



Europeanization: An annotated bibliography

Working paper



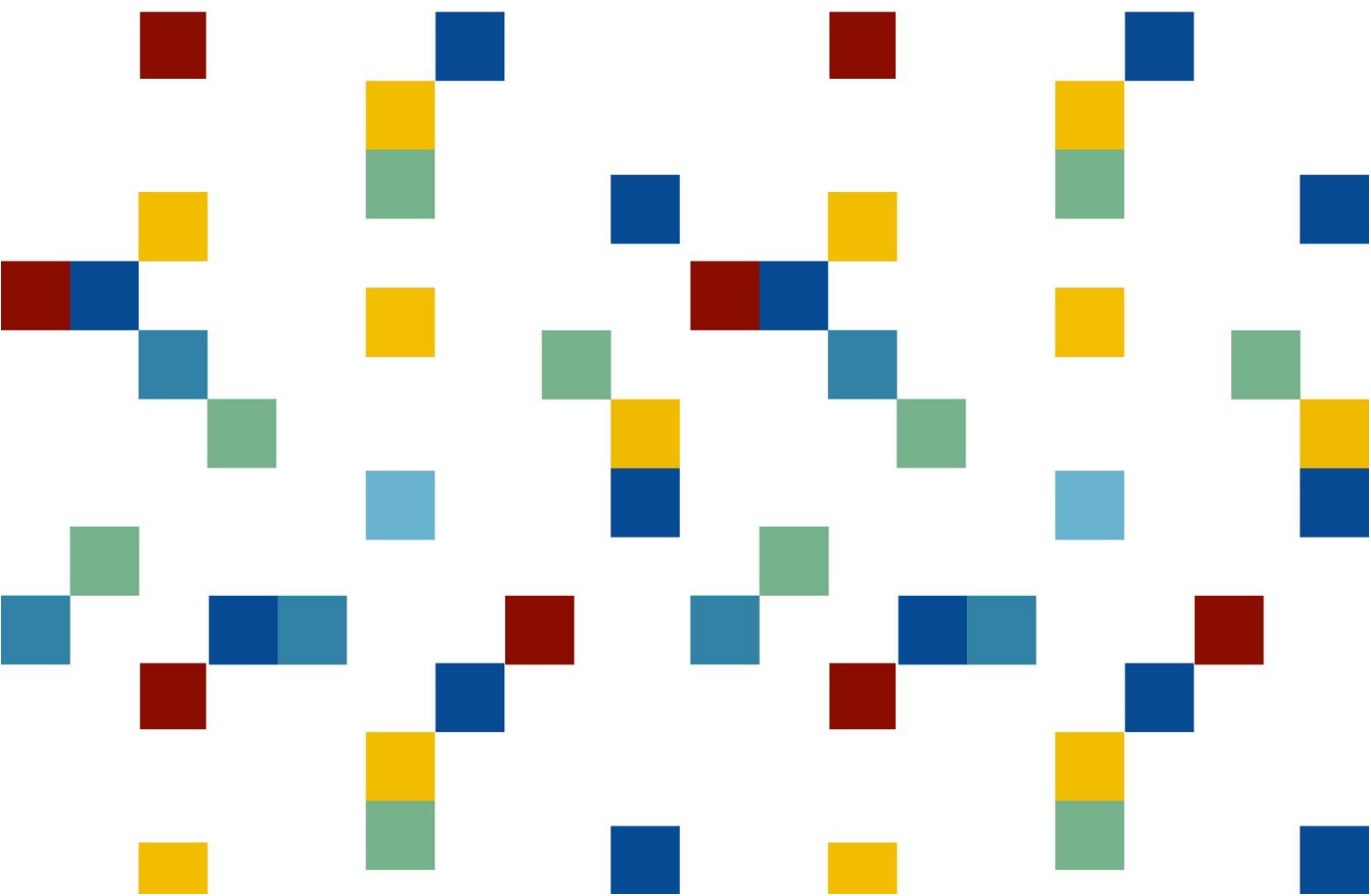
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Being European

<p>> Democratic values and practices</p> <p>(representative democracy)</p>	<p>Habermas, J., & Pinsky, M. (2001). The postnational constellation: Political essays (1st MIT Press ed). MIT Press.</p> <p>“In the national context, of course, it is harder than ever for politics to keep pace with global competition. I see the only normatively satisfactory alternative as a socially and economically effective European Union, constituted along federalist lines an alternative that points to a future cosmopolitan - order sensitive both to difference and to social equality.</p> <p>Only a Europe in which the domestication of violence engages each and every form of society and culture would be immune from the postcolonial relapse into Eurocentrism. And an intercultural discourse on human rights provides the terms in which a truly decentered perspective must prove itself.”</p> <p>(Habermas, 2001, p. xix)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -interdependence; cosmopolitan solidarity -historical perspective on the construction of social welfare states in postwar-Europe -historical perspective and theoretical persp on democratic process in postwar Europe -globalization and democratic processes
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	<p>“The legal concept of self-legislation has to acquire a political dimension: it must be broadened to include the concept of a society capable of democratic mode of self-direction and self-intervention. This is the only way that existing constitutions can be interpreted in terms of the reformist project of the realization of the "just" or "well-ordered" society.” (Habermas, p. 60)</p> <p>-how does globalization affect a) security of the rule of law and the effectiveness of the administrative state, b) the sovereignty of the territorial state, c) collective identity, and d) the democratic legitimacy of the nation-state?</p> <p>EU - postnational constellation</p> <p>-european unification</p> <p>-postnational democracy (p. 88)</p> <p>pp. 102-103 !!!</p> <p>-pan-European political public sphere</p> <p>-cosmopolitan democracy</p> <p>“Within the national sphere the only one that they can currently operate - in they have to reach out toward a European arena of action. And this arena, in turn, has to be programmatically opened up with the dual objective of creating a social Europe that can throw its weight onto the cosmopolitan scale.” (p. 112)</p>
	<p>Blockmans, S. & Russack, S. (2020). Deliberative Democracy in the EU Countering: Populism with</p>



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Participation and Debate. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.

“Building on the notion of increasing social, economic and political interdependence in a multi-layered European Union, we devoted the first book to the question whether a sense of solidarity and European identity could be rescued from the bottom up by empowering citizens to ‘take back control’ of their Union.” (p. 15)

“Our research revealed, among other things, that people’s interest in exploring ‘direct democracy’ has increased as a result of the EU’s polycrisis of recent years – although this trend is far from overwhelming and is even absent in some member states.” (p. 15)

-second book: Europeanisation of representative democracy is rather uneven across the continent

Democracy and Its discontents: European Attitudes to Representative Democracy and Its Alternatives (chapter)

“The data from a number of studies of European and global public opinion also indicate that commitment to democracy varies across Europe and that, in some countries, significant majorities find non-democratic models as desirable alternatives. Public opinion remains rather critical and distrustful of political elites; hence many Europeans tend to support direct democracy mechanisms as a way to keep their elites more accountable. This chapter suggests that increasing Europeans’ commitment to democracy requires twin changes. First, European democratic

	<p>elites should adopt a different language and develop political narratives that would counteract (and not imitate) the populists' divisive narratives.” (p. 37)</p> <p>“The media coverage of European issues is therefore an essential ‘transmission’ factor for the promotion of Europarties. Only the gradual formation of a European public sphere can lead to a genuine Europeanisation of political parties in terms of fulfilling all the functions that their counterparts perform at national level.” (p. 119)</p> <p>“(…) the interactions between national politics and Europarties should not be seen as a zero-sum game. Instead, due to several factors, such as the two-way Europeanisation (the bottomup and top-down effect of Europeanisation), the currently asymmetrical relationship between the national and the transnational level needs to be redressed.” (p. 128)</p>
<p>> Enlightenment values (freedom, human dignity, equality, ...)</p>	<p>Foucault, M. (1984) What is Enlightenment? In P. Rabinow (ed.), The Foucault Reader, New York: Pantheon Books.</p> <p>“We must never forget that the Enlightenment is an event, or a set of events and complex historical processes, that is located at a certain point in the development of European societies.</p> <p>As such, it includes elements of social transformation, types of political institutions, forms of knowledge, projects of rationalization of knowledge and practices, technological mutations that are very difficult to sum up</p>



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	<p>in a word, even if many of these phenomena remain important today.” (p. 43)</p> <p>“Humanism is something entirely different. It is a theme or, rather, a set of themes that have reappeared on several occasions, over time, in European societies; these themes, always tied to value judgments, have obviously varied greatly in their content, as well as in the values they have preserved. Furthermore, they have served as a critical principle of differentiation.” (p. 44)</p>
	<p>Seth, C., & von Kulesa, R. (Eds.). (2017). The Idea of Europe: Enlightenment Perspectives. Open Book Publishers. https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0123</p> <p>-ideas about Europe from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Friederich Schiller -Rousseau -Voltaire -Montesquieu -David Hume -Kant -Victor Hugo etc.
	<p>Anderson, P. (2009). The New Old World. London: Verso.</p>



“Could the Union not be described as the realization of the Enlightenment vision of the virtues of le doux commerce, that 'cure for the most destructive prejudices ' a s Montesquieu described it, pacifying relations between states in a spirit of mutual benefit and the rule of law?” (p. 67)

“For 'at its core, one of the reasons that educated people support the European project is because the European values they espouse are identical with the Enlightenment values that have been a hallmark of educated people for over two hundred years.

