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European Journal of Social Theory 2003; 6; 471

DOI: 10.1177/13684310030064001

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R E V I E W E S S A Y

Conceptions of Europe

A Review of Recent Trends

Gerard Delanty

Will Hutton, *The World We're In*. London: Little, Brown, 2002. 409pp. inc. index, £12.99, ISBN 0316860819 (pbk)

Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 377pp. inc index, \$23.00, ISBN 0521795524 (pbk); \$65.00, ISBN 0521791715 (hbk)

Cris Shore, *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. 258pp. inc. index, £17.99, ISBN 0415180155 (pbk); £55.00, ISBN 0415180147 (hbk)

Mikael af Malmberg and Bo Stråth (eds), *The Meaning of Europe*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002. 326 pp. inc index, £14.99, ISBN 1859735819 (pbk); £44.99, ISBN 1859735762 (hbk)

Douglas R. Holmes, *Integral Europe: Fastcapitalism, Multicultural, Neofascism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. 253 pp. inc index, £13.93/\$19.95, ISBN 0691050899 (pbk); £40.00/\$60.00 ISBN 0691033889 (hbk)

Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe*. London: Penguin Books, 2001. 254pp. inc. index, £8.99, ISBN 0140287930 (pbk)

Klaus Eder and Bernhard Giesen (eds), *European Citizenship: National Legacies and Transnational Projects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. 276pp. inc. index, \$65.00, ISBN 0199241201 (hbk)

Chris Rumford, *The European Union: A Political Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. 312pp. inc. index, £15.99, ISBN 0631226184 (pbk); £55.00, ISBN 0631226176 (hbk)

Rémi Brague, *Eccentric Culture: A Theory of Western Civilization*. Translated by Samuel Lister. South Bend, Indiana: St Augustine's Press, 2002. 205pp. inc. index, £19.50/\$28.00, ISBN 1890318140 (hbk)

The nine books under consideration reflect a tendency in recent scholarship to view Europe as an object of research and of theoretical and philosophical reflection. The question of Europe has now had an impact on the diverse fields of sociology, anthropology, political science, philosophy and history which have all responded in different ways to the recognition that a transnational project

engineered by nation-states is transforming those very entities that gave rise to it and something new is being created in this process. Although it is debated exactly how new, it is generally agreed that something new is emerging with the enhanced momentum of Europeanization in recent years which has led from a transformation of the state to a transformation of society and the construction of new conceptions of the self, power and culture. As several of the selected books demonstrate, this relatively new object of research and consciousness in the social and human sciences does not replace national societies but operates alongside them and is even articulated *within* national societies as part of their socio-cognitive self-understanding in a post-national era. Indeed, as Douglas Holmes's book shows, nations are still capable of arousing powerful expressions of belonging (see also Delanty and O'Mahony, 2002). But Europe is no longer a residual category in contemporary conceptions of the nation: it has a huge presence in all societies as an economic, legal and symbolic entity. The question of Europe is now a central dimension of the wider societal transformation of modernity, the reflection on which is also a reflection on the meaning of Europe. It is thus difficult to be specific on what we are talking about, for 'Europeanization' is not leading to a society, a state, a cultural or a geographical entity that can be specified with precision, but a process. Even if we take the now expanding European Union as the geopolitical entity, as several of our authors do, the problem still remains – exactly what is Europe as an object of research?

The various books considered in this review article go some distance towards answering this question as to the theoretical construction of Europe as an object of research and reflection. Although one might wish for more theoretical elaboration, there is a discernible trend to avoid purely descriptive categories or ones that are excessively normative. Until now the categories that are used to make sense of Europeanization tended on the whole to be descriptive – describing the European project from a standpoint that did not need to question its spatial and temporal reference points – and generally supported by strong normative positions, to which there was the occasional 'Euro-sceptical' rejoinder. The problem with such approaches is that they failed to appreciate the dynamic and creative processes that are involved in Europeanization and the fact that in recent times this process has reached a point where it needs the application of new forms of reflection and critique, and ones that cannot rely on the attribution of 'crisis'. The normative standpoint for the critique of Europeanization can no longer be the nation-state (of the books reviewed, Siedentop's is the only one that does not seem to recognize the need for a renewal in our critical concepts). This relativization of reference points is particularly a problem for comparative research, which traditionally has been cross-national and thus presupposing the existence of relatively coherent and stable national societies where, at the most, converging and diverging trends might be discerned. The emerging field of Europeanization indicates a different object of research and consciousness for which new methods and theories are required.¹ For the moment, it seems, the most interesting studies concern the relation of national societies to the processes and dynamics of Europeanization within the context of the wider societal transformation of modernity by

transnational processes. The following thematically organized essay reviews some recent contributions indicative of current trends.

