

Seminar: Theories and Strategies of European Integration Dr. Anne Faber Presentation by Veronika Stumpf

23.11.2010

The further development of Neofunctionalism until the early 1970s



Structure

- I Modified neofunctionalism as response to critique and factual occurrences
- II Neofunctionalism as an example of theory building



| Central differences | Neofunctionalism | Intergovernmentalism |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| Integration | as a (continuing, incremental) process | as a series of (isolated) events |
| Key actors | pluralistic national elites | nation states as "black boxes" |
| Actors' driving forces | rational choices, various interests | ideology/nationalism, security interests |
| Supranational institutions | develop their own dynamic | play no independent role/ not in focus |

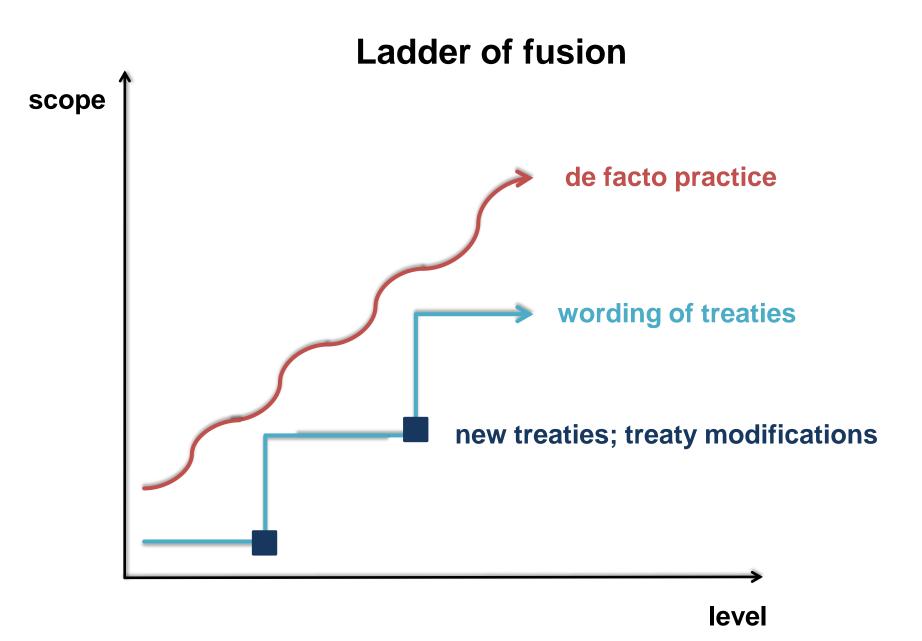


Illustration V.S. on the basis of Wessels 2008: p. 44.



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Central aspects of (intergovernmentalist) criticism of (early) neofunctionalism:

- Underestimation of continuing impact of sovereignty consciousness and nationalism
- Failure to take the broader international context into account
- Automatism and determinism of integration process

- Stagnation of European integration caused by the Empty Chair crisis (1965/66)
- No major treaty revisions until the Single European Act (1986/87)
- Crisis not predictable with earlier versions of neofunctionalism

