

## CAUSES OF MODERN DISINTEGRATION PROCESSES: EU EXPERIENCE

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The article analyzes the main causes of modern disintegration processes in a globalized world. Integration and its opposite - deintegration - coexist in the modern world simultaneously or change each other at each stage of development of countries and integration associations. If integration allows the benefits of combining disparate parts into a single whole from the complementarity of the economies of the participating countries, then disintegration weakens their mutual dependence. There are different types and manifestations of disintegration, due to internal and external causes.

According to the results of a poll that funded by the European Commission five of the most important problems facing the EU countries in the process of further integration were identified in the year 2016.

The article concludes that these problems today are the main reasons for the contradictions between decisions of national and supranational institutions in the integration union, the loss of confidence in the latter from the EU population, which does not feel a sense of inclusion in decision making and the ability to influence the activities of supranational authorities.

**Keywords:** disintegration processes, integration processes, integration associations, dependence, supranational institutions.

### ПРИЧИНИ СУЧАСНИХ ДЕЗІНТЕГРАЦІЙНИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ: ДОСВІД ЄС

В статті аналізуються основні причини сучасних дезінтеграційних процесів у глобалізованому світі. Інтеграція та її протилежність - деінтеграція - співіснують в сучасному світі одночасно або змінюють один одного на кожному витку розвитку країн та інтеграційних об'єднань. Якщо інтеграція дозволяє отримувати вигоди від об'єднання розрізнених частин в єдине ціле від взаємодоповнення економік країн-учасниць, то дезінтеграція послаблює їх взаємну залежність. Існують різні типи та прояви дезінтеграції, обумовлені внутрішніми і зовнішніми причинами.

За результатами опитування, що фінансується Європейською комісією, у 2016 р. було виділено п'ять найважливіших на сьогоднішній день проблем, з якими стикаються країни ЄС в процесі подальшої інтеграції. У статті робиться висновок, що саме ці проблеми сьогодні виступають основними причинами виникнення протиріч між рішеннями національних та наднаціональних інститутів в інтеграційному об'єднанні, втрати довіри до останніх з боку населення ЄС, яке не відчуває почуття включеності при прийнятті рішень і можливості вплинути на діяльність наднаціональних органів влади.

**Ключові слова:** процеси дезінтеграції, інтеграційні процеси, інтеграційні об'єднання, залежність, наднаціональні інститути

### ПРИЧИНЫ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ДЕЗИНТЕГРАЦИОННЫХ ПРОЦЕССОВ: ОПЫТ ЕС

В статье анализируются основные причины современных дезинтеграционных процессов в глобализированном мире. Интеграция и ее противоположность - деинтеграция - сосуществуют в современном мире одновременно или сменяют друг друга на каждом витке развития стран и интеграционных объединений. Если интеграция позволяет получать выгоды от объединения разрозненных частей в единое целое от взаимодополнения экономик стран-участниц, то дезинтеграция ослабляет их взаимную зависимость. Существуют различные типы и проявления дезинтеграции, обусловленные внутренними и внешними причинами.

По результатам опроса, финансируемого Европейской комиссией, в 2016 г. было выделено пять важнейших на сегодняшний день проблем, с которыми сталкиваются страны ЕС в процессе дальнейшей интеграции. В статье делается вывод, что именно эти проблемы сегодня выступают основными причинами возникновения противоречий между решениями национальных и наднациональных институтов в интеграционном объединении, потери доверия к последним со стороны населения ЕС, не испытывающего чувства включенности при принятии решений и возможности повлиять на деятельность наднациональных органов власти.

**Ключевые слова:** процессы дезинтеграции, интеграционные процессы, интеграционные объединения, зависимость, наднациональные институты.

Regional integration has already become an integral part of the modern global space. Almost every country is in one way or another involved in regional integration processes (economic, political, socio-cultural).

Regional integration in the broadest sense is understood as the process of the emergence of a new community of disparate parts, the acquisition of a new quality of the united entity, as well as the formation of common spaces on this basis: economic, political, social, and cultural.

