



Співфінансується
Європейським Союзом

Explaining the EU, its Enlargement and Trade through IR and European Integration Theories

Maryna Rabinovych
Senior Lecturer, NAUKMA

Contents

- IR Theories
 - Realism
 - Liberalism
 - Constructivism
- European Integration Theories
 - Liberal intergovernmentalism
 - Neofunctionalism
 - Multilateral Governance
- Differentiated integration

Realism

- States are central actors in international politics, rather than the international organizations' leaders
- Anarchic international system, rather than the presence of a supranational authority,
- States' acting in rational self-interest
- States' enforcing the rules
- States' desiring power to ensure self-preservation

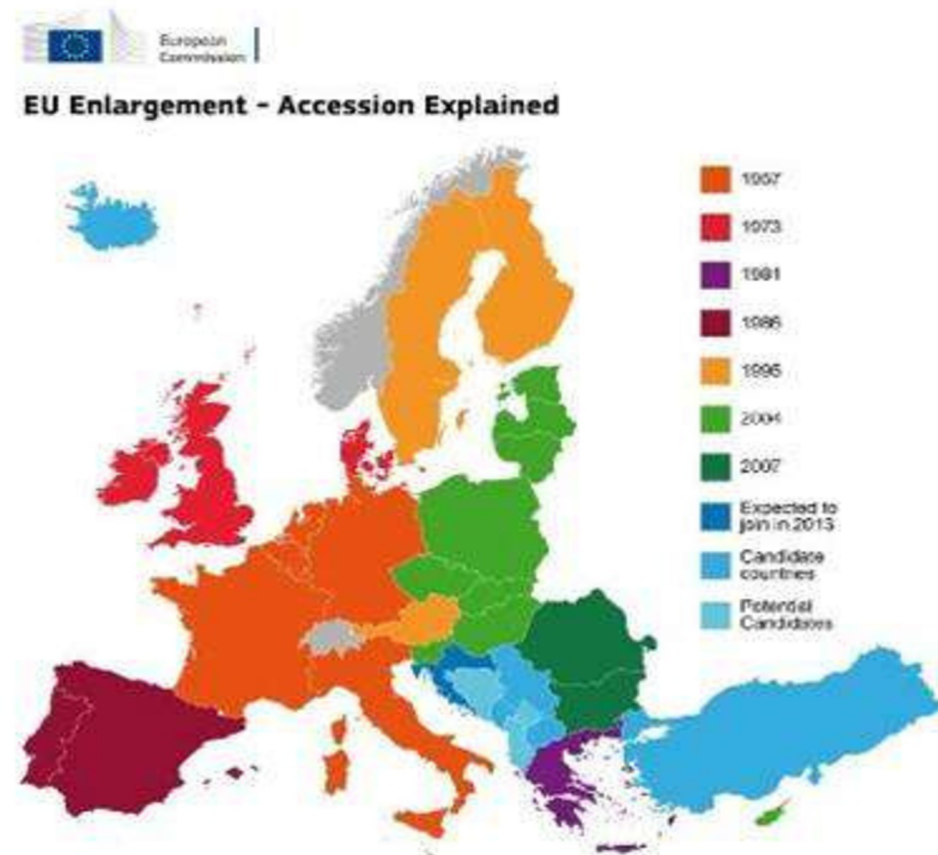


Enlargement from the Realist Standpoint

- Member States' key role in shaping the Enlargement policy (indeed: unanimity needed to vote for Enlargement) Enlargement as a means to advance Member States' /applicant's power (e.g. to balance the superior power or a threat of a third state)
- The applicants' and Member States' enlargement preferences are determined by their **individual costs and benefits** (transaction costs; policy costs; autonomy costs) Enlargement shall serve the Member States' rational interests: **self-preservation, security, stability**
- Example: 2004 "Eastern" Enlargement and the "German question"