Indeed, if Europe stands for anything, it is the completion of the Enlightenment project of democracy, rule of law, respect for the differences of others, and the principles of rational discourse and science'. With ethical guidelines as compelling a s these, why should the Union fear division over mundane questions of relative advantage ? As higher education spreads, more and more young people will study abroad, and 'the best new jobs' in a shifting economy will increasingly be 'in services such as banking, real estate, and insurance', or computer programming, requiring higher skills a n d paying higher salaries . Predictable sociological changes should of themselves create a more unified Europe, imbued more evenly with the values of the Enlightenment.” (pp. 99-100)

“Social similarity-political balance-intellectual emulation cultural supremacy: such was the general syllogism of Europe, in the consensus of the Enlightenment.” (p. 479)



Arts, W. & Halman, L. (2004). European Values at the Turn of the Millennium. <https://brill.com/view/title/11360>

-this book seem to demonstrate that Europe is still far from a homogenous part of the world

-book explores Europe's diversity and homogeneity at the turn of them millenium in terms of fundamental value operations

-the result is the cultural map of Europe capturing diversities and similarities in value profiles of the Europeans

-differences between Eastern and western European societies; despite the process of unification (of EU) it has not resulted in homogenous culture

"Europe is a geographical unit but it is also an area of wide diversity in values and practices and a fascinating variation of social arrangements." (p. 22)

-based on cross-national value research

-major comparative datasets from 1970s

-5 comparative cross-national research projects

-European Values Study (EVS)

<a major empirical study of the moral and social values underlying European social and political institutions and governing conduct. They addressed the following questions>

	<p>– Do Europeans share common values?</p> <p>– Are values changing in Europe and, if so, in what directions?</p> <p>– Do Christian values continue to permeate European life and culture?</p> <p>– Is a coherent alternative meaning system replacing that of Christianity?</p> <p>– What are the implications for the European unification? (p. 10)</p> <p>---</p> <p>“In order to explore the dynamics of values change, a repeat survey was necessary. A second wave of surveys was designed and pretested during the eighties and launched in 1990. The new wave of surveys, however, was designed not only to monitor changes in Europe, but also to compare the value orientations of Western Europeans with the values of people in Central and Eastern European countries.” (p. 11)</p> <p>---</p> <p>“Referring to countries, nations, or states without defining or explaining what features should be taken into account, hardly adds new information to the observation that there appear to be differences and similarities. The problem is, however, that it has hardly been thoroughly examined or theorised what these features are or can be.” (p. 14)</p>
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	<p>Wuthnow, R. (1993). Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.</p> <p>-enlightenment, reformation, marxist socialism = unification processes in Europe</p> <p>-the books studies how these innovation processes were articulated in different societies</p>



	<p>-examining social conditions in which such processes came into being, the book draws distinction between: 1) environmental conditions, 2) institutional contexts, 3) action sequences (p. 6)</p> <p>“It is a study of the ways in which social conditions in each period made cultural innovation possible, of variations in the extent to which each movement (as a carrier of its own distinctive ideology) became institutionalized in different societies, and of the ways in which the resulting ideologies were shaped by and yet succeeded in transcending their specific environments of origin.” (p. 5)</p> <p>“The problem of articulation is particularly enigmatic in the case of discourse that specifically challenges the status quo. The Reformation provides a vivid example. Its success depended on securing the resources necessary to organize a vast social movement. In addition to raising the more obscure points of doctrine that aroused the passions of theologians, it became a social movement that required finances, buildings, training centers, legislation, political patronage, and eventually the sword.” (pp. 3-4)</p> <p>“Its discourse did not occur in a social vacuum: tax systems, property rights, and political regimes were all at stake. Somehow the reformers' ideas won the support of large segments of late medieval society at the same time that these ideas were undermining the very basis of that society.” (p. 4)</p> <p>“The irony is that the Reformation's success required it to articulate with its social environment and to</p>
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disarticulate from this environment at the same time. The Reformation spoke to the needs and longings of men and women living in sixteenth-century towns and villages. It seemed relevant enough to persons in power to gain their protection. It frightened others so deeply that they took up arms to stamp out the new ideas. At the same time, the reformers somehow protected themselves from merely doing the bidding of their supporters. They set the terms of their own debates rather than simply providing legitimation for those in power or for those aspiring to power. Once set in motion, their formulations created the conditions ensuring their own perpetuation. They provided moral meanings that cut across broad segments of European society and outlasted the sixteenth century. Ideas came into being that related to the concrete struggles of the sixteenth century but also dealt with lasting questions of freedom, responsibility, will, faith, righteousness, individual discipline, and civic order. The social scientist who studies the Reformation, therefore, must not only ask about the social conditions that shaped its ideology but also inquire into the reasons why these conditions did not shape it more.” (pp. 5-6)

“An important part of my argument, then, is that the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European socialism were social movements whose development (temporally and geographically) depended on a conjuncture of economic expansion and realignment among ruling elites.” (p. 9)

“In the largest sense, this is an inquiry into the ways in which the growth of capitalism in Europe since the sixteenth century, and the accompanying development



	<p>of political institutions, has shaped the categories in which formal thinking about ourselves has often taken place.” (p. 22)</p>
<p>> Rule of law and human rights</p>	<p>Saltnes, J. D. (2018). The European Union’s human rights policy: is the EU’s use of the human rights clause inconsistent? <i>Global Affairs</i>, vol. 4(2-3), pp. 165-177 DOI: 10.1080/23340460.2018.1535251</p>
	<p>Niemi-Kiesiläinen, J., Peroni, L., & Stoyanova, V. (Eds.). (2020). International law and violence against women: Europe and the Istanbul Convention. Routledge.</p> <p>“The signing of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Istanbul in May 2011 was a significant development in the protection of women against violence and in the development of international law. The Istanbul Convention confirms that States have an obligation to protect women and others against violence.” (p. 1)</p> <p>“International human rights instruments have increasingly addressed gender-stereotypical assumptions of violence and the gendered passiveness of the criminal justice system” (p. 2)</p> <p>“International human rights instruments have increasingly addressed gender-stereotypical assumptions of violence and the gendered passiveness of the criminal justice system” (p. 3)</p>