A Social Europe

Will Hutton's book offers a provocative appraisal of Europe as a societal expression of contemporary modernity that is fundamentally different from the United States of America. The vision of Europe in this book derives from the social and economic promise of Europe coupled with its civic political tradition. Hutton sees the distinctive feature of Europe to be the creation of what Jacques Delors called a 'social area', that is, a space for collective action beyond market liberalization. Hutton focuses on a key dimension of the European project that is all too often neglected in analyses that tend towards political or cultural concerns: the possibility of a European social and economic model. Whatever Europe is becoming, two things are clear – it is not Greater France and, critically, it is not a European version of the United States. It is no longer framed in the image of the French state and republican values, nor is it a purely market society with loose federal structures. According to Hutton, there are three clusters of values that define Europe: (1) the stakeholder view of property; (2) the belief in the social contract' (3) and the commitment to a vital public realm.

The most interesting chapters are those that try to show that there is a distinctive kind of European capitalism, which is based on uniquely European values and needs to be fostered in order that European capitalism does not become like American capitalism with its typical veneration of the stock market and corporate economic freedom and the widespread acceptance of social marginalization. These are the values of the stakeholder economy and a more responsible kind of capitalism held in check by the institutions of civil society. Hutton sees aspirations for a fair society deeply rooted in European history, although he is surely taking this too far when he claims that European feudalism had at its core a value system that gave rise to notions of equality before the law and that social privilege was tied to social obligation (p. 54). Such values were surely the products of social struggles against the *ancien régime*, not its cherished core values. But Hutton does succeed in giving us a persuasive argument that Europe is different from America. Wealth creation is a social achievement, he argues; it requires investment in social infrastructures, valuing quality of life as measured by shorter working hours and a social safety net, investment for the future rather than in the USA short-term profitability and over-extended credit. Social Catholicism, liberalism and socialism have left an enduring mark on Europe bequeathing a tradition that is the basis of its identity of social care, equality and the vision of a fair society.

Hutton's aim in this book, which is largely addressed to a British readership, is that Europe is fundamentally different from the United States of America and that Britain, for all its assumptions of difference and closeness to America, is in fact more European in its self-understanding. Hutton adopts a critical and

normative stance but on the basis of extensive research on the nature of European capitalism and welfare. Certainly, the debate on Europe must address the question of values that define its identity. In this respect there is indeed a point in considering which set of values make Europe distinctive. By comparing Europe with America, Hutton succeeds in making a strong case for the viability of European integration as a social project. He establishes normative criteria drawn from European integration itself, rather than from an implausible ideal state, in order to judge critically its contribution to the making of a fair society.

Europe as a Cultural Project

The theme of culture and identity has become highly topical in recent years and it is no surprise that the cultural turn in the social and human sciences has influenced studies on Europe from a largely cultural perspective (Delanty, 1995a; Mikkeli, 1998; Passerini, 1998; Viehoff and Segers, 1999; Wintle, 1996).² The cultural dimension of Europe is the concern of the volume edited by Anthony Pagden. The fifteen chapters trace the idea of Europe from antiquity to the present day, with an emphasis on the cultural roots of the political idea of Europe. While the chapters are very varied and there is no underlying argument to the book other than to look at the different historical expressions of the collective identity of Europe, the assumption in most chapters is that there is an essential European idea that might be the basis of its identity. While the approach adopted in all the chapters is nuanced and scholarly, there is an argument that never fully develops – but is indicated in the Introduction by the editor – that the basic ingredients of a collective European identity have been formed in the history of Europe but have not yet been fully assembled into a collective identity that is more than the sum of its parts. What is not explained is whether the resulting collective identity is the result of the force of the cultural idea of Europe or even exactly what a collective identity is: is it an identity for Europe or for individuals? Although the editor and several contributors talk about collective identity, what in fact they mean is a cultural idea that does not quite result in a collective identity. In so far as there is a thematic idea in this book, it is that the idea of Europe has not led to a European identity.

The first five chapters ground the book in historical themes and the next five deal with thematic issues, but from about Chapter 10 the volume loses its direction, straying from its central theme. The first chapter by Anthony Pagden gives a good account of the conceptualization of Europe from the perspective of global history. In the next chapter J.G.A. Pocock argues from a more critical angle problems in defining Europe as a coherent idea. In his chapter on Europe in the Middle Ages, William Chester Jordan notes the tension between the cosmopolitanism and localism and in Chapter 4 Hans Blom finds in early modern Dutch republicanism an alternative European political tradition to the later tradition of the nation-state that gained ascendancy after 1648. Biancamaria Fontana, in her chapter on Europe after Napoleon, locates the idea of Europe in

