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## Why States Seek Membership in Supranational Institutions

Kathrine (Katie) Tillman

*College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University*

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# *Why States Seek Membership in Supranational Institutions*

An Honors Thesis

College of St. Benedict/St. John's University

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for Distinction in the Department of Political Science

By

Katie Tillman  
May, 2015

## Why States Seek Membership in Supranational Institutions

Approved by:

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Christi Siver, Assistant Professor of Political Science

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James Read, Professor of Political Science

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Gregory Schroeder, Professor of History

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Claire Haeg, Chair Department of Political Science

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Emily Esch, Director, Honors Thesis Program

In June of 2014, Albania earned candidate status with the European Union. Albania still needs to address problems like corruption and organized crime, which are burdens to their democratization. However, Albania hopes with European Union membership they will belong to Europe, a strong desire after their communist isolation.<sup>1</sup> Albania is not the only country seeking membership in the European Union. Seven countries, as well as Kosovo, are currently attempting to join. Iceland, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, and Turkey are candidate countries. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo are considered potential candidate countries.<sup>2</sup> The fact that countries are still seeking membership in the European Union highlights the impact of institutions. As states attempt to increase connections, instances of international cooperation through institutions are on the rise. Throughout this paper, I research supranational institutions and why states choose to seek membership in such institutions.

The paper begins with a justification of the topic, then background on the development of supranational governing bodies, the third section is an overview of relevant literature on the topic including definitions of key terms and theories impacting the development of supranational institutions. From the relevant theories I derive my hypotheses and develop my literature review. I will then apply my hypotheses to two different cases, Austria and Poland, and discuss how well they explain states' motivation to join the European Union.

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<sup>1</sup> Angelina Verbica, "Albania on the rocky road to EU membership," *Deutsche Welle* (June 2014)

<sup>2</sup> "EU Enlargement: The Next Seven," BBC News (September 2014)

**Justification:**

International institutions allow for the sharing of goods and services across borders and increased exposure to other cultures. Both of these factors as well as others promote peace. When nations are connected and cooperating, they are less likely to enter into conflicts. The complex interdependence theory outlined by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye supports this finding.<sup>3</sup> Keohane and Nye argue that complex interdependence can either facilitate cooperation or lead to conflict. One of the ways states are facilitating cross-border exchanges is through the formation of and membership in international institutions. Membership in these organizations may also come at a price, as nations sacrifice sovereignty to the higher power of an international institution. Examples of sacrificing sovereignty include conforming to the laws of the supranational institution or losing control over commodities markets to a common market.

The debate over the role of international institutions is ongoing. John Mearsheimer notes realists and institutionalists disagree about whether institutions affect the prospects for global stability. Realists argue institutions do not affect global stability; instead, they are simply a reflection on the balance of world power.<sup>4</sup> Keohane, an institutionalist, notes, "Without cooperation, we will be lost. Without institutions, there will be little cooperation. And without knowledge of how institutions work—and what makes them work well—there are likely to be fewer, and worse, institutions than if such knowledge is wide

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<sup>3</sup> Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19 (1994):5-49.

spread.”<sup>5</sup> Keohane’s observation makes it clear that the continued study of international institutions is crucial to the broader field of international relations.

Studying supranational institutions is of particular importance because in recent years they have reached a new level of assertiveness, to the point where they are now performing many of the tasks once directly taken on by states. Examples include the World Trade Organization, the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement, and the European Union. Gruber notes, “Starting in the late 1970s the discretionary powers enjoyed by supranational institutions began to increase beyond anything previously seen.”<sup>6</sup> He goes on to note, “At first, this trend towards supranational governance was a regional phenomenon. In recent years, however, the trend has begun to encompass a number of global regimes as well.”<sup>7</sup> The new, expanded role of supranational institutions, along with their increasing numbers, justifies the continued study of this particular type of institution.

### **Background:**

In order to effectively study supranational institutions and analyze state decisions with respect to membership, it is vital to have an understanding of their development. The most developed supranational institution is the European Union. Tracing the history of this institution will show the development of its supranational character. The European Union of today looks quite different than the institution did at its inception. The development of the European Union has come in several phases of membership and power expansions and

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<sup>5</sup> Lloyd Gruber, *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton, (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Gruber, *Ruling the World*. 62

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 63.

alterations. A brief overview of the institutional development of the institution is crucial because it will trace the emergence of the supranational nature of the institution.

Throughout much of European history, the continent was plagued with war. Following the end of the Second World War, it became apparent that the nations of Europe needed to do something to promote peace in the region. At the same time, no one in Europe was open to letting the Germans gain too much political power. However, at the same time, the continent was in shambles and in need of a method for reconstruction. Coal and steel were the most important resources necessary for reconstruction. Germany, France, and the Benelux countries had the largest stores of coal, steel, and iron ore, and in order to increase the efficiency of reconstructions, these nations chose to work together in an attempt to combine these industries.<sup>8</sup> In 1951, the nations of Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, France, and West Germany formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) through the Treaty of Paris. At its core, the ECSC was an attempt to combine the coal and steel markets to facilitate the reconstruction process through efficient use of resources.<sup>9</sup> The ECSC was one of the first phases of reconciliation within Europe and contributed to the beginning of intra-European trade. The agreement also had the six nations sacrifice some of their sovereignty to the supranational level.<sup>10</sup> Specifically, they would be losing sovereignty over their coal and steel markets as a common market for the

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<sup>8</sup> Bernard E. Brown, "Ordeal of the European Union." *American Foreign Policy Interests* 35 (2013) 22.

<sup>9</sup> Nico Groenendijk and Gert-Jan Hospers, "A Requiem for the European Coal and Steel Community (1952-2002)," *De Economist* 150 (2002): 601.

<sup>10</sup> Jun Inoue, "Has The EU Become Uncontrollably Divergent?: Analysis Of EU Governance, From The Treaty Of Rome To The Treaty Of Lisbon." *Hitotsubashi Journal of Law & Politics* 39 (2011) 87.

commodities was formed.<sup>11</sup> The formation of the ECSC was only the beginning of integration in Europe.

The signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 began the next phase of integration. The treaty declared the establishment of a European Economic Community and a European Atomic Energy Community. Additionally, the Treaty of Rome introduced plans for a European Customs Union, which would include the elimination of internal tariffs, reduction of quota restrictions, and the establishment of common external tariffs.<sup>12</sup> After the initial work of the Treaty of Rome, further efforts were needed to bring an even closer economic union.

The next phase of integration came in 1969, when the heads of state and government of the EEC met in The Hague in order to express support “for a policy of cooperation and a plan that established an economic and monetary union.”<sup>13</sup> Following the meeting at Hague, an appointed committee created a plan for the implementation of a common economic and monetary union. The Werner Report documents the recommendations of the committee.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the 1970s, there were several failed attempts to begin the plan.<sup>15</sup> 1973 also saw the first expansion of the European Community beyond the original six members: the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark joined the Union.<sup>16</sup> While several other countries joined, the European Community remained relatively the same until the end of the late 1980s.

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<sup>11</sup> Raymond Vernon, “The Schuman Plan: Sovereign Powers of the European Coal and Steel Community,” *The American Journal of International Law* 47 (2): 183.

<sup>12</sup> Inoue, “Has the EU Become Uncontrollably Divergent?” 87.

<sup>13</sup> Inoue, “Has the EU Become Uncontrollably Divergent?” 88.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 89.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Elise Sarotte, “Eurozone Crisis as Historical Legacy: The Enduring Impact of German Unification, 20 Years On,” *Foreign Affairs* (2010).

<sup>16</sup> Inoue, 88.

The next big step for integration came at the end of the Cold War. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, there was a push within Germany, under the leadership of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, to reunite the nation. Outside Germany, there was a fear that this could lead to a resurgence of nationalism, in the same style of the Second World War. In order to address these concerns, the reunification of Germany and the strength of their economy depended on the success of the European monetary union.<sup>17</sup> The Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992, accomplished all of these goals. The Treaty officially created the European Union as ‘an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.’<sup>18</sup> The treaty laid out a specific definition of the institutional configuration of the Union, to consist of three pillars (Common Foreign and Security Policy, Cooperation in the fields of Justice and Home Affairs, and the Citizenship Union). The three pillars were the broad categories that included the new issues areas brought under the control of the European Union through the Maastricht Treaty. These included: education, public health, industry, development cooperation, consumer protection, and trans-European networks. Maastricht gave the European Parliament more power in the EU policy-making realm and to ensure the closer union of the people, put into place provisions for European citizenship and social protocol.<sup>19</sup> After Maastricht, candidate countries would have to accept the *acquis communautaire* (the body of European Union legislation) in their entirety, including: the free circulation of goods and persons, freedom to provide services, freedom of establishment, common community rules and policies, economic and monetary union. Additionally,

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<sup>17</sup> Sarotte, “Eurozone Crisis as Historical Legacy”

<sup>18</sup> Inoue, 90.

<sup>19</sup> Inoue, 90.

countries were required to adopt the new pillars.<sup>20</sup> The details of the Maastricht Treaty gave the European Union its supranational character. Through expanding the areas that the European Union could legislate and exercise control over, the Maastricht Treaty moved the European Union away from a basic institution and set it on the path to supranational status.