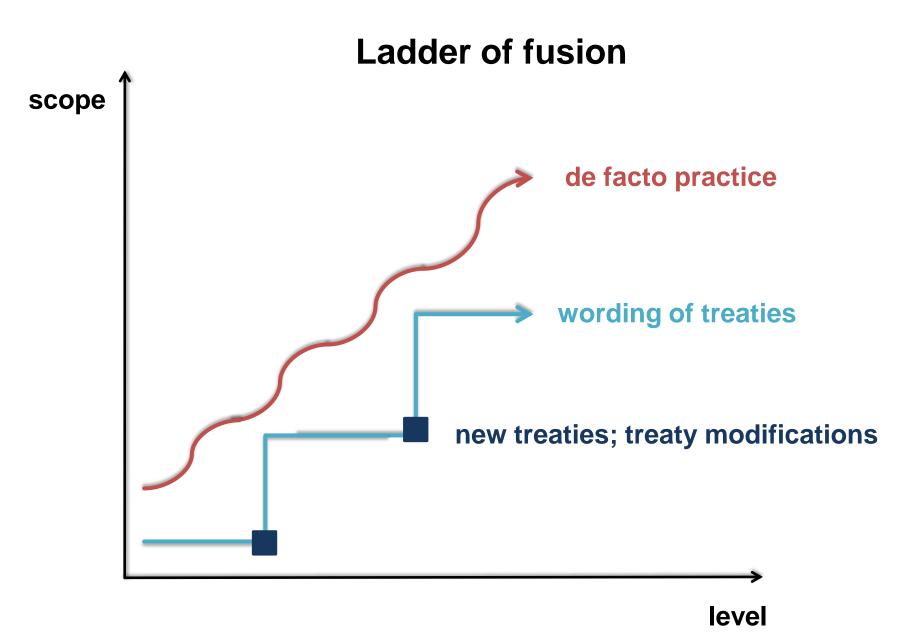
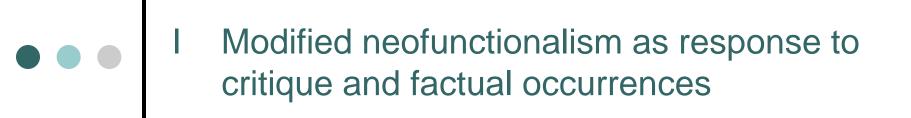


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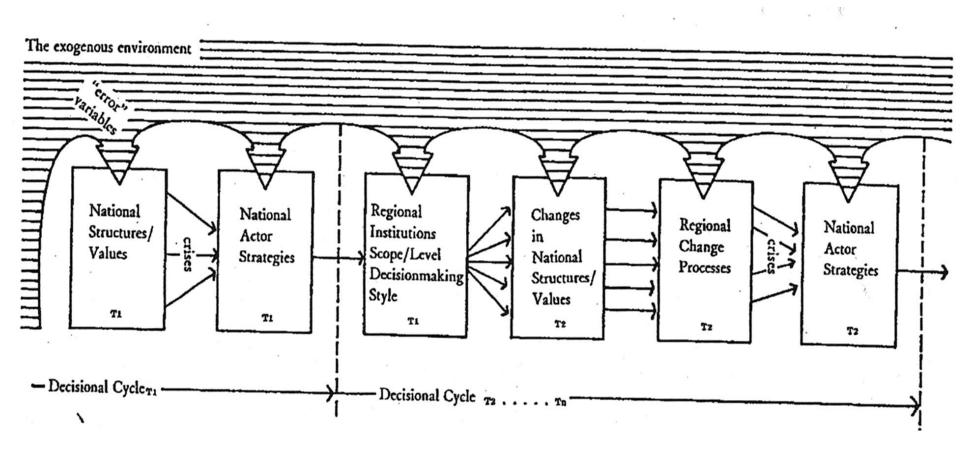
Modified theory by Schmitter:

- Reaction to criticism and historical facts
- Schmitter's aim: Formulation of hypothesis and variables valid also in other processes of regional integration

Modified theory by Schmitter:

- Integration process as model of decisional cycles
- Integration taking place as long as actions are commonly taken by the member states
- <=> Otherwise regional system disintegrated

Model of decisional cycles



Modified theory by Schmitter:

