European Defence-Industrial Integration and its Effect on European Integration

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Abstract

This study uses the English School theoretical perspective in investigating European Integration. The research aims to understand how the European Defence-Industrial integration affect the European integration. By mapping the European Defence industrial block's political intention, and coupling it with the increased strength the block has received through the defence-industrial integration, the paper is able to conclude that the defence-industrial integration has led to the creation of a more integrated European defence-industrial society, that pressures the integration process-structure towards more politics of integration and cooperation.
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1. Introduction

The latest development in European integration research has seen more serious efforts to start theorizing disintegration. Theories of disintegration is not simply integration in reverse, but theories of integration should also be able to theorize on disintegration (Rosamond, 2019; Schmitter & Lefkofridi, 2016; Vollaard, 2014; Webber, 2014). This study aims to contribute to this debate by understanding the integration process as being structured, thus allowing a framework that may serve for both integration and disintegration. This paper's main research question is: what effects does the defence-industrial integration have on the European integration process-structure? This study does so by using the English School (ES) theoretical perspective, aided by the helpful conceptualization of European integration as inter-societal relations.

This thesis draws heavily on Buzan's (2004) revised understanding of the international, and world society concepts. Further on it draws on Herrera's (2003) insights of how to study technology in international relations, and to account for the agencies that make up the international, and world society's relationship. The process of integration is understood as being structured in a certain mode, informed by the thickness of the interstate society and the transnational society.

Although seldomly used in European integration inquiry, the ES is an underestimated approach that holds much analytical potential in the question (Diez & Whitman, 2002; Buzan 2004). This study displays the ESs abilities in the question of European integration. By studying European defence-industrial integration, an important development that has not yet been centrally regarded in European integration IR research, this paper is able to determine that the European defence-industrial integration has led to the creation of a transnational society that push for politics of integration in the EU. The research reaches this result by first, examining and establishing the political intention of the European military transnational society, and second, by arguing that the defence-industrial integration has led to a centralization of power in the transnational society, meaning that the European military transnational society has received an increased strength to exert its political intention onto the EU interstate society.
The military defence-industrial integration is a significant case and a new development that have not yet been regarded centrally in European integration IR research. While fruitfully discussed as power balancing intra-European state actors (Calcara 2017; 2018), Economics and policy discussions (Howorth, 2007; Guay & Callum, 2002; Hartley, 2003; 2008), or as class formations (Calgar & Oktay, 2018), none of these accounts have yet seriously taken a system-level perspective in the form that the ES allows. This study will show its benefits in thinking about European integration by displaying how the integration process is structured towards integration or disintegration, through the case of European defence-industrial integration.

2. Literature Review

This section discusses the literature and theory this study. This section is structured as following; Firstly, a review of competing perspectives of European disintegration, and a theoretical discussion and argumentation for the perspective chosen in the study; the English School. Secondly, the study discusses the choice of theory and concepts used in the analysis. Thirdly, the concept used to understand the inter-societal relationship is discussed. Fourthly, integration is defined, and the terminology of integration process-structure is discussed. Fifthly, the European defence-industrial integration is reviewed and discussed as a relevant subject for the ES perspective in the question of European integration. Sixthly, the units, constituting the European defence-industrial society is clarified.

2.1 Perspectives of European Disintegration

With the emergence of Brexit there has been an upswing in studies that argue for need of a theory of disintegration, and the body of literature in the question is growing (Rosamond, 2019; Schmitter & Lefkofridi, 2016; Vollaard, 2014; Webber, 2014). This literature is a mix of revised theoretical accounts that has previously dealt with thinking of European integration, such as neo-functionalism. Schmitter & Lefkofridi (2016) display that neo-functionalism's basic suppositions can be used to provide an informed understanding of whether disintegrating pressures are present. Rosamond (2019) joins the discussion of a neo-functionalist account in the question, highlighting neo-functionalism's attention toward political economy and social factors. European disintegration can be understood as the democratic capitalist fundament, upon which the EU is constructed, is being pressured and contested. Webber (2014) seeks an understanding of European disintegration by searching for conditions that presumably would lead to inevitable disintegration. Aided by a domestic politics approach and hegemonic stability
theory, he highlights the possibility of disintegrative pressures emanating from the increase of euro-sceptic politics among the EUs member states, and the importance of Germany to play the benevolent hegemon role, which it currently does. Vollaard (2014) studies disintegration through the interplay between member states and the structure of the EU. Vollaard counters Webber's suggestion in the case of Euro-sceptics, in the way that Euro-sceptics need to be hostile to the very idea of super-national arrangements. Member states must be able to complain.

The previously mentioned accounts can all be connected to the question of an EU interstate society thickness since they all deal with mapping different traits of the integration process-structure. None of them, however, draws the benefits of treating the interstate society centrally in their research. The English school, with its three central concepts; international system, international society, and world society, organize these traits around a single point, depending on which concept is discussed. Three aforementioned accounts of disintegration will later on be organized under a discussion of interstate society thickness. The framework developed in this thesis can serve to explain integration just as well as it can explain disintegration. The ES has fruitful analytical capabilities as will be shown in this paper.

2.2 The English School and European Integration

Regional developments have not always been considered important by ES scholars. Due to Bull's focus on the global international society, that emanated from European imperialism, regional and transnational constructs became unimportant and could eventually interfere with global constructs. International and world societies were the entities important to study and they were defined as needing a global scope (Bull: 1977: 279-281). Vincent is another scholar that ignored regional entities. In his thinking, human rights normatively had to be universal and since human rights resided within world society, world society also need to be of a global scope. For Vincent as for Bull, regional societies could interfere with global ones (Vincent: 1986: 101, 105; Buzan, 2004: 39, 43-44).

This view has changed with time and regional developments have gotten new attention from ES scholars. This thesis follows this new line of thought. Valuable insights into the process of European integration has been found through the ES perspective (Diez & Whitman, 2002; Buzan, 2004; Stivachtis & Webber, 2011). Studying European Integration through the ES overrides the danger of the EUs study becoming *sui generis* and allows for comparative regional inquiry (Diez & Whitman, 2002: 45). What this thesis will show is that the ES is perfectly
capable of drawing on both integration and disintegration, something called for in the IR regional integration debate.

At the time Diez and Whitman (2002) researched European integration they felt that the explanations for the change of the EUs governance structure was not adequately explained. They argued that the EU, on its own, is a sub-system of the international system, which within has a particularly dense international society (Diez & Whitman, 2002: 43 & 48). By differentiating between an EU international society, a European international society, and a global international society, it possible to see how shared values and agreements in the EU affect its surroundings (Diez & Whitman, 2002). Stivachtis & Webber (2011) use the approach in arguing that the EU has reached the post-enlargement era and draw of previous insights that have discussed the possibility of seeing the EU as an international society. Buzan (2004) also argued for the possibility of demarcating a regional international society. Further on he encouraged the study of regional developments and European integration with ES theory (Buzan, 2004: 18). What conforms these scholars, other than the use of the ES, is that they have all developed strong arguments for both the importance and the possibility of studying regional developments through the ES.