Key aspects of the EU security interest

- Provision of **security among members** in a nonwar, cooperative relationship toward a dynamic internal/external complex of security relations sustained by geographic expansion since the mid-1990s, in particular, in the EU's eastward enlargement
- Evolution of this security domain under the CFSP/CSDP
- Expansion of a security agenda in which military security decreases and threats of **international crime, economic destabilization, migration and human rights issues, cross-border environmental pollution and nuclear safety** acquire a security profile;
 - Since 1999 (the Kosovo campaign), and especially since September 11, 2001, a trend toward strengthening the direct security rationale of integration by means of increased
- Advancing the EU's **strategic autonomy** from NATO



Key security frameworks under Enlargement

- **Conditionality** or the formulation of explicit criteria for formulation of explicit criteria for new Member States' economic or political performance
- **Externalization of the EU governance system**, e.g. broadening the Integrated Border Management (IBM) approach
- Reducing human smuggling and human trafficking through new policies at the border
- Improving military capacity for direct intervention

- “The enlargement process is vital to securing political stability, democracy, and respect for human rights on the European continent as a whole. It creates opportunities for growth, investment and prosperity, which will benefit not only current and future member states of the EU but also the wider international community”

(European Commission, 2003)

Trade Relations from the Realist Standpoint

- Trade as a means to maximize economic benefits
- Trade within Single Market serving the objective of maximizing bargaining powers of each player
- Trade and integration being conducive to self-preservation
- Realist critique of 'excessively liberal picture of cooperation and trade as aiming at everyone's welfare

Liberalism

- States are called to **organizational cooperation**, the leading role in fostering such cooperation
- **Liberal community hypothesis** (lying at the crossroads of liberalism and constructivism):
 - Regional organizations represent the communities of liberal values and norms
 - Correspondingly, their enlargement will depend on whether outside states identify themselves with, and adhere to, the constitutive values and norms of the community (Schimmelfennig, 2002)
- Other hypotheses according to Schimmelfennig (2002):
 - Focus on other **non-material values** (i.e. the civilization hypothesis, the focus on shared European culture)
 - **Material interests hypothesis**, zooming in on the economic causes for regional integration
 - Schimmelfennig (2002) points to the genuine, not symbolic meaning of liberal norms for Enlargement

Liberalism, Enlargement and Trade

- Enlargement of the EU as of the community of values
- Trade as a manifestation of cooperation orientation that is considered as natural for countries
- Building peace through economic interdependences



Constructivism (1)

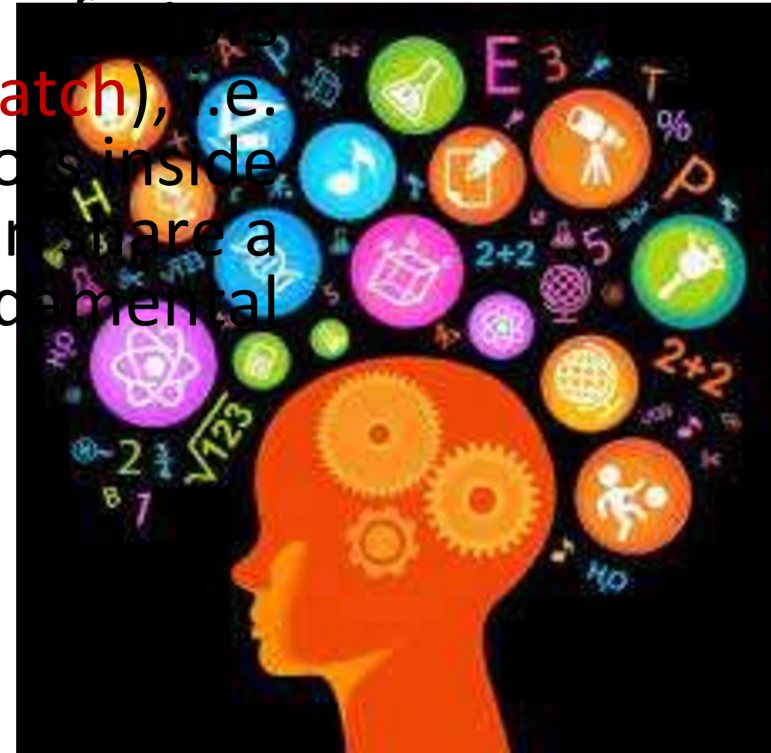
- Enlargement policy as shaped by ideational, cultural (“community” or “cultural” match), i.e. the degree to which the actors inside and outside the organization share a collective identity and fundamental

beliefs 2002) (Schimmelfennig/Sedelmeier,

Studying enlargement = “the analysis of

- social identities, values, and norms, not the material, distributional

consequences of enlargement for individual actors” (Ibid)