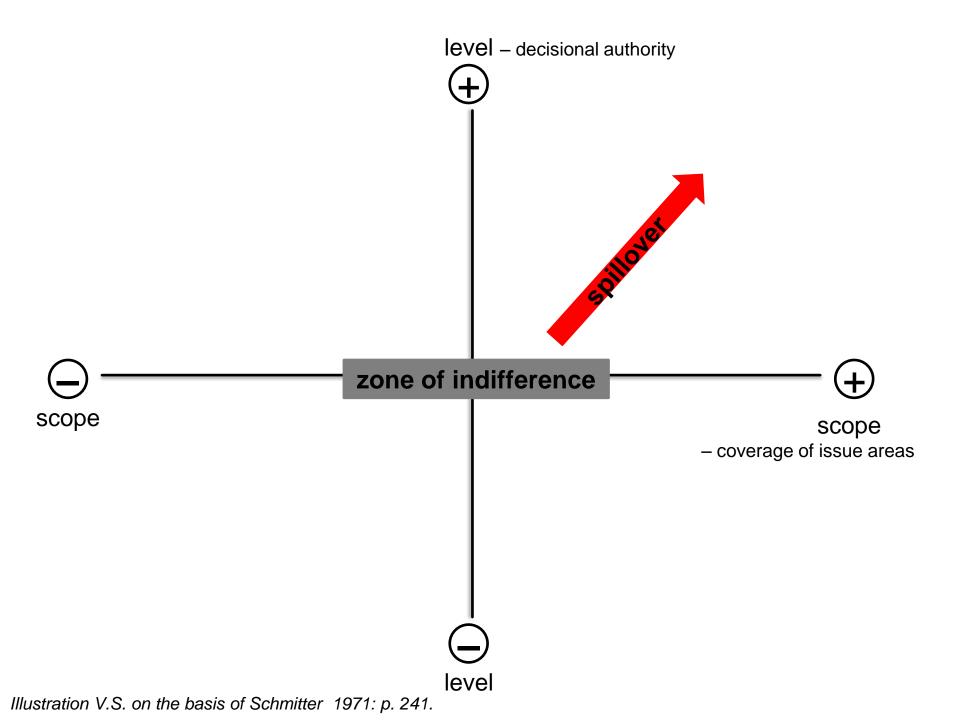
 Distinction of 7 possible actors' strategies concerning the scope and level of integration

 Scope: types of issues resolved jointly
 Level: authority of supranational institutions (mode of decision making, influence of institutions)

Differentiation of actors' strategies:

(1) Spillover: Increase both the scope and level of an actor's commitment concomitantly.



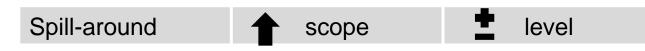


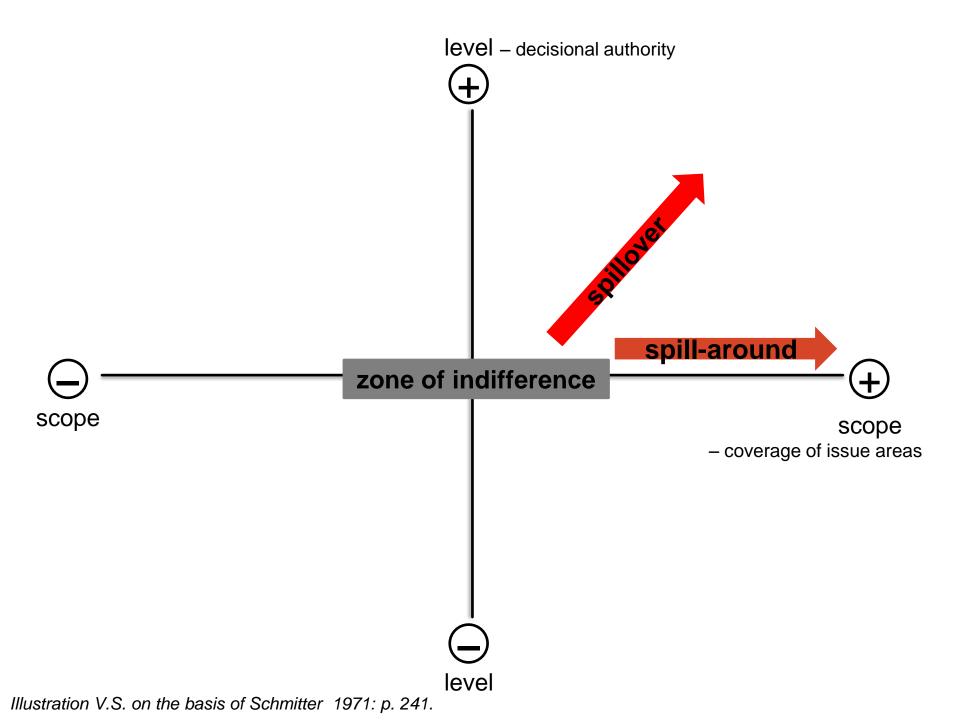
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(2) Spill-around: Increase only the scope while holding the level of authority constant or within the zone of indifference.