### **Literature Review:**

Literature on international institutions has evolved along with the institutions themselves; existing theories are continually readdressed and added to as new facets of institutional governance come about. Numerous theories exist on why nations choose to seek membership in institutions. I base my hypotheses in these theories. There is little literature available on supranational institutions, so I have chosen to apply literature on international institutions to find the motivating factors for states' decisions to join supranational institutions. I begin this section by providing the relevant definitions to this paper: institutions in general and more specifically, supranational institutions. I then examine how the main theories on institutions connect can explain the decision to seek membership. Underlying reasons for the decision to seek membership that connect to the theories are: economic motivation, social identity, and security alliances.

### **Definitions:**

Before examining the existing literature, it is important to define several key terms. The main subject of this research is supranational institutions. Since supranational

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<sup>20</sup> Francisco Granel, "The European Union's enlargement negotiations with Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 33 (1995): 117.

institutions are a subcategory of institutions, I begin by defining institutions. I then go on to define supranationalism and what makes this type of institution distinct.

International institutions may come in a number of different varieties including those focusing on only one area, for example economic cooperation (The World Trade Organization and North American Free Trade Agreement) and some that work on a wide variety of topics (The European Union). While there are differences, there is a common definition for international institutions. John Duffield uses the following definition; institutions are “relatively stable sets of regulated constitutive, regulative, and procedural norms and rules that pertain to the international system, the actors in the system (including states and non-state entities), and their activities.”<sup>21</sup> Within Duffield’s definition are two words that need further definition within their theoretical context. Duffield notes constructivists use the word ‘norm’ to refer to intersubjective elements while rationalists use the word ‘rule’ to refer to formal elements. Duffield draws on the scholarship of both constructivists and rationalists to further explain why these two theories take on these definitions.

Other theorists use different definitions and place emphasis on different portions of their definition. Constructivist theorists Finnemore and Sikkink add a focus on “the role of ideas, norms, knowledge, culture, and argument in politics, stressing in particular the role of collectively held or ‘intersubjective’ ideas and understandings on social life.”<sup>22</sup>

Rationalists view international institutions as a set of rules in which agents act rationally to maximize their utilities. Simmons and Martin say “most scholars have come to regard

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<sup>21</sup>John Duffield, “What Are International Institutions?.” *International Studies Review* 9 (2007): 1-22

<sup>22</sup> Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001) 391-416.

international institutions as sets of rules meant to govern international behavior, the rules are often conceived as statements that forbid, require, or permit particular kinds of actions”<sup>23</sup> Rules are favored because they allow for an explanation of actions and outcomes. Keohane builds on the importance of rules by noting that specific institutions are defined based on their rules, or that institutions may be viewed as “history encoded into rules.”<sup>24</sup> These rules may be informal or implicit. If rules are able to withstand time and prescribe behaviors, they become a part of an institution.<sup>25</sup> John J. Mearsheimer offers a slightly different definition of institutions from a realist perspective. Mearsheimer defines them as “a set of rules that stipulate the ways states should cooperate and compete with each other. They prescribe acceptable forms of state behavior, and proscribe unacceptable kinds of behavior.”<sup>26</sup> Scholars from different theoretical perspectives agree on the importance of rules for institutions. The differing perspectives on international institutions from a variety of key theories show the prominence of the topic to the study of international relations.

In summary, international institutions are stable sets of norms and rules governing a system and the actors within the system. This definition is broad because of the numerous types of institutions. Each different variety has a more specific definition building on this original.

Supranational institutions are a more integrated form of institution. According to Sandholtz and Stone Sweet, supranational governance (or supranationality) defines a

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<sup>23</sup> Beth A. Simons and Lisa L. Martin, “International Organizations and Institutions,” in *The Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (Sage Publication, 2002) 192-208.

<sup>24</sup> Robert O. Keohane, “International Institutions: Two Approaches.” *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988):379-396.

<sup>25</sup> Keohane, “International Institutions.”

<sup>26</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions.”

system in which “centralized government structures (those constituted at a supranational level) possess jurisdiction over specific policy domains within the territory comprised by the member states. In exercising this jurisdiction, supranational organizations are capable of constraining the behavior of all actors, including member states, within those domains.”<sup>27</sup> With supranational governance, member states cede sovereignty (or parts of their sovereignty) to a new governing body by allowing the institution to possess jurisdiction over certain policy domains. The policy domains will vary with each supranational institution. Many would label supranational institutions as federal systems.<sup>28</sup>

Supranational institutions are a distinct type of institution. Gruber notes one of the distinction between international institutions and supranational is that member states of international institutions decide how to apply the terms of agreements in certain situations; in supranational institutions this is agreed to ahead of time to allow these decisions to be made with a collective decision making procedure.<sup>29</sup> The agreement ahead of time shows states’ willingness to give at least some of their sovereignty to supranational institutions. Ernst Haas uses the European Coal and Steel Community as a model for a supranational organization and uses the institution to develop the following definition, “Supranationality in structural terms, therefore, means the existence of governmental authorities closer to the archetype of the federation than any past international organization, but not yet identical with it. While almost all the criteria point positively to federation, the remaining limits on the ability to implement decisions and to expand the

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<sup>27</sup> Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 8-10.

<sup>28</sup> Sandholtz and Stone Sweet, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Gruber, *Ruling the World*. 60.

scope of the system independently still suggest the characteristics of international organization.”<sup>30</sup> The key distinctions between a supranational institutions and federations, specifically the limitations on expansion of the scope of an institution and limited ability to implement decisions, are the defining characteristics of the European Union.

With the expansion of the number of international institutions and their expanding roles, there are chances for colliding jurisdictions and confusion over who has power. Supranational organizations can address this problem because one organization would cover all jurisdictions.<sup>31</sup> Instead of having numerous organizations working on similar topics and potentially having overlap, one organization would have power over all multiple fields. Supranational institutions build on a set of norms and rules governing member states and their citizens just as other institutions do, but they include a level of government that is above that of the member states with limits in place on the scope of the governing to avoid conflict with the states. When states join supranational organizations, they are entering into a new governing systems and agreeing to follow an entirely new set of norms and rules. The remainder of this paper will be an examination into why states agree to this and seek membership in supranational institutions.

Throughout the remainder of this literature review, I utilize relevant theories to derive my variables and hypotheses that I test in two cases. These theories are: neo-functionalism, which emphasizes economic benefits, constructivism, which emphasizes common identity, and realism, which emphasizes security alliances.

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<sup>30</sup> Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1958).

<sup>31</sup> Michael Zürn, “From Interdependence to Globalization” *Handbook of International Relations: in The Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (Sage Publication, 2002).

## **Economic Motivation:**

Neo-functionalists argue that states seek membership in institutions out of self-interest and the search for absolute gains. Neo-functionalists argue greater environmental influences impact regional integration. Integration is not an isolated development.<sup>32</sup> This means other conditions are necessary to encourage integration. According to neo-functionalism, there are certain background conditions that are necessary before integration can take place. Haas explains these are: pluralistic social structures, substantial economic development, and common ideological patterns.<sup>33</sup> Rational functionalism shows that institutions provide a method by which states may overcome collective action problems, high transaction costs, and informational deficits.<sup>34</sup>

Neo-functionalism places a high degree of importance on economic development as a motivation for institutional integration. The theory notes that there are three background conditions that are necessary before integration can begin. The most important of these is economic development, as neo-functionalism sees the basis of integration to be economic integration. According to neo-functionalism, society creates demand for new services and the government translates this demand into supranationality.<sup>35</sup> Neo-functionalism explains economic development and integration is vital before integration in additional spheres can take place. States chose to increase their economic connections in order to improve other areas of cooperation.

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<sup>32</sup> Catherine Macmillan, "The Application of Neofunctionalism to the Enlargement Process: The Case of Turkey." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47 (2009): 789-809.

<sup>33</sup> Haas, xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>34</sup> Simons and Martin, "International Organizations and Institutions," 192-208.

<sup>35</sup> Sandholtz and Stone Sweet

The structure of states translating societal demand into action can be seen through the creation of common market institutions. Nye notes, "The neo-functional approach is more suited to the analysis of cases such as common markets in which institutions have been created or market forces released."<sup>36</sup> Nye's comments illustrate the role of the economy in institutions, through the importance of economic development and the move towards a common market. The desire for economic cooperation to stimulate development calls for increased cooperation, and then it is necessary to have a structure to facilitate the cooperation leading to the formation of institutions.

Neo-functionalists also note that states may seek membership in international institutions to improve their own economies. It is not necessary that all states entering into cooperation in international institutions be at the same level of economic development. Neo-functionalism can explain the varying levels of economic development seen in institutions. Kim and Schmitter observe, "Regional integration seems possible with members at different levels of development and per capita wealth."<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, through economic programs and policies, a pattern of upward convergence initiates in which the less developed nations in the institution will gradually be impacted by the policies, and their economic levels will increase over time to bring them to the level of the more developed nations in the institutions. An example of this is the addition of Ireland to the European Union. When Ireland entered, it was a poorer and less developed country. In time it developed to match and eventually surpass the European Union's average standard of

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<sup>36</sup> J. S. Nye, "Comparing Common Markets: A Revised Neo-Functionalist Model." *International Organization* 24, no. 4 (1970): 796.