Buzan (2004), in line with Diez and Whitman (2002), argued fiercely for both the need and importance of the ES being able to account for regional developments. This argument represents a radical break from some earlier ES scholars, most notably from Hedley Bull. In Bull's (1977) thinking, international society and world society were in a competitive relation with each other. In discussing human rights, he saw the possibility of the international society, composed by states, as possibly being undermined by a world society of human rights. The view that the relationship between the two societies is only a competitive one has placed the ES in a deadlock (Buzan, 2004: 55-56, 208). Buzan (2004) traces this theoretical cul de sac to Bull's bias of first, the need for world society and international society to measure globally to fill the concept, and second, the long lack of consensus of the world society concept's borders (Buzan, 2004: 39, 44, 213). Buzan and Diez & Whitman (2002) solved the first problem by eradicating the global bias for the concepts, and Buzan solved the second problem by clarifying the borders of the world society concept by defining it as accounting for non-state individual/collective actors (Buzan, 2004: 133-134).
2.3 The Revised English School and European Integration

What continues is a narrowed down discussion of the English School and the concepts used in this study to understand European integration. Here the paper explains why and how the revised understanding of international society (interstate society) and world society (transnational society) concepts will be used.

2.3.1 Interstate Society and Transnational Society Concepts

Buzan reworks the theoretical framework of the ES to improve its analytical capabilities. To do so he argues a need to break free from Bull's views of international and world society; in that they need to have a global scope in order to fill the prerequisites of becoming either an international or a world society, and that their relation is essentially competitive. This view renders the ES incapable to seriously regard regional developments. In a burning critique, Buzan calls this inability of the ES one of the most fatal fallacies of its analytical capabilities (Buzan, 2004: 208). In classic ES theory international society was defined simply as a group of states or independent political communities, which presents few restrictions regarding its size (Buzan, 2004: 207). International society and world society may exist all over the world, in varying degrees of thickness, as islands where they are confined to smaller geographical entities such as regions and even smaller than such. Therefore, international societies and world societies may be regionally confined, thus admitting both importance, existence, and study of regional international and world societies (Buzan, 2004: 209-210).

Buzan's (2004) revision of the international society and world society concepts will now be clarified. For the scientific discussion, it is necessary to present the original concepts here, and how they have been changed, since the revised version of the concepts will be used in this paper. The paper begins with the classic ES definition of the three concepts.

In defining the concept International system, scholars commonly refer to Bull's (1977) definition. According to Bull, an international system appears when: A minimum number of two states exist and that the interactions between them affects the decision of the other so that both become one form of a larger entity, a system. The international system is commonly described as mechanical (Bull, 1977: 10-11; Diez & Whitman, 2002: 47; Stivachtis & Webber, 2011: 108; Buzan 1993: 331).

Bull's (1977) definition of international society is also widely adopted by ES scholars. While the concept international system entails mechanical interactions, the concept international
society entails the conscious efforts of states, within an international system, to establish rules and institutions among each other to standardize and facilitate their relations. States belonging to the same international society have identified common values and interests. This concept opens attention to normative aspects of interactions and relations (Bull, 1977: 13; Diez & Whitman, 2002: 47-48; Buzan, 1993: 330-331; Stivachtis & Webber, 2011: 108).

The concept world society is usually described as one of the ES's three most important theoretical concepts. Then again, most scholars seem to have the need to point out that the concept has either got little attention or that it is neglected. Buzan (2004) even terms it as the theory's dustbin. The function of this concept is to account for non-state actors, individuals, and possibly even the whole world's population, with other words, transnational non-state relations (Diez & Whitman, 2002: 48; Buzan, 1993: 337; Shaw, 1992: 429).

All these three concepts differ with Buzan's (2004) reconceptualization. The international system and international society concepts are forged together into one concept called interstate society. The international system concept, which signify mechanical interactions, and the international society concept, which represents the interaction between the units, now instead appears on different places on the same scale, representing an interstate society's different possible levels of thickness, ranging from asocial to confederative. Instead of two separate concepts they now function to distinguish different types of interstate societies in one concept only (Buzan, 2004: 107 & 109).

Next revision is that of the world society concept. The first problem is that it lacks clear conceptual borders, world society seems to account for a little bit of everything. This brings with it an analytical deficit that needs to be resolved, not only for the concept itself but also for the ES in whole. Buzan therefore reworked the concept by cementing clear boundaries regarding what units the concept refers to. The concept world society is thus split up into two concepts, one called interhuman societies that account for interactions between non-state individuals, and transnational societies accounting for non-state collectives such as firms or non-governmental organizations. By establishing these borders, it becomes clear what kinds of units one looks at when using the concept (Buzan, 2004: 133-134).

Building on Buzan's (2004) thinking, this study adopts these arguments for first, the relevance and possibility of regional interstate (international) and transnational (world) societies. Admitting this means that the EU can be accounted for as an interstate society on its own, therefore possible to study. Second, the revision of the world society concept makes it
more clear which entities that are being spoken of when the concept is discussed. While the interstate society concept will account for the EU, the transnational society concept will be used to embody the European military defence-industry, hereafter European military transnational society (EMTS), something that is fitting clearly since the concept entails non-state collective actors. This paper will study the process of European integration by looking at the inter-societal interactions between the EU interstate society and the EMTS. To better understand the composition of the inter-societal relationship, this paper accounts for it with a theoretical understanding. This will now be discussed.

2.4 The Socio-Technical System Concept

The Socio-Technical System concept is used as a tool to firstly account for the fact that there are important entities in the inter-societal relationship between the EU interstate society and the EMTS, and secondly that technology is politically significant. Herrera (2003) developed a framework of how to study technology from an international systems perspective. Technology is political in two important respects; technologies and their construction have political significance and that technology is a knowledge that exists in various material sources, such as books, academic fields, persons, and the companies producing it (Herrera, 2003: 560). To analyze this Herrera constructs a unit of analysis he calls a socio-technical system. This is a systemic unit that, like a cobweb, creates a network between the different social and material actors and institutions that are the technology’s material information banks (Herrera, 2003: 578).

The socio-technical system concept is used to investigate effects on the international system by a particular technology solely from a global system level of analysis. This study moves downward, on the scale of units of analysis, to account for sub-systemic interactions between the EU interstate society and the EMTS. A socio-technological system forms around the highest level of a technology, example the satellite, information technology, or the automobile. This paper is concerned with European military technology, and thus seeks to account for regional society. With that, a division in the levels of analysis in the socio-technical system concept is needed. This is easily argued for since there are different variants of the same technology, such as different brands of cars. On this basis, a systemic socio-technical system can be divided into smaller entities.

This paper uses this concept for two reasons; to account for important entities that exist in the inter-societal relationship between the EU interstate society and the EMTS, and to
understand technology as important to politics. Incorporating this concept into the framework means that this paper will have to pay attention to the agencies that facilitate the inter-societal relationship, and that it will regard technology as politically significant.

