



FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS HUMANAS Y SOCIALES

TRABAJO FIN DE GRADO
**THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. THE MEDITERRANEAN
DIMENSION**

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Introduction

European integration represents one of the most significant political and economic processes of the 20th century, whose influence extends beyond the continent's borders. Since the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, this supranational project has evolved significantly, consolidating into what is now the European Union. This process has not only redefined the internal political dynamics of its member states but has also projected a unique model of cooperation in an increasingly globalised world.

In this context, the Mediterranean region has occupied a central place in the agenda of European integration. From the accession of Southern European countries like Greece and Cyprus to the complex attempts to include Turkey, the Mediterranean has witnessed a unique interaction between Europe's geopolitical, cultural, and economic dimensions. Through this lens, the Mediterranean represents not just a physical border but also a space for dialogue, tension, and potential integration.

The objective of this study is to analyse the history of European integration from its origins to the present, with a special focus on its Mediterranean dimension. The study will examine both the achievements and the challenges of the integration process in this region, focusing on the cases of Greece and Cyprus, which have achieved successful integration, and Turkey, whose accession has faced significant obstacles.

The structure of this research is organised into several sections. First, it will outline the motivations and objectives of this study, as well as the key questions it seeks to answer. Subsequently, it will explain the main theories and debates surrounding European integration will be analysed. The theoretical framework will present a normative analysis that contextualises the legal and political aspects of this process. The analysis section will then delve into the case studies, evaluating the factors that have facilitated or hindered integration in the Mediterranean. Finally, the conclusions and a future perspective on the role of the Mediterranean in European integration will be presented.

In this way, this research seeks to contribute to the understanding of the dynamics that have defined the relationship between Europe and its Mediterranean neighbours, highlighting their relevance in the contemporary debate on the enlargement and the future of the European Union.

1. Finality and Motives

The purpose of this study is to analyse how European integration has evolved since its inception and how this evolution has impacted the relationship between the European Union (EU) and the countries of the Mediterranean region. This approach aims not only to understand the historical and political factors that have facilitated or hindered integration but also to reflect on the current dynamics shaping relations between Europe and its southern neighbours.

One of the main motives that drives this research is the geostrategic importance of the Mediterranean in the European context. This region has not only been important for the civilisations but also a space for trade, cultural exchange, and conflict throughout history. Today, the Mediterranean represents a bridge between Europe, Africa, and Asia, playing a crucial role in issues such as migration, energy security, and economic relations.

Another key motive is the need to explore the lessons learned from successful integration processes, such as those of Greece and Cyprus, in contrast to the challenges faced by Turkey. These cases illustrate how the EU's values and principles, along with its political and cultural limitations, have shaped its capacity to integrate new members in diverse contexts.

Finally, this study is undertaken at a time when the EU faces both internal and external challenges, such as geopolitical tensions and migration crises, which underline the importance of its policy towards the Mediterranean. Analysing these aspects will not only enhance the understanding of the history of European integration but also provide a critical perspective on the future of the EU in its Mediterranean dimension.

2. Objectives and Questions

The main objective of this research is to analyse the historical process of European integration, with a particular focus on its Mediterranean dimension. To achieve this, the following goals are outlined:

1. Examine the most significant historical and political milestone in the development of European integration, from its origin to the present.
2. Evaluate how the European Union has managed its relations with Mediterranean countries, considering both successful and failed accession processes.
3. Analyse the political, economic, and cultural factors that have facilitated or hindered the integration of Mediterranean countries into the European Union.

4. Reflect on the contemporary implications of European integration in the Mediterranean region, particularly regarding current challenges such as migration, security, and geopolitical tensions.

To fulfill these objectives, the research will address the following key questions:

1. What have been the main milestones and stages in the history of European integration?
2. What role has the Mediterranean region played in the process of European integration?
3. What were the key factors that enabled the successful integration of Greece and Cyprus into the European Union?
4. What obstacles have prevented Turkey's accession to the European Union?
5. How does the Mediterranean dimension influence the European Union's current policies and strategies?
6. What future perspectives can be proposed regarding the relationship between Europe and the Mediterranean region?