<sup>37</sup> Sunhyuk Kim and Philippe C. Schmitter. "The Experience of European Integration and Potential for Northeast Asian Integration." *Asian Perspective* 29, 2 (2005):5-39.

living.<sup>38</sup> This concept of upward convergence is crucial to cooperation. If states perceive there to be a prospect for economic benefit through this upward convergence, they may be more inclined to seek membership in a supranational institution.

The economic benefit is not limited to those hoping to improve their economies. Membership is still beneficial for the state with the stronger economy or for states at similar levels of economic development, given that supranational institutions provide a mechanism for increasing economic transactions, which can increase economic benefit. Haftel and Thompson seek to explain institutionalization through economic interdependence. They also draw on the work of neo-functionalists to argue, "Increasing cross-border economic exchange demands greater regulation of such interaction and thus greater authority delegated to centralized institution."<sup>39</sup> They use trade share to measure degrees of economic interdependence and found a strong correlation between the interdependence of the member states and the independence of the international institution. They then conclude that institutions evolve over time and in a way to meet their functional needs.<sup>40</sup> The work of Haftel and Thompson shows how institutions address the need for greater economic regulation and attempts to ease and increase cross-border interactions. When there is an increase in cross-border interactions and the economic benefits become clear, states may be more inclined to join an institution.

Liberalism, another theory common in the literature on institutions, also places emphasis on economic motivation. One branch of liberalism is embedded liberalism, which

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<sup>38</sup> Kim and Schmitter, "The Experience of European Integration"

<sup>39</sup> Yoram Z. Haftel and Alexander Thompson. "The Independence of International Organizations: Concept and Applications." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, 2 (2006):253-275.

<sup>40</sup> Haftel and Thompson, "The Independence of International Organizations"

works to explain the role of economic institutions and relations in the broader context of international relations. Caporaso and Tarrow ground their scholarship in the embedded liberalism theory. The basis of this theory is that political economies are rooted in the “existence of separate and distinct national economies, engaged in external transactions, conducted at arm’s length, which governments could buffer effectively at the border by point of entry measures like tariffs, non-tariff barriers, and exchange rates.”<sup>41</sup> The authors further explain this in the context of international institutions by looking to the laws of economics. They argue the perfect, self-regulating market does not exist. Instead, drawing on interpretations of Karl Polanyi, they discuss that all markets are embedded in political and legal arrangements. There are three meanings of embeddedness: markets are constituted by politics and society, social protections guarding against the negatives of the market, and the positioning of markets within a broader set of social rules and agreements that make them work more efficiently.<sup>42</sup> The theory of embedded liberalism shows there are connections between supranational governance and the institutions responsible for this work and economic benefits. If states see working with governments in different spheres could potentially lead to improved economic interactions, they will be more inclined to seek membership, seeing multiple benefits.

Based on the neo-functional and embedded-liberal theories, it is clear the economy is an important factor in a state’s decision to seek membership. Neo-functionalists believe that economic development is a driving force behind integration. The theory of embedded liberalism shows that with integration in one area, economic development will come about.

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<sup>41</sup> James A. Caporaso and Sidney Tarrow, "Polanyi in Brussels: Supranational Institutions and the Transnational Embedding of Markets." *International Organization* 63, 4 (2009):595.

<sup>42</sup> Caporaso and Tarrow. "Polanyi in Brussels" 596.

From these two theories, I derive my first hypothesis to explain the decision of states to seek membership in supranational institutions. When there is the perception of a benefit to the national economy states will seek membership in supranational institutions.

### **Common Identity:**

When individuals share the same values and are subject to the same set of rules and norms, there can be perception of commonality between people. This commonality is the second theme explaining states' decisions to join international institutions, the desire to be a part of a common identity. This concept is rooted in constructivist theory.

Constructivism moves away from placing institutions in terms of the anarchic international system and free market failures and instead seeks to place them within a social context.

Constructivist approaches pay special attention to the influence of rules and norms. Based on their definition of roles and behaviors, constructivists hold that institutions can shape identities and interests of states.<sup>43</sup>

Constructivists believe that desire for a shared identity can explain state behavior. Rousseau and Van Der Veen draw from constructivist and liberal theories noting that a sense of identity could reduce or eliminate perceptions of threat posed by an imbalance of power and therefore increase international cooperation. One explanation for this increase is that the behaviors of others are more easily understood and interpreted when there is a perceived shared identity.<sup>44</sup> For example, if states believe they share an identity with another state they will more likely understand their actions because the states will act

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<sup>43</sup> Simmons and Martin, 197-198.

<sup>44</sup> David Rousseau and A. Maurits Van der Veen. "The Emergence of a Shared Identity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (2005):686-712.

similarly. There are six central tenets to the constructivist view of social identities: identities may change across time and space, individuals may possess multiple identities, outside structures may influence the adoption of different identities, the selection and emergence of one identity from a variety depends on social interactions, identities within a society are shaped by political entrepreneurs, and actors and structures are mutually constituted.<sup>45</sup> Although it can be difficult to determine the causal arrow of influence between state identities and institutions, there is no question that states may seek to shape their identity by joining international institutions.

Much of Rousseau and Van Der Veen's research on identification and identity formation centers on the state. This information is important to the topic of supranational institutions for the fact that citizens can possess multiple identities. When a state is considering membership, it does not need to fear that its citizens will totally give up their national identity. While some feel that loyalties will shift totally to the new supranational institution, it is important to remember state can have different identities and the political forces working around them can influence which one is most prominent. Political forces will also play a large role in the emergence of a collective identity.

Alexander Wendt focuses on the development of collective identity. He argues collective identification is crucial for promoting the transition to more globalized entities and the move away from the traditional Westphalian system of traditional state sovereignty. Wendt's research looks into the formation of a collective identity between states.<sup>46</sup> There are three types of causal mechanisms: structural contexts, systemic

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<sup>45</sup> Rousseau, and Van der Veen. "The Emergence of a Shared Identity."

<sup>46</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Collective identity formation and the international state." *American Political Science Review* 88 (1994): 385.

processes, and strategic practice. Structural contexts include intersubjective structures, which are the shared knowledge and understandings included in an institution. These structures inform material ones which lead to a determination of how actors act. Systemic processes are dynamics in the external context of the state, including increased interdependence between states caused by either increased interactions or a shared 'Other.' Another systemic process is the rise of convergence of national values. The final mechanism in the development of a collective identity is strategic practice, according to Wendt; this may include the emergence of expectations that encourage cooperation given past positive experiences.<sup>47</sup> These mechanisms for the development of a common identity show the importance of cooperation and coming together to form a new identity.

Several of Wendt's arguments apply to other institutions, specifically, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO was born out a threat from a common other, the Soviet Bloc.<sup>48</sup> When the threat ended at the end of the Cold War, there was a general thought by realist theorists that the alliance would end given the elimination of the common threat of Soviet invasion. Despite the loss of their common enemy, NATO still lives on. The institution has now evolved to take on more global issues such as counter-terrorism, cyber defense, counter piracy, energy security, and missile defense.<sup>49</sup> Helene Sjursen argues that the alliance has held together because of their common identity and shared history. Sjursen states, "Looking back to NATO's early years, it is clear that representatives of member states had ambitions of establishing not only a military alliance,

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<sup>47</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity and the International State", 387-391.

<sup>48</sup> Helene Sjursen, "On the identity of NATO." *International Affairs* 80, (2004): 687

<sup>49</sup> W. Bruce Weinrod, "The Future of NATO." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2012): 1-13.

but also an Atlantic 'community'."<sup>50</sup> The roots of this community were to be deeper than the need for a common security threat; numerous NATO documents emphasize the importance of democratic principles. The end of the Soviet threat led to an increased emphasis on democracy, especially with regard to the organization's policies towards Eastern Europe. The enlargement of NATO to include several of the former Soviet republics shows the importance of this democratic identity.<sup>51</sup> The expansion also shows how the common enemy and convergence of national values can impact the creation and expansion of a common identity between countries.

Neo-Functionalists also recognize the importance of identity in driving state interest institutions. Throughout his work on integration, neofunctionalist Ernst Haas examined the role of community loyalty. He discusses that when states form, either from the division of a larger state or the union of two previously distinct states, "loyalty to the established font of authority wanes as a feeling of separate identity takes possession of the group clamoring for new forms of political organization."<sup>52</sup> This applies to supranational organizations in a similar way. As numerous nations come together to form a new political union the identity of the new union will supersede the individual national identity. As the new identity grows stronger, it will unite people, and this identity will then become obvious to outside states.

Building on the constructivist views on the formation of identity and common identity, along with the example of the expansion of NATO, the second variable I analyze is the impact of common identity. I hypothesize that when states see themselves on the

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<sup>50</sup> Sjursen, "On the identity of NATO." 690

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 690

<sup>52</sup> Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, p.3

outside of a common identity that is benefiting other nations, they will seek to join that identity and the institution responsible for it.