the world of nation-states where it has lost its direct relation with the idea of liberty. The next chapters shift the focus to thematic issues around the idea of Europe and the possibility of a European identity. Chapter 6 by Wilfried Nippel concerns Max Weber's historical sociology in which he developed a conception of the European as a citizen. Michael Herzfeld brings a welcomed anthropological perspective to bear in a chapter on the construction of the European self as an individual. At this point in the book we have a theme emerging: if European history has been the history of struggles to be different, how can there be a common European identity? Herzfeld argues that because there is a common code or common imaginary does not mean that there is a resulting shared identity (p. 140). Indeed, how is it possible for the individualistic world-view of Europe to create a common identity? Herzfeld cautions against mentalistic approaches and is sceptical of the existence of a peculiarly European self-hood. But we are not given a positive alternative, other than to be sceptical of notions of European identity. Ariane Chebel D'Appollonia argues in a similar way that European identity as a cosmopolitan project associated with the European Union is not an alternative to nationalism and can itself be seen as a kind of nationalism. Luisa Passerini in Chapter 9 resolves some of these paradoxes with an argument that puts irony at the heart of identity making. She makes the point that is often missed in many debates that collective identity becomes a critical issue only in response to change and uncertainty. The chapter makes the valuable point that the discourse on European identity must be able to keep its distance from political projects and their realization (p. 195). This chapter and the following one by Talal Asad stresses the importance of the multiple nature of identities and the need to consider the role of the Other in the definition of the European self. Asad thus asks the question whether Europe can represent Islam. To do so, he suggests, it must be able to 'allow for multiple ways of life and not merely multiple identities to flourish' (p. 227). The next four chapters take the book in a different direction, generally looking at the role of elites and institutional steering by the European Union. The chapter by Philip Ruttley deals with the contribution of law to the process of European integration but inexplicably concludes that the European political and legal framework that is now emerging 'will create a new European identity' (p. 259). The next chapter by Elie Cohen looks at the Euro and economic federalism in relation to sovereignty and then two chapters follow on national cases, one on Germany by Thomas Risse and Daniela Engelmann-Martin and a chapter by Andrés de Blas Guerrero on nationalism in Spain. The volume concludes with a chapter by James Tully questioning the Kantian idea of Europe in a world that is not quite as cosmopolitan as Kant intended it to be. The reader in search of a book on the cultural origins of the idea of Europe will not be disappointed by this volume.

The theme of culture is also the subject of Cris Shore's book, which examines from an anthropological perspective the creation of Europe by EU elites as a cultural project that is supposed to lead to European identities. However, here we have a more explicit focus on identity and attempts to realize the idea of a Europe in identities, as attributes of people and not just of institutions. The

analysis in his book also leads to a certain scepticism that Europe will be able to create a meaningful social model as described by Will Hutton. The suggestion in this innovative study in the self-understanding of key members of Euro-elites in Brussels is that culture – since the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 – is a default identity for a polity unable to create a social and political order. In the view of many EU elites, in order for the European idea to become a reality, it must constitute itself culturally. Perhaps because it is a polity in need of cultural legitimations of its own – and not just those borrowed from the nation-state – it has evolved cultural policies to shape a European consciousness. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Brussels in the mid-1990s, Shore shows that Europe is something culturally created by particular strategies, politics and discourses rather than being as ideology or idea handed down from the past. EU elites have attempted consciously to codify a European consciousness and European culture over the heads of Europeans and European nations. He demonstrates that there is an emerging, albeit weak, kind of European consciousness especially among the EU elites in Brussels who see themselves as the pioneers of a new supranational political order and a new type of person. It is a weak identity because there is no European *demos* as such, no common European language and it will at most be an identity for the EU cadres and their families.

This book is in the tradition of approaches that look at the cultural construction of social realities, but shows how the work of cultural invention is done by particular social actors – it is not simply self-creating. The EU policy-makers studied here succeeded in creating to a degree a kind of a European consciousness based on cultural policies: a European flag, capital, a European anthem, maps and various iconography, a passport, EU shops in Brussels selling Euro-style products and EU paraphernalia, a currency with distinctive symbols of European architecture, textbooks written ‘from a European perspective’, awards. But these symbols are limited in establishing a European supranational consciousness, having to accommodate national identities (one side of the Euro coinage contains national symbols and the Euro-Anthem; the ‘Ode to Joy’, does not contain Schiller’s words in order that the anthem might not be identified with Germany – or, the cynic might add, with freedom). The EU officials reconcile these contradictions with the argument that identities are multiple and that something like a unity in diversity is what is characteristic of European postnational identity. But this is not something new, Shore argues, but is a continuation of the managerialist and instrumental approach the elites always have to Europeanization and exhibits in certain respects what Foucault called ‘governmentality’ (pp. 133–4).

Europeanization is taking shape as a culturally coded project by EU cultural policies. While these are not comparable to the more expansive late nineteenth- and twentieth-century projects of nation-state building – which also involved creating, disseminating and anchoring powerful symbolic codes – they cannot be dismissed as facile or insignificant. However, there are examples of stronger expression of Europeanization as a cultural project. In some of the most interesting chapters of this excellent book, Shore shows how the emerging field of citizenship and the Euro point to far-reaching consequences in a postnational

direction. Now that the Euro is a reality, it is all the more likely to be the case that the emerging *Homo Europaeus* will be the citizen as consumer. Shore is thus more sceptical than Hutton as regards the social model that might emerge from current postnational tendencies, which in his view are substituting culture for a legitimacy institutions cannot find. There is simply the intractable problem that the EU is undemocratic and no amount of cultural engineering can overcome that deficit. Moreover, the EU elites do not see that multiple identities do not come without conflict and that there can be no simple transference of loyalties from nation-states to supranational order. But whether making 'Europeans' is less contentious than making nations and national citizens is something that is not discussed in this book.