	<p>-violence against women in international law (pp. 3-6)</p> <p>“The goals of the Convention are ambitious and broad. The main goals are the elimination of violence against women and the protection of women against all forms of violence (Article 1(a)). Since violence against women is seen as a manifestation of unequal power relations between women and men and as discrimination against women, the Convention also aims at eliminating discrimination against women and at empowering women (Article 1(b)). The Convention puts violence against women in the context of inequality between the sexes and urges States to address inequality, cultural patterns and stereotypes on women and men that facilitate violence against women and hamper policies aimed at preventing violence and protecting women (Article 12(1)).” (p. 8)</p> <p>-prevention, protection, support</p> <p>-impact of the Convention in EU</p> <p>-in the last chapter of Part I, Sara De Vido explores the impact of the Istanbul Convention as an interpretative tool at the European level.</p> <p>---</p> <p>“Discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex persons (LGBTI) gained much attention in the so-called “Europeanization of social movements”.³³ For instance, the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), founded in 1978, gained access to the European Union (EU) in the nineties, and managed to get sexual</p>
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	<p>orientation and gender identity issues on the EU agenda.³⁴ These claims gained momentum in 2006, following the adoption of the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, and contributing to the “normalisation” of homosexuality in Europe.” (p. 30)</p>
	<p>Dzehtsiarou, K. (Ed.). (2014). Human rights law in Europe: The influence, overlaps and contradictions of the EU and the ECHR. Routledge.</p> <p>“Over the last decade, the case law of both the Strasbourg and the Luxembourg courts has developed towards greater convergence concerning the protection of fundamental rights. Major institutional changes emphasise a genuine willingness to place the rights of the individual at the centre of political concerns.” (p. xii)</p> <p>“In this respect, the Charter on Fundamental Rights of the European Union (‘CFR’ or ‘the Charter’) certainly shows the way forward by widening the scope of the rights delineated by the European Convention and its Protocols (‘ECHR’ or ‘the Convention’). At the symbolic level, but more importantly at the political and practical levels, the Charter is a solemn commitment to respect, protect, promote and fulfil’ fundamental rights.” (p. xii)</p> <p>“The Charter is a fundamental document that emanates from an autonomous legal order, that of the EU. But the application of the Charter cannot replace external control. This is the role entrusted to the ECtHR. In order to guarantee the ‘effet utile’ of Article 52(3) CFR, according to which the meaning and scope of those</p>



	<p>rights are the same as those laid down by the said Convention and Union law is not prevented from providing more extensive protection, external control is essential. This external control by the Strasbourg Court provides a guarantee against divergent case law, which would be a disaster for the individual holder of rights. Accession is therefore an indispensable tool for the harmonious development of the case law of both European Courts.</p> <p>The Charter and accession are therefore complementary measures. The European Courts (in Strasbourg and in Luxembourg) are working together to ensure improved protection of human rights.</p> <p>This is the global vision for fundamental rights in Europe: a Europe of rights.” (p. xxi)</p>
<p>> Shared histories, narratives, epistemologies, cultural production</p>	<p>Wilson, T. M. (ed.) (2006). Food, Drink and Identity in Europe. New York: Rodopi.</p> <p>-eating and drinking have increasingly been considered by scholars in the humanities and social sciences as constituent elements in the creation and reproduction of local, regional and national cultures and identities in Europe</p> <p>“(…)such approaches are part of the newer scholarship to Europeanization and European integration (which has turned to issues of social identification in its attempt to identify forces that will enhance or hinder the realization of an ever closer union) focus in particular on the consumptive patterns that have shaped some European national histories, that today help to</p>



	<p>constitute changing identity and culture in various localities and nations in Europe, and which have fostered a variety of forms of Europeanization within the context of European integration” (p. 14)</p> <p>---</p> <p>“Europeanization is a term which is increasingly being used by scholars, policy-makers, journalists and many more people in the European Union (EU), to describe processes of becoming more European, in a variety of ways and means. While political scientists and international relations experts concentrate on Europeanization as a process of convergence in political structure and form, sociologists and anthropologists have examined Europeanization and its related identifications with ‘Europe’ as processes which go beyond political and economic adaptations to EU institutions and policies” (p. 16)</p> <p>---</p> <p>-europeanization = movement of ideas, peoples, things which is radically changing various notions of traditional and modern culture and identity, thereby changing the groundwork of local, regional, and national social, economic and political frames of reference</p> <p>-europeanization = not a subversion of local, regional and national identities and cultures, but a supplement or complement</p> <p>-europeanization is a process in the reconfiguration of various identities in Europe, in a manner which</p>
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	<p>contextualizes without supplanting national, regional and local identities (p. 17)</p> <p>---</p> <p>“Europeanization is a form of cross-border and transnational societal interpenetration, a force in the transformation of the state, a discursive and sociocognitive transformation in almost all levels of European societies, and an overall force in the transformation of modernity in Europe” (p. 18)</p>
	<p>Arnold, K., Preston, P. & Kinnebrock, S. (2019). The Handbook of European Communication History. New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell.</p> <p>“(…) Both history and European perspectives had been central to many of the pioneering attempts to theorize and make sense of the rise of the distinctly “modern” social, economic, and political transformations in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. For example, David Hume’s (1741) political essays, including that on “The Liberty of The Press,” were animated by a historical and distinctly European imaginary – in keeping with the fact that a substantial share of his royalty earnings were derived from readers based on the continent” (p. 1)</p> <p>-Hume’s view very ethno- and British-centric</p> <p>-”Yet rather similar historical and European orientations can be found in several subsequent nineteenth-century studies engaging with cross-national and comparative analyses of the evolving forms and practices of</p>



	<p>“democracy,” “public opinion” and the press or (print) media” (p. 2)</p> <p>-Weber, Benjamin, Laswell etc.</p> <p>“The late Enlightenment period was informed and marked by intensified exchanges between the leading intellectuals across Europe. With respect to the leading intellectuals, merchants, and other elites, we may note semblances of a shared cultural and political public sphere from the eighteenth century, especially in the decades leading up to the French Revolution. Indeed, by then, the different nations and peoples were made aware of significant developments and historical moments unfolding in other parts of Europe.” (p. 4)</p> <p>-Durkheim observed a tendency for the formation of common identities in Europe (p. 5)</p> <p>“Ideas and arguments typically associated with concepts such as globalization and (diminishing) “space-time-distanciation” (e.g. Giddens 2002) certainly privileged space over time. But the analysis of many such proponents was marked by a rather impoverished historical understanding of earlier phases and forms of more or less intensified political and economic integration and exchanges, at both European and world levels.” (p. 6)</p> <p>-still defending historical perspective:</p> <p>“There is now much less confidence in the universality or sustainability of the capitalist market and the hegemonic neo-liberal regulatory regime compared to the situation in the 1980s or 1990s. On the other hand,</p>
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new transnational anti-capitalist movements such as Occupy Wall Street or Attac emerged and drew support from mass protests, rather like those, such as Syriza and Podemos, which later manifested in Southern Europe during the 2010–2015 period. Such ground-up developments seemed to clearly signal, in certain subaltern European public spheres at least, that a (re)turn to thinking and debating the meaning of “Europe” along the dimension of time and history was gaining in importance once more. Seemingly new concepts and ideas such as “another Europe is possible” do not merely seek to maintain, but aim to radically reform the inherited path of deeper economic, financial, and political integration within the EU region. They also seek to reach back, appropriate, and remobilize key aspects of the strongly European and internationalist spirit that animated the two most significant social movements of the late nineteenth century: the labor movement (with its trade union and socialist political currents) and the women’s liberation and rights movement (“first wave” modern feminism)” (p. 7)

-cross-national historical studies

“Cross-national studies have provided valuable findings about commonalities and differences in European media structures, public communication, or journalism, but usually they lack historical depth. Variations and convergence cannot be fully understood without looking at longer periods of time in a diachronic perspective and without more structured historical analyses of the emergence and institutionalization of



	<p>specific moments of mediated communication in Europe” (p. 9)</p> <p>“(…)we might say that historical studies of media and communication across different European countries, societal, and cultural settings still remain a young but growing field of studies. However, we are confident that analyses of how mass media, journalism, and public spheres operate as both agents and products of various and complex modernization processes and how these developed in certain geographical and cultural settings are likely to grow and become increasingly important in the coming years.” (p. 11)</p> <p>““Europe” is more than just a geographical region and, as indicated above, it connotes ideas about specific and shared values or realities characterized increasingly by transnational experiences, multiple links, converging (if not truly common) life-styles, institutions, and problems” (p. 11)</p> <p>(p. 11) Looking at prior cross-national studies, we note that several potential categories can be identified and mobilized to form typologies for communication structures or cultures in Europe, for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social class structures and evolving roles/forms of “publics” and public opinion • Forms and extent of the separation of politics from media processes • Development of media markets and/or journalistic professionalism
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- State control and state interventions
- Innovators, adopters, or active appropriations of new (media) technologies, capabilities, or media practices
- Forms, extent and practices of electoral democracy
- Imperial/hegemonic versus subaltern politics/cultures
- Varieties of capitalism typologies
- Egalitarianism vs. stratification, the role of social reform and welfare
- Large and small cultures/societies/nations
- Density of population, rural vs. urban, agrarian vs. industrialized regions
- Extent of individualism vs. communitarianism
- Secularization versus religious belief systems: extent and forms
- Protestant versus Catholic or Orthodox cultural traditions
- Northern vs. Southern Europe: environmentally shaped cultures, ways of life
- Western vs. Eastern Europe: (former) communist and west/liberal countries
- Extent and traditions of multiculturalism, migration, and colonial heritage