### **Alliance for Security**

States also may be attracted to institutions for a very basic reason, security. National security is one of the greatest concerns nations must address, as it is vital to sovereignty and maintaining control over citizens. The importance of national security and skepticism of the intents of others is one of the corner stones of the realist theory. Realism has been the predominant paradigm in international affairs for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Realists believe that concerns over power are at the root of all international institutions' structures. Realists argue that states join institutions because of converging interests or dominant power relations. Many realists believe institutions are only formed by world powers during their period of hegemony and reflect underlying state interests.<sup>53</sup>

With respect to the role of institutions, Mearsheimer argues, "states sometimes operate through institutions. However rules reflect state calculations of self-interest based primarily on the distribution of power."<sup>54</sup> Mearsheimer argues that self-interest and desire to protect the nation from more powerful outside forces explain the existence of international institutions. Dan Reiter defines alliances as, "A formal and mutual commitment to contribute military assistance in the event one of the alliance partners is attacked."<sup>55</sup> Combining Mearsheimer and Reiter's insights, realists believe that when states

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<sup>53</sup> Simmons and Martin, 194-195.

<sup>54</sup> Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions."

<sup>55</sup> Dan Reiter, "Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The weight of the shadow of the past" *World Politics* 46 (1994): 490-526

feel threatened, they will join with others to develop a united force against a common enemy.

Realists use the concept of relative gains and the uncertain nature of the international system to explain state's motivation for joining institutions. Joseph Grieco further explains the realist view on institutions and the role of other states by examining two additional concepts. He first argues that realists see states as positional in character, which means states in cooperative relationships will worry about their position and who will gain more. From this analysis, Grieco also brings in the concept of relative gains, which he explains in the following way: "a state will decline to join, will leave, or will sharply limit its commitment to a cooperative arrangement if it believes that partners are achieving, or are likely to achieve, relatively greater gains."<sup>56</sup> Grieco explains further that these concepts influence states' decisions to cooperate: "States are uncertain about one another's future intentions; thus, they pay close attention to how cooperation might affective relative capabilities in the future."<sup>57</sup> Alliances allow states to set terms for cooperation and gain insights into the intentions of the other nation, thus removing uncertainty related to national security and other states' intentions.

Realist theorists also argue that alliances may be motivated by history. Reiter combines realist theory with a learning theory by noting, "Whereas realism proposes that states ally in response to changes in the level of external threat, the learning theory advanced here proposes that states make alliance policy in accordance with lessons drawn

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<sup>56</sup> Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42 (1988):485-507.

<sup>57</sup> Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation"

from formative historical experiences.”<sup>58</sup> Reiter’s statement shows that states will use previous knowledge of other state’s actions to determine who shares their interests and choose to ally with those states. Given that leaders often face uncertainty in trying to predict the impact of policies or the decision of others, they must draw on past experiences. Relying on past experience will allow states to align with those who shared their interests in the past.

Drawing on statements and conclusions from various realist scholars and those studying the benefit of membership in alliances and institutions, it is clear that one of the driving forces may be the desire to protect national security. From this theoretical background I draw my final hypothesis: When states face a security threat or seek broader security assurances, they will seek membership in an international institution.

### **Research Design:**

In this section, I describe my approach to investigating the question of why states seek membership in supranational institutions. First, I describe my approach to understanding the dependent variable, state pursuit of membership in these institutions. Second, I describe my three independent variables that serve to help me test the three explanations outlined above. Finally, I explain my case study approach and briefly introduce my two cases: Austria and Poland.

The dependent variable I seek to explain is state desire to join a supranational institution. I measure my dependent variable through records on accession negotiations to determine if a state has made an appeal to the governing body of an institution for

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<sup>58</sup> Reiter, “Learning, Realism, and Alliances”

membership. In order for a state to seek membership in the European Union, it must first meet the requirements for membership and then go through the process integrating the existing European Law into its national law. In the second step, the EU Council must pass a unanimous decision on a framework for negotiations. The state will enter into an intergovernmental conference, the formal negotiations with ministers and ambassadors from each of the member states of the EU. States that have met the criteria are potential candidate countries and states that have entered into the negotiations are candidate countries. This information is readily available on the European Union's website. The website lists states that are already members as well as states currently seeking membership.<sup>59</sup>

I measure the independent variable of perceived economic benefit by looking into party platforms from the case study countries to find mentions of how the European Union will impact the economy. I consulted political party platforms from the year before accession. In cases where language is a barrier and no translations are available, I use additional sources. These include interviews with political elite and speeches given on the subject of the European Union, which are in English and are available from both the time of entering into the negotiations to the referendum in Austria. I selected this measure because the national leaders are in charge of the opening of negotiations with the European Union. I measure the perceived economic benefit by counting the frequency of mentions and the weight given to any economic reasons for joining the European Union.

In order to measure the second independent variable of desire to join a common identity, I examine rhetoric on the concept of Europeanization (the common identity held

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<sup>59</sup> "Countries," The European Union Last modified: 2014 [http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index_en.htm)

throughout Europe) as well as opinion polling on this idea. The opinion polling data comes from published results of the Eurobarometer opinion polling data. The Eurobarometer is a series of public opinion polls conducted on behalf of the European Commission. The data is available for a cross European study as well as being broken down by country. Archive data is available dating back to the 1970s.<sup>60</sup> While there are inherent flaws in polling, it is the best data available at this time. By looking at questions relating to a common European identity and individual connection to this identity, I am able to test my second hypothesis.

Finally, I measure the third independent variable on security alliances using national security documents from the years leading up to the states entering into formal negotiations for membership to see if any outside territory or group are listed as a concern for the nation. I consult national documents like constitutions for any formal mentions of principles of neutrality or efforts at cooperation. I also examined documents from the accession process or the opening rounds of negotiation to see how the nations dealt with the joining of a common foreign policy unit. The conditions for membership align with the *Acquis Communitare*. Chapter 31 of the *Acquis* addresses the common security and defense policy of the European Union. Member states are required to progressively align with EU statements and apply the same sanctions and restriction measures when necessary.<sup>61</sup>

In order to conduct this research, I use a case study approach. Given its role as the greatest developed institution and unique role as the most developed supranational institution, I focused on the European Union, and I use members of the European Union for

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<sup>60</sup> Public Opinion: Eurobarometer, European Commission, Last modified April 2015, [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm)

<sup>61</sup> European Union Accession Policy. Last modified 2007.

[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis/index_en.htm)

more in-depth case analysis. I selected two cases, each one entering the Union at a different time in its development. The first case I analyze is Austria. I selected Austria because it was one of the three states to join the European Union following the passage of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. The passage of the Maastricht Treaty marked the transition towards supranationality, which is why it is crucial that one of my cases come shortly after the Treaty's passage.

My second case is Poland. Poland joined the European Union in 2004 along with nine other nations in the largest accession group in the history of the EU. Analyzing the decision of Poland allows for a closer analysis of the effects of full implementation of the Maastricht Treaty and provides a chance to trace the impacts of the Treaty after the more time as elapsed.

**Table 1: Summary of Variables, Hypotheses, and Measurements**

Variable	Hypotheses	Measurement
DV- Decision to seek membership in a Supranational Institution		Having member status or having the status of a candidate or potential candidate country
IV <sub>1</sub> - Perceived Economic Benefits	When membership in a Supranational Institution will be beneficial for the economy states will seek membership	Political Party Platforms- pre accession Statements by Political Elite
IV <sub>2</sub> - Common Identity	When membership in a Supranational Institution will lead to the joining of a common social identity states will seek membership	Quantitative Data from the Public Opinion Poll questions on identity pre accession.
IV <sub>3</sub> - Alliances for National Security	When membership in a Supranational Institution will lead to the joining of an alliance beneficial to national security states will seek membership	National Security Documents, Constitutions- looks for mention of threats or alliances. Accession negotiations, the 31 <sup>st</sup> chapter of the Acquis Communitaire addresses the common security policy of the EU, state alignment with this document can measure alliance.

### Case 1: Austria

On January 1, 1995, Austria officially joined the European Union. Austria's negotiations for EU accession were among the first following the passage of the Maastricht Treaty, meaning they were one of the first nations to join the European Union after it officially became the European Union. The process of Austria's accession began decades earlier and had historical ties to the post war era and the beginning of European integration. I begin by providing a brief historical context on the timeline leading to

Austria's eventual accession into the EU, then move on to an explanation of the collected data for each of the three variables, and finally provide an analysis of each.

### **Background:**

Austria began its movement towards European Union membership in 1961, when it applied for membership in the European Economic Community (EEC). On the same day, the Soviet Union sent an address to the government in Vienna that membership in the EEC would be in violation of the nation's permanent neutrality, set out in 1955. This neutrality was important because the nation was increasing contact with the Soviet Union in the early 1950s but sought to remain connected to Western Europe. Neutrality also gave the country a self-imposed protection from any future German aggression.<sup>62</sup> In 1972, Austria and other members of the European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) agreed to enter into a free trade agreement with the EEC. In the 1980s, the nations of the European Community began their movement towards the completion of an internal market. At the same time, President of the European Commission made a proposal to create a more structured partnership between the EC and EFTA nations. In 1989, Austria formally applied for membership in the EU. In 1991, the freedoms of the internal market came to the nations of EFTA.

It took five years for Austria to complete the application process and negotiations to join the European Union. Throughout this time, it was determined by the European Commission that Austrian membership would on the whole benefit the Union given Austria's involvement in the historical events from which a new Europe was being created.

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<sup>62</sup> Michael Gehler, "From Non-alignment to Neutrality? Austria's Transformation during the First East-West Détente, 1953–1958." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7, no. 4 (2005): 104-136.