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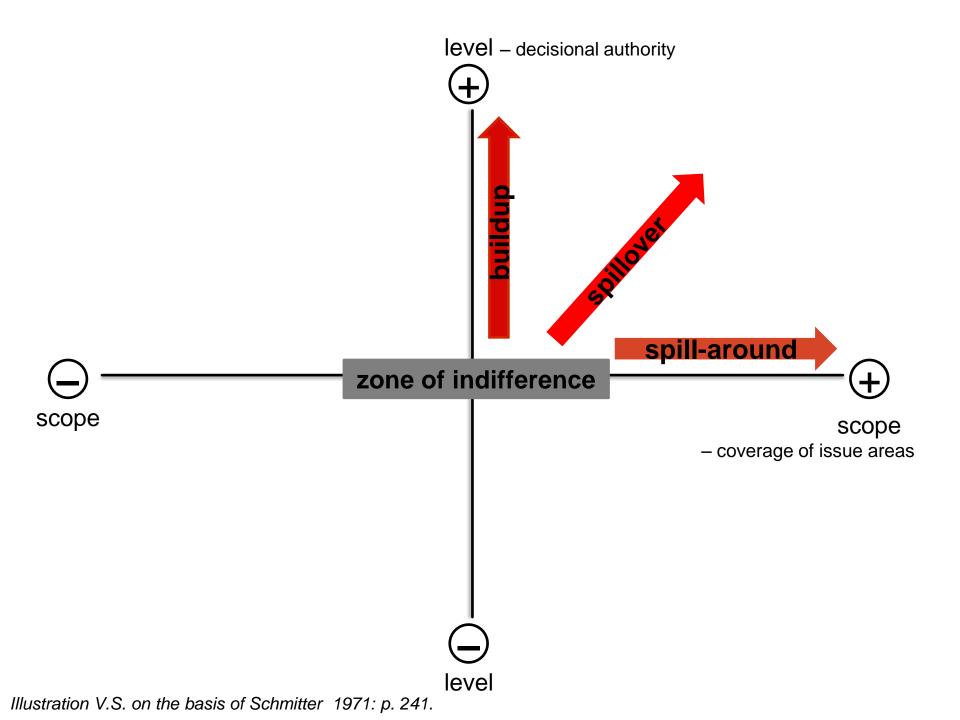


(3) **Buildup**: Agree to increase the decisional autonomy or capacity of joint institutions, but deny them entrance into new issue areas.