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successive hegemonic cities and their core-regions • etc.
	<p>Schlesinger, P. (1992). 'Europeanness' - a new cultural battlefield? Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, 5(2), 11–23.</p> <p>-to analyze national identity in Europe is to aim at moving target (how to deal with change)</p> <p>-easiest is to come up with normative approach: need for democratic forms that permit and guarantee the coexistence of different faiths, cultures, and ethnicities in conditions of mutual respect</p> <p>-minimise the importance of defending frontiers associated with the nationalist project of the nation-state, where one state, one culture, one people is taken to be the norm</p> <p>-how to distinguish between the desirable and possible</p> <p>-to talk about Europe is to enter a field of discursive struggle</p> <p>-the nation-state is a political configuration of modernity</p> <p>“I would suggest that the present salience of national identity in European politics confutes the view that the grand narratives are passé, and that there are no compelling tales of solidarity to tell. Both the emergent nation-states of the old East, and the supranationalising European Community are heavily dependent upon</p>



	<p>convincing us that tales of solidarity within bounded communities are both plausible and desirable.” (p.14)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -old model of national sovereignty will not go, given the reality of global interdependence -collective identities -difficult search for a transcendent unity vs. ethno-nationalist awakening in the former communist bloc and current developments within western Europe -what is European identity = still open question -tendency to reaffirm the principle of the nation-state as a locus of identity and of political control <p>“Europe is simultaneously undergoing processes of centralisation and of fragmentation. These processes pass through the nation-state and are more and more throwing into relief questions of collective identity. Culture is therefore going to be one of the key political battlefields in the 1990s.” (p. 22)</p>
	<p>McKitterick, R. (2008). Charlemagne: Formation of a European Identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Charlemagne, king of the Franks from 768 to 814 promoted Christianity, education and learning -hailed as the father of Europe <p>“(…)there are contemporary or near contemporary representations of the ruler and, on the other, as we</p>



	<p>have seen, Charlemagne has come to symbolize the common roots of European political and legal culture, with an impact on ideology and imagination that can be traced across the 1,200 years since he died” (p. 5)</p>
	<p>Schmale, W. (2010). Processes of Europeanization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Processes resulting in the development of a single European culture can be bundled under the term Europeanization. -The majority of these processes played out over the long-term, but accelerated since the second half of the 18th century. Their effect served to construct coherencies out of diversity. -The major processes of Europeanization often correspond to the core characteristics used to refer to epochs such as the Renaissance, the Baroque age, or the Enlightenment. Minor processes of Europeanization emerge in conjunction with a large number of cultural transfers, which hone a number of cultural assets through transfer, enabling them to fit into a number of different contexts. Many objects, concepts, recipes, drinks, pieces of furniture etc. constituting everyday European life are the results of such processes -The first process of Europeanization was presented by the spread of Roman culture through the expansion of the Imperium Romanum. -Roman cultural imperialism was also of decisive importance in the spread of Christianity, which itself is



	<p>not to be classified as a unitary process of Europeanization</p> <p>-Working within these geographical boundaries, the extent of penetration of these various agents of Europeanization (Romanic, Gothic, Renaissance) increased with each new wave.</p> <p>-The cultural model of the Renaissance introduced a new form of Europeanization.</p> <p>-The dawn of the French Revolution saw a considerable increase in the number of processes of Europeanization</p> <p>-One other agent of Europeanization was (and indeed is) the European historiography. First manifesting itself in the 15th and 16th centuries, the word itself was coined in the 18th century, but has reached a pan-European audience only since then. The conception of a singular European culture was first developed by cultural historians of the Enlightenment, receiving a chronology and being read as the story of uninterrupted progress. Although the latter is no longer a modern research paradigm, European history is written and read in a number of languages across Europe.</p> <p>(pp. 1-6)</p>
	<p>Halle, R. (2014). Europeanization of Cinema: Interzones and Imaginative Communities. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.</p>



-examples primarily from Germany, Poland, Turkey (all three play important roles within the contemporary processes of Europeanization) (p. 187)

“For questions of globalization or specifically of Europeanization, this ideational connecting space is important because it is seldom if ever the case that people experience themselves as European. Europe is not a meta-identity. Europe is a space of transit crisscrossing and connecting A and B. Europe is not experienced” (p. 5)

“Europeanization promotes border-crossings and the proliferation of imaginative communities. Europe, inasmuch as it is a space, is an interzonal terrain.” (p. 10)

“Europeanization is not simply the easy and immediate sublation of the nation state into a broader and more advanced form. It is a different if not alternative imaginative community. This study fundamentally critiques this general assumption found in the discussions of transnationalism, especially those focused on the European Union that understand European transnationalism as supranationalism. Europeanization retains the nation-state and yet unleashes the potential of other forms of social organization to exist in increased significance: the local, regional, global, but also the subcultural, minoritarian, ethnic, migrant, diasporic, exiled, displaced, relocated, nongovernmental. Not just the imagined community, but rather as this study investigates, cinema offers images for various imaginative communities. Unlike print culture, which was bound immediately to linguistic



	<p>and ethnic-national communities, film from its start proved capable of crossing borders and appealing to divergent communities.” (p. 22)</p>
	<p>Lobato, R. (2019). Netflix Nations: The Geography of Digital Distribution. New York: NYUP.</p> <p>-Chapter 5, “Content, Catalogs, and Cultural Imperialism,” focuses on cultural policy debates relating to Netflix catalogs, especially regarding local content, and examines how regulators in the European Union (EU) and Canada are attempting to develop local content policies for over- the- top services. (p. 16)</p> <p>-from national to transnational television - and back (p. 50)</p> <p>-Netflix (both transnational and global)</p> <p>-HBO (transnational but not global) - because it offers its service only in select markets in Latin America, Central Europe and Asia</p> <p>-the history of broadcast television is closely tied to the history of the nation-state, internet distribution something else</p>
	<p>"A Social History of Europe" by H. Kaelble</p> <p>Transnational History of Contemporary Europe</p> <p>General outline:</p> <p>I. Basic Social Constellations</p>



	<p>II. Social Inequalities and Hierarchies</p> <p>III. Society and State</p> <p>-European family</p> <p>-Social mobility</p> <p>-in the first era, between the 1950s and 1960s, differences of income and wealth clearly decreased in most European countries”</p> <p>-the development reversed from the 1970s and 1980s on. The reduced inequality in the distribution of wealth disappeared in most European countries</p> <p>-a decrease in chances to advance socially would have been one of the reasons for the moroseness, pessimism about the future, and growing mistrust of the political and economic elites in Europe from the 1980s and 1990s onward</p> <p>-labor migration to Europe since 1950s</p> <p>-<i>europeanization through (labor) migration</i></p> <p>European Hallmarks:</p> <p>1 The upheaval of Europe, shifting from “a source of global, massive emigration unique within world history [...]” to becoming one of “the most important centers of immigration” (p. 195)</p> <p>2 The juxtaposition of existing territorial minorities with immigrant minorities who lived in cities ... “[this] simultaneously represented older traditional conflicts of</p>
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	<p>nationality that were based on very different grounds” (p. 196)</p> <p>3 US and Europe differed in the regions of origin of migrants LATAM vis a vis Mediterranean, resulting in the indifferent religious makeup of the countries.</p> <p>4 European attitudes to immigration were two faceted: European Union members' commitment to full integration opened the borders of wealthier countries to peripheral countries. Yet, it refused to see itself as a land of immigration with respect of foreigners outside of Europe</p> <p>-chapter 8 The Media and the European Public Sphere</p> <p>-postwar period: emerging of European consciousness</p> <p>-internationalization and europeanization after the 1980s:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) more media privatization 2) internationalization (international media corporations 3) emerging of a European public sphere through media (growing importance of European decision-making, European public sphere on agenda) <p>-chapter 9 - Social movements, Conflicts and Civil Society</p> <p>-the student movement, regional movements, environmental movements</p>
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Rietbergen, P. (2015). Europe: A Cultural History. 3. (edition). New York: Routledge.