The Nationalizing of Europe

The next two books to be considered show that the question of Europe cannot be discussed without looking at how it is appropriated in national projects. In a valuable collection edited by the late Mikael af Malmberg and Bo Stråth, the aim is to show that there is a multiplicity of meanings of Europe because there has never been such a thing as Europe as such. The book aims to show that Europe is an imaginary discourse that is always articulated *within* other discourses. Prior to the 1789 it was a discourse of states and afterwards a discourse of nation-states. The editors thus define the scope of the book to show how various meanings of Europe have been mobilized in the process of nation-state formation. Rather than stress an underlying European idea or the possibility of a European identity, the editors and contributors show that there are as many ideas of Europe as there are nation-states and that even within the nation-state Europe is a contested idea. Thus in contrast to Cris Shore who shows how the nation is incorporated into an emerging discourse of Europe, this volume documents the opposite tendency, namely how the discourse of Europe is appropriated by nations. In this particularization of the universal, Europe is revealed to be non-essentialist and open to many codifications. In this respect they differ more sharply from Wintle (1996) who assume the basic reality of Europe but seek to reveal the diverse forms of the image of Europe. For Malmberg and Stråth, Europe is not an image but a discourse in which competing claims are worked out.³

One of their central claims is that 'Europe as an entity is not a stable, sovereign, autonomous object but exists only in historical relations and fields of power' (p. 7). But this does not stem from a centre, such as Brussels, but from many centres. There is thus not likely to be a single European identity emerging, but continued pluralization. The focus of the book is not the concept of identity or how one identity is transformed into another, but the contestation of the meanings of identity. There is undoubtedly some value in this move away from identity, which can indicate sameness or difference.⁴ This leads to an interesting departure from theories, such as Andrew Milward's, which see Europeanization as a product of organized interests (Milward, 1992). In contrast, Malmberg and

Stråth stress the fact that Europe is an open discourse that cannot be easily pinned down by any one discourse.

The thirteen chapters in the book are mostly written by cultural historians and seek to contextualize the current situation in a historical analysis that is based on a conception of culture as essentially open to discursive meanings. Constantine Tsoukalas shows how Greece is the only European country that did not have to invent a European identity but this led to the uncomfortable discursive paradox that Greek modernity might be a contradiction in terms. Malmberg argues that Italian *Risorgimento* nationalism was fully immersed in a discourse of Europeanism. Mazzini, for instance, saw the unification of Italy as part of the spiritual rebirth of Europe and thus European unity and national liberation were part of the same process of republican opposition to restoration and later to fascism. The European dimension of Italian national consciousness has endured to the present day and is an interesting contrast to Euro-scepticism in Britain and Scandinavia. Perhaps the reason why Europe has been appropriated in national discourses is that it is a motif of modernity and reflects the transformations of modernity. In the case of Spain, as Pablo Jáuregui argues, the idea of Europe could signify the struggle to move beyond the national past of civil war and economic stagnation brought about by the fascist period. In contrast, as the chapter by Piers Ludlow on Britain shows, Europe can signify the difference as well as identity – the paradox of belonging to something while also remaining separate (see also Kumar, 2003). The chapter draws attention to the fact that Britain has in fact been more European oriented than is often believed today – British imperialism was often cast in the discourse of the civilizational superiority of Europe, and Britain frequently saw itself as the liberator of Europe (from Bryon's involvement in the liberation of Greece to Waterloo and the two world wars of the twentieth century). In the next chapter on Sweden Bo Stråth traces the shifts in Swedish national identity, showing that in contrast to the Catholic countries where Europe signified secularism and modernity, in Sweden the Enlightenment led to a vision of Europe equated with the ideal of Protestant unity. As in Britain, the concept of the continent was also used but there, instead, the tension between belonging and distance was reinforced by the doctrine of political neutrality. Had the volume contained a chapter on Ireland, a contrast could have been made with the Irish idea of Europe where the doctrine of neutrality was also based on notions of cultural difference and pristine singularity (O'Mahony and Delanty, 1998). The Swedification of Europe eventually came with the Social Democrats and their aspiration to transfer the Swedish welfare model into Europe. The next few chapters deal with Russia and with countries closely shaped in their history by Russia and which share the common experience of being between East and West. Henrik Meinander shows how the Finnish idea of Europe has been influenced by a resistance to Russia and a feeling of being part but abandoned by Europe, a perspective that is also to be found in Klas-Göran Karlsson's chapter on the Baltic states where the idea of Europe has expressed the condition of being between East and West. Iver Neumann surveys the complex history of Russia's attitude to Europe which has always oscillated between the poles of westernism and