2.4.1 Remaking Socio-technical System to Socio-Technical Sub-System

In its original form the socio-technological system concept accounts for all the units involved, both material and social, individuals and collectives. It ranges from books, to factory workers, and educational institutions. In this paper the concept will not account for this vast array of actors. Such an approach would render the concept incapable of anything else than broad system level analysis. This paper seeks to explain sub-systemic processes and therefore confines the socio-technological system concept to entail the inter-societal relationship between EU interstate society and EMTS. In this way technology is still endogenous to the political system. The essential difference becomes that this paper accounts for a smaller but yet very important portion of the units and interactions involved in the socio-technical system. A particular technology is not this study's central focus, rather it is European defence-industrial integration, of whom technology is an essential part. An example that will be discussed, in this case, is the role of armament procurement costs that have risen due to technology becoming more advanced (Guay & Callum, 2002: 761-762). Below is an illustration of how this study conceptualizes the units of importance in the European integration process-structure.

Figure 1, The significant actors of the integration process structure in the defence-industrial case, the EU interstate society, the European Military Transnational Society, and their inter-societal relationship, the socio-technical sub-system (STSS).
2.5 Defining Integration / Disintegration

In this thesis European / Regional integration is understood as a process of system centralization, and disintegration is a process of system decentralization, in either part or whole (Rosamond, 2019: 37). In ES language the process of integration becomes translated into a process of change in interstate and transnational society thickness. An interstate society that is in a process of integrating is understood as an interstate system that is thickening. The same can happen to the interstate societies. The idea of differing thickness, in the interstate society, and transnational society, is helpful in thinking about the form of the integration process-structure. In the case of interstate thickness, a thick society represents a society with a high grade of solidarism between the units. If an interstate society is then solidarist this informs that the interstate society pressures the integration process-structure towards cooperation and integration. This is what becomes visible with these concepts in the discussion of integration.

The terminology integration process-structure needs to be discussed. Buzan and Little (2000) describes process and structure as two different things, which they with no doubt are. Processes relate to patterns of interaction allowed by the traits of the system. Two examples given are trade and political recognition. Structure then differs from processes in that it accounts for how units in a system are organized (Buzan & Little, 2000: 79).

This paper introduces a terminology that seem to go against these definitions by making 'integration process structure' into integration process-structure. Still perhaps the authors would not completely discourage it. If one is to understand the highly complex process of regional integration there is no need in keeping process as a black box, which unnecessarily complicates the research. Process is likely defined as above due to a 'unit focus'. Paying more central attention to the process itself and adding structure is a plausible way to simplify the think-work. The integration process is understood as possibly being structured towards integration or disintegration. This structure can then be pressured by society thickness in the way that interstate thickness, for example, informs solidarism or pluralism. Solidarism and pluralism describe the relation among the units constituting a society. If a society is thick / solidarist the constituting units cooperate and share values, creating a context where regional integration is more likely. A thin / pluralist society may not have cooperation between its constituting units and share less to none values. Regional integration becomes less likely. The terminology integration process-structure facilitates a dialogue with conceptual thickness and thus become helpful.
2.6 European Defence-Industrial Integration

The European defence-industrial integration has not yet been given serious attention in international relations investigation. This is surprising since the implications of this process, and as this study will show, is important to consider in order to understand the various dynamics of European integration. What has yet not been acknowledged is the political significance the defence-industrial integration may have, and this is precisely what this paper seeks to understand.

European defence-industry has undergone an enormous change during the last 30 years. What had been exclusively national enterprises started to merge in the 1990's. National European defence-firms became privatized and merged with other European defence-firms to create a hand-full of European defence-giants. These companies now share technological knowhow and resources for arms research and development. Even though initially resisted on behalf of national governments, out of a sovereignty context, various reasons pushed them to realize its necessity. The first major European event of defence-firm integration, although not trans-national, happened when British Aerospace bough Marconi Electric Systems from The General Electric Company in 1999. This company became BAE systems (Guay & Callum, 2002: 759). A sample of European defence-industries that have undergone mergers are visualized on the next page.

When defence-industrial integration has been mentioned it has been done in a 'drive-by' manner such as when Howorth (2007) mentions it as an underlying, but important, driver of the European Defence and Security Policy's creation, itself seen as a major step towards closer European integration (Howorth, 2007: 56). Calcara (2017; 2018) discusses defence-industrial cooperation within the EU but focus on explaining state behavior. The account closest to the systemic level of this analysis, is that of Kure & Oktay (2018) which study the European defence-firms as a class formation and its role in facilitating and driving institutional frameworks such as the European Defence Agency. Other perspectives relate to policy discussions and economic needs of integrating the European defence-industry, such as Hartley (2003; 2008), while others have simply sought to understand the process of defence-industrial integration (Guay & Callum, 2002). None of the aforementioned accounts have discussed European integration and European defence-industrial integration from a system-level perspective that the ES allows. This is what this study seeks to prove as a very plausible way of performing investigation in European integration.
2.7 EU Interstate Society and EU military Transnational Society

While the EU has already been effectively argued as an interstate society on its own (Diez & Whitman, 2002; Buzan 2004; Stivachtis & Webber, 2011), the same has not been clearly argued for the existence of a European defence-industrial transnational society. Therefore, this paper now performs a discussion for the arguments needed to establish this. It must be clarified which units of the European defence-industry that constitutes the EMTS.

The concept transnational society entails collective non-state actors such as NGOs or companies. A transnational society can, just like interstate society, vary in thickness. Buzan conceptualize the thickness scale as ranging from the thinnest, no Transnational agencies
(TNAs) in existence; to competing TNAs, to coalitions of like TNAs, to Coalitions of TNAs across type, to the thickest, full-on medievalism (Buzan, 2004: 133). Since the European defence-industries have merged with firms of other European states, creating a coalition of TNAs, the concept reflects the European defence-industrial landscape, even its current thickness. By viewing this development through the transnational society concept, it can be established that the European defence-industries have obtained a rather significant degree of thickness. It can thus be said that the concept may well account for the defence-industrial integration.

To strengthen the argument that there is an EU military transnational society in existence, it will be necessary to show which units that constitute this transnational society. In this paper, the units are defence-companies; the units that produce and research armaments. Since there is a need to establish a clearly demarcated border on the units involved in the EMTS, and the number of European defence-companies are quite numerous, this paper chooses to highlight the European companies that are present among the world's top 40 armaments exporters. These are the Airbus group & MBDA (Trans-European). BAE systems, Rolls Royce, Babcock International Group (the UK). Leonardo (Italy). Thales, Naval Group, Safran (France). Rheinmetall (Germany). Saab (Sweden). These are the main actors constituting the EU military transnational society. Airbus group, BAE systems, Thales, and MBDA were categorized as the primary European defence-companies in 2001. These companies still enjoy this position but now together with the aforementioned ones (Fleurant et al, 2018: 9; Lundmark 2011: 164).

3. Methodology

This research aims to contribute to the debate of European integration. The research question of this paper is; what effect does the European defence-industrial integration have on European integration? This chapter discusses the methodology for these tasks. It begins with describing the method used, qualitative content analysis, and argues for its relevance, followed by an explanation of how the method will be used. From there it continues to describe the textual material used in the research, followed by a section discussing methodological limitations.

