broad front on various issues.

- <u>Identity Europeanization</u>: parties articulate their positions with those of EU.

- <u>Subordination Europeanization</u>: parties widely accept values offered by Europeanization.

Europeanization mechanisms of impact

- <u>Compulsory Impact</u>: carrots and sticks, compelling actors to change their policies.

- <u>Enabling Impact</u>: specific actors within country link their political agendas with the EU.

- <u>Connective Impact</u>: socialization and domestic empowerment through financial assistance.

- <u>Constructive Impact</u>: transforming local identities into those of European nature.

Conditionality approach

- Conditionality: Copenhagen criteria, acquis communautaire, democracy, human rights, rule of law.

- Imposition of conditionality assumes existence of difference or "misfit" between EU and domestic policies.

- Conditionality works best when countries have credible promise of membership.

Impact of Conditionality

Whether country honors conditions depends:

- Nature of EU impact;

- Factors of a country and of EU;

- EU strategies;

- Proximity of countries to EU;

- Seriousness of membership perspective;

- Financial supporting programs.

Top down process

- Instruments used by EU are "top down process".

- "Top-down" approach does not cause problem as EU is seen as provider of benefits.

- "Top-down" approach emphasizes existence of "misfit" at domestic level with EU requirements.

Misfit

- Where there is misfit between EU requirements and domestic circumstances, "adjustment pressure" builds up at domestic level.

- Adjustment pressure varies from one country to another.

- Variations in adjustment pressure are explained by existence of "facilitating actors" at domestic level such as financial assistance, readiness of domestic actors to implement change.

Other mechanisms for change

Besides conditionality, there are other mechanisms that produced impact.

- Mechanism of referential: where EU becomes reference of domestic political action.

- Mechanism of horizontal: convergence through socialization pressures, financial assistance, networking, benchmarking, learning.

- Mechanism of discourse: Europeanization as discourse engaging rhetoric.

EU and other sources of change

- Important to distinguish EU influence from other sources of changes - globalization, modernization, other actors.

- Do Europeanization outcomes reveal convergence? No inevitability of convergence.

Must readings for this lesson:

Cini, pages: 405-416.

Featherstone, page: 3-20; 57-75.

EU as international actor

PIR 419, Political Integration and the EU

Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University

EU in the world

- Largest political block.
- Potential economic superpower.
- Largest trading block; largest share in global trade (20%).
- Largest GDP in world (11 trillion USD).
- Largest donor in world (70 billion USD).

European foreign and security policy during Cold War

- European foreign policy in Cold War functioned under the clout of NATO.

- None of three founding treaties touched on foreign policy and on defense.

- Treaty of Rome included limited competences in external relations.

European foreign and security policy during Cold War - 2

- Establishment of Western European Union (WEU) with military functions.

- Commission's competences under Treaties of Paris and Rome for external trade and for assisting former colonies.

- Commission delegations established in third countries, with Directorate-General for External Relations to support them.

European political cooperation: 1970–1990

- European political cooperation (EPC) began with quarterly meetings of foreign ministers and officials in 1970.

- EPC was intergovernmental process.

- Foreign ministers' meetings were prepared by Political Committee, consisting of 'political directors' from foreign ministries.

European political cooperation: 1970–1990 - 2

- EPC was managed confidentially.

- Western Europe's image as 'civilian power' in 1970s-1980s reflected exclusion of security and defense issues.

- Warnings from Washington continued to accompany every gesture towards closer European cooperation.

European political cooperation: 1970–1990 - 3

- German, Dutch, British reassured their loyalty to Atlantic Alliance.

- Development of 'troika' (three representatives – of previous presidency, next in line, current office-holder), named after Russian three-horse sleigh.

European transformation and political union: 1990–2

- Decrease of US troops in Europe from 350,000 in 1989 to 150,000 by 1994.

- Disappearance of Soviet threat led to cuts in European defense spending.

- Development of European multinational military forces – Eurocorps to serve both WEU and NATO.

European transformation and political union: 1990–2 - 2

- Maastricht Treaty: 'Common foreign and security policy is hereby established'; 'eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence'.

- WEU designated 'integral part of the development of the Union', with its secretariat strengthened and moved from London and Paris to Brussels.

Learning by doing: 1992–6

- WEU meeting in 1992 - 'Petersberg Declaration' to outline role for WEU.