Additionally, it was clear that Austria had a strong economy and increased economic connections would be mutually beneficial. The final round of negotiations for accession was parallel negotiations in which Austria joined with other members of EFTA to seek membership in the EU. These parallel negotiations took place between February 1993 and March 1994 and covered 29 chapters.<sup>63</sup>

In a reflection of the political makeup of the Austrian government of the time, the negotiating team was comprised of one member from each party in the so-called Grand Coalition, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats. At the negotiations, the main points of contention from a domestic politics perspective were the financial details of Austria's contribution to the EU budget, agriculture, transit, and regulations on the sale of housing in the Alpine region.<sup>64</sup> On May 4, 1994, Austria completed the negotiations following a vote in the European Parliament.<sup>65</sup> The decision to join the European Union then shifted from the powers of Europe to the people of Austria.

Membership in the European Union became highly politicized. The referendum was set to take place in June ahead of the federal election in October. The European Union does not require a national referendum for a state to join, however it was required under Austrian law. The government ruled that joining the EU would alter the core constitutional principles of the nation and represent a total revision of the Constitution, which required a referendum as well as a two-thirds majority vote in the Parliament. The referendum debate highlighted the divide in Austrian political culture. Throughout the accession negotiations

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<sup>63</sup> Hanspeter Neuhold. "Perspectives of Austria's membership in the European Union." *German Yearbook of International Law* 37, (1994): 9.

<sup>64</sup> Wolfram Kaiser, "Austria in the European Union." *Journal Of Common Market Studies* 33 (1995): 411

<sup>65</sup> Hanspeter Neuhold. "Perspectives on Austria's Membership"

and referendum, Franz Vranitzky served as Chancellor (in office 1986-1997). Vranitzky was a member of the SPÖ. A coalition made up of the Social Democrats (SPÖ) and the Christian Democrats (ÖVP), along with the smaller Liberal Reform Party (LIF) came out in favor of EU accession.<sup>66</sup> The support of the Liberal Reform Party was important because they were an opposition party. Their support took away any perception that membership in the European Union was as a partisan issue or one of government support versus opposition support.<sup>67</sup> Several interest groups and the institutions of Austrian corporatism joined these parties in support. On the other side of the argument were the Green Party and the right-wing populist Freedom Party (FPÖ). Overall, media was largely in support of EU accession.<sup>68</sup> The final vote count showed that 82.4 percent of the nation turned out to vote; of those 66.6 percent voted in favor of European Union membership and 33.4 percent opposed membership.<sup>69</sup>

### **Data:**

In order to examine Austria's decision to seek membership in the European Union and test my three hypotheses, I collected the data on the perceived economic benefits, the European identity, and security issues facing Austria in the years before their eventual accession. My primary sources for data were newspapers from Austria and quotes by Austrian politicians in other nations throughout Europe as well as polling data.

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<sup>66</sup> Wolfram Kaiser, "The Silent Revolution: Austria's Accession to the European Union," *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, 5 (1997): 135-162.

<sup>67</sup>Kaiser. "Austria in the European Union." 411

<sup>68</sup> Kaiser "The Silent Revolution: Austria's Accession to the EU"

<sup>69</sup>Kaiser. "Austria in the European Union."

## **Hypothesis 1:**

I began my research by examining political party rhetoric on potential economic benefits from membership in the European Union. The first political party I looked into was the ÖVP, who were in support of EU accession. An article published in April 1994 outlines the views of the party. The article summarizes the passage of a resolution on the EU by the Federal Executive Committee of the ÖVP. It states, "In terms of the national economy, EU membership will have positive effects for Austrian employees, for industry, and for farmers."<sup>70</sup> The article continues, "Austrian accession to the EU will also stimulate the labor market. The Wifo Economic Research Institute has predicted an increase of 55,000 jobs between 1995 and 2000. Some 7.5 billion schillings would be provided from the European Union's social fund for fighting unemployment until the end of 1999."<sup>71</sup> By listing the different industries that will benefit from Austria's membership in the European Union, the ÖVP is appealing to these groups and proving that not only will the Austrian economy benefit, but these benefits will not be centered in any one industry making membership beneficial for all Austrians.

At the time of accession, Alois Mock, of the ÖVP, was serving as Foreign Minister. Mock represented Austria during the accession negotiations. Many reporters interviewed Mock throughout the process. In a November 1992 interview the reporter asked Mock if Austria feared economic colonization by Germany. Mock noted that the same concern was present when the Irish joined with respect to Britain and when Portugal joined with respect to Spain. He went on to state, "The dependency and its negative effects will

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<sup>70</sup> "ÖVP Passes Declaration Supporting EU Accession" *The Wiener Zeitung*. April, 24 1994.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

undoubtedly become more acute if Austria stays outside the European Union. If we cannot participate in the decisions which will determine our economic and social future Austria faces industrial and economic decline.”<sup>72</sup> Mock’s remarks clarify for the Austrian people, and the people of Europe, that they will be able to maintain their national independence and sovereignty should they join the European Union. His remarks also make it clear that not joining the European Union will leave them out of policy discussions and this could have a detrimental effect. He demonstrates that failure to join would have negative consequences.

During the same interview, Mock spoke about the main arguments to persuade voters to say yes. He argued, “In the economic sphere: if Austrians are forced to produce in more difficult conditions and overcome costly tariff barriers to sell their products on the Community market, social progress in Austria will be slower. To guarantee jobs and competitiveness of enterprises, the Austrian economy must enjoy the same conditions as the member countries of the EU on the big Community markets”<sup>73</sup> In this statement, Mock makes it clear that Austria’s economy benefits from being on a level playing field and competitiveness with the other nations of the European Union. He also appeals to Austrians by equating job security and the continued competitiveness of their enterprises with membership in the European Union.

Mock also worked to show that Austrian membership in the EU would not be one-sided; the EU would also benefit from having Austria’s resources. In February 1993, Mock gave a speech in Brussels in which he said, “Its high economic and social stability,

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<sup>72</sup> “Mock on Implications of EU Membership” *Paris Le Monde*. November 4, 1993.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

intellectual resources, high qualifications of the working people, and strong currency make Austria a partner that will broaden and strengthen the base of EC competitiveness in the international economy.”<sup>74</sup> In addition to demonstrating to EU leaders that Austria was worth granting membership too, Mock’s remarks show the same thing to the people of Austria. The work Austrians have done to build their economy made them strong and desirable to the European Union.

Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek of the ÖVP gave a statement of support for EU membership in March 1994. In this statement, he highlighted the fact that “Various foreign companies make investments dependent on Austria’s EU membership. This will provide additional stimulus for the economy.”<sup>75</sup> Through this quote, Busek proves to his constituents that EU membership will have indirect consequences that will stimulate the economy, and that these could be lost should they forego membership.

Chancellor Vranitzky spoke in April 1994 about overall impressions following the conclusion of the accession negotiations. When asked a question about the economy, the Chancellor explained that it would be disadvantageous for Austria to forego membership. He stated, “I start with the premise that today Austria is already one of the most integrated countries in the field of economy and commerce. We transact two-thirds of our trade with EU countries. This share is far higher than the share of many EU members. It is also undeniable that the development of the single market will result in disadvantages for those who do not belong to it. The longer it takes, the more this disadvantage will increase.”<sup>76</sup> By stating the proportion of Austrian trade that goes to the European Union, the Chancellor

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<sup>74</sup> “Austria’s Mock on EC Membership Negotiations” *Vienna ORF Televisions Network*. February 1, 1993.

<sup>75</sup> “Government offers support for EU transition” *Vienna Wiener Zeitung*. March 9, 1994.

<sup>76</sup> “Vranitzky Views EU Chances, Problems.” *Hamburg Die Zeit*, April, 8 1994.

made it easier to understand how important the relationship is between the EU and Austria and how difficult it would be for the Austrians to be outside a single market.

In addition to the political elite of Austria providing statements on the role of the economy in the nation's accession, the media brought in members of the academic community to comment. In a March 1994 article analyzing the consequences of not joining the European Union, Bernhard Felderer of the Institute for Higher Studies noted, "If the Austrian people vote no to European Union, this would lead to a lower per capita income in the medium term."<sup>77</sup> Felderer went on to say, "just the abolition of waiting times at the borders and of customs administrations will produce annual savings of 8 to 20 billion schillings for the companies. If one adds on the abolition of certificates of origin, the end of the discrimination in the processing trade and the no-longer-necessary import turnover tax, this results in a massive growth of 30-60 billion schillings or 2-3%."<sup>78</sup> Felder's numbers made it clear that Austria's economy would benefit from the economic institutions of the European Union.

*Evaluation of Hypothesis 1:*

My first hypothesis stated that when states see an economic benefit they would seek membership in a supranational organization. The government of Austria found that by joining the European Union they would initially receive EU funds to further their development and fighting unemployment. Additionally, the benefits that come from membership in the European Union, lowering of tariffs and trade barriers will affect the economy by encouraging more companies to work within Austria. Political leaders in

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<sup>77</sup> "Consequences of Not Joining the EU Analyzed" *Vienna Die Presse*, March 7, 1994

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

Austria noted in both abstract and concrete terms that joining the EU would benefit the Austrian economy, and not joining would be detrimental to their economic development. In the case of Austria, this hypothesis strongly explains a state's motivation to seek membership in the European Union.