Regional integration as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon in the economic aspect is the formation of stable relationships between territorially separate economic systems (national economies) [1].

The ideal and complete integration of spatially separated economic systems is likely to be fundamentally impossible. Therefore, regional economic integration is not so much a result as a process of growing interconnection between national economies [2].

In this connection, disintegration refers to a process that is directly opposite to the process of integration, which is expressed in the reduction of the economic interaction of the countries, the collapse of the existing ties, structures, institutions, which leads to the separation of the already integrated economic systems. This process increases the relative independence and "independence" of the elements. However, we can not consider each destruction, every disintegration as a disintegration, because not always processes of this kind lead to the fact that the elements on which the system collapses acquire an independent existence. At the same time, disintegration does not always lead to the complete collapse of the existing integration ties and the return of the subjects to the "starting point of reference."

Both phenomena coexist simultaneously in the modern world or change each other at each stage of development of countries and integration associations. If integration allows the benefits of combining disparate parts into a single whole from the complementarity of the economies of the participating countries, then disintegration weakens their mutual dependence.

Moreover, integration and disintegration tendencies are present at the same time in each integration group. Domination of integration tendencies provides him with a stable existence. Otherwise, disintegration creates a threat to the integrity of the integration association.

It is obvious that integration and disintegration as a means of transforming the economic system affect its foundations, accompanied by the restructuring of structures, forms and methods of economic activity, changing its target orientation. Entering into an integration association, becoming subsystems of an even more complex economic system with its inherent characteristics and functioning patterns and, accordingly, radically changing the quality of relations with actors of the environment and other participants, national economies are undergoing periods of systemic transformation.

In accordance with the system approach, the decomposition (disintegration) of a large complex economic system leads to the creation within it of several independent new, the functioning and development of which, if the appropriate conditions, resources and factors, can lead (or not lead) to a new process of integration, education about Connectivity with qualitatively new system features.

In turn, the progressive growth of the integrated economic system is possible only on the basis of purposeful and coordinated efforts of economic agents of all the national subsystems that were included in it.

Thus, integration and disintegration processes are intimately connected with each other. The speed, direction, and forms of the first depend on the strength of the causes, which not only contribute to it, but also counteract. In the event that the latter begin to prevail, they can interrupt the ongoing process of integration, even though it has a historically justified and progres-

sive character. The deployment of the integration trend is always associated with various disintegration processes, which are either a prerequisite, or consequent, or associated with it. A similar picture can be fixed in case of predominance of disintegration tendencies.

There are not many specific researches devoted to the problems of disintegration in the economic literature. From the economic point of view, noteworthy are the work of Volland G., T. Kyelena, Ozmedir H., Etzioni A., and others [3-4], devoted to the analysis of the causes of disintegration tendencies in the countries of the European Union, as well as Kagansky V., Libman A., Heifets B. [1, 5], focus on the problems of integration and disintegration in the post-Soviet space.

The overall course of the historical process is carried out in the form of the disintegration of one system, and in the form of integration of a new type system, that is, alternating between integration and disintegration processes. This conclusion is confirmed by the accumulated and modern world experience of creating and ending the existence of various integration formations, and then the formation of others. Such changes have become a consequence of the emergence of problems within their economic system, achieved by it the qualitative condition and structure that was formed, as well as the impact of the external environment.

Regional economic integration is conditioned by the presence of objective and subjective reasons. The objective reasons for economic integration are the development of productive forces as a result of scientific and technological progress, which causes profound changes in the structure of social production and the international division of labor, the growing degree of openness of national economies and the desire to protect national interests from global threats.

Political and institutional reasons play an active role in the development of integration processes: the same orientation of the vectors of the internal and foreign policy courses of the united countries; the similarity of political goals associated with the activity of the association; awareness of the need for a transition from mutual competition to the unification of efforts to counter global challenges; timely transfer of part of the national authority to the supranational level and the formation of supranational institutions; support for all segments of the population, etc.

The most important prerequisite for the evolutionary development of regional economic integration is the presence of a certain political consensus of the participating States on the main issues of economic cooperation. The most important role in the process of regional economic integration is played by the political factor.