3. Estado de la cuestión - no se como traducirlo.

A) Definition of the European Integration

European integration refers to the process through which European nations have progressively sought to create a unified and cooperative framework to address political, economic, and social challenges. At its core, this concept embodies the idea of transferring certain sovereign powers from individual nation-states to supranational institutions to foster stability, peace, and shared prosperity in the region.

The origins of European integration can be traced back to the aftermath of World War II, when European leaders recognised the need to prevent future conflicts and rebuild their economies. The establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 marked a pivotal moment, as it laid the foundation for a new form of collaboration centred on shared resources. The initiative evolved into broader structures, including the European Economic Community (EEC) with the 1957 Treaty of Rome, eventually leading to the creation of the European Union (EU) under the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. (Moreno Justo & Núñez Peñas, 2017)

European integration encompasses a wide range of dimensions, from economic to political and social. Economically, it involves the establishment of a single market, characterised by the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people. Politically, it includes the creation of common policies and institutions, such as the European Parliament and the European Commission, that aim to harmonise decision-making across member states. Socially, integration has fostered cultural exchange and the promotion of shared values, including democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

While the concept of integration often evokes positive connotations of unity and cooperation, it has also been a source of debate and contention. Different member states and regions have experienced the benefits and challenges of integration unevenly, leading to varying levels of support for the process. Additionally, tensions between national sovereignty and supranational authority continue to shape discussions about the future direction of European integration.

By examining the definition and historical context of European integration, this research establishes a foundation for understanding its evolution and the specific role of the Mediterranean region within this broader framework.

B) The History of European Integration: A Comprehensive Overview

The process of European integration stands as one of the most remarkable political and economic achievements of the 20th and 21st centuries. Born out of the ashes of two devastating world wars, the integration project sought to ensure lasting peace, promote economic growth, and foster unity across a historically fragmented continent. From its earliest steps in sectoral integration to its contemporary challenges, the European integration process has profoundly shaped the trajectory of the continent.

The Origins of Integration: Peace and Economic Cooperation

The devastation of World War II served as the catalyst for European integration. Visionary leaders such as Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer, and Alcide De Gasperi championed the idea that cooperation among European nations could prevent future conflicts and secure economic stability. This vision culminated in the 1950 Schuman Declaration, which proposed the pooling of

coal and steel resources, the essential materials of war, under a supranational authority. (Núñez Peñas, 2017)

In 1951, the Treaty of Paris established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), comprising France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The ECSC was not merely an economic arrangement but also a political framework designed to reduce tensions between historic rivals France and Germany. By creating shared governance over vital industries, it laid the foundation for broader integration and marked the first significant step in European unification. (Barnard, 2019)

Building Economic Collaboration: The Treaty of Rome

Building on the success of the ECSC, the six founding members signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957, creating the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The EEC's objective was ambitious: to establish a common market by eliminating trade barriers and promoting the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people.

This marked a shift from sectoral to comprehensive economic integration. The Treaty of Rome established institutions such as the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, and the European Court of Justice, which would play crucial roles in the governance of the Community. The economic collaboration envisioned in the treaty not only facilitated trade but also fostered economic interdependence, furthering the political goal of uniting Europe.

The 1970s: Enlargement and Political Development

The 1970s represented a significant phase in European integration, marked by enlargement and political development. In 1973, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark joined the EEC, expanding its membership to nine countries. This period also saw efforts to strengthen the Community's political dimension, including the introduction of direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979.

Despite economic challenges, such as the oil crises of the 1970s, the EEC began to emerge as a global actor. It used its collective economic weight to negotiate international trade agreements and provide development aid, showcasing the growing influence of the integrated bloc.

The Maastricht Treaty and the Birth of the European Union

The Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992, was a transformative moment in the history of European integration. It formally established the European Union (EU) and expanded the scope of integration into new areas. The treaty introduced the concept of European citizenship, allowing citizens to move and reside freely within the EU.