The integration process structure will be investigated in two steps. The first part of the analysis deals with determining the political intention of the EMTS. The political intention must be determined to understand which kind of politics the EMTS seek. This is done by mapping the entities that make up the STSS, the inter-societal relationship of the interstate society and the transnational society. This is carried out with a qualitative content analysis of the European
Defence Agency (EDA) and the Organization for Joint Armament Co-operation (OCCAR); the interstate arrangements on the one hand, and on the other hand the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD); an agency that works for the European defence-industries interests. This part of the analysis seeks the political intention of these agencies to determine the political intention of the EMTS, but also to grasp the EU Interstate society's political intentions in defence questions. This is a crucial piece in the investigation since without knowing how the EMTS relates politically in the question of integration and cooperation, there would be no plausible way to assess what political impacts the European defence-industry may bring.

The second part of the analysis takes place once the EMTSs political intention has been clarified. From this point, the paper adds the societal thickness of the EMTS with its political intent to understand how the European defence-industrial integration may impact integration process-structure. Society thickness in the case of transnational society is understood as the strength the EMTS has in political interaction, since it can be coupled with a centralization of power. This is how the defence-industrial integration's impact, on European integration, is assessed. This is, as in the first part of the analysis, also done through a qualitative content analysis.

3.1 Textual Content Analysis

Content analysis is the study of different forms of textual material. Generally content analysis is split up between what is called quantitative and qualitative. While quantitative studies deal with content that stand out clearly, the qualitative variant points attention toward underlying or conceptual information. This method can be used when texts are analyzed for content that is embedded and not immediately visible, such as when the research deals with understanding the meaning of texts (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 346-347). A qualitative content analysis should confine to four steps while its being carried out. It must be made clear which kinds of texts that are important for analysis. It must then be clarified specifically what the research is looking for when reading these texts. It must be stated which specific parts of the texts that contains material important for the research. It must be clear how the research identifies content of importance that will later be lifted into the analysis (Halperin & Heath, 347-348). This study uses qualitative content analysis since what is being sought after is contexts that reveal political intentions, which means that the information does not necessarily
stand out clearly. Content sought after is political intentions that regard willingness in the question of integration and cooperation.

3.2 Use of the Method

This research seeks to understand what effect the European Defence-industrial integration has on the wider European integration. To reach an answer two operational questions must first be clarified. First, what is the political intention of the EMTS? What political standpoints does it have in the question of cooperation and integration? Secondly, the study seeks to understand if the defence-industrial integration has given more power to the EMTS.

What is the political intention of the EMTS, how does it stand in the question of integration and cooperation? This section explains how this will be done methodologically. This will be done by analyzing three STSS agencies, the European Defence Agency (EDA), the Organization for Joint Armaments Co-Operation (OCCAR), and the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD), which will be mapped and investigated for information that tells of political standpoint in regards of cooperation and integration. For the European defence-industries, the ASD is the main STSS agency. It exists to promote the European defence-industries interests in EU politics and is thus a suitable data source for finding the political intent of the EMTS. It will therefore see much attention by this research. The EDA and the OCCAR are also included to provide a context for the ASD and the EMTS. This will allow for a broader set of considerations in discussing the EMTS effect on the integration process-structure.

Once this is done, the thickness of the EMTS will be investigated in order to see if it is indeed a centralization of power that has occurred. This will then be put into the context of the EU interstate thickness and the EDA and OCCARs political intention. The analysis will determine the contemporary thickness of the EMTS by borrowing insights of scholars that have studied the European defence-industrial integration. Guay & Callum (2002), Sibel & Oktay (2018), Hartley, (2003) are used for this since they provide a highly valuable discussion on the history and process of it, and important explanatory factors of that process. The analysis then links thickness to political intention to get an understanding of the strength of the pressure, that is being exerted onto the integration process-structure.

This paper's main research question is how the European defence-industrial integration effects European integration. Therefore, this paper will focus more on the EMTS than on the
interstate society. Still the Interstate society cannot be left out entirely of the analysis. Including a discussion of the EU interstate's contemporary thickness, and its STSS agencies, the EDA and the OCCAR, will provide a context for the EMTSs pressure on the integration process-structure. As mentioned before, this will allow for a broader spectrum of considerations. The thickness, or level of integration, of the interstate society can tell if it is more likely that the units within that society will cooperate or not, therefore paramount in order to understand the surrounding that made the defence-industrial integration possible.

The interstate society thickness will be discussed on a foundation of insights generated by late disintegration research. This part of the analysis will display the effectiveness of organizing a discussion of integration around society thickness. Rosamond (2019), Webber (2014), and Vollaard (2014) will be related to this discussion and will be incorporated to understand what could impact the thickness of the EU interstate society. Changes of thickness is understood as the interstate society moving towards either pluralism or solidarism. Such a move would influence the integration process-structure since pluralism and solidarism determines the overall willingness of an interstate society to cooperate between its units.

In this paper the EMTS contains the European defence-firms dealing with armaments production and R&D. The choice of the defence-firms as being the important and regarded actor under this concept is done on two grounds; they are the most significant actors in the EU's military transnational society, and to specify the analytical scope of this study. It needs to be clear which units are included in order to avoid vagueness. As already mentioned in the literature review, this study chooses European companies, that are present among the world's top 40 armaments exporters (Fleurant et al, 2018: 9), to be the constituents of the ETMS. These are the (Trans-European) Airbus group & MBDA. The UK companies; BAE systems, Rolls Royce, Babcock International Group. The Italian company; Leonardo. The French companies; Thales, Naval Group, Safran. The German company; Rheinmetall, and the Swedish company; Saab. These are the main actors constituting the EU military transnational society.

Research has rarely acknowledged the significance of the defence-industrial merges that has happened in the EU. Identifying the EMTS as an existing unit means that the paper can account for the pressures transnational society exerts on the EU interstate society and the integration process-structure. A very thin military transnational society, such as in the cold war times of the US when firms competed, may still have had significant capacity to push political intentions. However, if it is closely connected / thicker it may be able to do more of that since the actors have become fewer, stronger, and more organized.
The concept of integration will be used in this study to understand if a centralization of power is occurring. It will aid in understanding the effects that come about the European defence-industrial integration. Centralization of power would then mean that the top layers of the society get an increased strength to push its political intentions in directions where it matters. The EMTSs political interplay with the EU interstate society is the case in this paper.

3.3 Material

This section makes clear which kinds of texts that will be important for the analysis. This section begins with discussing the material used for the first part of the analysis; the identification of the socio-technical sub-system. It then goes on to discuss the material used for the second part of the analysis; the assessment of how the contemporary society thickness, and changes of it, determines and informs the integration process-structure.