nationalism, where the latter has generally been defined by opposition to Europe. This theme is also reflected in the chapter on Poland by Barbara Törnquist-Plewa who argues that in addition to being divided on a western European tradition and an eastern Slavic identity, Poland has also striven to create a national culture and a European identity. The East–West dichotomy has also played a role in the Czech concept of Europe, as Miroslav Hroch argues, but only by resistance to the USSR. The relation with Germany was more decisive in earlier period in Czech history and the dilemma of being in the East or West was less important for the Czechs who evolved an identity of being fully in the centre of European civilization. Although this was complicated by the Slavic dimension, the Czech nationalist movement deployed the idea of Europe. The next two chapters deal with Austria and Germany. Gilbert Weiss continues the theme of Europe indicating a dilemma by showing how Europe in Austrian history was often equated with the French mission of a universal European civilization. Yet being at the centre of Europe meant Austria could articulate a different notion of Europe appropriate to its nostalgic culture. The idea of *Mitteleuropa* could also be a substitute ideology of a lost German unity and a cosmopolitanism that was also a national identity. Wilfried Spohn traces the complicated history of Germany as a European nation, arguing how the idea of Europe has allowed Germany to overcome its history, which was one that aimed to Germanize Europe. Today Germany itself has become Europeanized. Finally, Robert Frank discusses the case of France where, like Greece, the discourse on the nation is inseparable from the discourse on Europe. Since 1789 the future of France has always been bound up with the future of Europe. To an extent this has changed today, with the eastern enlargement of the European Union, the fate of Europe is no longer determined by France which in many ways has been overshadowed by a Europeanized Germany.

The main conclusion that could be drawn from this very useful volume is that there are at least five major discourses by which the nation appropriates the idea of Europe: (1) the nation is the origin and destiny of Europe (as reflected in the examples of Greece and France); (2) the nation must enter into Europe, which represents modernity and republican emancipation (this is illustrated in the examples of Finland, Italy and Spain as well as Germany since 1945); (3) the nation as participating in Europe from the outside (this is best illustrated by Britain and earlier by Sweden); (4) the nation as divided between a western European face and an eastern one (the Baltic countries, Russia, Poland); and (5) the nation as the mirror of Europe (indicated by the examples of Germany, Austria and the Czech republic which lie at the centre of Europe and whose history has been inseparable from the major events of European history).

The next book to be considered is a very different one, but continues the theme of the national subversion of Europe but here more as a resistance. Douglas Holmes, a New Zealand-based anthropologist, brings an entirely new perspective to bear on debates on Europe in his study of the extreme right in several European contexts. He argues that in the discourses of the extreme right there is a powerful force at work, which is integralist in nature and is fundamentally

antagonistic to the essentially modernist vision of the idea of Europe as expressed in the general project of European integration. Holmes links this integralist current to the European romantic tradition and what Isaiah Berlin called the 'Counter-Enlightenment', an explicit repudiation of the principles of the French Revolution. It embodies some of the most populist traditions in modern political history, elements of romanticism, nationalism and socialism. In what is intended to be an anthropology of Europe, Holmes looks not at the elites but the radical nationalists on the margins of European societies who want to reshape the moral and political framework of societies across Europe.

Integralism has four registers: it is a framework of meaning, a practice of everyday life, an idiom of solidarity and a consciousness of belonging to a specific cultural milieu. His argument is that the integralist current has become so powerful today precisely because of ruptures in these dimensions caused by fast-capitalism/neo-liberalism and European integration. In this analysis Europeanization is the reason for the revival of integralist movements, which are themselves shaped by one dimension of European history. Integralism aims to find cultural solutions to socio-economic problems, whereby, for instance, solidarity is recast in a cultural framework which challenges the idea of a pluralist Europe. Holmes claims that European integration itself has always been devoid of a meaningful cultural and social vision, driven only by French social modernism and Catholic social doctrine. These influential doctrines which shaped the European project in its formative period reflected the conception of European integration as one of administrative engineering. Holmes claims that these programmatic designs such as Catholic social doctrine – which gave rise to the idea of subsidiarity – tended towards a bureaucratic enterprise as well as being a surrogate discourse for a political community that was never deemed part of a project designed to further the interests of capitalism and the post-war nation-state. Holmes in fact is suggesting that significant opportunity structures were created by the statist and material assumptions of European integration since Jean Monnet for the integralist movement to gain a foothold.

In Douglas Holmes's study, the extreme right put culture and society on the agenda. Although he does not say so, it was not only the institutional forces that resisted democratization, but it was also the social democratic left that complied with the instrumentalist project. While a movement towards pluralism did surface in the late 1980s, this has, in fact, he argues been either very weak – a shift from a Europe of Nations to a Europe of Regions, for instance – or has taken a radical form in the assertion of cultural incommensurability, in short, a pluralism that has become inseparable from cultural relativism. Holmes argues that the rise of this conception of pluralism has in fact provided the context for the revival of integralist ideas. Since Herder, Integralism has always fed on the idea on the notion of difference, which today has abandoned any connections with liberal nationalism. Integralists such as Le Pen and Haider have forged a link between cultural difference and welfare and in the intellectually respectable discourses of the new right – for instance, Alain de Benoist – the distinction between racism and the politics of the 'right to difference' become diffuse,

blurring the distinction between racism and anti-racism. Holmes goes very far in his analysis, making parallels with the new culturalized racism and Tony Blair's third way politics which can claim the mantle of a socially progressive Europeanization – which one might understand as a postmodern version of a modern social Catholicism.