### **Hypothesis 2:**

In order to investigate my second hypothesis, I analyzed polling data from the days leading up to the referendum in Austria. In these polls, respondents stated how they were voting and what their main motivation was for doing so. In one poll, 39 percent of respondents cited economic advantages as their main motivation, 19 percent avoidance of isolation from Europe, 17 percent their personal attitude towards European integration, and 13 percent the hope for higher security.<sup>79</sup> The two middle numbers demonstrate that a substantial percentage of Austrians desired some sort of increased connection to Europe. By looking to avoid isolation from Europe, the 19 percent are seeking to either become a part of Europe or avoid leaving Europe. The 17 percent have a personal view in favor of European integration. Together this 36 percent of people listed European relations in some way as their main motivation for voting in favor of European Union membership.

In addition to the exit poll information there was research done further ahead of the referendum vote on the views of the Austrian people. In May 1994, an article citing research on the split identity of Austrians stated 79 percent of people view themselves as solely Austrians and no more than 17 percent see themselves as also Europeans. However, only one-third of Austrians believe their political system is very good, and one third believe

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<sup>79</sup> Kaiser, "The Silent Revolution: Austria's Accession to the EU"

the political system is bad.<sup>80</sup> Within this same article Austrian President Thomas Klestil calls upon Austrians to demonstrate solidarity and that all those “who are convinced of the urgency of a larger, common Europe” should come together in the lead up to the referendum.<sup>81</sup> This data shows that there was a division within Austria; while the majority of people did not see themselves as Europeans, they also did not feel that they had the best political system. The belief that the Austrian political system was not very good shows a diminishing level of national pride.

*Evaluation of Hypothesis 2:*

The exit polling data done in the time leading up to the referendum shows two of Austrians’ top three priorities are avoidance of isolation from the rest of Europe and personal attitudes towards integration. These numbers show that Austrians see a place for themselves and their country in future of Europe and see themselves tied to Europe. This may not be a desire to identify with a European identity but instead demonstrated that there are different levels of identity and individuals can classify themselves in multiple ways. 36 percent of those polled saw a benefit to their country being tied to Europe and becoming increasingly European. In contrast, the polling provided by *Der Standard* shows only 17 percent of the population seeing themselves as Europeans in addition to their national identity. This split leads to inconclusive results for my second hypothesis. It does not explain states’ decisions to join the European Union as well as economic motivation.

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<sup>80</sup> “Klestil Calls for Solidarity Prior to EU Referendum” *Vienna Der Standard*, May 31, 1994.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

### **Hypothesis 3:**

In order to test my third hypothesis I looked for evidence of a security risk or desire for a security alliance. By reading through interviews, speeches, and published articles from the political parties and leadership I searched for statements and claims on national security and how security will be impacted by the European Union membership.

One of the most prominent security-related concerns regarding membership was the maintenance of Austria's permanent neutrality. Foreign Minister Alois Mock addressed this several times between the initial opening of the negotiations and the eventual referendum. In October 1989 he addressed this concern to the Vienna Domestic Service, in reaction to a claim made that same year by the Soviets that Austria's EC membership would violate its neutrality. He noted, "All three parties that agreed to the application for membership—that is, also the opposition party—stated very clearly that neutrality will not be disposed of. This is also clearly indicated in our application for membership, which contains two points—that is, membership and the preservation of permanent neutrality and the continuation of the neutrality policy."<sup>82</sup> In his statement, Mock makes it clear that there is cross-party support for maintenance of neutrality. The cross-party support makes the case for membership stronger.

As the negotiations continued, the issue of neutrality did not go away. In June 1992, Mock delivered an aide-memoire to EC ambassadors, which noted, "Austria is aware that its security is indivisibly linked with Europe's security. The development of efficient instruments to ward off and punish acts of aggression and violations of rights is in Austria's

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<sup>82</sup> "Vranitzky, Mock on Soviet Stance on EC Membership" *Vienna Domestic Service*, August 10, 1989

vital interest.”<sup>83</sup> When asked if this message meant Austria’s old neutrality lost its addressee in modern Europe, Mock responded, “I would say neutrality has a different significance today than during the East-West conflict. This naturally has an impact on our neutrality policy, but it does not affect the essence of neutrality, which is part of the constitution adopted in 1955.”<sup>84</sup> Even though Austria is no longer geographically in the middle of the East-West conflict their neutrality is still important. By explaining the evolution of the Austrian concept of neutrality, Mock makes it clear that membership in the European Union will not be a violation of neutrality.

Early on in the negotiations, Chancellor Vranitzky was uncertain about the role neutrality would play and was concerned it could be a barrier to Austria’s relationship with the EC. In August 1989, the Chancellor stated during an interview that “guaranteeing the country’s permanent neutrality could represent an obstacle to becoming a member of the European Community.”<sup>85</sup> Through this quote, Vranitzky showed that Austria could not join the European Union and maintain their neutrality. Throughout the years leading up to the final referendum this opinion shifted and as time progressed the definition of neutrality changed.

In 1992, the Chancellor made it clear to that the nation’s commitment to neutrality was much more important during past eras of world history. Vranitzky stated “Now the East-West conflict is over and there are threats to security that are of a different nature from a war between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. There are different threats to security, and we must understand quite clearly that these threats cannot be combated by neutrality

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<sup>83</sup> “Mock Gives Message to EC Member Ambassadors” *Vienna ORF Television*, June 11, 1992

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> “Vranitzky Sees EC-Neutrality Conflict” *Munich Süddeutsche Zeitung*, August 12, 1989

alone.”<sup>86</sup> When the Chancellor explained the new nature of world politics, he was able to minimize the importance of neutrality while not removing it entirely. It is clear through his remarks that security remains an issue but the new issues require a new method of security.

Vranitzky looked to move on from the discussion of permanent neutrality. In a November 1993 interview he briefly addressed neutrality and then moved on to discuss European security. The Chancellor stated, “I think that Austria has made it clear that as a potential future EC member, we want to actively participate in the establishment of a European security system, that we consider it right that the European states establish such a system, and we do not see it as being incompatible with Austria’s neutrality.”<sup>87</sup> Through his explanation that neutrality is not incompatible with alliances, the Chancellor could begin to reshape the conversation on security.

### *Evaluation of Hypothesis 3:*

Much of the debate over Austria’s membership in the European Union with respect to security connected to the status of the nation’s neutrality. In the end it was decided that membership in the European Union would not be a violation of the constitutional agreement to maintain neutrality because of a key distinction between neutrality and military non-alignment.<sup>88</sup> As is reflected in the statements of the political elite, the phrase neutrality no longer applied to the status of the world. Instead of having to choose sides in

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<sup>86</sup> Vranitzky Views Neutrality, Maastricht, FPÖ, *Vienna ORF Television Network*, September 3, 1992

<sup>87</sup> “Vranitzky, Busek Comment on Neutrality,” *Vienna Österreich Eins Radio Network*, November 9, 1993.

<sup>88</sup> Laura C. Ferreira-Pereira. “Inside the Fence but Outside the Walls: Austria, Finland, and Sweden in the Post-Cold War Security Architecture,” *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, 41 (2006): 99-102.

a Cold War, the nation would face challenges of committing military assistance. In choosing to join the European Union and forego membership in NATO, Austria showed a changing view of security. The phrase would not be defined in purely militaristic terms; instead some of the benefits of EU membership could redefine security to include increased ease in crossing borders and other common defense strategies. Given this new interpretation of the term security, the hypothesis supports security as an explanation for a states' motivation to join the European Union. Security is a strong explanation for states' decision to join supranational institutions. However, given the work of the Austrian government to redefine phrases and manipulate the term neutrality so they could both join the European Union and maintain their system of non-military alignment this explanation is not as strong as perception of economic benefits. The attempt by the leadership to try and reframe neutrality makes this explanation stronger than shared identity.

## **Case 2: Poland**

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 there was a push by the European Union to bring the states that had formerly been under Communist control into their sphere of influence. Perhaps one of the most important of these states was Poland. For many years, there had been a common rhetoric in Poland on the need to return to Europe. Additionally, Poland had a different, more negative, history with the Soviet Union than Austria did. The nation's location in central Europe gave it influence in the relations between Western and Eastern Europe.

## Background:

Beginning with the Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy (Phare) program in 1989, the nation's interactions with the European Union increased. The EU created the Phare program to help Poland and Hungary through economic and political transitions. The program went on to become the financial instrument of pre-accession strategy.<sup>89</sup> Following the help of the Phare program, Poland signed a partnership agreement with the EU in 1991. Three years later, in 1994, they submitted their application for candidacy, which was accepted and in 1996 Poland officially earned the status of candidate country.<sup>90</sup> The European Council of Ministers adopted the European Strategy of the Government of the Republic of Poland in November 2001. This document outlined the important elements for accession and included suggestions on Poland's influence on the EU. One of the aspects included was the call for the Polish government to ensure a wide participation of the public in the process of acceding to the European Union. In 2002, the negotiations were complete and terms accepted. The government then decided to leave the final decision up to the people through a referendum vote.<sup>91</sup> In the June 2003 referendum, 59 percent of the population turned out to vote. After the two-day referendum, 77 percent of those who voted were in favor of EU membership.<sup>92</sup> In May of 2004, Poland officially joined the European Union along with nine other nations, the largest expansion in the history of the Union.