3.3.1 Material for Researching the EMTSs Political Intent

The first part of the investigation will analyze data collected on the European Defence Agency (EDA), the Organization for Joint Armament Co-operation (OCCAR), and the Aerospace and Defence Industrial Association of Europe (ASD) in order to clarify their political intention in the question of integration and cooperation. The data relevant for this task is found on the agencies' webpages. This part of the analysis deals with understanding the political intention of the EMTS. Studying the ASD is a good way to determine the EMTSs political intentions because this agency exists with the purpose to promote the EMTSs political interests in the EU.

As mentioned before, when using qualitative content analysis, it must be clear: which kinds of texts that are important, what the research is looking for when reading these texts which specific parts of the texts that contains material important for the research, and how the research identifies content of importance (Halperin & Heath, 347-348). Any research must also account for its validity and reliability. In the case of content analysis, factors leading to unreliable research are generally confined to four respects, material that is badly written, ambiguous or unclear coding, errors made by the coder, and inadequate objectivity in creation of the categorical definitions for the coding (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 355).

The relevance of the texts found at the agencies webpages is determined by its content. Texts important to this study is descriptive information on the agencies. In these texts the research is looking for information that describe the agencies, their purpose, and their political standpoints.
in the question of cooperation and integration. The unit of content / recording unit is therefore a theme that regards attitudes and beliefs. For the coding, every time cooperation or integration is mentioned, its context will be examined to judge that it relates to politics of integration and cooperation. Regarding validity and reliability, the material describing the agencies is well written. The EDA, OCCAR, and ASD have high stakes and reliability is important for all of them. The coding should not be ambiguous or unclear. The research is looking for themes communicating political integration, cooperation, and disintegration for that part. Also, every time cooperation and integration explicitly appear in the texts examined, extra attention will be put on judging the context surrounding these words. In this way the research determines that it is political cooperation and integration that is lifted into the analysis. The risk of errors made by the coder is thus reduced, and there should be no problem regarding objectivity.

3.3.2 Material Researching the EMTSs Impact on the Integration Process-Structure

At this point the political intention of the EMTS has been established. It is now time to assess the thickness of the EMTS, and thereby get a measure on the pressure's strength that the transnational society exerts on the integration process-structure. The EMTSs political intention is now coupled with its strength to push it. As mentioned previously, the EU interstate society needs to be discussed also. This is what follows.

3.3.2.1 EU Interstate Society

The texts important here regard other research done on European disintegration and European defence-industrial integration. In the question of the EU's interstate thickness, insights of Rosamond (2019), Vollaard (2014), and Webber (2014) will be brought in. This collection of research discusses different factors that could lead to disintegration and their insights can be organized around the question of interstate society thickness. The ability to bring the insights of these scholars is an advantage of the ES's methodological pluralism. These accounts can easily be linked to thickness discussions of interstate and transnational society concepts.

In the case of interstate society thickness, the research will be looking for insights produced by other scholars that can be understood as factors that may contribute to change the interstate society thickness. These segments of text are often found in the analysis part of the research. This paper argues that changes in interstate society thickness may affect the integration process structure. The unit of content in these texts are themes that the authors claim will have an
integrative or disintegrative effect. For example, Webber's (2014) factors of Germany being the benevolent hegemon. The coding here thus becomes factors of disintegration or integration.

3.3.2.2 The Defence-Industrial Transnational Society

The texts important in the defence-industrial integration discussion is that of Guay & Callum, 2002; Hartley, 2003; Calgar & Oktay, 2018. This collection of research highlights important factors and developments that underpinned the defence-industrial integration. It is explanations of the defence-industrial integration that becomes interesting here. Factors deemed important for the process become important to understand why the transnational society started to thicken and aids in understanding what could changes this thickness, and what this tells about the future development. It is factors that have led to the defence-industrial integration that are important thus the unit of content is again a theme. The coding becomes the factors that can be connected to starting the process of European defence-industrial integration.

3.4 Methodological Limitations

The first limitation regards using the ASD as source for interpreting the EMTSs political intentions. This paper determines the political intentions of the EMTS by analyzing an agency that promotes its interests in EU politics. A limitation to this approach is that there might be companies in the EMTS that do not entirely share the political intention of what is claimed by the ASD. By lumping companies together into a single unit, the EMTS, individual characteristics and differences of the units that constitute the EMTS risk to be overlooked. This research counters this argument with the ASDs display of direct company members. Still it is the collective voice that is interesting in this research and the representation of Airbus group, MBDA, BAE systems, Rolls Royce, Leonardo, Thales, Naval Group, Safran, and Saab are all visible as direct company members (ASD: Members). Babcock international group and Rheinmetall are not listed as direct company members, however Klaus Eberhardt, Rheinmetall's Executive Board Chairman was president of the ASD at the same time for two years (Rheinmetall: Chronicle), casing for that Rheinmetall still have close ties with the agency.

The pressure that the EMTS exerts is measured with a temporal comparison, that is the strength before the defence-industrial integration, and after it. This research will indeed be able to claim that there has been an increase in the EMTSs capacity to push its political intentions, but the research will not be able to give any more detailed measurements of this strength.
Further limitations relate to the use of the qualitative content analysis method. First, this analysis takes the intentions, stated by the agencies, on their words. For example, when the ASD state on their webpage that they want to see more integration and cooperation, this research will base claims by taking that information as the prevailing truth. A danger with this is that the meaning of these political intentions become overestimated, or that the research account them for more impact than what they actually produce, or in the worst case, that it is simply meta talk. This is indeed a weakness of this thesis research design, but the texts found at the agencies’ webpages are still judged as valuable information, and most likely, self-descriptions in these contexts are likely not showcases only.

4. Analysis
How will the European defence-industrial integration affect European integration? That is the paper's main research question but to reach an answer two operational questions (OQ) needs to first be clarified. The first OQ regards the political intention of the EMTS. The second OQ investigates if the defence-industrial integration can be understood as a centralization of power.

The analysis starts with the first OQ. Here the entities of the socio-technical sub-system, and its political intention is clarified. This paper has identified the three main collective bodies that are of importance in this respect. They are the EDA, OCCAR, and ASD. By studying these agencies, the political intention of the EMTS can be clarified.

4.1 The Political Intention of the EMTS

This part of the analysis answers the first operational question; what is the political intention of the EMTS? This section clarifies the agencies political intentions, and significance in the STSS context.

4.1.1 The European Defence Agency (EDA)

The EDA was created in 12/7/2004 by the council of ministers to aid the Council and the Member States (MS) in improving the ability of European defence in managing crisis, and to support the European Security and Defence Policy in its development. The EDA is to function as a furtherer and promoter of cooperation to develop defence capabilities by introducing problem solutions and new initiatives. The EDA acts as a stage for the development of the defence capabilities needed to support the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). It has three main missions. To support EU MSs in developing military and defence capabilities;
to improve the European defence-industry and stimulate technology research; to act as a military intermediary to policies of the EU (EDA: mission). These tasks then emanate in more detailed forms, such as into the European Defence Technological Industrial Base strategy (EDTIB) (EDA: EDTIB).