-a search for Europe

-Europe - and Europeaness? (preface)

-Max Weber - Vorbemerkung (foreword to a collection of essays *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*)

-European = rationalism

-he ponders those elements of culture that he, and others, felt to be 'typically' European, that on closer inspection also could be considered characteristics of other, non-European cultures and societies and could, therefore, be termed 'universal'

-notions of self and other; essence of Europe (valid science & music and architecture), printed press (he does not relate it to science and to print culture, but to education), European institutions

As Weber argues, it is a professional bureaucracy that 'determines our very existence, the political, technical and science-organizational preconditions of our life, [through] state officials who also carry the most important daily functions of society.' Following his own logic, he then characterizes as typically European the phenomenon of the bureaucratic, rational, legal state. The link to the existence of an elected parliament may not be a logical one for every reader.

-definite danger in Weber's general approach: anachronism, or even a de-historicizing and dehistoricized perspective tending towards a timeless universalism, or Europeanism (justification of the hegemony of the West)

-Europe: old Europe, new Europe, old borders, new borders (p. 22 - in pdf pp.)

“By the twenty-first century, all over geographical Europe, 'nations', mostly imagined communities created, like the Baltic ones, out of older, regional cultures, have to come to terms with institutional Europe: the Europe of the Union, of Brussels and its seemingly endless stream of rules and laws. But they also face another Europe, which terms itself the actual foundation for that very Union: a cultural Europe that, according to many, makes the political, social and economic Europe both logical and viable.” (p. 24)

“There is a Europe beyond the idea and the ideal of it, a Europe forever between old and new borders; a Europe of people who have a shared history, a shared culture that identifies them, and makes them what they are - for, as the French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre wrote: 'je suis mon passe' - I am what my past has made me.” (pp. 27-28)

“If anything, Europe is a political and cultural concept, invented and experienced by an intellectual elite more specifically whenever there was cause to give a more precise definition of the western edge of Eurasia, the earth's largest land mass. When was there cause to give such a definition? Often in a moment or period of



crisis, of confrontation. After all, it is only when self-definition is necessary that people become self reflective and describe their own identity.” (p. 29)

“Europe has been described first, as an asian princess of that name, subsequently, as a Greek demigoddess, and finally as the queen of the world. Europe has been expressed metaphorically in images and words that encode emotions. In short, Europe has been the result of ways of thinking, of ideologies that actively contributed to the creation of realities. Europe has even become an objective geographical concept. Because of all that, Europe now is a more or less strongly felt bond between those living in it. Europe is situated in that area of tension which links dream to deed, thinking to doing. But it has always been and still is an excluding criterion for those who want to distinguish themselves from an outside world as well.” (p. 29)

-the idea of Europe was often voiced: 1) ideal community, 2) a utopia, 3) the instrument of a political elite

-roots of today anti-migration tendencies: Black Monday 1987 (19 October) - the sociopolitical climate hardened and sometimes appallingly racist rhetoric developed obviously geared to isolate the new Europeans - who is European and who is non-European

“Often indiscriminately, all this opprobrium was lumped together under labels such as non-European, non-Christian, Islamic. In an intricate, dangerous way, this



	<p>'populist' discourse got mixed up with the debate about the process of European unification.” (p. 542)</p> <p>-over the past decade, anti-unification and anti-foreign rhetoric is growing (p. 544)</p>
	<p>Motschenbacher, H. (2016). Language, Normativity and Europeanisation: Discursive Evidence from the Eurovision Song Contest. London: Palgrave.</p> <p>-intersectional discourse analysis between National and European)</p> <p>-the centre of attention is not the differences between the nations in the contest but discursive mechanisms that unite them (Europeanisation)</p> <p>-Europeanisation is not distributed equally</p> <p>“(…) the most recent crises affecting the European landscape, that is, the Brexit, Grexit and refugee crises , have revealed quite drastically that what is still missing in this process of Europeanisation is the development of a credible European identity as the basis for cross-European solidarity” (p. 2)</p> <p>“Europeanisation is not equally distributed among social categories, since male , young and well-educated people as well as those with a higher income and socioeconomic status or with left-wing political attitudes show higher European identification rates” (p. 3)</p>



	<p>“National identities are typically conceptualised via certain defining criteria, whereas Europeanisation exhibits a conceptual openness which potentially provides a space for various cultural identities (e.g. heterogeneous national, religious or linguistic identities) and can be characterised as poststructuralist in the sense that it is, to some extent, contextually negotiable what it means to be “European” or to belong to “Europe”.” (p. 4)</p>
	<p>Judt, T. (2005) Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945. New York: Penguin Press.</p> <p>-investigation & interrogation of European pasts - one of the achievements and sources of European unity (the experience of holocaust etc unites us)</p> <p>”Vienna in 1989 was a palimpsest of Europe's complicated, overlapping pasts. In the early years of the twentieth century Vienna was Europe: the fertile, edgy, self-deluding hub of a culture and a civilization on the threshold of apocalypse. Between the wars, reduced from a glorious imperial metropole to the impoverished, shrunken capital of a tiny rump-state, Vienna slid steadily from grace: finishing up as the provincial outpost of a Nazi empire to which most of its citizens swore enthusiastic fealty.” (p. 2)</p> <p>-Vienna for Judt is a good place from which to 'think' Europe</p>



	<p>-Austria embodied all the slightly self-satisfied attributes of post-war western Europe</p> <p>-Vienna = between East and West; remained neutral before joining the EU</p> <p>“Europe's recovery was a 'miracle'. 'Post-national' Europe had learned the bitter lessons of recent history. An irenic, pacific continent had risen, 'Phoenix-like', from the ashes of its murderous—suicidal—past” (p. 5)</p> <p>“World War One destroyed old Europe; World War Two created the conditions for a new Europe.” (p. 6)</p> <p><u>Epilogue - From the House of the Dead: An Essay on Modern European Memory</u></p> <p>-experience of holocaust defines Europeans (it is "our European entry ticket")</p> <p>“Serbia will continue to languish on the European doorstep until its political class takes responsibility for the mass murders and other crimes of the Yugoslav wars. But the reason crimes like these now carry such a political charge—and the reason 'Europe' has invested itself with the responsibility to make sure that attention is paid to them and to define 'Europeans' as people who do pay attention to them— is because they are partial instances (in this case before and after the fact respectively) of the crime: the attempt by one group of Europeans to exterminate every member of another group of Europeans, here on European soil, within still living memory” (p. 804)</p>
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	<p>“The Western solution to the problem of Europe's troublesome memories has been to fix them, quite literally, in stone.” (p. 826)</p> <p>“All the same, the rigorous investigation and interrogation of Europe's competing pasts—and the place occupied by those pasts in Europeans' collective sense of themselves—has been one of the unsung achievements and sources of European unity in recent decades.” (p. 830)</p>
	<p>Bergfelder, T. (2005). National, transnational or supranational cinema? Rethinking European film studies. Media, Culture & Society, 27(3), 315–331. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443705051746</p> <p>-what has been striking is how little impact the supranational implication of the term ‘European’ has had on theoretical frameworks and methodologies in the area of European cinema</p> <p>-in most cases research into European cinema still equals research into discrete national cinemas</p> <p>-between national and supranational, the study of European cinema can be seen to mirror the central debate of the European project more generally (namely to negotiate and reconcile the desires for cultural specificity and national identity with the larger ideal of a supranational community</p> <p>-the article puts an emphasis on transnational interaction and cross-cultural reception</p>



	<p>-academic discussion of European cinema has over the last 15 years centred on three major issues: the problematization of the term 'Europe', the question of national and cultural identity, and the question of cultural distinctions and hierarchies between high and low (or popular) culture (p. 316)</p> <p>-in constantly changing Europea, and in a global media landscape, the notion of European cinema offers possible framework of cultural or industrial interaction</p> <p>-European cinema = more than the sum total of separate and divergent national film styles (p. 329)</p> <p>“Like the European idea on a larger scale, European cinema as a concept is defined by the simultaneous agencies of dispersal and recentring, which perpetually challenge easy solutions to the questions of identity and ‘home’.” (p. 329)</p>
	<p>Delanty, G. (1995). Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality. London: Macmillan.</p> <p>-post-national citizenship</p> <p>-every age reinvented the idea of Europe in the mirror of its own identity-Europe is a cultural construction, no self-evident entity (it is an idea as much as a reality)</p> <p>-European idea expresses our culture’s struggle with its contradictions and conflicts</p> <p>“With respect to the notion of 'European unity' I shall be arguing that the critical and self-examining traditions in</p>