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<sup>89</sup>Phare Program. European Union, Last modified 2007.

[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/2004\\_and\\_2007\\_enlargement/e50004\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/2004_and_2007_enlargement/e50004_en.htm)

<sup>90</sup>Hankam Samur. "A Review of the First Nine Years of Poland's Membership in the European Union" *USAK Yearbook* (2013) 121-139.

<sup>91</sup>Andrzej Stępnia. "Strategy for Poland's Membership in the European Union" *Intereconomics* (2002): 183.

<sup>92</sup>Radoslaw Markowski and Joshua A. Tucker. "Pocketbooks, politics, and parties: the 2003 Polish referendum on EU membership." *Electoral Studies* 24, no. 3 (2005): 410.

While Poland was going through the negotiations to join the European Union, they were also looking to join NATO. They eventually earned membership in 1999. There was a great debate about the expansion of NATO in the 1990s to include more nations in Eastern Europe. Poland was able to present the case that their great economic advances since the fall of communism and their large youth population able to serve in the military qualified them for membership in NATO.<sup>93</sup> One of the key arguments in favor of NATO expansion was the potential to spread democracy.<sup>94</sup> This allowed Poland to join NATO earlier than other institutions.

As Poland prepared to join the European Union, nine other nations in Eastern Europe were doing the same thing. In order to accommodate these changes the European Council held an Intergovernmental Conference in early 2000 to discuss how the governing institutions of the European Union would need to adapt and change. The 2001 Treaty of Nice outlines the results of the Intergovernmental Conference. The progress brought about by the Treaty of Nice included limiting the size of commission, extending the voting procedures, and altering the way votes are weighed within the Council.<sup>95</sup>

## **Data:**

### **Hypothesis 1:**

I began my research on the perception of economic benefits by studying the political leaders of Poland. The first person I discovered was Polish Prime Minister Włodzimierz

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<sup>93</sup> David D. Hale, and Anna Hejka-Arczynska. "Poland and NATO." *National Review* 48, no. 10 (1996): 36-39

<sup>94</sup> Helene Sjursen, "On the identity of NATO." *International Affairs* 80, (2004): 687

<sup>95</sup> The Treaty of Nice, European Union, last modified 2015.

[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/glossary/nice\\_treaty\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/nice_treaty_en.htm)

Cimoszewicz who served from 1996-1997. Towards the end of his time in office, in May 1997, he noted "In the longer run benefits stemming from integration with the European Union (EU) many times exceeded the price that would have to be paid as part of adjustments."<sup>96</sup> He also argued, "If Poland joins the EU, the Polish economy will enter a big market of about 400 million consumers. This means opportunities provided by the possibilities of modernization and economic restructuring."<sup>97</sup> When the Prime Minister gave the specific figures of the new customers that Polish industries would gain with EU membership he was asserting the direct economic impact of membership and he went on to explain the secondary effects. With greater access to customers, revenue would increase and additional opportunities would become available to the Polish economy as it modernized to meet standards and the increased revenue it circulated.

Many of the other mentions of the impact of European Union membership come from federal agencies involved in the negotiations. In November 1998 Pawel Samecki, the Deputy Minister of the European Integration Committee, noted that moving towards closer cooperation with the European Union would bring some benefits early on. Samecki explained in a speech that Poland would receive aid from the European Union funds for the realization of two programs for rural development and environmental protection. Going into the year 1999, Poland expected to receive 200-250 million ECUs from the Phare fund to help further the nation's integration with Europe.<sup>98</sup> The fact that the European Union was providing funding early on for the development of Poland, five years before it officially became a member, showed that the EU would be beneficial for the economy. If this level of

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<sup>96</sup> "Polish Premier Says Benefits of Joining EU Exceed Price of Adjustment," *PAP News Agency*, May 21, 1997

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> "Poland: minister announces EU funding for Programmes in 1999" *PAP News Agency*. November 30, 1998

funding was what the country could expect at the beginning of the path to membership, they should be able to anticipate at least the same level of benefits as members.

The Economic Ministry also did research examining the impact of the European Union on the economy. In May of 2003, the ministry forecasted foreign investment in the country would rise from six billion dollars to eight billion dollars in the year after Poland entered the European Union. There was a slight decrease in foreign investment between 2001 and 2002, but the ministry expected numbers to continue to rise following accession.<sup>99</sup> This research demonstrates that Poland was looking into the indirect impacts of their membership. The continued rise of foreign direct investment during the years of accession negotiations and the prediction that the number would continue to climb following membership shows that these indirect impacts would benefit the Polish economy.

Jacek Saryusz Wolski, the former head of the Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE), spoke at a conference in Warsaw in April 2003 to report on the conclusions of studies on the benefits and costs of Poland's membership in the European Union. The economic benefits are in two categories, macro and micro. The macroeconomic benefits of integration included, "increased scope and share of investments in the GDP, accelerated modernization, and transfer of new technologies and flow of direct investments from abroad."<sup>100</sup> Wolski confirmed the report's conclusion that "Poland's economy may grow by about 5 percent in the years 2005-2007 and the growth may temporarily drop in the following two years. Growing micro-economic stabilization will be another positive

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<sup>99</sup> "Poland: Economy Ministry estimates foreign investment after EU entry" *PAP News Agency*, May 16, 2003

<sup>100</sup> "Report on Costs and Benefits of Polish EU Membership Presented" *PAP News Agency*, April 24, 2003

result. Poland will join the euro zone by 2008, stabilizing the currency rate and replacing the zloty with the euro. Inflation will remain on a relatively low level of 3-4 percent.”<sup>101</sup> The research Wolski presented shows that every level of the Polish economy (macro and micro) looked to benefit from membership in the European Union. Additionally, by looking out towards Poland joining the Euro currency market, Wolski’s research gave evidence that is more specific on the benefits of being on the euro and could address some concerns on joining a common currency.

Wolski also noted that not joining the EU would have negative consequences on the Polish economy. He stated, “If Poland fails to join the EU, it should be prepared for expiration of transfers from the EU and a decreasing flow of direct investments, which will go to Central and East European countries, as well as a slow tempo of modernization of the economy and lower GPS [as received] growth.”<sup>102</sup> Through Wolski’s additional research, we see that the Polish economy would not only lose the benefits from membership but would suffer should they decide not to join.

While working through the accession negotiations with the European Union, a new governing coalition took power. The Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Labor Union election coalition (UP), and Polish Peasant Party (PSL) came together in October 2001 to write a policy agreement on their future coalition government. One of their missions was to guarantee the safety of Poland and the associated plan for action included “completing the process of negotiations with the European Union and the preparation of Poland for integration, treated as a great national challenge, the implementation of which gives

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<sup>101</sup> “Report on Costs and Benefits of Polish EU Membership Presented”

<sup>102</sup> “Report on Costs and Benefits of Polish EU Membership Presented”

opportunities for faster economic growth, the modernization of agriculture, the improvement of the infrastructure and the equalization of living and working conditions.”<sup>103</sup> The new governing coalition clearly outlines the economic benefits as a justification for joining the European Union. Additionally, by placing EU membership as one of their missions upon entering office, the new coalition highlight the importance of joining and bring the issue back to the forefront.

The new Prime Minister of this governing coalition was Leszek Miller. Miller came into office with high ambitions to help advance Poland. In late October 2001, the Prime Minister gave a speech to the lower house of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) outlining his goals for his first one hundred days in office. Miller vowed to lead Poland out of economic crisis and into the European Union.<sup>104</sup> The Prime Minister also promised to finish EU negotiations, which would make accession by 2004 realistic. He stated, "A main goal of my government is to increase living standards for Poles and this will be done by accession to the European Union."<sup>105</sup> When the new Prime Minister tied an increase in living standards to membership in the European Union, he made it easy for all the citizens of Poland to relate to the importance of membership and see a stake for themselves in Polish accession.

#### *Evaluation of Hypothesis 1:*

The economy played a strong impact in the decision of the Polish government to seek membership in the European Union. Throughout the negotiation process the nation received funding from the European Union through the Phare program to encourage development. There was an acknowledgement by the leadership that joining the EU would

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<sup>103</sup> "Text of Coalition Policy Agreement" *PAP News Agency*, October 9, 2001

<sup>104</sup> "Polish Premier Presents Goals for First 100 Days in Office" *PAP News Agency*, October 25, 2001

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

give Polish companies access to new market places and consumers and researchers concluded that joining the EU would overall be good for the economy and lead to economic growth. The cross party support shows that the economy was an important issue in the decision to join the European Union. In the case of Poland, this hypothesis strongly explains their desire to seek membership in a supranational institution.

### **Hypothesis 2:**

In order to measure my second variable, common European identity, I looked to public opinion polling and statements made by political leaders. In the Candidate Country Eurobarometer, one of the questions asked related to common identity. The question was “In the near future, do you see yourself as...?” The different options included nationality only or some mixture of European identity and national identity. In the spring of 2004 between the passage of the referendum and the official accession 45 percent of those surveyed saw themselves as being only Polish in the future. This number was up 13 percent from the same survey a year earlier, just before the actual referendum.<sup>106</sup> The increase in respondents who considered themselves only Polish shows the European identity was not strong in Poland. However, in 2004 the number who considered themselves only Polish remained below half indicating this broader identity could still be motivating their decision to join the European Union. Of those surveyed in spring 2004, 54 percent believed in the future they would see themselves as some combination of Polish and European identities. This number was down 10 percent from the year before.<sup>107</sup> The

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<sup>106</sup> Comparative Highlights: Eurobarometer, 2004.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

decline in the number of Polish citizens who could see themselves taking on some aspects of a European identity in the future shows that their decision to join the European Union did not seem to increase by the prospect of this identity.