In the Lisbon treaty it was clearly informed that the EDAs role is to find and implement activities and policies that can reinforce and develop the European industrial and technological base, and to optimize military expenditure efficiency. The EDTIB Strategy has a set of operational goals in which the following are some of the most important: 1) clarifying and prioritizing military capability needs; identifying the key technologies and key industrial capabilities for preservation or development in Europe; 2) consolidating demand; 3) increasing investments; 4) ensuring security of supply; 5) increasing competition, and cooperation (EDA: EDTIB).

The agency is hierarchically subordinated to the Council of the EU. The EDA is obliged to provide the Council of the EU with information, and it is the Council that guides the EDAs work focus. The EDAs steering board meetings occur on defence-minister level. The defence-ministers decide the EDAs budget, projects, programs, new initiatives, the tree-year work program, and the yearly work plan. It is presently headed by Federica Mogherini (EDA: Governance). The EDA also have close cooperation with the OCCAR on a variety of projects (EDA: Fostering defence cooperation).

The EDAs personnel consists of 170 people. Through various projects and networks, however, it brings together about 4000 specialists in defence questions. It is through working with these experts the EDA keeps its alignment with the MSs national priorities. Three different forms of groups organize these experts in research & technology efforts called Integrated development teams, Project Teams, and Capability Technology Groups. The framework is also able to sustain spontaneous projects (EDA: Expert Teams).

With this it can be distilled that the EDA is an agency that translate politics into military actions. Whether it regards production of new armaments, or gathering information to the Council of the EU, the EDA can invite defence-industries and agencies such as the ASD. Its steering board, that is comprised of national defence ministers decide on projects and work-direction. The operations of the EDA bears witness to an important part of the socio-technical interplay that takes place between the EU interstate society and the EMTS. Political decisions are taken with consideration of defence-industrial knowledge. On these grounds it can clearly
be argued that the EDA is a facilitator of the interstate-transnational societal relations, and the political intentions of the EDA stand out clearly; cooperation and integration among member states and European defence-industry.

4.1.2 Organisation Conjointe de Coopération en matière d'Armement / Organization for Joint Armament Co-operation (OCCAR)

The OCCAR is a European intergovernmental organization that manages and facilitates cooperation in researching and producing armaments. The OCCARs main mission is to manage programs of cooperative defence equipment. OCCAR can, on behalf of its member states, strike contracts and deals with defence-industries in procurement. OCCAR works closely with the EDA (OCCAR: about us; OCCAR: partners; OCCAR: Convention: 9).

While the EDA focus on the political aspects, the OCCAR focus on research, development, and procurement. The OCCAR organize integration of the European defense-industry, a means to maintain and improve its competitive edge. Joint research and development efforts help the defense firms of Europe to survive since costs can be shared. The main actors of the OCCAR are the members states. These are differentiated between two categories where full members; Spain, Italy, the UK, France, Germany, and Belgium belong. In extension to this there are non-member states that participate in projects; Turkey, Sweden, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, and the Netherlands. As with EDA, this organization facilitates defence-industrial relations between a smaller collection of European states and the European defence-industries (OCCAR, convention: 9; OCCAR: about us; OCCAR: policies).

From above it can be distilled that the OCCAR is also a part of the inter-societal relationship. Through their existence, OCCAR is living the political intention of cooperation and integration in that its existential purpose is based on it. This organization has an intimate relation with the EDA and has more of a hands-on role in the socio-technical sub-system. It organizes the defence-industrial integration of Europe and is thus another important part of the inter-societal relationship. Like the EDA, the political intent of OCCAR can be established as configurated toward cooperation and integration.
4.1.3 The Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD)

The Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD) represents the defence-industrial collective of Europe. 16 of Europe's major defence-firms, and 23 national defence associations are direct members. All members included, the ASD constitutes companies that collectively brought a turnover of €220 billion in year 2016, with a total of 843000 employees (ASD: at a glance).

The mission and function of the ASD is to collect its members voices and work for their interests in interactions with the EU and other actors of significance; to advocate for common European positions in policy and legislation; to advocate international cooperation between other organizations and associations; to increase the understanding, of how the EDAs members can benefit in politics, business, decision-making, media, general public, NGOs and others. It is an agora for industry-related expert knowledge (ASD: at a glance).

The ASD works to strengthen the competitiveness of the European sector in security, defence, space, and civil aerospace. To ensure this development, the ASD work with analyzing and developing policy suggestions on behalf of the defence-industries, and facilitating cooperation between EU institutions, and defence-industry, in market issues and R&D projects. It works with coordinating both international and European policy, analysis, and communications, helping its members to develop. The ASD explicitly states that they provide its members defence-industries with the ability to be heard from one collective voice. The ASD interacts with European institutions and lobby defence-industrial interests (ASD: At a glance).

The agency is controlled through a general assembly and a steering board. The general assembly is composed by all ASD members, while the board is consisting by 16 member-company CEOs and 10 national member heads. The general assembly decides on policies, strategy, budget, and the members of the ASDs steering board. The Steering board see to it that objectives are met and determines the Secretary General's work (ASD: General assembly and board).

The ASD constantly interacts with the EDA. Some examples are the EU preparatory action on defence research (PADR) program in year 2017, launched by the European Commission, where the ASD was responsible for a workshop, or its intensive lobbying in questions of drones, or in advocating for the advancement of an EU defence-industrial research fund. One recent
and important interaction between the EDA and the ASD happened in connection to its OMBT-Leo2 project. In connection to it, the EDA summoned the ASD through a preliminary market consultation, wanting defence-industries to be present and aid the EDA with information. In order to ensure the best possible information from the defence-industries or Europe, the EDA turned itself to the ASD and national the European Union member states national defence-industrial associations. This tells of the prominent role the ASD gets to play in defence-industrial interactions with the EU (ASD: Drones; ASD: PADR; ASD: 2017; EDA: optimization MBT).

On the ASDs webpage it is clearly communicated that more resources must be spent on the CSDP. (ASD: 2015). The ASD explicitly claims that the EUs credibility depends on cooperation in defence and research (ASD: 2016). The CSDPs existence already demands a certain kind of interstate thickness, and so does cooperation in intra-European defence and research cooperation. Actions that demand intra-European cooperation are sought after for without interstate cooperation something like the CSDP would likely not be possible. The same theme can be delineated in the vocal support of the EU Commission's initiated Defence fund. The ASD, the voice of the EMTS, welcomes the initiative as something needed but also takes the opportunity to call for further cooperation (ASD: 2017). It becomes clear that the political values conform to cooperation and integration.

The ASD facilitates the socio-technical sub-system relation on the behalf of the EMTS. The ASD clearly states that the purpose for its existence is to collect the voices of the defence-firms and interact with agencies of EU politics to further defence-industrial interests. Interestingly, the ASD share the political intention of both the EDA and the OCCAR, that is to work for more cooperation and integration. This means that the three main actors of the STSS all share the value of cooperation and integration.