Douglas Holmes points to a real danger: 'Rather than inspiring self-marginalization groups or grouplets, fascist sensibilities are generating integralist convictions that coincide with the definitive experience of an unnamed and unintegrated social formation encompassing, disenfranchised remnants of industrial working and middle classes' (pp. 110–11). The Integralist current is virulently opposed to multiculturalism, holding to a philosophy based on the untenable assumption that 'racial' differences are immutable and insurmountable in a world in which social anomie has transfigured into cultural differences. This is one of the most brilliant works on Europeanization, showing how consequential the connection between, what Habermas has called systemic integration (deriving from the state and economy) and social integration (with its roots in forms of social life) can be. Holmes does not explore the prospects for a cosmopolitan solution to these very real problems, which are not entirely engendered by the European Union as he seems to indicate. However, there is no doubt that the continued transnational project of the European Union, coupled with the wider impact of globalization, is more part of the problem than of the solution.

The Politics of Europe

There is no shortage of publications on the political face of the new Europe. Until recently this was the main focus for reflections on European transformation, which on the whole concerned the changed nature of governance within the state. But the field of political science and political theory is changing with the recognition that political change in Europe entails new state and society relations (Chrysochoou, 2001) and the fact that the post-Cold War context has entered a new phase today (Calleo, 2001). The perception that what we are witnessing is in fact the founding of a new kind of polity raises new kinds of questions linking political philosophy to a new conception of modernity (see Friese and Wagner, 2002).

A particularly interesting recent publication on the politics of Europeanization is Larry Siedentop's *Democracy in Europe*. The title of the book is intended to indicate a Tocquevillean critique of the political culture of the new Europe. This broad vision is what makes the book interesting but is also what marks its ultimate weakness. Siedentop compares post-Maastricht Brussels with Philadelphia in 1787 when 'fifty men talked, argued and reflected' and came up with a vision of a stronger federation in which democracy would flourish. The resulting Constitution of the United States of America was unparalleled and nothing Europe has done approximates to it. Despite the fact that Europeans have been talking for some four decades, they have not come up with a democratic

constitution but a bureaucratic order that lacks democratic legitimacy and a focus for public loyalties – that is the essential message of the book.

This is a Euro-sceptical critique of the European Union, written by a Tocquevillean liberal who clearly believes in the European idea and in federalism but is dismayed by the absence of a 'Grand Debate' on democracy comparable to the one that led to the Federalist Papers and the American Constitution. Siedentop fears a Leviathan state will emerge and argues that civil society is sufficiently established in Europe that further integration is both unnecessary and detrimental to democracy. His arguments are persuasive as long as one does not look beyond the surface of his elegant text and they are few who will dispute the contention that the objective should be to create 'a culture of consent in Europe'. He is surely correct too in cautioning that 'if such a culture is difficult to achieve in a nation-state, how much more difficult it must be in a federal state on a continental scale' (p. 25). The result will be an undemocratic supranational state, on the one hand, and, on the other, there is the danger of atavistic nationalist counter movements. Siedentop also sees the loss of local forms of democracy and the reality of diversity being overwhelmed by uniformity. What is driving this sudden rush to transnational unity? Given German support for federal unity and enlargement of the EU, it is difficult to agree with his explanation that it is all a delayed result of German unification deriving from France wishing to bind the enlarged Germany to closer union (p. 27). While there is some truth to his claim that EU integration has been shaped by three competing state forms – the British parliamentary sovereignty, French republican centralism and German federalism – I very much doubt that the French model is the one being grafted onto the EU and if any of these models are in ascendancy it is the German one. However, it is highly disputable that what is emerging is a supra-state. Joseph Weiler, for instance, hotly disputes this claim and Majone sees it as a regulatory state, not a supranational state (Majone, 1996; Weiler, 1999). But these are arguments that are not addressed.

The final chapters deal with issues of culture, identity and diversity. Siedentop has interesting observations but there is something very unsatisfactory with his accounts of Islam as a problem for Europe. He is undoubtedly correct in claiming that the European tradition of liberty derives to some degree from the Christian heritage and in particular from Protestantism, but he takes this too far in claiming Christianity created a framework of ideas that can be described as the original constitution of Europe (p. 195). In his view this matters a lot because 'we have discovered that our most basic habits of thought . . . have their origin in the Christian culture of Europe' (p. 199). On this dubious basis – a whole tradition in social theory has disputed the secularization thesis which needs to be seen in a much more differentiated light than the simple assumption of the secularization of a religious principle⁵ – Siedentop argues, following Isaiah Berlin, diversity and multiculturalism are flawed because they confuse two kinds of that pluralism. Siedentop supports a liberal version of diversity in which people pursue different values with a common moral framework of equality. The problem is that a second and dangerous kind of diversity is on the rise, he argues,

which is characterized by the pursuit of values that are not rooted in a universal public culture. Associating this kind of exclusivist position with Islamic fundamentalism and Islam in general, Siedentop sees major conflicts in the evolving multicultural European identity which may not respect the culture of equality and secularism Europe inherited from Christianity. This is very questionable and at best a highly misleading thesis, since it can easily be argued that political equality and liberty in Europe were achieved by democratic struggles against Church and Throne rather than deriving unchanged from theological beliefs and feudal customs. Fundamentalism is not confined to Islam, and is also to be found in the United States and other western ideologies, as is well known. In any event, there is no empirical support for the contention that incommensurable forms of diversity are undermining European society. Indeed, there is much evidence to the contrary (Kastoryano, 2002; Soysal, 1994). The danger of Islam is exaggerated while the real danger of western xenophobia is played down. There is something absurd about blaming Islam for making Europeans xenophobic.