Perhaps the most ambitious goal of the Maastricht Treaty was the creation of a single currency, the euro, which came into circulation in 2002. By fostering deeper economic integration and policy coordination, the euro aimed to enhance stability and prosperity. The treaty also extended the EU's competencies into foreign policy, security, and justice, reflecting the aspiration for a more unified political entity.

Post-Cold War Expansion: A New Era of Enlargement

The end of the Cold War and the fall of the Iron Curtain opened a new chapter in European integration. Former Eastern Bloc countries, eager to solidify their transition to democracy and market economies, sought membership in the EU.

Between 2004 and 2013, the EU experienced its largest enlargement, welcoming 13 new members, including Poland, Hungary, the Baltic states, and Romania. This expansion represented a historic reunification of Europe, bridging the East-West divide that had persisted during the Cold War.

However, the period also brought significant challenges. The 2008 financial crisis exposed economic vulnerabilities within the EU, particularly in the eurozone, leading to austerity measures and social unrest in several member states. Additionally, migration pressures and the rise of Euroscepticism culminated in the United Kingdom's decision to leave the EU in 2016, a watershed moment that raised questions about the limits of integration. (Kaiser et al., 2011)

The Mediterranean Dimension: The Barcelona Process

While much of the EU's early focus was on its core members and Eastern expansion, the Mediterranean dimension of European integration became a key priority in the mid-1990s. The Barcelona Process, launched in 1995, aimed to foster stability and prosperity in the region through economic cooperation and political dialogue.

The creation of a Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area (EMFTA) was a central goal, reflecting the EU's belief that economic interdependence could promote peace and development. This initiative later evolved through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Union for the Mediterranean, which sought to address issues such as migration, environmental sustainability, and regional conflicts. However, persistent political tensions and limited South-South integration among Mediterranean countries have hindered the realization of a cohesive Euro-Mediterranean region. (Centre International de Formation Européenne, 2010)

C) Theories of European Integration

The study of European integration offers a diverse range of theoretical perspectives to understand the processes and challenges behind the unification of Europe. These theories are particularly insightful when analysing the integration of Mediterranean countries like Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey into the European Union (EU). Each framework gives light on the unique dynamics, drivers, and obstacles that have shaped the integration journey, especially in the Mediterranean context. Below, the major theories of European integration are examined and linked to the Mediterranean dimension, a key focus of this research. (Schimmelfenning, 2018)

Federalism and the Mediterranean

Federalism sees the EU as a multilevel system in which power is distributed between the different actors at all levels. One of the goals of federalism is to have a single political and economic system that does not observe the boundaries of nations. In the Mediterranean region, federalist objectives have existed as both a dream and challenge. Political systems, cultural identities, and economies are all so varied within the region that it makes the implementation of federalist principles problematic. For instance, Turkey's political and cultural peculiarities has often been in contradiction with federalist aspirations, barring the country from fully integrating into the EU. Despite the fact that federalism calls for cooperative governance, the Mediterranean region exhibits the intricacies of trying to facilitate a single federal model in a neglected and overly diverse environment.

Functionalism: Sectoral Cooperation in the Mediterranean

Functionalism emphasises the importance of practical cooperation in specific sectors as a foundation for broader integration. This approach has been evident in the EU's engagement with Mediterranean countries through initiatives like the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the Union

for the Mediterranean. These programs prioritise economic and trade cooperation to foster stability and interdependence in the region. By addressing common challenges such as trade barriers, environmental issues, and energy security, functionalism creates pathways for gradual integration. However, the sectoral focus often limits the scope of integration, as it does not directly tackle political or cultural divides that characterise the Mediterranean. (Haas, 2004)

Neofunctionalism and Spillover Effects in the South

Neofunctionalism builds on functionalism by emphasising spillover effects, where initial integration in one sector creates pressures for deeper cooperation in others. This theory has been instrumental in the integration of Greece and Cyprus into the EU. Their initial economic integration through the European Economic Community (EEC) eventually led to political and social alignment with EU norms. However, Turkey's stalled accession highlights the limits of spillover effects when cultural, religious, and geopolitical barriers exist. For instance, despite economic ties and candidate status, Turkey's divergence from EU values on issues like democracy and human rights has hindered further integration.