Buildup

scope





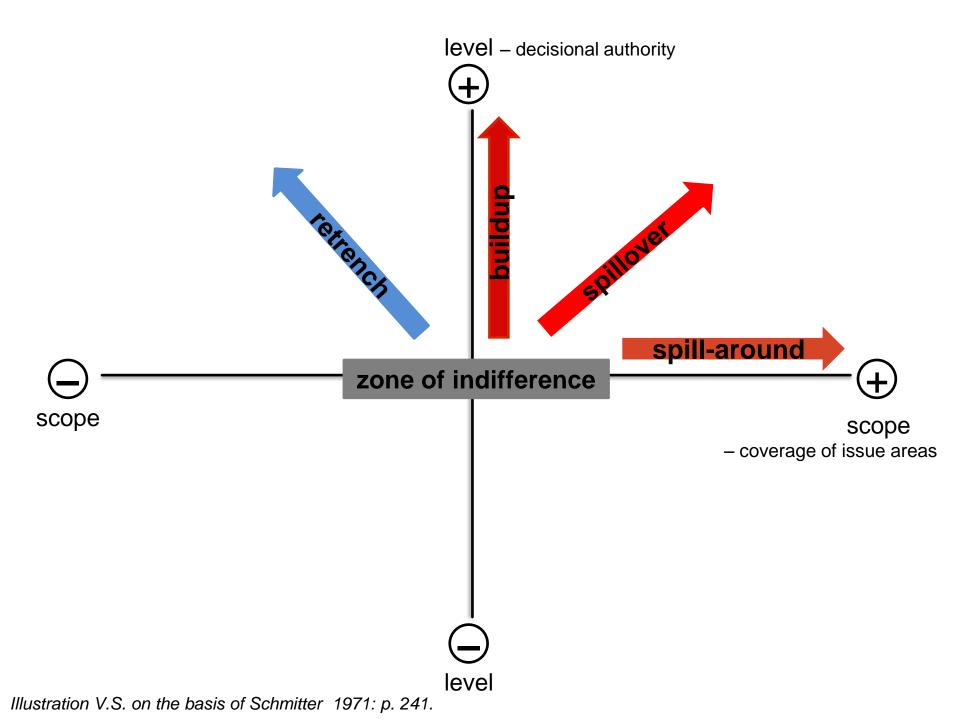


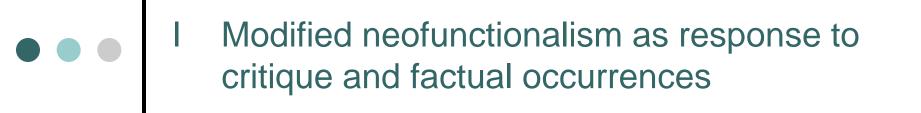
(4) **Retrench**: Increase the level of joint deliberation, but withdraw the institutions from certain areas.

Retrench

scope

level



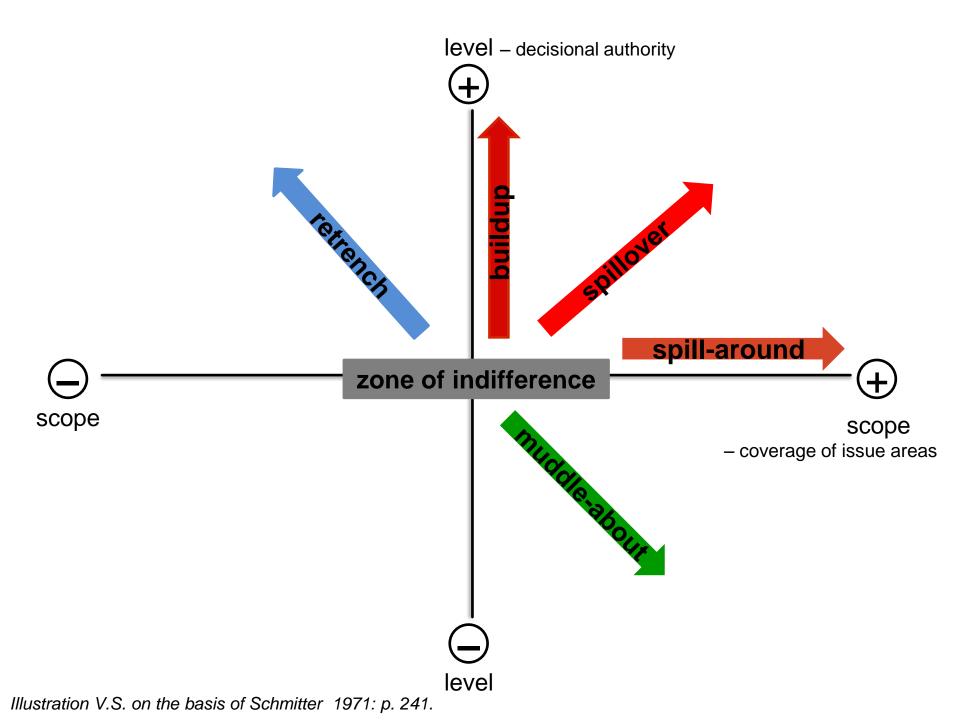


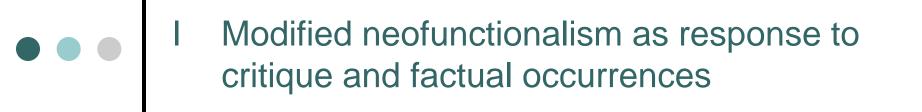
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(5) Muddle-about: Let the regional bureaucrats debate, suggest, and expostulate on a variety of issues, but decrease their actual capacity to allocate values.