Democracy in Europe sets the normative stakes too high. Europe today is very different from late eighteenth-century America. Siedentop's Tocquevillean vision for Europe may be desirable, even if it is unrealistic, but the main problem is that it ignores some of the real gains that have been made in Europe and exaggerates the extent of a crisis. It is in this respect that the volume edited by Klaus Eder and Bernhard Giesen is different. The volume offers a carefully and balanced assessment of the gains as well as the losses in European integration for citizenship. The eleven chapters are divided into four parts, one on national legacies of citizenship and belonging, one on projects for a full citizenship in the Euro-polity, one on citizenship participation in a European public sphere and a final one on postnational projects of belonging and the idea of a European identity. This approach is on the whole very satisfactory in that it moves the definition of citizenship in Europe beyond the primordial level as well as extending it beyond the formalistic level of rights.

The major contribution of the volume is that it locates citizenship as a legal condition consisting of rights and duties as articulated within the public sphere and, moreover, adds to this the dimension of identity and belonging. The approach is based on the assumption that citizenship as it is being reshaped in Europe today entails relations between national traditions and the European design for a transnational citizenship. Both of these are complementary, but must be measured alongside another dimension, the more active face of citizenship as participation in the public sphere. Goswinkler and Giesen in their respective chapters show how even within national models of citizenship there has been a shift from subjecthood to citizenship and from nationality to citizenship-nationality, a shift that clearly indicates the growing tension between citizenship as a public participation and formal membership of a state. These different forms of belonging entail changes in the nature of collective identity and the symbolic constitution of citizenship. The next chapters by von Beyne and Schmitter show how national traditions of citizenship are changing externally in response to the EU supranational model of citizenship, which is becoming more a battleground

for different conceptions of society and the state. The chapter by Schmitter and the subsequent one by Streeck attempt to identify some possible gains that might compensate for some of the obvious deficits resulting from a federal Europe. Streeck, in contrast to the simple liberal stance of Siedentop, sees a highly complex, multi-tier configuration of national and transnational institutions emerging whereby the former are more and more pluralized and subject to regimes of accountability (p. 123). One of the prospects he identifies is that citizenship might be coordinated rather than integrated (p. 139). These concerns with institutional potentialities cannot be discussed without reference to notions of civil society and the public sphere, which are the subject of chapters by Soysal and Closa in Part 3. Soysal urges us to see that organized Islamic groups and other immigrant groups can be empowered by European integration and ethnic identities are not fixed and immutable but dynamic and multi-relational. The public sphere is a critical site for the contestation of competing claims and identity projects, as Closa argues. The chapters by Lepsius and Eder show how a pluralized European identity is emerging not in opposition to national identities or other identities but alongside them and within them. Eder's chapter argues strongly for a conception of integration based on the institutionalization of dissent. In his analysis Europe is not a reality as such but a discursive medium. His Habermasian thesis is that the limited reflexivity in European modernity has led to a reflexive constitution of identity. An excellent conclusion by the editors explores the possibility that citizenship might be a founding myth in making of a European society beyond national societies.

Europe is more than a system of legal norms and rules and political institutions which regulate Europe citizenship. Europe is also a symbolic space where projections and memories, the collective experiences and identifications of the people of Europe are represented (p. 245).

The chief contribution of Chris Rumford's book on the political sociology of the European Union is to problematize the concept of society as used in European studies. It is a welcomed contribution to the debate on European integration for two reasons. First, it locates Europeanization in the context of globalization and, second, it addresses the question of whether it is time to talk about the emergence of a new kind of society beyond national borders, a European society for instance. With the enlargement of the European Union now underway, there are surprisingly few studies of the implication of the external dimension for Europe (see Cederman, 2001; Delanty, 2003). Rumford sees the EU as both an expression of globalization and at the same time a contributor to it. Drawing on Manuel Castells's work on the information society, Rumford is convinced that globalization is transforming the state, but not to the point of bringing about its end. The first four chapters discuss these issues – European integration and globalization, the nation-state, and the idea of European society – largely by reference to the main social theories. One of his conclusions is that there is a fragmentation and disunity at work in which the constituent parts of national societies are broken up and combined in new ways, consequently the transformation of Europe cannot be seen in terms of 'integration'. The remainder of the book deals

with particular illustrations of this tendency. There are chapters on social exclusion and citizenship, cohesion policy and regional autonomy, core-periphery relations, democracy, and enlargement. His conclusion is that it is more appropriate to speak of 'Europes' in the plural than a single model emerging.