Constructivism (2)

- “The more an external state identifies with the international community that the organization represents and the more it shares the values and norms that define the purpose and the policies of the organization, the stronger the institutional ties it seeks with this organization and the more the member states are willing to pursue horizontal institutionalization with this state”
(Schimmelfennig/Sedelmeier, 2002)

Liberal Intergovernmentalism

- Moravcsik (1993) – ‘grand theory’, aiming to explain European

integration

- "EU integration can best be understood as **a series of rational choices made by national leaders**. These choices responded to constraints and opportunities stemming from the economic interests relative power of powerful domestic constituents, the of states stemming from asymmetrical interdependence, and the role of institutions in bolstering the credibility of interstate commitments."
- Close to realism, yet not pointing to specific interests of Member States and applicants

Functionalism/neo-functionalism (1)

- **Functionalism**: “interest shifts automatically from the national to supranational arena, and integration spills over automatically from one sector to another” (McMillan, 2009)
- **Neo-functionalism**: the spillover process shall be backed by some political action, led by parties and interest groups
- **Spillover** thus involves the gradual transfer of competences to supranational institutions, which are then recognized by political actors and civil servants as the new centre.
- **Political spillover**, on the other hand, is said to occur when elites (both governmental, such as bureaucracies, and non-governmental, such as trades unions or leaders of political parties) begin to perceive that their interests may be better served by supranational institutions than by their nation-states and, consequently, refocus their activities towards these institutions (Tranholm-Mikkelsen, 1991, pp. 4–6).

Functionalism/neo-functionalism (2)

- Conditions for the spillover to take place:
 - Substantial economic development
 - Pluralistic social structures
 - Parliamentary democracy (Haas, 1968)
- Copenhagen criteria as the conditions for neo-functionalist spillover
- Calls for taking into account not only integration by sectors but the increase of Member States' number (Mariscal, 2004)
- Ideas of “**geographical spillover**” or “**exogenous functional spillover**” (Neimann, 2005),

meaning the fact that Member States are compelled to adopt common policies towards

- **Functional spillover:** Candidate countries' effects on the *acquis communautaire* and EU policies + Enlargement's effects on different sectors (e.g. Nordic countries' accession – impact on fisheries) these countries and, in order to do this, will rely increasingly on the supranational institutions of the EU with their greater experience and knowledge
- **Political spillover:** NGOs' pro-integration moves, civil servants' integrative decisions

Multilevel governance

- Respecting competences, sharing responsibilities and cooperating between the various levels of governance: the EU, the Member States and the regional and local authorities
- Vertical: relations between various levels of governance shaped by the concepts of **subsidiarity** and **proportionality**
- Horizontal delimitation of competences
- Key justifications: security and resilience, economic interdependence, efficiency

Differentiated integration (1)