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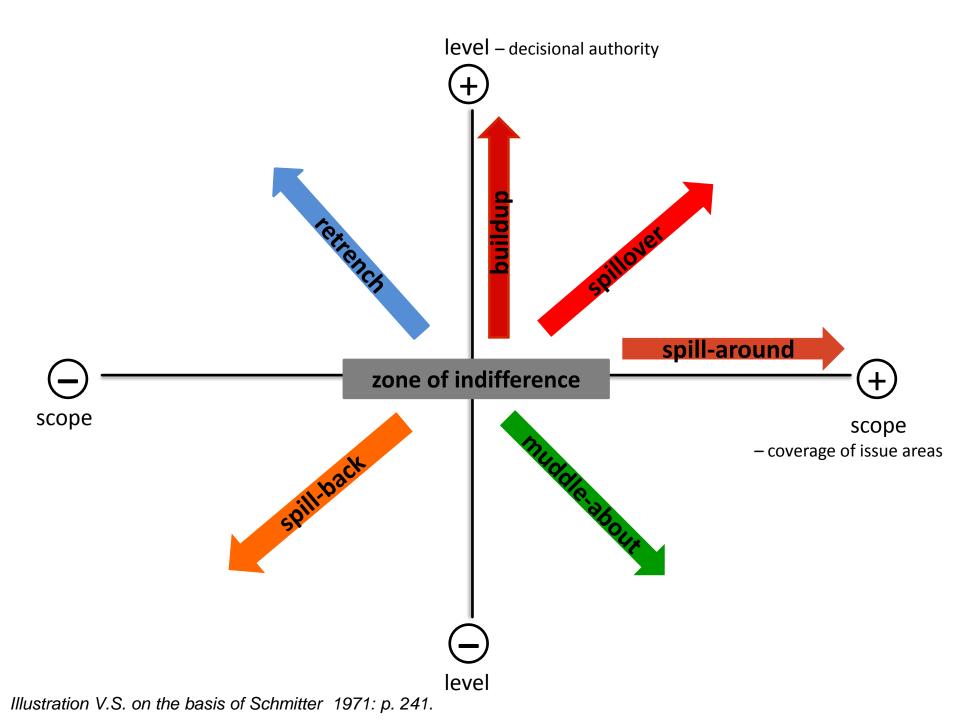


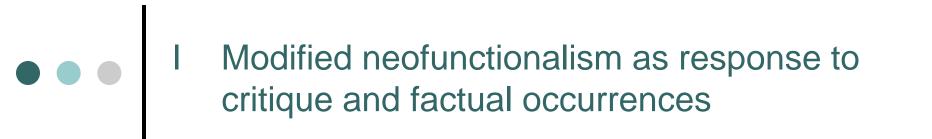
(5) Muddle-about: Let the regional bureaucrats debate. Suggest and expostulate on a variety of issues, but decrease their actual capacity to allocate values.



(6) **Spill-back**: Retreat on level and scope of authority, perhaps returning to the status quo prior to initiation of integration.