The integration process has internal logic and dynamics, the potential of self-development and qualitative growth. This process can gain such a "critical mass" of positive endogenous factors when it becomes less dependent on destructive exogenous factors that can accelerate or slow down the movement, but not able to reverse it. On the contrary, the absence of such a "crit-

ical mass" of endogenous factors provokes the process of disintegration.

At the same time, regional economic integration can be considered a spontaneous process, as the mutual adjustment of national economies in the modern economic economy is impossible without state intervention and appropriate regulation of the foreign economic sphere. It is within the framework of state policy that intergovernmental agreements are being developed on the formation of regional integration groups or on joining existing ones, as well as their main directions and mechanisms of realization.

In this regard, the practical importance of this problem lies, firstly, in the ability to pre-empt the factors of disintegration and resist them; and secondly, to explain the problems that are characteristic both for modern integration associations and those groups that have ceased to exist from the point of disintegration.

Manifestations of disintegration are diverse: the re-orientation of regional economic systems to countries that do not participate in the integration of the union, the strengthening of the differentiation of states, the fragmentation of the economic space within the integration group, the termination of the functioning of the regional association, the withdrawal or termination of the membership of individual members in the existing association, a conflict between national and supranational interests. In this regard, we consider it expedient to supplement the typology of disintegration on the basis of criteria of scale and causes for a more in-depth analysis.

From the point of view of the causes we note two types of disintegration, due to internal and external reasons.

As a result of the internal causes, we distinguish the following forms of disintegration: embedded, disintegration of multilevel systems (as a result of increasing the heterogeneity of the participating countries), as a result of the absence of a country-kernel as a result of the loss of authority of the leader.

The main feature of embedded disintegration is the presence of initially established internal contradictions in the integration mechanism when creating an integration association that at a certain stage leads to the self-liquidation of the integration system.

The reason for the disintegration of multilevel systems is to increase the socio-economic, political and cultural heterogeneity of participating countries. The integration unit at the stage of creation includes different state levels. Too strong differentiation of countries according to socio-economic indicators of development, which manifested at the beginning of integration or intensified as a result of the project (its extensions) creates problems for mutual benefits. Unilaterally, a hegemonic country or a group of leading countries receive benefits [3]. The efforts of leaders countries to equalize economic potential lead to an increase in their costs to eliminate asymmetry. The supranational interests, which are more widely understood and defended by the leaders, are in contradiction with the national in-

terests of the weaker participants or the national interests of the leaders themselves. To maintain the integrity of the integration space, the kernel of integration allows for a number of exceptions and compromises. There are different levels of integration within the space and the speed of advancement to a common goal for individual subjects of the integration association. Target functions of individual members of the integration association do not coincide with the target function of the integration association itself. Various participants choose the formats of cooperation that will be in line with their national interests. The coherence of action and the sense of community in the integration space, which should enhance the synergy of interaction, weaken [4].

The disintegration of the multilevel system also manifests itself in the contradiction between the decisions of national and supranational institutions in the integration union, the loss of confidence in the latter by the EU population, which does not feel a sense of inclusion in decision making and the ability to influence the activities of supranational authorities.

According to a poll funded by the European Commission, in 2016 only 1/3 of Europeans believe that their voice matters at the EU level [6]. According to the population of the 12 countries surveyed, the immediate causes of a decline in the economy, mass unemployment, worsening living standards are cutting costs in order to reduce the budget deficit to comply with Maastricht criteria. In this regard, states that doubt the prospects for European integration or threaten to repatriate national powers, previously transferred to supranational structures of the EU (UK), appeal to "national interests", causing a surge in nationalism and EU skepticism. The victories in elections in many European countries receive political parties of a nationalist nature.

The results of the survey highlight five of the most important challenges facing the EU today.