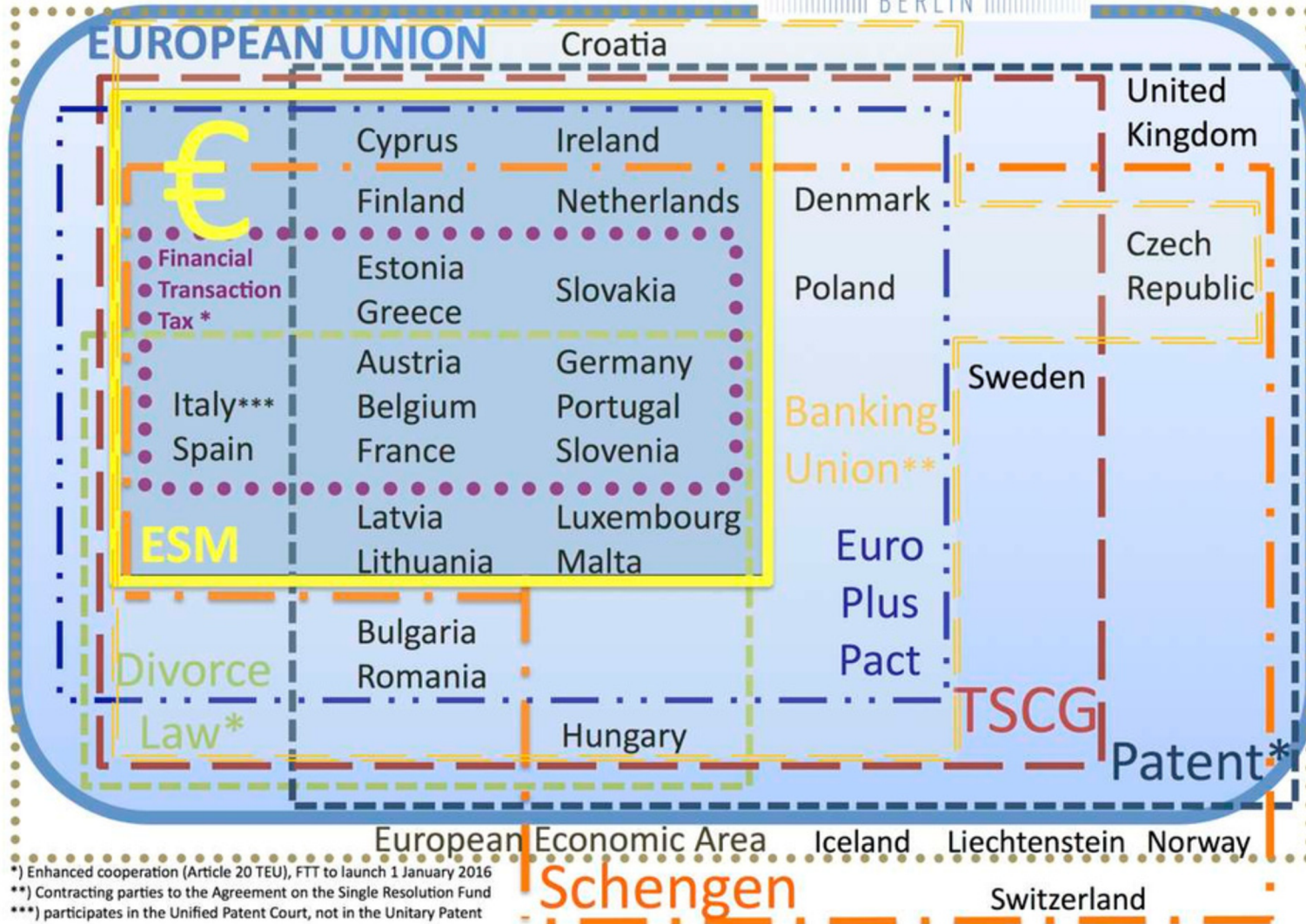
- An increasingly salient feature of European integration
- Internal and external European integration
- Differentiated foreign and security cooperation
- Way forward for more diversified economic and foreign policy constellations
- Threat of disintegration

Differentiated integration (2)

Differentiated Integration | April 2015

JACQUES DELORS INSTITUT
BERLIN

Valentin Kreilinger
@tineurope



*) Enhanced cooperation (Article 20 TEU), FTT to launch 1 January 2016
 **) Contracting parties to the Agreement on the Single Resolution Fund
 ***) participates in the Unified Patent Court, not in the Unitary Patent

Conclusion

- Variegated theoretical accounts of European integration and its various aspects
- Limited explanatory power of some theoretical accounts (e.g. multilevel governance)
- Continuing focus on differentiated integration vs disintegration in EU policies, incl. trade