

# **A Theory of Disfunctionality**

The European Micro-states as Disfunctional States  
in the International System

**Archie W. Simpson**

**Series in Politics**



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# Preface

The origins of this book can be traced back to my time as a MA student at the University of Hull in 1999. I was studying for a postgraduate degree in International Politics but I was also looking for a suitable idea for a doctoral study. A piece of serendipity occurred when a dispute between Britain and Spain concerning fishing rights and Gibraltar triggered a thought process. The international status of Gibraltar seemed a rather intriguing issue to explore for my Masters dissertation but I was advised that there was little literature on this topic. But from this, it occurred to me that there are several very small states across Europe including Andorra, Monaco and San Marino. At the time, I knew little of these states except their approximate location in Europe. I certainly knew next to nothing about the politics of these Lilliputian states let alone anything about their international relations. Following this logic, I began a brief literature review by checking the *Brynmor Jones* library at the University of Hull and also by accessing the internet using search terms like 'micro-states'. I was able to find one book edited by Sheila Harden in the library called "Small is Dangerous - Microstates in a Macro World" from 1985. This book outlines many problems associated with micro-states including those of defence, trade, and the problems of size. There were a few websites and other references to micro-states on the internet but overall, the study of micro-states seemed a rather obscure aspect of international relations.

Since a PhD is an original piece of research and there was a lack of literature to micro-states, I thought that this might a suitable subject to study. After all, if no-one else was really studying micro-states then that suggested there was a gap in the knowledge of these very small states. As my knowledge was largely of European politics involving the study of integration, it made sense to focus on European micro-states and their outlook towards integration. A cursory check indicated that there were nine micro-states in Europe, using a simple definition of a state with a population of less than 1 million is a micro-state. In addition, there are other small polities in Europe such as Northern Cyprus, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man. With this information, I started to write a simple research proposal and I approached the University of Aberdeen as I did my undergraduate degree there. My studies at the University of Hull continued and I wrote a Masters dissertation on post-Cold War neutrality which introduced me to small state studies as I used the cases of Austria and Finland.

I began my doctoral studies at the University of Aberdeen in May 2000. My supervisor was Professor Trevor Salmon and the head of the department was Professor Grant Jordan. Like all doctoral studies, the first year involved a lot of

reading about small states, micro-states, sovereignty, European politics, the United Nations and on associated issues like self-determination, international law, and European integration. In addition, I was able to teach undergraduates whilst also undertaking research training. From this heady mixture, a number of themes began to emerge about the European micro-states including their inherent vulnerability, their innovations in generating income, the anachronistic political systems that many had, and above all, their ability to survive and exist as sovereign states. The theme of survival in international politics was a recurring issue throughout the study which raised the question, how are these micro-states able to survive the rigours of international politics?

In the research, it became clear that the micro-states were sovereign states albeit very small sovereign states. The states under review adhered to international law regarding statehood and by the mid-1990s they were members of the United Nations which further confirmed their status. But the puzzle about how this was possible remained. However, this led to further reading and analysis concerning the statehood of the micro-states. A new question emerged, namely what are states supposed to do? What are the functions of the state? Are the functional aspects of statehood the key to recognising why the micro-states have been able to exist for so long? The conundrum of state functions became an important and central part of the doctoral study. By reading Michal Mann's article, "The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results" from 1984, it was suggested that the state has *at least* four functions. Other scholars suggested other functions, many of which overlapped with Mann's state functions. From this, I was able to suggest that the state has six functions and that these were necessary and sufficient functions for statehood. This framework was used for a number of conference papers and I asked various audiences to suggest further functions. No-one was able to produce or suggest any further functions that were applicable or suitable and so I was able to move to the next step.

From this functional account of statehood, I explored empirical data about the various micro-states. For all micro-states, a number of state functions or sub-state functions were carried out by others. Iceland, for example, is defended by the United States of America and NATO. San Marino relies on Italy for the supply of utilities like water, electricity and communications. Luxembourg is dependent upon the European Union, NATO and neighbouring states to help carry out key functions of statehood. France could literally turn off the water supply to Monaco. Yet, these states are deemed sovereign by the international community and are members of the United Nations. On the face of it, this was paradoxical. This indicated that the state

functions of the micro-states are carried out but not necessarily by the micro-states themselves.

The original version of the PhD set out an analysis of all nine micro-states; namely Andorra, Cyprus, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, San Marino and the Vatican City. By the end of the study, another micro-state had emerged in Europe, that of Montenegro in the Balkans. The various state functions were set out in some detail and the *theory of disfunctionality* was expounded.

Following the defence of the thesis in 2005, my examiners – Professor Roger Carey (Isle of Man Business School) and Dr David Galbraith (University of Aberdeen; now at the University of Bath) – suggested a few changes to the text. They indicated that I should focus on two cases rather than discuss all nine micro-states, and that I should add further explanations as to why neighbouring powers like France accept the micro-states. As I had a new job at the University of St Andrews as a Teaching Fellow, I was given a year to re-submit. For the thesis and for this book, the two cases chosen were Luxembourg and Monaco. In both cases, there was a great deal of empirical evidence and both were equally fascinating and also illustrative of the *theory of disfunctionality*.