1. EU citizens are unlikely to allow the UK to conclude a free-trade agreement with the EU after leaving the EU, which will not include the automatic right of EU citizens to live and work in the UK, as British citizens insist. In fact, in seven out of eleven EU countries, most people think it is best not to enter into any free trade agreements with the UK, rather than to agree to free trade without freedom of movement. At the same time, the most rigid position in this issue is occupied by the French (fig. 1) [6].

2. According to the Europeans, Britain is unlikely to be the only country to leave the European Union in the next ten years. (fig. 2) [5].

3. No country is dissatisfied with the balance of forces between the EU and the member states. However, no country in the population expects that their own country will be one of those who will leave the EU. The era of an increasingly strong EU can end and the desire of the EU to regain greater autonomy for member states is becoming increasingly popular in eight EU countries.

Not surprisingly, the UK leads this list of 46% of citizens who want to regain power from the EU, while in the

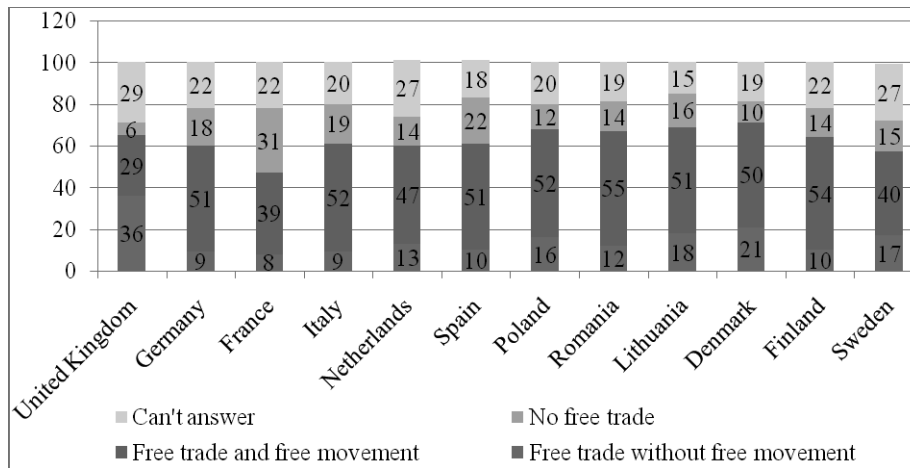


Fig. 1. The results of a poll of EU citizens on the conclusion of the UK-UK Free Trade Agreement after its exit from the EU  
Source: [6]

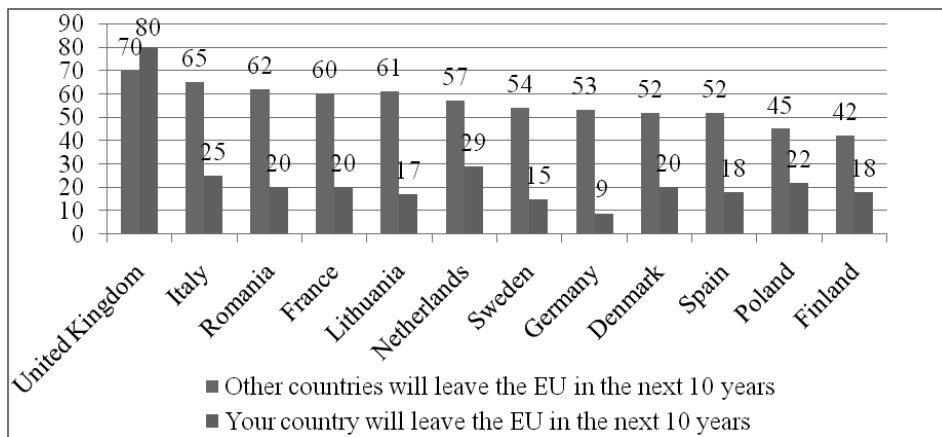


Fig. 2. The results of a poll conducted by citizens of the EU countries regarding the persecution of the countries of the EU in the next 10 years  
Source: [6]