	<p>European culture have in fact rarely appealed to the idea of unity as their normative standpoint - the exception here being anti-fascist resistance” (p.2)</p> <p>-the idea of Europe has been more connected to the state tradition and elite cultures than with the politics of civil society</p> <p>---</p> <p>“To speak of Europe as an 'invention' is to stress the ways in which it has been constructed in a historical process; it is to emphasise that Europe is less the subject of history than its product and what we call Europe is, in fact, a historically fabricated reality of ever-changing forms and dynamics” (p. 3)</p> <p>“The sociological concept of a 'discourse' can help to explain this: Europe cannot be reduced to an idea, an identity or a reality since it itself is a structuring force. What is real is the discourse in which ideas and identities are formed and historical realities constituted” (p. 3)</p> <p>“The Europe (between idea, identity and reality) is like a football game "The ball is Europe, the players the identity projects and the pitch the geo-political reality on which the game, in this instance the discourse, is played. (...) The European idea is quite simply a political football.” (p. 4)</p> <p>-the project of Europeanism & post-national citizen</p> <p>“Since a collective European identity cannot be built on language, religion or nationality without major divisions</p>
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	<p>and conflicts emerging, citizenship may be a possible option. Given the obsolescence of the Cold War idea of Europe, there is now a greater need than ever before for a new definition of Europeanism that does not exclude the stranger.” (p. 15)</p>
<p>> Shared capitalism</p>	<p>Schmidt, V. A. (2002). The futures of European Capitalism. New York: Oxford University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the challenges of globalization and europeanization -globalization vs europeanization (primarily as sets of economic pressures) -globalization: set of economic, institutional, ideational forces (governments have given up significant amounts of national autonomy) <p>“The loss of national autonomy as well as of control in consequence of global forces and institutions, however, differs in relationship to how much countries share in the decisions of supranational authorities and feel the effects of their control” (p. 14)</p> <p>“As a set of economic pressures, Europeanization has acted both as a conduit for global forces and as a shield against them, opening member states to international competition in the capital and product markets at the same time as they protect them through monetary integration and the Single Market. As a set of institutional pressures, the European Union has gone way beyond any other international or regional economic authority with regard to the vast array of rules and rulings affecting its member states. And as a set of</p>



	<p>ideas, European integration has been driven by a common political project for economic liberalization which has been much more compelling than that of any other regional grouping of countries in the world, and which has served as a complement to the liberalizing ideas related to globalization.” (p. 14)</p> <p>“How, then, does one characterize the future of European capitalism? Not as one future but as several, with European countries pursuing different pathways to adjustment in response to the pressures of globalization and European integration. Instead of convergence, we do better to talk of European countries going in the same liberalizing direction, but making different policy choices within the more restricted range available; of moving towards greater market orientation while continuing to conform to three national varieties of capitalism, even if sectors and regions may become more salient in an increasingly integrated European economy; and of persisting with different culturally and historically rooted discourses that serve for better or for worse to generate and legitimize the liberalizing changes in policies and market-oriented changes in practices.” (pp. 309-310)</p>
	<p>Menz, G. (2008). Varieties of Capitalism and Europeanization: National Response Strategies to the Single European Market.</p> <p>-Europeanization: top-down and bottom-up</p> <p>-impact of Europeanization, and the way in which a sample of diverse organized European varieties of capitalism may respond to and cope with top-down EU-</p>



	<p>led economic liberalization by devising national response strategies</p> <p>“Scholarly attention has recently shifted from the earlier focus on ‘bottom-up’ Europeanization, involving the shift of decision-making power to the EU, towards the examination of the ‘top-down’ implications and effects of Europeanization on the member states (He´ritier et al. 1996; Schmidt 1996b; He´ritier et al. 2001; Knill 2001; Borzel 2002; Featherstone and Radaelli 2003).” (p. 24)</p> <p>-earlier approaches: 1) functionalist, 2) liberal intergovernmentalist perspective, or 3) institutional approach</p> <p>-more recent analytical endeavor sought to clarify the implications of the 'central penetration of national systems of governance' (p. 24)</p> <p>-the internalization of Europe proceeds not only through implementation and adaptation processes, but also through ways in which the institutional rules of the game are affected at the national level (p. 24)</p> <p>-the study focuses on the top-down impact of Europeanization and its bottom-up regulation</p> <p>-the chapter explores the dynamics of Europeanization and its implications for various systems of organized politico-economic governance throughout the Europe</p> <p>-sketch of the systems in Nordic countries, France, Germany, Netherlands etc.</p>
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Jacobsen, J. K. S. (2003). The Tourist Bubble and the Europeanisation of Holiday Travel. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 1(1), 71–87.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14766820308668160>

-The focus is on the idea of 'travelling parochialism', i.e. whether large proportions of contemporary international holidaymakers and other travellers on their tours within Europe adopt some kind of furtherance of a home-like culture

-the idea of the 'tourist bubble' understood here as a territorial and functional differentiation and as an expectation of holidaymakers going abroad

-the study analyses the extent to which the notion of the tourist bubble is still beneficial in comprehending significant aspects of inter-European holiday travel in relation to current discourses of internationalisation, Europeanisation and cosmopolitanism (p. 71)

-international tourism described as "utopia of difference" (van den Abbeele, 1980: 8)

-Europeanisation is regarded as an orchestration of diverse and international relations rather than unidirectionality and homogenisation

-Moreover, Europeanisation may be seen as the reorganisation of territory. Europeanisation is here conceived of as internationalisation processes within or emerging from Europe, including propensities towards a practical unification of Europe and other parts of the



	<p>globe with many European visitors and/or considerable European influence.</p> <p>-In a tourism research context, Europeanisation encompasses facets of de-differentiation and disembedding of tourism-associated services, predominantly related to interlinkages between the parts of civil society. (p. 74)</p>
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Becoming (more) European

<p>> Increased European governance & policies</p>	<p>Wallace, H, Pollack, M. A. & Young, A. R. (2015). Policy-making in the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>-intergovernmentalism > supranationalism</p> <p>-new transnational modes are emerging</p> <p>-Theories of European Integration (pp. 15-25):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) neo-functionalism 2) intergovernmentalism 3) liberal intergovernmentalism 4) the new institutionalism in rational choice 5) constructivism 6) integration theory today <p>-the EU policy process is based on west European experience</p> <p>-the west European experience, in which the EU is embedded, is one of which dense multilateralism is a strong feature (p. 5)</p> <p>“Until 2004 the member countries of the EU, and its various precursors, were west European countries with</p>
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market economies and liberal democratic polities, even though some, notably Greece, Portugal, and Spain, had moved quite swiftly from authoritarian regimes to EU membership in the 1980s, and from 1991 Germany included as new Länder what had been the German Democratic Republic under a communist regime. It is not our contention that these countries are all neatly fitted into a single political and economic mould, but nonetheless they have some strong shared characteristics which permeate the EU policy process.” (p. 5)

“The EU constitutes a particularly intense form of multilateralism, but western Europe constituted a region of countries with an apparent predisposition to engage in cross-border regime building. In part this relates to specific features of history and geography, but it seems also to be connected to a political culture of investing in institutionalized cooperation with neighbours and partners, at least in the period since the second world war. This is part of the reason why transnational policy development has become more structured and more iterative than in most other regions of the world” (p. 5)

“The EU has, since its inception, been active in a rather wide array of policy domains, and indeed has over the decades extended its policy scope. Most international or transnational regimes are more one-dimensional” (p. 6)

“Moreover, the same EU institutions, and the same national policy-makers, have different characteristics, exhibit different patterns of behaviour, and produce



