

# EUROPEAN INTEGRATION THEORY

**ANTJE WIENER**

*Professor of International Relations and Jean Monnet Professor  
Queen's University  
Belfast  
Northern Ireland*

AND

**THOMAS DIEZ**

*Senior Lecturer in International Relations Theory  
University of Birmingham  
UK*

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xv
<b>1 Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Thomas Diez and Antje Wiener</i>	
The relevance of integration theory	1
The dual purpose of this book	1
What is integration theory?	2
Why study integration theory?	3
Integration theory: a broad overview	6
Phases of European integration theory	6
Approaches covered in this book	10
Studying integration theory	13
Contexts of theoretical development	13
Competing or complimentary approaches?	15
The functions of theory	17
The areas of theory	18
The mosaic of integration theory	19
Reviewing integration theory	20
The structure of the chapters	20
Past, present, and future	21
Notes	21
<hr/>	
<b>PART I EXPLAINING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION</b>	
<b>2 Federalism</b>	<b>25</b>
<i>Michael Burgess</i>	
Introduction	25
Federalism and European integration	27
The federal idea	27
Federalism, federation, and confederation	29
Federalist theory and practice	31
Three strands of federalism after the Second World War	31
Liberal intergovernmentalism and federalism	34
Federalism and the constitutional evolution of the EU	35

Federalism and the enlargement of the EU	38
Conclusion	41
Notes	42
Guide to further reading	42
<b>3 Neo-Neofunctionalism</b>	<b>45</b>
<i>Philippe C. Schmitter</i>	
Introduction: déjà vu, all over again?	45
Neofunctionalism in relation to other theories of integration	47
The basic assumptions of neo-neofunctionalism	52
Some critical afterthoughts	55
The ontology of neo-neofunctionalism	56
The macro-hypotheses of neo-neofunctionalism	57
A self-transforming neo-neofunctionalism model	60
The notion of ‘decision cycles’	60
Priming cycle(s)	61
Transformative cycle(s)	65
Conclusion	69
An <i>excursus</i> on ‘enlargement’	70
Notes	72
Guide to further reading	74
<b>4 Liberal Intergovernmentalism</b>	<b>75</b>
<i>Frank Schimmelfennig</i>	
Introduction	75
The liberal intergovernmentalist theory of European integration	76
IR rationalist institutionalism	76
Propositions on European integration	78
Critique	81
A typical case: consolidation of the common market	83
Scope conditions	83
Consolidating the common market: establishing the Common Agricultural Policy	84
Liberal intergovernmentalism and enlargement	86
Overview of existing work	86
Enlargement preferences	87
Bargaining outcomes	89
Community norms and rhetorical action	90

Conclusion: avenues for dialogue and synthesis	92
Notes	93
Guide to further reading	94

---

## PART II ANALYSING EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE

<b>5 Governance and Institutional Development</b>	<b>97</b>
<i>Markus Jachtenfuchs and Beate Kohler-Koch</i>	
Introduction	97
Approaches to European integration	98
Three separate discussions	98
Governance as an integrated approach	99
The shape of governance in the EU	101
Characteristics of the multi-level system	101
Sharing authority in a multi-level system of governance	103
Governance, integration, and system transformation	105
Patterns of governance and constitutional reality	106
Europeanization, the forgotten dimension of integration	109
A governance perspective on Eastern enlargement	112
Conclusion	113
Notes	115
Guide to further reading	115
<b>6 Policy Networks</b>	<b>117</b>
<i>John Peterson</i>	
Introduction	117
Policy networks and EU governance	119
The origins of policy network analysis	122
The importance of policy networks for integration	123
Evaluating policy network analysis	125
Critique	126
Application: policy network analysis and the CAP	129
Policy network analysis and enlargement	130
Challenges and prospects of policy network analysis	131
The contribution of policy network analysis	131
The future development of policy network analysis	133
Conclusion	134

Notes	134
Guide to further reading	135
<b>7 The New Institutionalisms and European Integration</b>	<b>137</b>
<i>Mark A. Pollack</i>	
Introduction	137
The origins of rational-choice and historical institutionalism	137
Applications to the study of the European Union	141
Executive politics and the question of comitology	142
Judicial politics and legal integration	146
Legislative politics and the role of the European Parliament	147
Unintended consequences, joint-decision traps, and path-dependence	148
The new institutionalisms and EU enlargement	151
Challenges and prospects of rational choice and historical institutionalism	153
Note	155
Guide to further reading	155

---

## PART III CONSTRUCTING THE EUROPEAN UNION

<b>8 Social Constructivism and European Integration</b>	<b>159</b>
<i>Thomas Risse</i>	
Introduction	159
Social constructivism as an approach to European integration	159
Defining social constructivism	160
Agency, structure, and the constitutive effect of norms	162
Communication and discourse	164
The three contributions of social constructivism	165
The social construction of European identity	166
The contested nature of European identity	166
‘Europeanness’ and national identities	167
EU and European identity	169
The enlargement puzzle from a social constructivist perspective	171
Conclusions	173
Notes	175
Guide to further reading	175

<b>9 Integration Through Law</b>	177
<i>Ulrich Haltern</i>	
Introduction	177
Law and integration	178
Studying European law	178
ITL and integration theory	178
The place of law	178
Two periods	179
The role of law in European integration: examples	180
Doctrines: pre-emption, supremacy, direct effect	180
Judicial review—ECJ and national courts in a constitutional dialogue	182
Political and legal supranationalism	183
Integration through law and human rights	184
ITL insights and deficits	185
Case study: facts and holding	186
Advocate General Jacobs	187
The Court	189
Conclusion and critique	191
A cultural study of law: the European imagination of the political	191
The meaning of law	191
The meaning of the political	193
Prospects of integration through law: enlargement and conclusion	194
Notes	195
Guide to further reading	196
<b>10 Discursive Approaches</b>	197
<i>Ole Wæver</i>	
Introduction	197
Discourse analysis in the study of European integration	198
The basic idea(s)	198
Philosophical roots	200
When and how discourse analysis entered political science, IR, and European integration studies	201
Separate ‘approaches’ or ‘programmes’ in European integration discourse theory	202
Governance and political struggle	203
Foreign policy explained from concepts of state, nation, and Europe	205

The European project as productive paradox	207
Comparing the three programmes	211
Enlargement	212
The future	213
Guide to further reading	214
<b>11 Gender Perspectives</b>	<b>217</b>
<i>Catherine Hoskyns</i>	
Introduction	217
Developing perspectives	218
Identifying sex discrimination	218
Generating material	219
Challenging concepts	221
The policy context	223
Constructing theories	224
Interpreting neofunctionalism	225
From intergovernmentalism to critical theory	226
The governance turn and social constructivism	227
Case study 1—the legitimacy debate	229
Participation	230
The image of the EU	230
Case study 2—enlargement	231
Outlook	233
Notes	234
Guide to further reading	235
<b>12 Taking Stock of Integration Theory</b>	<b>237</b>
<i>Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez</i>	
Introduction	237
Comparative perspective	238
Outlook: towards the politicization of European integration	244
Conclusion	246
Notes	247
 <i>Bibliography</i>	 249
 <i>Index</i>	 285