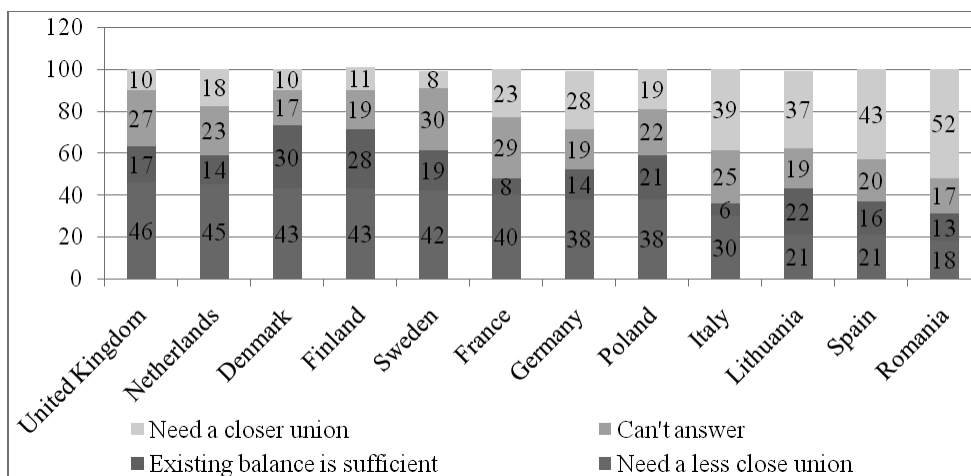


Fig. 3. The results of a poll of EU citizens on the balance of powers of the EU institutions and member states  
Source: [6]

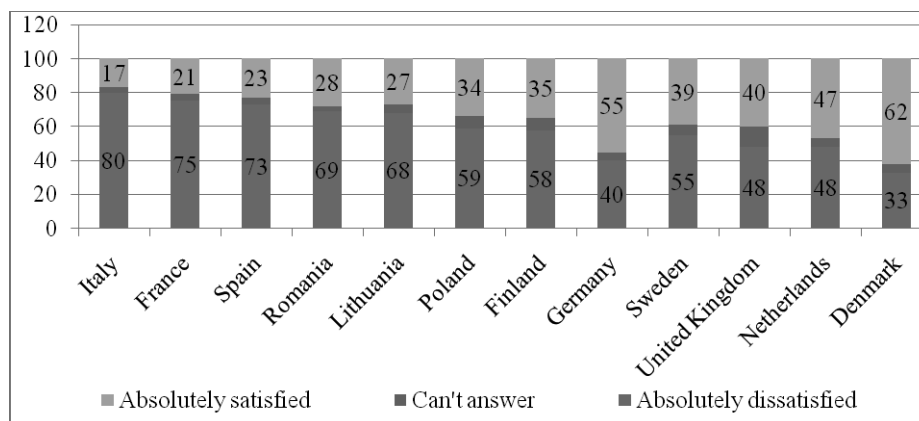


Fig. 4. The results of a poll of EU citizens on satisfaction with the level of democracy in Europe  
Source: [6]

Netherlands and Nordic countries 42-45% of citizens express the same point of view.

There was no certainty in any country that the current balance of power between the EU and the member states is acceptable. The desire to receive more national powers in the EU was the most popular choice in four countries: Lithuania (37%), Italy (39%), Spain (43%) and Romania (52%) (fig. 3) [6].

4. Satisfaction with the level of democracy in Europe. In just one country, most citizens expressed satisfaction with the level of democracy - in Denmark (62%). In the first five countries where most people are not satisfied with the level of democracy, there are four countries that are hoping for further European integration. (fig. 4) [6].

5. Immigration is the biggest problem for Europeans. Immigration has been identified as the most important problem for the citizens of four countries: the UK, Denmark, Germany and Sweden. And only Poland, Spain and Romania consider this problem to be less important.

Three countries (Holland, France and Italy) believe that the state of the economy is the most important problem, while education and inequality are the most important problem in two countries (Finland and Lithuania). And only Poland considers the threat of international aggression (presumably from Russia) the most urgent problem facing their country [6].

In the long run, all this hinders the development of the necessary confidence in the center of political power of the EU. A number of EU countries therefore refrain from delegating powers to supranational structures, instead choosing a partial exit.