Europe as a Philosophical Idea

Works on Europe as a strictly philosophical idea are rare. A few notable exceptions in recent times are Derrida (1992), Gadamer (1992), Kristeva (2000) and Patočka (2001).⁶ The English translation of Rémi Brague's *La voie romaine* is a major contribution to the constitution of Europe as an object of philosophical reflection. Originally published in 1992 in response to the Maastricht Treaty, this subtle book can be easily misunderstood. This is an essay about the philosophical essence of Europe and it is Brague's argument that this is to be found not in the *content* of European traditions but in their *form*: the uniquely European is to be found in the nature of the transmission of culture rather than in any specific cultural content. Europe is based on a particular cultural form that transforms that which it takes over but does not have a culture of its own. The essence of Europe is its capacity to transform culture. For Brague, Europe cannot be defined by geography, by politics or by a disembodied Platonic idea. It is not a place or a particular political order. Europe is a variable notion and defined as a particular kind of cultural belonging, which Brague associates with Rome. 'Europe is not only Greek, nor only Hebrew, nor even Greco-Hebraic. It is decidedly Roman' (p. 26). This may sound extraordinary, but Rome for Brague denotes something more European than Greek, Judaic or Islamic modes of belonging because Rome is not European at all in its fundamental nature – 'this culture is not Latin, or European, but foreign' (p. 92).

For Brague, Europe has always defined itself through otherness, a condition that he associates with Rome. 'The Romans have done little more than transmit', he argues (p. 32). Roman culture was based on innovation, commencement, a search for the new. To say that we are Romans is the contrary of identifying ourselves with a great ancestor; it is to recognize that fundamentally we have invented nothing, but simply that we learned how to transmit the cultures of others. Thus what distinguishes Europe is its mode of relating to itself, which is one of distance: 'The distance that separates us from the ancient Greeks is not in principle, less than that which separates us from other modern cultures' (p. 142). Europe constantly has to confront a consciousness of having borrowed everything from sources that can never be regained. Brague associates with Rome a form of cultural translation in which something new is always created in the act of interpretation. In contrast, in Islam, the original content is retained to a greater extent whereas in Europe the origin is always foreign. The ancient world can only be known in its traces. This leads Brague to his thesis that at the heart of the European consciousness is the phenomenon of 'secondarity': Europeanness is based on the act of cultural creation in which all cultural content is never a copy

of an origin. This capacity for self-transformation leads to the interesting insight that Europe does not belong to the Europeans, who do not exist as such. 'Europe is a culture' and cannot be inherited but only created (p.149) is the conclusion Brague reaches.

This is a decidedly deconstructive reading of European culture as already decentred, 'eccentric' and containing alterity within it. Moreover, it reflects a processual and transformative conception of Europe – echoing Renan, 'Europe is a continual plebiscite' (p. 5) – since the political implication, not fully developed by the author, is that Europe is never tied to its origin but can and must constantly recreate itself. To be sure, Brague seeks to tie the idea of secondarity to some notions in Catholic theology, obscuring some of his fascinating ideas and it is indeed arguable that the condition of cultural secondarity needs to be related exclusively to Rome. In more conventional approaches this is often associated with the idea of modernity, as in the work of Blumenberg, who has clearly influenced Brague. But the central thesis that European culture needs to be defined in terms of its form rather than identified with a particular cultural content solves some of the problems of essentialism. It also gives a different twist to the idea of the uniqueness of Europe, since what is claimed is that this consists of the capacity for secondarity. But there is a philosophical slight of hand in the seductive argument that '“Eurocentrism” is a misnomer' on the grounds that 'no culture was never so little centred on itself and so interested in the others as Europe' (pp. 133–4). Notwithstanding this problem which is not adequately addressed, this book offers one of the most important philosophical theorizations of the meaning of Europe.

Conclusion

Chris Rumford makes a point (p. 272) in the conclusion of his book, which brings me back to a claim I began with: as long as we think within the horizons of a particular model of modernity and the specific political order it gave rise to, namely the culturally integrated nation-state, we will not be able to comprehend the current situation. European integration is not – for good or bad – creating an integrated political community, with a unified public space and common citizenry, with shared values, principles and aspirations. In fact, the very term integration is no longer applicable for a process that is bringing about far-reaching social transformation. In reviewing the selected books the aim of the article has been to indicate how current writing on Europe is also part of the reflection on the continued transformation of modernity.

Notes

- 1 See Borneman and Fowler (1997); Bach (2002).
- 2 See also the articles in a special issue of the *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(4) 2002.

- 3 See also an earlier book edited by Str ath (2000).
- 4 For a critique of the concept of collective identity, see Niethammer (2000).
- 5 See Blumenberg (1983) and for a discussion Chapter 2 of Delanty (2000).
- 6 For a discussion of some of the older philosophical works on Europe, see Delanty (1995b) and Delanty (1995a).

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