Spill-back

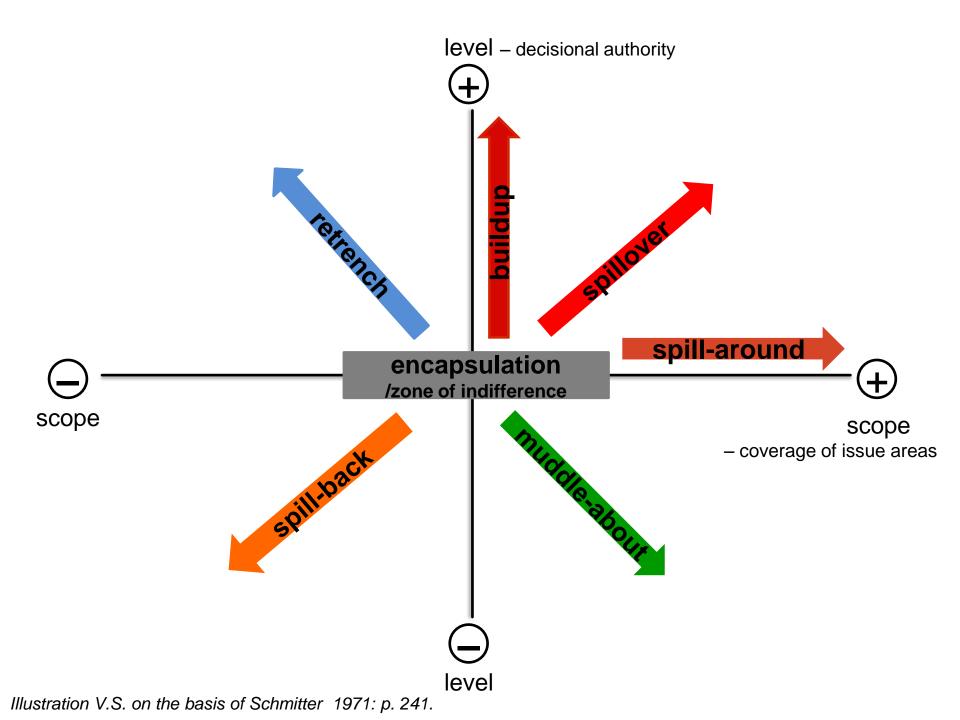


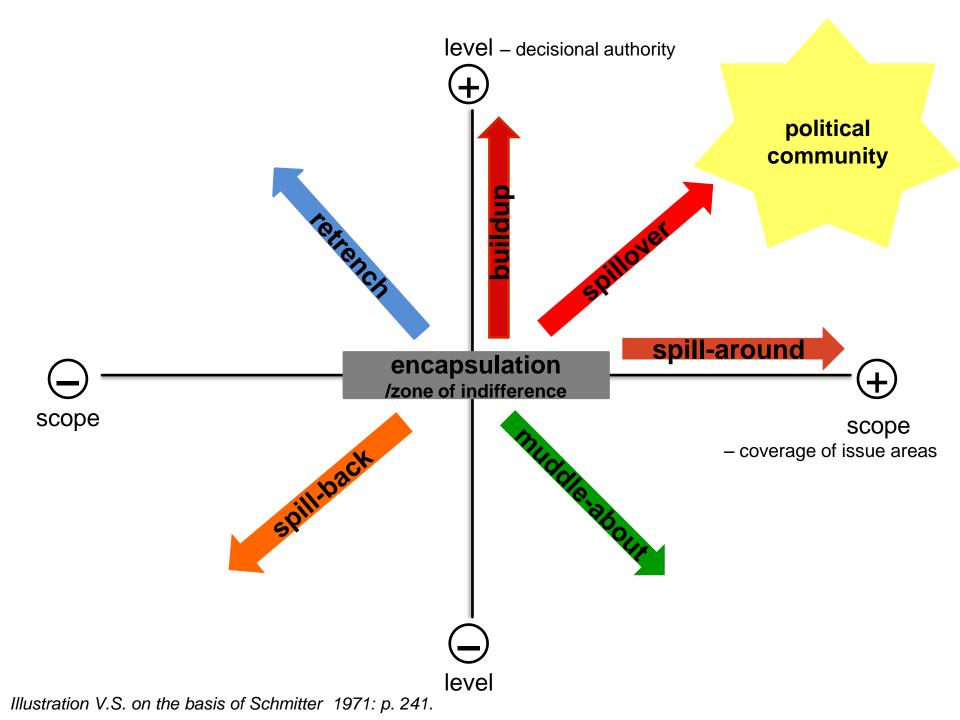


(7) Encapsulation: Respond to crisis by marginal modifications.

