

BOOK REVIEW:**Integration and Differentiation in the European Union****Authors**

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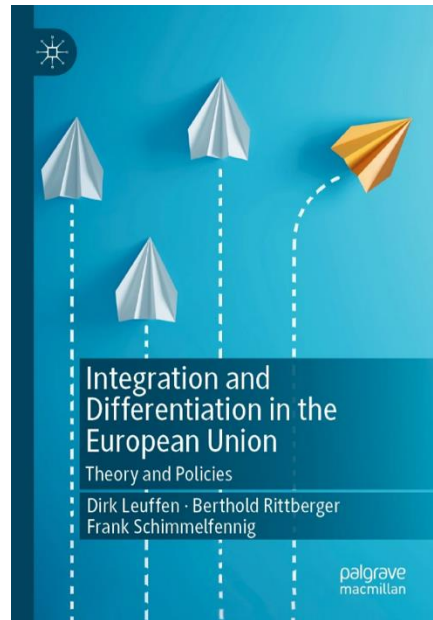
Frank Schimmelfennig

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The modern history of European integration begins with the end of World War II. Reunification was emphasized to eliminate the physical and spiritual destructions caused by the war. The idea of European integration is built on this foundation. Every step taken on the continent has been made concerning the breakthroughs that integration will create. At the end of approximately seventy-five years, different ideas emerged on the systematics of European integration. Traditionally, the understanding that integration will expand and deepen as a “spillover” has been shaken to its foundations (Haas, 1961). Instead of a uniform progressive model, there have been cases where integration has become idle or differentiated occasionally. With each enlargement wave, the European Union (EU), whose members have increased in number, has become open to this. It has yet to be possible for member states to achieve consensus in every policy area. While some countries have eagerly integrated into certain policy areas, others have chosen to stay out of the system. Policy areas such as defence and security remained in a subjective position due to the sensitivities of the member states. All these debates have squeezed European integration between integration and differentiation. This dilemma has created a new field of discussion for EU studies.

Dirk Leuffen, Berthold Rittberger, and Frank Schimmelfening filled the gap in this discussion area by publishing “Integration and Differentiation in the European Union: Theory and Policies” in 2022. Approximately ten years before the publication of this book, the authors had also contributed to the literature with the book “Differentiated Integration Explaining Variation in the European Union,” (Leuffen, Rittberger and Schimmelfening, 2012). However, over time, the EU has experienced successive internal and external crises, namely, the problem of immigration, Russia's annexation of Crimea, the US Presidency of Donald Trump, the rise of China in world politics, the UK's departure from the Union, and the coronavirus pandemic, as listed in the Preface of “Integration and Differentiation in the European Union: Theory and Policies” (p. v-vi). These local and international developments motivated the authors to a new publication. The book deals with the EU's position regarding integration and differentiation dichotomy with the help of theories and policies. The authors provide an in-depth analysis of the theoretical approaches to regional integration” and they apply integration theories to explain how different policy areas in the EU are subject to horizontal and vertical differentiation/integration. In this regard, they especially focus on differentiation, arguing that “the combination of vertical and horizontal differentiation has become a core feature of the EU that is likely to persist” (p. 403). Underlining the negative impact of Brexit and the possibility of further enlargement, they conclude that heterogeneity in the EU is likely to grow as well as “the pressures for further deepening” and they put forward “differentiation” as a possibility that could “reconcile the tension created by deepening and widening” (p. 403).

This book, prepared for publication by Palgrave Macmillan, has 11 chapters, including an introduction and conclusion. It has been categorized by the authors as follows: The introduction, conclusion, and second chapter were written independently without being included in any part. Then, the book is divided into two parts: theories and policies. In the theories part, the authors examine the most important theoretical approaches to European integration in four chapters: *intergovernmentalism*, *supranationalism*, *constructivism*, and *postfunctionalism*. The policies part is also composed of four chapters: *The single market*, *economic and monetary union*, *security and defence*, and *the area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ)*.

The introduction to the book is a summary of why this publication was created. The authors state that understanding European integration is essential and indispensable to studying the EU (p. 17). For them, the practice of differentiation is more important than integration. This is because explaining the institutions, powers, dynamics, and mechanisms of European integration is possible with differentiation analysis. In their view, the supranational structure of the EU facilitates differentiation. The Introduction provides a general

framework for the theories and policies used in the book. It presents a perspective on why theories and policies were included in the study. Eliminating the reader's question marks about the book is the purpose of the chapter.

The second chapter starts with an explanation of the EU as a differentiated integration system. First, the authors touch on what kind of a management system the EU is and the main points of its development process. The features that distinguish the EU from other actors of the international system, such as states and international organizations, are listed, then, the historical background of European integration until today is examined. The chapter also shows how integration is divided according to its types: vertical and horizontal integration. The increase in the duties and powers of the EU is called vertical integration, and the increase in its members is called horizontal integration (p. 35). The dynamics around which these two integrations have changed due to the political preferences of the EU are analyzed in detail in this chapter.

After the first two chapters, the part of the book that distinguishes it from other studies in the field begins. Part I presents the theoretical perspective and deals with four main theories: intergovernmentalism, supranationalism, constructivism and postfunctionalism. In this part, the general assumptions of these theories and their connection with vertical and horizontal integration are laid out. This part draws attention to the role of theories as policy tools. The theory to be explained in the first place is intergovernmentalism. The roots of the theory of intergovernmentalism in international relations constitute the main theme of the third chapter. Rational institutionalism, which is used to explain interstate cooperation is also discussed within this framework (p. 55). The authors further demonstrate this theory's role in perceiving European integration. They also underline the relationship between the system of negotiations created by the institutional culture of the EU and the differentiated integration phenomenon.