	<p>different kinds of outcome, depending on the policy domain and depending on the period. Thus, as we shall see, there is no single and catch-all way of capturing the essence of EU policy-making. All generalizations need to be nuanced” (p. 6)</p> <p>-Five variants of the EU policy process:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) a traditional Community method 2) the EU regulatory mode 3) the EU distributional mode 4) policy coordination 5) intensive transgovernmentalism
	<p>Featherstone, F., Papadimitriou, D. (2008). The Limits of Europeanization Reform Capacity and Policy Conflict in Greece. London: Palgrave.</p> <p>“Europeanization represents a seemingly pervasive but variable intrusion of an external dimension into domestic systems. The dividing line between the EU and domestic politics is thus blurred.” (p. 1)</p> <p>“‘Europeanization’ testifies to the capabilities of the EU. It is not only a matter of how the EU impacts on domestic systems – setting laws, creating obligations – but also of how national governments seek to shape the agenda of the EU as a whole, inserting their interests and preferences into common policies and understandings.” (p. 1)</p>



	<p>-two-way relationship: ideas and pressures flow in both directions, shaping the politics and economics of each other. Indeed, the relationship takes on further interest</p> <p>-the limits of Europeanization process analyzed on the example of Greek political system</p> <p>“The state administration is weak in implementing and upholding EU commitments. Within government and between government and other domestic actors there is a political struggle over the adaptation to EU policies, especially where there are distributional issues involved. More widely, there is a cultural resistance concerning national identity, traditions, and habits. To some extent this is a matter of cultural pride in the Greek ‘way’ and is based on distinct social values of heritage, reciprocity, and loyalty. Resistance involves both sectional interests and cultural choice.” (p.9)</p>
	<p>Trondal, J. (2010). An Emergent European Executive Order.</p> <p>-RQs:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. If a European Executive Order is emerging, how can we identify it empirically? 2. If a European Executive Order is emerging, how can we explore its core dynamics by explaining <p>-It is suggested that the European Executive Order transforms an inherent Westphalian order to the extent that an intergovernmental dynamic is supplemented by different mixes of supranational, departmental, and/or</p>

epistemic dynamics. In summary, the transformation of executive orders in Europe implies that the mix of mismatching dynamics is rebalanced towards the latter three (Lieberman 2002). A system transformation is assumed to profoundly affect executive politics by rebalancing decision-making processes, refocusing adherence to organizational goals, shifting executive powers, and ultimately changing policy outcomes (p. 2)

-the book also theoretically explores the conditions under which different combinations of decision-making dynamics gain prominence

-organizational theory: a powerful tool for approaching emergent European Executive Order

(p. 5) - an emergent European Executive Order is multidimensional and lives with inherent tensions between at least four decision-making dynamics. This list is not exhaustive, but suggests the key dynamics of an emergent European Executive Order:

1. Intergovernmental dynamic
2. Supranational dynamic
3. Departmental dynamic
4. Epistemic dynamic

“European Executive Order is not neutral tool used by member governments to fulfill prefixed preferences, it is also a Weberian rule-driven Order, an epistemic community of professional experts, and a socializing



	<p>Order that transforms nationally oriented officialt into community-minded supranational officials” (p. 5)</p> <p>“EU-level agencies are increasingly seen as multilevel network administrations that contribute to a subsequent Europeanization of domestic agencies.” (p. 21)</p>
	<p>Brand, A & Niemann, A. (2007). Europeanisation in the societal/trans-national realm: What European Integration Studies can get out of analysing football.</p> <p>-Most studies have emphasised top-down dynamics inherent in this particular notion of Europeanisation, whereas bottom-up and/or transnational processes and attempts to analyse their interplay have entered the debate only recently</p> <p>-the study contributes to this debate by focusing on what we describe as the ‘societal/trans-national’ dimension of Europeanisation: this dimension encapsulates (1) the level and sphere of change; and (2) the type of agency generating or resisting change (p. 2)</p> <p>-analysis of the impact of European-level governance - the case law of European Court of Justice and the Community’s competences in the area of competition policy - on German football</p> <p>-----</p> <p>“As a starting point, Europeanisation is understood here as the process of change in the domestic arena</p>



	<p>resulting from the European level of governance. However, Europeanisation is not viewed as a unidirectional but as a two-way-process which develops both top-down and bottom-up. Top-down perspectives largely emphasise vertical developments from the European to the domestic level (Ladrech 1994, Schmidt 2002). Bottom-up accounts stress the national influence concerning European level developments (which in turn feeds back into the domestic realm).</p> <p>This perspective highlights that Member States are more than passive receivers of European-level pressures. They may shape policies and institutions on the European level to which they have to adjust at a later stage (Börzel 2002). By referring to Europeanisation as a two way process our conceptualisation underlines the interdependence between the European and domestic levels for an explanation of Europeanisation (processes).” (p. 4)</p>
	<p>Featherstone, K., Radaelli, C. M. (Eds.). (2003). The Politics of Europeanization. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -europeanization of public policy -europeanization of national administrative systems -europeanization as interpretation, translation, and public policies -europeanization as convergence



	<p>-europeanization and organizational change in national trade associations</p> <p>-differentiated europeanizaation (large and small firms in the EU policy process)</p> <p>-europeanization goes east</p> <p>“Europeanization' has little value if it merely repeats an existing notion. It is not a simple synonym for European regional integration or even convergence, though it does overlap with aspects of both. As a term for the social sciences, it can range over history, culture, politics, society, and economics. It is a process of structural change, variously affecting actors and institutions, ideas and interests. In a maximalist sense, the structural change that it entails must fundamentally be of a phenomenon exhibiting similar attributes to those that predominate in, or are closely identified with, 'Europe'. Minimally, 'Europeanization' involves a response to the policies of the European Union (EU). Significantly, even in the latter context, the scope of 'Europeanization' is broad, stretching across existing member states and applicant states, as the EU's weight across the continent grows.” (p. 3)</p> <p><u>Europeanization as:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) historic phenomenon 2) transnational cultural diffusion 3) institutional adaptation
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	<p><u>Europeanization as an analytical tool focus stresses key changes in contemporary politics:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -adaptation of institutional settings in the broadest sense at different political levels in response to the dynamics of integration -role of the pre accession process in the continued democratization and 'marketization' of central Europe -emergence of new, cross-national policy networks and communities -nature of policy mimicry and transfer between states and subnational authorities -shifts in cognition, discourse, and identity affecting policy in response to European developments -restructuring of the strategic opportunities available to domestic actors, as EU commitments, having a differential impact on such actors, may serve as a source of leverage (pp. 19-20) -key pp. 19-20 for theorizing europeanization !!!
	<p>Carlson, S., Eig Müller, M., & Lueg, K. (2018). Education, Europeanization and Europe's social integration. An introduction. Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, 31(4), 395–405. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2018.1550388</p> <p>-“Europeanization” which either denotes national changes towards European standards and compliance</p>



	<p>with a supranational entity (Olsen 2002; Radaelli 2003) or relates to the socio-structural foundations of European integration and its societal consequences (Favell and Guiraudon 2009) (p. 395)</p> <p>-European spirit = education (p. 396 - list of initiatives on national and European level)</p> <p>“All of these actions aim to strengthen the “European dimension” in education and thus to bolster its Europeanization. Simultaneously, this aim is linked to the idea that a Europeanized education will provide a “common ground” for all members of the European population, be it in terms of language skills, shared values, mutual understanding, or a shared sense of the past.” (p. 396)</p> <p>“The Europeanization of education is perceived as contributing fundamentally to Europe’s social integration” (p. 396)</p>
	<p>Hudson, R. (2000). One Europe or Many? Reflections on becoming European. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 25(4), 409–426. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-2754.2000.00409.x</p> <p>-As both supra-nationalism and the emergence of an EU ‘super-state’ and sub-nationalisms challenged the authority of the national state, new multi-scalar complex systems of governance and regulation resulted.</p> <p>-singular or plural identities?</p>



-the future map of Europe will not be determined by Europeans alone

-the legacies of the division within Europe between NATO, the Warsaw Pact and neutral states and implications of the neo-imperialist geo-political ambitions of the USA state and military-industrial complex issues

What criteria are being deployed to define Europe, Europeans and Europeanness?

Where are the boundaries of Europe, both internal and external? Put another way, where is Europe?