The publication of this book has taken some time, largely because of work commitments. The thesis was originally submitted in 2005 and reconfigured in 2006 in accordance with my examiners' comments, and I graduated in 2007. The study has been updated since then and includes many new details from 2020. Whilst the book explores a niche aspect of International Relations and introduces a new theory, it is also the result of an extraordinary journey for the author. At a postgraduate seminar at the University of St Andrews, I delivered a talk called 'the accidental theorist' about the *theory of disfunctionality* in which I set out the results of the study. When I began this study, I simply wanted to explore the position of the European micro-states in relation to European integration. However, I produced a new theory of international relations based upon the small size of the European micro-states and a functional account of statehood.

Dr Archie W. Simpson  
October 2020



# Foreword

Until the process of de-colonisation really got underway on the late 1950s and 1960s, most books about international relations tended to focus on those states that had been or could be involved in major (or even world) conflicts. But then books started to be written about the 'new' states that emerged, many of which were small by comparison with the old major players: London, Paris, Rome, Moscow or Washington. Experts began to examine the 'new' players: their role in the Non-Aligned Movement, their attitudes to alliances or neutrality, and on the key issue of international development. More recently focus has also turned to the BRICS- the acronym for an association of five major emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa and new international actors, such as the European Union.

But there is another type of player or actor: micro-states. Although 'micro' these states are still sovereign states, partly because they adhere to international law (1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States), they are widely recognised as states by the international community, they are party to various international treaties and agreements, and they have United Nations membership (the Vatican has 'observer' status at the UN). Although to be a member of the United Nations, states have to 'accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations' [article 4], which in some cases might raise eyebrows given those obligations.

This raises the question of what functions states have to perform? The book established a functional account of what most states do. Six functions are identified: 'military/defence', 'membership of the international system', 'economics', 'internal order', 'infrastructure-communications', and 'nation-sustaining'. These functions can be further broken into sub-function, for example, policing is part of 'internal order'. The size of the micro-states means that some of these functions can be contracted out to others, often following the 'logic of appropriateness', for example, France defends Monaco; NATO/United States defends Iceland, and the Vatican City uses the Euro currency.

The book points out that six state functions are, in totality, *sufficient* to define the state functionally. Each individual state function is *necessary* in relation to statehood according to a functional explanation of the state. A number of individual *necessary* functions can, collectively, become 'sufficient' functions. So while some 'functions' are contracted out, they are still fulfilled. The 'size' dynamic of the micro-states permeates into all aspects of politics, security etc. Smallness means there are inherent vulnerabilities (due to lack of

resources; smaller populations; less power in international relations; smaller bureaucracy; smaller/no army). This smallness means that the micro-states become dependent upon others, have a limited state capacity, and that functions are contracted out according to the logic of appropriateness which, as noted above, does raise those questions re the United Nations.

But the book also moves on to briefly explain the origins of the terms 'disfunctional' and 'disfunctionality'. The Greek prefix 'Dis-' can be defined as a deprivation, a blemish of a quality' and indeed separation. However, throughout this study, the terms 'disfunctional' and 'disfunctionality' are used not in a derogatory sense and as a means of expressing the congenital functioning of the micro-states in Europe. In essence it means a 'quality' is missing. The Greek prefix 'Dys-' means abnormal or faulty. The use of the prefix 'dys' infers that a pathological condition is in play. Thus, in this study the term 'disfunctional' rather than 'dysfunctional' has been adopted throughout.

To examine these issues rather than looking at all micro states in the world or on ten micro-states in Europe (Andorra; Cyprus; Iceland; Liechtenstein; Luxembourg; Malta; Monaco, Montenegro, San Marino and Vatican City), two specific cases are examined in detail: Monaco and Luxembourg, with a review of their history, an outline of the six functions of the state and the ways in which some functions have been contracted out to others, and reasons why larger states/organisations (such as France/European Union) allow these micro-states to exist. Notwithstanding this, as always, all micro states have their special features.

Crucially, this book asks all its readers to think again about what functions states perform.

Trevor C. Salmon  
Emeritus Professor, University of Aberdeen

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Andorra embassy in Belgium – <http://www.andorra.be>.

Benelux – [http://www.benelux.be/en/sg/sg\\_taken.asp](http://www.benelux.be/en/sg/sg_taken.asp).

Cyprus – <http://www.cyprus.gov.cy>.  
Iceland – <http://government.is/>.  
Iceland parliament – <http://www.althingi.is>.  
Liechtenstein – <http://www.liechtenstein.li>.  
Luxembourg – <http://www.gouvernement.lu/>.  
Malta – <http://www.gov.mt/>.  
Monaco – <http://www.gov.mt/>.  
San Marino (Internal affairs) – <http://www.interni.segreteria.sm/>.  
San Marino (general) – <http://www.omniway.sm/>.  
Vatican City – <http://www.vatican.va/>.  
Vatican City (Curia) – [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/secretariat\\_state/documents/rc\\_seg-st\\_12101998\\_profile\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/documents/rc_seg-st_12101998_profile_en.html)

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Danish Foreign Office – [http://www.um.dk/english/faktaark/fa23/fa23\\_eng.asp](http://www.um.dk/english/faktaark/fa23/fa23_eng.asp).  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK) – <http://www.fco.gov.uk>.  
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Isle of Man – <http://www.gov.im/>.  
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State Department (USA) – <http://www.state.gov>.  
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Respondent 3: Senior diplomatic representative, Monaco.

Respondent 4: Diplomatic representative, Monaco.

Respondent 5: Diplomatic representative, Iceland.

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