Petersberg Tasks: WEU to be employed for:

- Humanitarian and rescue tasks;

- Peacekeeping tasks;

- Tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

Yugoslav crisis key learning process

- US signalled that West Europeans should take responsibility.

- Europeans took responsibility with UNPROFOR.

- Germany recognized Croatia unilaterally.

- EU found difficult to agree on a common approach to Bosnian conflict.

Engagement with the periphery

- EU providing largest economic assistance to Palestinians, but without significant influence in Israeli-Palestinian relations.

- Germany insisted on Eastern enlargement.

- EU's southern members pressed for Mediterranean programs, particularly towards Maghreb.

Engagement with the periphery - 2

- Emergence of Northern perspective among strengthened Nordic group, shifted focus towards Baltic and Barents Seas and to nuclear safety in Russia.

- Gradual 'normalization' of German foreign and defense policy.

- Geographical diversity established differences of priorities.

European pillar within NATO

- In 1994, US launched concept of Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTFs), intended to enable European governments to launch operations without direct US commitment, but also with right to request use of Nato's facilities.

- NATO developed concept of European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI).

- In 1995, France returned to some parts of Nato structures.

Amsterdam review

- Establishment of High Representative.

- Creation of a new policy planning unit, alongside the existing CFSP secretariat.

After Amsterdam: Britain and France as leaders

- European-US differences were evident in Kosovo conflict in 1998-9.

- Kosovo crisis pushed for autonomous European defence capability.

- UK promoting European defence integration; Franco-British St Malo Declaration, 1998: 'Union must have capacity for autonomous action'.

Developments in ESDP since St Malo, 1998–2004

- 1999 European Council Helsinki defined EU Headline Goal of establishing military capacity by 2003 to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least one year a force of 50–60,000 personnel, capable of the full range of Petersberg tasks.

- ESDP political and military bodies established in 2000.

Developments in ESDP since St Malo, 1998–2004 - 2

- 2000, Political-Security Committee, Military Committee, Military Staff set up.

- 2002, WEU Torrejon Satellite Centre, Institute for Security Studies, became EU agencies.

- 2002, 'Berlin Plus' Nato–EU agreement for EU access to Nato logistics for missions in which Nato is not involved.

Developments in ESDP since St Malo, 1998–2004 - 3

- 2003, EU takes over UN police mission in Bosnia, as first ESDP mission.

- 2003, EU launches Operation Concordia in Macedonia, taking over from Nato, with access to Nato assets under the 'Berlin Plus' agreement.

- In 2003, Operation Artemis, a military mission, is despatched to Congo (DRC).

Developments in ESDP since St Malo, 1998–2004 - 4

- Artemis was first ESDP mission outside Europe and first military mission not to involve Nato assets and capabilities.

- 2003, European Security Strategy, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World'.

- 2003, EU police Operation Proxima replaces military operation Concordia in Macedonia.

Developments in ESDP since St Malo, 1998–2004 - 5

- 2004, 'European Defence Agency'.

- 2004, launch of first EU Rule of Law mission EUJUST Themis to Georgia.

- 2004, EU Operation Althea replaces Nato-led SFOR mission in Bosnia - with recourse to Nato assets and capabilities.

Unity over Afghanistan, discord over Iraq

- 2001 terrorist attacks transformed the context.

- US preparations for invasion of Iraq transformed the context again.

- Bush administration, less committed to Nato than its predecessors, refused suggestion that Nato should provide multilateral framework for response.

Unity over Afghanistan, discord over Iraq - 2

- British and French governments reverted to their divergent approaches to transatlantic relations.

- 2003, Belgium convened 'summit' to establish independent European defence headquarters.

- US celebrated division between 'old' and 'new Europe'.

After Iraq

- British, French, and German foreign ministers started to pursue joint negotiations with Iranian government over its nuclear program.

- British and French pushed ESDP agenda forward after the invasion of Iraq.

- 2004, 'battle groups', in response to international crises.

Growing EU engagement internationally

- In 2002, forming 'Quartet' (EU, US, UN, Russia) to relaunch efforts at negotiated solution for Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

- Resolving Montenegro and Kosovo relations with Serbia.

- WEU tasks and institutions gradually merged with the EU; WEU treaty terminated in 2011.

Must readings for this lesson:

Wallace, pages: 429-455.

Cini, pages: 225-256.