Together these three agencies make up the STSS, the inter-societal relationship between the EU interstate society and the EMTS. The EDA represents the EU in the STSS. There they discuss the EUs political need in policy, defence integration, and strategies. They also make demands on military and defence-capabilities, such questions that the OCCAR then deals with in a more hands-on fashion. In order to make these demands on an informed basis, however, they often require information, ideas, and input from the defence-industries. It is the defence-industries that possess the knowhow and their existence, and their prosperity depends on the politics made in the EU.
On these grounds this paper has shown the value of studying the EDA, OCCAR, and ASD. Through studying the ASD, the EMTSs political intention is hereby determined as politics of integration and cooperation. The STSS concept has proved its worth by pointing attention to these agencies. All three main actors of the STSS explicitly share the political values of integration and cooperation. This will be discussed again in the end of the analysis chapter to provide context for the contemporary European integration structure.

4.2 Factors Affecting the EU Integration Process-Structure

The analysis now enters its second part. It is here that the paper tries to understand how the defence-industrial integration will affect European integration. It will be investigated if the defence-industrial integration can be understood as a relative centralization of power in the EMTS, as conceptual thickness suggests. From there, the paper assesses how this process may impact the wider European integration. To provide a context the analysis begins by discussing the Interstate society and then the EMTS.

4.2.1 Thickness of the Interstate Society

The thickness of interstate society, and changes of it, may have the strongest impact on the integration process-structure. In the 1990's when the defence-industries started to merge, the EU already had reached a state of comparatively high interstate society thickness. The high level of interstate thickness that characterize the EU meant that countries were already involved in cooperation and willing to do more of it while not viewing each other as possible threats. Interstate society thickness makes the fundament upon which the defence-industrial integration could grow. European defence-firms, which were kept strictly within national borders for preserving technological secrets and competition would unlikely even have regarded trans-national merges without the existence of a pan-European community. This provides an explanation to why European defence-firms chose to merge with each other. The existence, thickness, and demarcating borders of an interstate society matters in this discussion.

Changes of thickness in an interstate society means that the interstate society moves towards either pluralism or solidarism. What is being assessed as affecting the interstate society's thickness is thus understood as either solidarist or pluralist pressures. Solidarism can be understood to exist if norms converge and are shared by actors, also how many of those norms that are shared (Buzan, 2004: 158).
So how could changes in the EUs interstate society thickness affect the integration process-structure? Solidarist pressures push towards more thickness, and pluralist pressures towards more thin interstate societies. The most recent and obvious changes regarding EU interstate thickness is the possibility of Brexit. Is it not certain that Brexit would push the EU interstate society towards more pluralism / disintegration. If the UK would leave the union, this means that they no longer become a part of the EU interstate society. While the EU interstate society decreases in size and population, the remaining EU interstate society may actually become a more homogenized group consisting more of actors that are willing to cooperate in the EU than what was the case when the UK were still members (Rosamond, 2019: 37-38). Brexit could make the remaining EU interstate society more solidarist.

Another important factor to consider, regarding how the EUs interstate society thickness can be affected, is the rise of Euro-sceptic parties in the EU member states. Scholars have observed that the period after the end of the cold war, and the Maastricht Treaty, has been characterized by an increase in Euro-sceptic parties. Prior to this time, the development of European integration was largely unopposed, and politicians with such ambitions had, in comparison to today, few problems in implementing integrative policy. This context has started to weaken, constraining member states in handling EU political issues. In member states where political parties have inclined to more pluralist politics, EU politics become harder to implement, which inhibits the function of the union itself (Webber, 2014: 352-354).

The rise of Euro-sceptic politics could, depending on their proliferation and strength, contribute to a thinner interstate society thickness. If the political support for supra-national arrangements would disappear from the EUs member states, then it will inevitably follow that efforts and resources for its support would be cut off. It is, however, important not to overestimate their impact, and the discourse of Eurosceptic politics must be determined if its directly hostile towards the very idea of supra-national arrangements, or if it is simply complaints or political meta-talk. As Vollaard (2014) has showed it is important, for the health of the EU, that members states can voice their eventual dissatisfaction. Complaints are not necessarily Euro-sceptic pressures.

The rise of a general Euro-skepticism is one possible way for a thinner interstate society. This becomes even more volatile, however, if it would regard the key players of the EU. Webber (2014) argues that Germany is currently playing the role of a benevolent hegemon. With the economic power that Germany possesses it is a key part of the benefits of trade that is a part of the contemporary EU. The German economy could outcompete its surroundings but chooses a
behavior that allows its surroundings to benefit on its expense. This is what is meant by playing
the role of the benevolent hegemon. German domestic politics underpin this behavior, but
would German politics become more 'pluralist pro-German', this willingness could disappear.
Without Germany playing this role, a crucial benefit of EU membership, the possibility of
lucrative intra-European trade, could be lost or severely weakened (Webber, 2014).

The scenario discussed above could pose a weakening pressure of the interstate thickness.
This scenario would mean that key players that sustain the Union's benefits stop to do so. Union
benefits thus disappear and with it an important reason to participate. The supra-national
arrangement is less relied upon and the units of the interstate society move towards pluralism.
While this scenario would likely lead to a thinner interstate society, some would say that it is
not likely that it would happen. Vollaard (2014) reminds us that participation in the EU is still
heavily relying on if there are better options or not, for the member states. As in the example
discussed there is yet only a small portion of the domestic politics that regard German
cooperation within the EU as a worse option than being outside of it. In the German election,
year 2017, Alternative für Deutschland (AFD), the most significant Euro-sceptic party, got a
12,6% of the seats in parliament (Bundestagswahl, 2017).

On these grounds it cannot be clearly argued the EU is in fact disintegrating, except for the
eventual Brexit. It lends a helping hand in assessing some of the most worrisome factors of
disintegration posed yet. For example, Webber's Germany factor is not yet exerting pressure on
the integration process-structure. If it would do so in the future, however, this could be
identified by creation of German domestic policy that reflect a change of attitude towards the
EU. This analysis also lends a helping hand in thinking about the rise of Eurosceptic parties that
Webber discusses. Euroscepticism, a more real contemporary factor, must be determined if it
really is ideological hostility towards EU membership or simply political meta-talk and
complaints. As Vollaard showed, a healthy supra-national arrangement like the EU should be
able to allow its members to complain about its directions. He also notes another important
aspect in thinking about disintegration and that is if there is any better alternative to the EU for
its member states. Some Eurosceptics would say that the idea of being outside of the EU is
enough, despite the benefits of membership. It is such forms of Euroscepticism that must rise
if there should be any changes to the integration process-structure.

With these insights in regard no clear inclination towards European disintegration can be
established. Except for the risk of partial disintegration through Brexit, most of the doomsday
factors have yet to be filled. When it comes to the question of defence, however, there are more
visible inclinations towards integrative politics. This has been seen while studying the EDA. This information, that the pressure exerted by the interstate society onto the integration process-structure, will provide a context for determining how the defence-industrial integration may impact the wider European integration. If both the societal spheres converge in their political intentions regarding cooperation and integration it is possible to assume that the integration process-structure is pressured towards integration. In the same way it could be assumed that if the societal spheres would disagree with each other on these questions, then there would be no significant reinforcing effects.