Intergovernmentalism: National Interests in Mediterranean Integration

Intergovernmentalism has highlighted the major role of member state governments in driving the process of integration. National governments, it argues, would remain preoccupied with the sovereignty and would make decisions on integration based on national interests. The Mediterranean is best able to illustrate this theory since the integration of Greece and Cyprus was largely to foster their strategic geographical positioning along the interests of great EU powers. On the other hand, the refusal to admit Turkey into the club shows how national issues like migration and security can trump collective aspirations. It underscores the degree of tension that exists between national priorities and supranational goals in the process of integrating the Mediterranean into a European Union framework.

Liberal Intergovernmentalism: Bargaining in the Mediterranean

Liberal intergovernmentalism refines intergovernmentalism by focusing on the interplay between domestic interests and strategic bargaining among states. Greece's accession to the EU serves as a prime example. Domestic economic reforms, coupled with strategic agreements among EU member states, facilitated its entry into the union. Similarly, Cyprus leveraged its historical ties with Greece and its geopolitical importance to gain membership. In contrast, Turkey's lack of progress reflects

the absence of consensus among EU states. Diverging national preferences and unresolved bargaining issues, such as migration control and cultural alignment, have hindered Turkey's integration prospects.

Constructivism: Identity and the Mediterranean Challenge

Constructivism emphasises the role of shared norms, values, and identities in shaping integration. This perspective is particularly relevant in the Mediterranean, where cultural and religious differences often challenge the construction of a unified European identity. While Greece and Cyprus successfully aligned their national identities with European norms, Turkey's cultural and religious distinctiveness has made its integration more contentious. The Mediterranean illustrates how identity politics can influence the boundaries of European integration, as perceptions of cultural compatibility play a significant role in determining membership prospects.

Postfunctionalism: Euroscepticism and Mediterranean Dynamics

Postfunctionalism focuses on how public opinion, identity politics, and Euroscepticism shape integration. This theory is particularly relevant in the context of migration crises, where Mediterranean countries often serve as entry points for migrants into the EU. Public resistance to migration and enlargement, especially regarding Turkey's membership, reflects the growing influence of postfunctional dynamics. Rising Euroscepticism has constrained policymakers, limiting their ability to pursue deeper integration in politically sensitive areas. The migration debate underscores the tension between the EU's ideals of solidarity and the realities of public opposition, which are especially pronounced in the Mediterranean region. (Schimmelfenning, 2005)

Historical Context and the Mediterranean Dimension

These theories collectively provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the history of European integration, particularly in the Mediterranean context. Neofunctionalism explains the progressive deepening of integration through economic spillovers, as seen in Greece and Cyprus. Intergovernmentalism and liberal intergovernmentalism highlight the pivotal role of national interests and strategic Bargaining in shaping integration outcomes. Constructivism and Postfunctionalism address the challenges of identity politics and public opinion, which have become increasingly relevant in contemporary EU dynamics.

The Mediterranean dimension underscores the complexity of European integration. Economic disparities, cultural diversity, and geopolitical tensions present unique challenges that require tailored approaches. Initiatives like the Barcelona Process and the European Neighbourhood Policy demonstrate the EU's effort to foster cooperation and stability in the region. However, the varying degrees of integration among Mediterranean countries reveal the limits of theoretical frameworks, as real-world dynamics often defy straightforward explanations.

4. Marco Teórico (marco normativo)

5. Metodología

6. Análisis

6.1 El proceso exitoso de integración de Grecia y Chipre

6.1.1 Grecia

6.1.2 Chipre

6.2 El proceso fallido de integración de Turquía

6.2.1 Los problemas de la adhesión

6.2.2 El papel de la islamización

Conclusiones y perspectiva de futuro

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