Encapsulation **±** scope **±** level

=> Most likely strategy





8 Hypotheses (relevant in all decisional cycles)

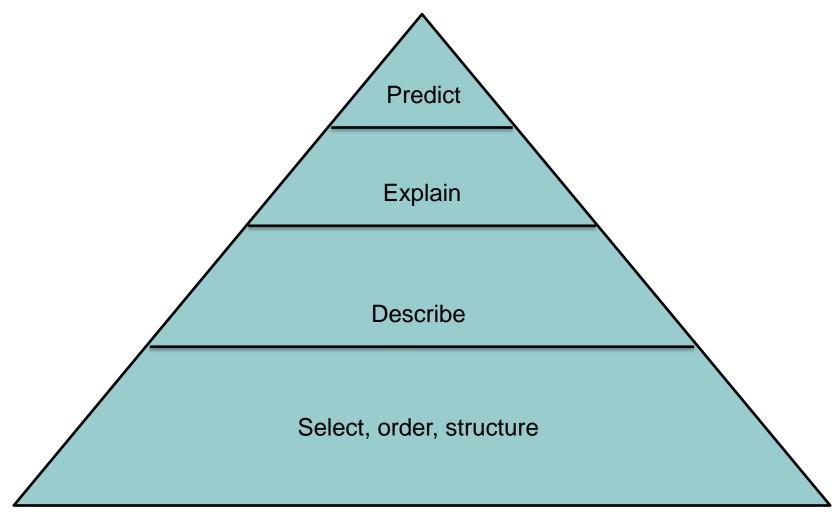
- Tensions and dissatisfaction lead to search for alternatives or new and additional means to reach common goals (spill-over hypothesis)
- (2) Chosen strategy aiming at minimal institutional adaption and attempting to guard regional system from externally influence (natural-entropy hypothesis)
- (3) Widening and deepening of integration only rarely takes place (politicization hypothesis)
- (4) Conditions under which integration processes are started not identified in model; over time model's ability of predicting possible strategies should increase (hypothesis of increasing mutual determination)

- (5) States involved in integration process are increasingly forced to pursue a common policy towards third countries (**externalisation hypothesis**)
- (6) Actors increasingly include their perceptions of the integration's impact into their interest allocation (**additive hypothesis**)
- (7) If integration includes too many and too fast changes, national actors react defensively or negatively to further steps of integration (curvilinear hypothesis)
- (8) Surrounding of actors characterised by insecurities and uncertainties => this leads to rather conservative actors' strategies (underpinning the second hypothesis)

Response to criticism of neofunctionalism

- Underestimation of continuing impact of sovereignty consciousness and nationalism
 Schmitter: In initiation cycle national actors treated as unities pursuing one single strategy
 During the transforming cycles national actors become more differentiated subnational groups
- Failure to take the broader international context into account
 ⇔ Schmitter: One reason for change on regional level are external crisis; externalisation hypothesis
- Automatism and determinism of integration process
 Schmitter: More than 1 possible actors' strategy; Integration as an open-ended process; Without tendency to become political community; Encapsulation as most likely strategy
- > Schmitter disposed the determinism and automatism of earlier neofunctionalism

II Neofunctionalism as an example of theory building



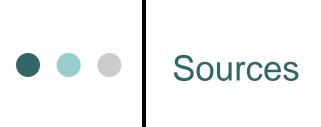
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Schmitter's own quality criteria for an integration theory:

- Comprehensive and parsimonious model of political consequences of integration
- Operationability and intersubjective reliability
- Ability to predict conditions under which certain actors' strategies are chosen

II Neofunctionalism as an example of theory building

- Goal of creating a grand theory of regional integration
- Formulation of variables and hypothesis for every type of decisional cycle
 - > Not parsimonious, but complex
 - Not operationalisable



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