4.2.2 The EMTS impact on the European Integration Process-Structure

This paper seeks to understand how the European defence-industrial integration may impact the wider European integration. It has already been established that the EMTSs political intention is to see more politics of cooperation and integration. It is now time to add the EMTSs strength in pushing for these political intentions; the question of its increased societal thickness.

In Buzan's (2004) conception, the thickness of a transnational society can range from the thinnest, when there are no transnational agencies at all, to the thickest, pure medievalism. Bull defined Neo-medievalism as "a system with overlapping authority and multiple loyalty" (Bull, 1977: 254; Friedrichs, 2001: 483). Without making this discussion too lengthy, for this paper it means that the closer the transnational societies get to pure medievalism, the more political impact TNAs get. Since there has been extensive merges in the European defence-industries, the current situation can indeed be understood as an increase of thickness in the EMTS. As discussed before, European defence-firms merged to create a smaller number of giants, BAE Systems, Thales, Leonardo, and Airbus Group. There is no need for a lengthy discussion to determine that this can also be understood as a centralization of power. The paper thus determines that the EMTS has gained strength in its ability to push for its political intentions.

One of the most important explanatory factors for the development of the current EMTS thickness is market competition met from the US defence-industries. The US firms integrated in response to the same pressures that the firms in the EU felt after the cold war. Strained by declining defence-budgets and rising armament procurement costs, the US firms decided that integration was the best solution. Since the US firms consolidated first, this meant that they received a gigantic advantage towards their European counterparts. European defence-firms realized this, and, like their US counterparts, met the increase of competition by consolidating

With the end of the Cold War defence-budget started to decline, both in Europe and the US. This meant that the defence-firms income declined since most European defence-firms depend on defence-budget spending. To avoid bankruptcy, the defence-firms had to adapt to their new surroundings. Merges with other firms became a way to overcome these problems and the US firms pioneered this solution. In this way they could still afford the costs of maintaining a forefront position in research & development, needed for their survival on the market. Decline in defence-budgets played a major role as a pressure on the defence-industries of the US to integrate, and for their European counterparts. An increased need of resources for armaments procurement further reinforced the constraints that the defence-industries already experienced. This factor was deemed a problem in the US, even during the late period of the cold war. In combination with the declining defence-budget, however, this became a major problem (Guay & Callum, 2002: 762; Kurc & Oktay, 2018: 475-476).

On these grounds there is also a possibility to understand how the thickness of the EMTS could change. The terminal issue in the case of the EMTS thickness has been that of maintaining competitiveness. This factor plays a main role in why the defence-industrial integration took off in Europe, and the political intentions of the EMTS reflects it. Competition will likely remain and perhaps even get more serious in the future. Working to maintain European defence-industrial competitiveness is one of the ASDs existential reasons (ASD: at a glance), and competition on the defence-market is real indeed. One example telling of this is the Russian S400 anti-air defence-system which outperforms both its main competitors, US produced Patriot and THAAD systems, for only a fraction of their price. A Russian S400 system now costs around US$ 500 million, while a Patriot system costs US$ 1 billion, and a THAAD system US$ 3 billion (Macias, 2018a; 2018b). Russian firms have gained a good competitive position lately and in 2018 a Russian defence-firm entered SIPRIS top 10 list of arms exporters (Macias, 2019). As long as cooperation and integration are regarded as a viable strategy to maintain competitive edge the thickness of the EMTS is likely to persist or even keep integrating.

Defence-budget spending was another important factor for the EMTS thickening process. It is, however, no more definite that national defence-budget spending would exert a disintegrating pressure on the EMTS if it would suddenly become politically viable to spend more in the future. The game-changer is that new defence-industrial cooperative structures now exist. Defence-firms have made transnational mergers and have relationships with the EDA and
OCCAR. Disintegration is not simply integration in reverse. Viewing the development from this direction it seems as European integration has gone further than what has yet been realized.

Increased need for resources of armaments procurement has also been an important factor for the thickness increase of the EMTS. Hypothetically a technological revolution in the case of resource need in armaments procurement could lead to disintegrative pressures if the settings are such that a firm could benefit more if not having to share profit and know-how with other companies in the cooperation structures, thus contributing to partial transnational society disintegration by leaving the cooperation. However, joint efforts in research and development are becoming more common and are being facilitated by the EDA and the OCCAR. It thus becomes more and more likely that technological innovation will occur in companies that are deeply embedded in cooperation structures, mitigating the possibilities of partial disintegration of the EMTS.

In the analysis of the EU interstate society's thickness it was concluded that no game-changing disintegrative pressures, except for Brexit, have yet kicked in. Integrative efforts still take place, such as the EU Commission's Defence Fund, a financial support-package for cooperative defence projects on €525 million, (EU Commission, 2019). Adding on that, both the EDA and OCCAR share the political intention of integration and cooperation with the ASD and the EMTS. There seems to be a large concurrence among the units involved in the question of defence. On these grounds it is fitting to assume that the EMTSs counterparts, the EU interstate society, EDA, and OCCAR are currently openly receptible to the integrative pressures the EMTS exerts. It is thus likely that the integration process structure has a clear delineation towards more integration, reinforced by the European defence-industrial integration.

5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that the European Defence-Industrial integration has an integrative effect on European integration. This was reached by conceptualizing the process of integration as an interplay between the interstate society, the socio-technological sub-system, and the EMTS. By studying the STSS agencies it was possible to determine the political intentions of the EMTS as politics of cooperation and integration. This gave the study an understanding of whether the EMTS pushed towards integration or disintegration. Conceptual thickness aided in understanding how the defence-industrial integration led to an increased strength to push its political intentions.
Adding the contemporary traits and pressure exertions of the EMTS into the context of the contemporary thickness of the EU interstate society, and the political intentions of the EDA and OCCAR, it became visible that there is a clear concurrence among the units and that they are all inclined towards integration. The defence-industrial integration's effects are that of more European integration. This study has also showed how society thickness can be used to understand the strength of pressures exerted onto the integration process structure.

Like suggested by previous English School scholars, the English school has proved a fruitful approach in theorizing European integration. The framework developed in this study is perfectly able to account for both integration and disintegration at the same time, something requested in the IR debate on the question. The European defence-industrial integration has, due to its current political intentions and its increased strength, an integrative effect on the wider European integration. It can be said that the European defence-industrial integration has become a driving force for integration and cooperation politics in the EU. The effects of European defence-industrial integration can on this basis be understood as an integrative pressure being exerted onto the European integration process-structure. This paper has shown a way to understand regional integration and contemporary European integration.

For future research, the framework used here can be developed to investigate other areas of European integration. The interstate-transnational society relations can be investigated in many different ways. The use of STSS agencies is but one of many. It can also be used for technology-environment research to investigate how interstate-transnational society relations are hierarchically structured, where combustion technology precedes over electric automobile technology, and ways to overcome this if seen as needed. Hopefully this has provided a strong case for the analytical capabilities of Buzan's (2004) reconceptualization of the English School, and that research of European integration will consider this theoretical framework for its use.
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