The growing size of the EU also complicates the organization of voice, because the voice of new and relatively weak member states is not decisive, it is harder to bring it to other actors, and, on the other hand, the supranational center becomes more difficult to find reconciliation of conflicting interests and meet the demands of all more diverse members [3].

The disintegration as a result of the absence of a country-kernel is the result of the loss of leadership au-

thority. Successful functioning of the integration association depends on the presence of the country (s)-leader (s) (formal or informal), around which an integration system is formed that can take on the integration initiative. The kernel state must be ready for certain victims in order to preserve the integration project. It is responsible for developing goals and strategies for group development. Such a state performs the role of an economic, technological, investment donor, from which compromises are expected to harm national interests. As a rule, a country (countries) with a more developed economic potential and a level of development in the region will become such a core, as the integration perspective for other participants is related to obtaining certain benefits in the short run. In the absence of a hegemonic country, integration is stagnant, which is a manifestation of disintegration processes that destroy it.

A clear example of such disintegration is GGUAM (later GUAM) (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan (1999), Azerbaijan, Moldova (1997) - a group of states united for the purpose of political confrontation with Russian influence in the region. It was assumed that Ukraine could become a leader. At the same time, the leadership of Ukraine states that GUAM's activities are now irrelevant for it. Despite the existence of the charter (Yalta Charter) and intergovernmental bodies since 2001, the annual meeting of the heads of states (the highest body of GGUAM), the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs (executive body) national committee their coordinators, no project was implemented. Thus, even the presence of common goals, but the lack of a leader prevents integration.

The hegemonic country no longer suits some of the participants, which leads to the search for new strategic partners. If, in the process of integration, the leading country, according to other states, does not provide them with the integration benefits of access to their capacious market, does not fulfill the role of a resource, technology and investment donor, tries to link subsidies in exchange for loyalty to their initiatives or compliance the established rules (criteria) for the participants, then the former "associates" of integration begin

to seek new, more "advantageous" strategic partners outside the block.

The external causes of disintegration include the following: focused efforts of third countries aimed at weakening the functioning integration group or its conscious split, global financial and economic crises, military-political conflicts.

Including in the integration processes of the border territories of the adjacent states, the EU, as a stronger side, seeks to spread its norms and standards there, to direct cooperation in areas that are beneficial for themselves. Thus, on the initiative of the Polish side within the framework of the Eastern Partnership within the next 10-20 years, the five eastern neighbors of the EU (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia) should be prepared for joining the EU with the rapprochement of their economic and political system with the EU. The European Union.

The global crisis, on the one hand, stimulates disintegration, but, on the other hand, strengthens cooperation with active joint anti-crisis actions on the initiative of hegemonic countries. This is confirmed by the MERCOSUR experience, the EU, and others.

Military-political conflicts hinder integration processes in the face of armed conflict, which was manifested in the territory of Cyprus, the former Yugoslavia, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorny Karabakh, and Transnistria. These conflicts have created a new phenomenon when one part of the national-state education is integrated into the EU and the other is not (Cyprus).

Thus, the development of the integration system is based on the unity of the interests of countries in one or another sphere of international relations, on the one hand, and overcoming the contradictions arising in the processes of collision of interests and goals of certain states or groups that lead to disintegration, from another.

The role of disintegration is not only in denying integration but also in creating an impetus for a new configuration of countries in the regional space, that is, in the destructive creation in accordance with the logic of changing the forms of interstate relations: "integration - disintegration - reintegration - integration at a new level." The task of interstate and supranational integration institutes is to timely catch and counteract emerging disintegration processes. Experience shows that most of the causes can resist disintegration due to the political will and joint efforts of leaders, leaving one group out of the crisis strengthened integration, while others are destroyed.

Development of disintegration processes can begin for one reason, but to continue beyond the other. In addition, there is a relationship between the various causes of disintegration.

Thus, the study of the laws of disintegration processes is no less than the analysis of successful integration projects, allows you to find more accurate solutions and take the necessary measures in foreign economic policy.

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