The fourth chapter on supranationalism mainly draws on neo-functionalism, the first fully developed European integration theory. The authors discuss supranationalism as a phenomenon included in the analysis of the intellectual foundations of European integration. For them, supranationalism is the advanced version of intergovernmentalism (p. 91). Furthermore, they argue that the theory represents the unstable aspect of the integration process that has survived today (p. 92). The chapter first puts the differences between the nation-state and the supranational system into question. Subsequently, the supranational assumptions of differentiated integration are tested through examples of supranationalism in the EU's policies.

The fifth chapter is devoted to another European integration theory: constructivism. The first two theories of the part, intergovernmentalism, and supranationalism, are based on the causal relationship of material structures. Constructivism, on the other hand, argues that social structures—ideas, identities, and discourses—simplify the understanding of European integration. The authors aim to put the theory into practice to confirm this claim. The theory's connection with sociological institutionalism, one of the international relations theories is also questioned (p. 118). Finally, the contribution of the theory to differentiated integration in understanding European integration is examined.

The last theory of Part I (covered in the sixth chapter) has been added to the European studies literature in recent years: Postfunctionalism. The theory developed under the influence of sociological and institutionalist assumptions. The theory, by the book's authors, represents a hope for the regionalization of integration (p. 144). According to them, ideas about the right to self-determination among EU member states are intertwined with postfunctionalism (p. 145). Within the chapter, there is a reference to the politicization of regional integration. Thus, the arguments of the previously described theories are also criticized in this chapter.

Each chapter of Part II of the study is devoted to a comprehensive analysis of selected EU policies. The authors declare four policy reasons for choosing the related policies covered in chapters 7 to 10: “These policies are not only politically important in and of themselves, but also represent different levels of vertical integration and different types of differentiated membership. Thus, the integration theory can be applied in various settings. They allow us to apply and evaluate” (p. 18). Part II is crucial for the book as this is where the theories covered in Part I are applied to explain the EU practice. The first chapter of Part II, the seventh chapter, is about the Single Market, reflecting the character of European integration. The authors of the chapter examine the differentiation in the Single Market in terms of vertical and horizontal integration. First, the outlines of the development of this fundamental area of European integration are evaluated. Then, the power of the four theories in the first chapter to explain the Single Market was tested (p. 179). In particular, how these theories help explain the functionalization of market integration is demonstrated. Finally, the findings of the Brexit process are presented as a case study.

The eighth chapter covers the EU's monetary and fiscal policies. This chapter gives rich data on differentiated integration in the realm of monetary policies of the EU. The authors added the economic and monetary union to the study, which started to gain importance, especially after the euro crisis. The fact that the EU is seen as an economic organization undeniably affects this. The

authors argue that this policy area is suitable for analysis, especially in terms of vertical and horizontal integration.

The ninth chapter touches on one of the most discussed topics of the EU from past to present: Security and defence. The chapter deals with the subject through vertical and horizontal integration as is the case with the other policies covered in Part II. The authors look at this policy of the EU, starting with the European Defense Community in the 1950s. The conclusion is that EU security and defense policy needs to produce stronger cooperation and that this policy is vertically integrated and horizontally differentiated (p. 282). Finally, the chapter examines some security and defense developments in the history of the EU with the help of the theories covered in Part I.

The last chapter of Part II deals with the Freedom, Security and Justice Area (AFSJ). This policy is one of the first delayed and then surprisingly advanced topics of European integration. This is because the core values on which the EU is built are within the scope of this policy (p. 337). As in the previous sections, the chapter starts with the historical development of the AFSJ. The article outlines how the four theories view the selected policy. The chapter has been enriched with data on the Schengen area and the migration crisis. The fact that migration is a current issue (and a hot topic) across the EU makes the chapter more interesting for readers.

The conclusion of the book is where both theories and policies are compared. The conclusion drawn from the four theories and policies is: No single element explains the EU's integration adventure. Theories have helped to make the complex structure of the EU understandable. However, the unstable outlook of the EU has made it difficult to make a definitive analysis. The fact that there are weaknesses, as well as academic strengths, proves this situation. According to the authors, the solution is to synthesize different integration theories (p. 397). This formulation will make it easier to know the EU cumulatively and make sense of the policies covered in the book.

In conclusion, this book is a publication that reflects on European integration. The most vital aspect of the study is that it explains why and how the EU has become what it is today through theories and policies. An extensive literature review supports the analytical framework of vertical and horizontal integration. The meeting of theories and approaches in the same book has made it possible to establish a connection between theory and practice. Researchers or readers interested in the subject can learn the theory first and gain insight through case studies. Theoretical tools have proven to be adaptable to critical developments and policies of European integration. In addition, including differentiated aspects of integration in line with the present is a sign of the up-to-dateness of EU studies. Despite its positive aspects, there are also aspects

that the research lacks. As the authors stated in the book's introduction, the study must provide information about EU politics and policy formation (p. 17). In other words, how the EU decides and works needs to be answered. As a dynamic international organization, this aspect of the EU could also be further presented in the book. Considering all these evaluations, it can finally be said that the book would be helpful for anyone who wants to follow and make sense of the latest developments in the European Studies field. The book is especially valuable as it shows that there may be other ways of European integration.

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