An additional measure for the role of identity is statements made by political leaders and civic organizations. In 2002, members of the group, the League of Polish Families announced their belief that “Poland's entry into the EU will pose a threat to our basic national values: democracy, free market and Christianity.”<sup>108</sup> While this statement comes from one civic organization, it does show that there were some Polish citizens who did not see the benefits of joining a European identity and instead saw the European Union as a threat to what it means to be Polish.

*Evaluation of Hypothesis 2:*

While there is little evidence available for this hypothesis, it appears weaker in Poland's case. Between the national referendum and Poland's accession to the European the following year there was an increase in the percentage of citizens who believed that in the future they would only identify with their nationality and a decrease in the percentage of citizens who saw themselves as identifying with both the European and Polish identities. In the case of Austria, during their referendum, connection to Europe was both the second and third highest motivating factor for seeking voting in favor of European Union membership, according to the polling data. While the percentage of those also identifying with a European identity is higher in Poland the decrease in one year paired with statements by Polish interest groups shows that the concept of common identity is not as

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<sup>108</sup> “EU Membership to Threaten National Values, Christianity, Polish Right Says” *PAP News Agency*, April 29, 2002

strong an explanation as economic motivation. Based on the evidence from Poland this hypothesis weakly explains the state's desire to joining the European Union.

### **Hypothesis 3:**

To test my third hypothesis, I looked for evidence of a security risk or desire for common security alliance by reading newspaper articles, speeches, and interviews with government and political party leaders. Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski spoke about the prospects for security several times. In January 1997, Kwansniewski spoke with the diplomatic corps. In the New Year meeting, he expressed his hopes for the progress Poland could make in 1997. The President began by stating, "Today Poland is a stable, credible and predictable partner. We are getting closer to European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Our attractiveness as a partner was consolidated last year through gaining membership of the OECD, through the great dynamism of economic growth and through a record amount of foreign investment."<sup>109</sup> The President went on to lay out four priority tasks related to security,

One of these tasks is to continue the strengthening of ties with democratic, economically developed and stable, as regards security, Western states and the grouping they form. The next priority is to jointly create a pan-European system of security. We also attach great importance to increasing cooperation with our neighbors. We also regard the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with partners outside Europe as being an exceptionally important mater.<sup>110</sup>

Through his remarks, the President summarizes the progress Poland has made and what makes them a valuable member of a security alliance while clearly stating that further

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<sup>109</sup> "Polish President's New Year Addresses to the Diplomatic Corps" *PAP News Agency*, January 8, 1997.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

advancement of national security through membership in these organizations, like NATO and the European Union, is a top national priority.

In addition to the President, several members of the cabinet commented on the issue of security in the lead up to Poland's accession to the European Union. Wladyslaw Bartoszewskim, the Head of the Diplomatic Service, spoke to the Sejm in June 2001 and said, "The process of the shaping of a sovereign foreign policy for the [Polish] Republic that was commenced 10 years ago is beginning to bring specific, positive results."<sup>111</sup> Among these positive results are "the inclusion of Poland in a sphere of stability in the area of defense policy" as evidenced by Polish membership in NATO and the finalization of their EU membership negotiations.<sup>112</sup> This statement by the Head of Diplomatic Service explains to the Polish people that the work their country had done in an effort to further develop security was beneficial and made progress. While membership in NATO and the finalization of EU negotiations brought them into strong security alliances, they still had to bring their internal security policy to a base level. Membership in the EU's common defense policy would be complementary and enhance the work the nation did when seeking membership in NATO.

Membership for Poland would also require increased spending on security. Poland's membership would have pushed the European Union borders east and would require additional security. In 2002, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration Krzysztof Janik explained, "Poland needs to spend 250m Euros to tighten the eastern border that is to become the external border of the European Union before we can ratify the Schengen

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<sup>111</sup> "Polish Foreign Minister's Policy Statement" *PAP News Agency*, June 6, 2001.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

agreements.”<sup>113</sup> The Minister went on to explain the eastern border is 1,200 kilometers long and would be the largest land border of the European Union. Some in the European Union raised questions as to whether or not the Polish government had the capabilities to adequately protect the mainly wooded border area.<sup>114</sup> The comments on border security by Minister Janik highlight an area that could have been a risk for the Polish membership bid. This comment also served to highlight a potential benefit of membership. In the future, the government could be eligible for EU assistance at the far eastern border.

*Evaluation of Hypothesis 3:*

The comments by the President and Ministers show that security is an important issue facing Poland. By using strong language to describe the progress Poland has made towards developing its own status as a secure nation, the President is striving to make his nation seem more attractive to common security institutions. The President also made it clear that joining European security groups and helping to shape these organizations was one of his key foreign policy goals. Similar language was used by the Head of Diplomatic Service to emphasize progress Poland has made. The language almost argued that Poland had earned a right to a seat at negotiation tables and they should be included. By acknowledging the areas in which there are perceptions of holes in security the government could also show they were attempting to make progress to ensure their place in a security agreement. The statements from different members of the executive branch of Poland show security was a primary concern and joining a common security alliance was a key point in their national security policy. In this case, the third variable explains well

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<sup>113</sup> “Polish Minister Says Protection of Future EU Eastern Border Major Issue” *BBC Selected Newspapers Articles: Poland*. August 1, 2002

<sup>114</sup> “Polish Minister Says Protection Border Major Issue” *BBC Selected Newspapers Articles: Poland*.

Poland's decision to seek membership in the European Union. Since Poland did not need to redefine neutrality in the same way Austria did, the motivation for security alliances is a stronger explanation of Poland's decision to join to the EU than Austria's. This hypothesis more strongly explains the membership than a common identity, but is not as strong as economic motivation.

### **Conclusion:**

Throughout this paper, I have explored what motivates states to seek membership in supranational organizations. I began with a historical context of the most developed supranational institution, the European Union, which allowed for the tracing of the supranational identity over time. After reviewing key definitions and theories, I derived my variables, which led to my research design. After collecting data from Austria and Poland, I analyzed data from both cases to explain how my hypotheses explain the states' decisions to seek membership in the European Union.

Based on my research, it appears the main motivation for membership is the perception of economic benefits. In both Austria and Poland in the time leading up to their respective referendums, political elite took great care to show that joining the European Union would benefit their economies. Through quantitative analysis, both countries were able to demonstrate that membership would benefit their economies in multiple ways and in addition, the possibility of not gaining membership could have negative effects on their economies.

My third hypothesis focused on the state's desire for security, explained the Austria and Poland's motivations, but not as strongly as the economic motivations. In Austria, there

was a very deliberate attempt from the government to place the concept of security in a narrow definition so that their constitutional promise to neutrality could remain intact in some sense. Austria redefined neutrality as non-military alliances. They sought to join the European Union but not NATO. Poland did not make this distinction and joined NATO. Poland's membership in the EU and NATO indicates that location and history have an impact in state's perception of security and their interest in joining common defense and security organizations.

My second hypothesis was the least supported by my data collection. The second hypothesis I analyzed was the state's desire to become a part of a common identity. In Austria the results were inconclusive: a significant but not majority portion of the population expressed a desire in exit polls during the referendum to not remain isolated from the rest of Europe and had personal attitudes in favor of European integration. At the same time in earlier polling, a significant majority of the population said they considered themselves only Austrian. In the case of Poland, the hypothesis appeared very weak. Between the referendum and accession there was a ten percent decrease (from 54 percent) in the proportion of the population who saw themselves as both Polish and European in identity. The information available for testing this hypothesis was limited.

### **Limitations of Research**

While I maintain that the hypotheses I developed offer insight to explain state motivation for seeking membership in supranational institutions, I do recognize that my research has had its limitations. The first of these is access to information and language. I was limited in my analysis of speeches and newspaper articles by those that were available

translated into English. Additionally, much of the public opinion polling that exists is only available looking at the EU as a whole and the individual national data is either not made available for publication or is not in English.

## **Future Research**

After completing this project, my interest in supranational institutions has continued to flourish. In future research on this subject I would like to continue this same model of analysis in one country from each other different expansions of the European Union (2007 and 2013) as well as the candidate and potential candidate countries to see if the same explanations apply or other variables take prominence. I would be especially interested to see how modern concerns would impact my results, including the global financial crisis of the late 2000s and the rise of far right populist parties in European Union member states. I would also like to look more closely at Turkey since they have been on the path to membership for some time and there is continued debate on their position in Europe. Additionally, there is currently talk of exits from the European Union, most notably the potential for a British exit (Brexit) or a Greek exit (Grexit). Should these take place I would hope to perform the same analysis of my variables in the time leading up to their exit referendums to compare my results. Finally as connections among nations of the world increase, I would hope to be able to analyze other burgeoning supranational institutions in a similar fashion. The research I completed for this project has provided synthesis institutional literature and its application to the developing field of supranationalism and can be further applied in the future.

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