-questions of singular and multiple identities are explored

-processes of defining Europe, specifying its boundaries and of becoming European are complex, contested and contradictory (p.422)

“One model for the future would in many ways seek to mimic the USA as a neo-liberal economy and society. It would centre on a singular imagination of Europe, with economy, polity and civil society re-territorialized at the scale of the EU, and with a common and singular European identity and identifiable singular European interests. In this case, the democratic deficit within the EU might be removed via concentrating power at EU scale in a much stronger and sovereign directly elected European Parliament. On the global stage, Europe re-constituted on these lines might well sit alongside the



neo-liberal military-industrial and Wall Street-Treasury complexes of the USA.” (p. 423)

“An alternative future of Europe encompasses a complex mosaic of governance and regulatory processes at local/regional, national and supra-national scales but with direct and transparent democratic accountability at each level. In this case, a closer and more transparent matching of powers, responsibilities and accountabilities at each scale might narrow the democratic deficit. The issue of accountability would be further complicated, however, as this alternative would also embrace complex, multiple and fluid hybrid identities, involving both territorial and territorial dimensions. The latter might raise new issues of democratic deficit. Such a vision of internal diversity and variability would sit uneasily alongside a vision of Europe as a powerful global actor for this would be a Europe in which it would be difficult to pin down a singular and unified European interest. As such, it might well eschew seeking to play a global role that echoed the USA.” (p. 423)

-in conclusion, it suggests a new model of EU citizenship based upon post-national rights in the EU

“A strong post-national EU state is thus a necessary precondition for and guarantor of diversity of culture, economy and lifestyle rather than an alternative to it. The EU could therefore change its policies and vision in innovative and progressive ways. It could promote socio-economic diversity and an imagination of Europe that celebrates and supports polyvocal societies and multiple participation within a Europe of complex



	<p>geographies of identities, a Europe of people with shifting, hybrid and multiple identities which will include a progressive European dimension.” (p. 423)</p>
<p>> Harmonisation of national politics</p>	<p>Waever, O., Buzan, B., Kelstrup, M. & Lemaitre, P. (1993). Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe. London: Pinter Publishers Ltd.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Europe and its nations: political and cultural identities (pp. 61-91) -relevance of the concept of societal security in the analysis of present and future security problems in Europe -tracing problems arising for ethnonational (or other important) communities because of developments at the political level, or arise at the political level because of developments with regard to societal security -nation: combination of cultural and political identity -particular concert: with the process of Europeanisation (stronger and more comprehensive sense of European political community) -Europeanisation might be a possible threat to societal security, but also further Europeanisation might be a response to societal insecurity -Europeanisation - the development of a 'sense of community' (probably, but not necessarily related to political institutions at the European level)



	<p>-p. 62: The meanings of Europeanisation</p> <p>-no fixed meaning, can be used in different ways, for instance to designate:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1)development of European pillar in NATO 2)the development of Europe or Western Europe as an independent 'third force' 3)growing importance of all-European cooperation 4)the expectation that the Europe will be more self-reliant <p>4.1) in technical terms: that superpower overlay is lifted, which implies the possibility of the re-emergence of a European security complex</p> <p>5)the formation of a state-like European Union, connecting that process to the process of European integration</p> <p>6)the development at the individual level in Europe of people seeing themselves as Europeans</p>
	<p>Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. British Journal of Political Science, 39(1), 1–23.</p> <p>https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123408000409</p>



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	<p>-article outlines a research programme that seeks to make sense of new developments in the politics of the EU</p> <p>-multi-level governance approach to European integration</p> <p>“Multi-level governance conceives regional integration as part of a more general phenomenon, the articulation of authority across jurisdictions at diverse scales.” (p. 2)</p> <p>-detected direct connections between domestic groups and European actors that contradicted the claim that states monopolize the representation of the citizens in international relation</p> <p>-analysing how domestic patterns of conflict across the EU constrain the course of European integration</p> <p>“Domestic and European politics have become more tightly coupled as governments have become responsive to public pressures on European integration” (p.2)</p> <p>-theory of regional integration</p> <p>“We claim that identity is decisive for multi-level governance in general, and for regional integration in particular. The reason for this derives from the nature of governance.” (p. 2)</p> <p>“Governance has two entirely different purposes. Governance is a means to achieve collective benefits by coordinating human activity. Given the variety of</p>
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public goods and their varying externalities, efficient governance will be multi-level. But governance is also an expression of community. Citizens care – passionately – about who exercises authority over them. The challenge for a theory of multi-level governance is that the functional need for human cooperation rarely coincides with the territorial scope of community. Communities demand self rule, and the preference for self rule is almost always inconsistent with the functional demand for regional authority. To understand European integration we need, therefore, to understand how, and when, identity is mobilized.” (p. 2)

-post-functionalist because the term reflects an agnostic detachment about whether the jurisdictions that humans create rare, or are not, efficient

“We argue that strong territorial identity is consistent with both support and opposition to regional integration; what matters is the extent to which identity is exclusive and whether it is cued by Eurosceptic political parties. We have reason to believe that identity is more influential (a) for the general public than for cognitively sophisticated individuals or functional interest groups, (b) for populist tan parties than for radical left parties, and (c) when regional integration is political as well as economic.” (p. 21)

“Conflict over Europe is ideologically structured. Party government does not exist at the European level, but partisanship is influential in national responses to Europe and in European institutions. It is important to distinguish between rhetoric and reality when



	<p>examining where national government's stand on Europe.” (p. 22)</p> <p>“We have argued that the European Union is part of a system of multi-level governance which is driven by identity politics as well as by functional and distributional pressures. Conceptions of the political community are logically prior to decisions about regime form.” (p. 23)</p>
	<p>Conway, M., Patel, K. (Eds.) (2010) Europeanization in the Twentieth Century</p> <p>Historical Approaches</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -europeanization: transnational entity (could be examined in historical and geographical terms) -the role of international organizations in defining Europe (governance, finance, economic production, norms ,ideas, institutions) -Europeanization in History: An Introduction -europeanization as 'growth' industry -since the early 1990s, Europeanization has been often associated with new forms of European governance and the adaptation of nation-state legal and administrative procedures to the pressures associated with EU membership -primarily the term used in law and political science



-to what extent the history of Europe can be conceptualized in terms of processes of Europeanization (task for historians)

-this volume is the first step towards the application of the idea of Europeanization to the history of the 20th-century Europe

“Europeanization in the twentieth century is not a fact (and still less a cause), but rather a thesis which needs to be tested against the history of the century” (p. 2)

“(…) it provides a means of linking together what are often tacitly regarded as the self-contained sub-periods of the twentieth century (inter-war, post-war, the 1960s, etc.) in order to investigate changes that took place over longer or less defined time periods” (p. 2)

“Europeanization has the advantage of bringing together those working on different areas of history: Europeanization may indeed be inherently multi-disciplinary but it also emphatically crosses the boundaries between the fields of political, economic, social and cultural history, suggesting a more integrated approach to processes of historical change” (p. 2)

3 theses on Europeanization:

1. Europeanization is not a uniform, unidirectional and teleological process.

2. Europeanization has no fixed geographical boundaries.



	3. Europeanization is not just about Europe.
	Olsen, J. P. (2010). Governing through Institutional Building: Institutional Theory and Recent European Experiments in Democratic Organization. Oxford: OUP.
	<p>Alecu de Flers, N, Müller, P. (2010). APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF EUROPEANIZATION TO THE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY: DIMENSIONS AND MECHANISMS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Europeanization concept used for the study of foreign policy -interplay between top-down and bottom-up dynamics between the EU and national levels (previously isolated phenomena) -Europeanization concept contributes to a better understanding of the complex nature of European foreign policy-making -the literature review of the literature on Europeanization in the foreign policy realm -central to top-down Europeanization is the 'goodness of fit' (not suitable for the study of foreign policy) <p>"Europeanization is not a theory but rather a conceptual framework that draws on a range of theoretical and</p>



explanatory schemes, and Europeanization studies are often couched in both rationalist and constructivist perspectives (Featherstone 2003, p12)” (p. 5)

-a growing consensus that the Europeanization of foreign policy is best understood as an interactive process of change linking the national and EU levels (Juncos and Pomorska 2006; Major 2005; Wong 2006, 2007)

-as Member States together initiate and shape the policies to which they later adapt, the two dimensions are linked in practice and Europeanization may also take place during, and even before, the process of sectoral integration on the EU level

-table 1 !!!

!Distinguishing between dimensions (uploading and downloading), outcomes (national projection and foreign policy adaptation) and especially mechanisms of Europeanization (socialization and learning), we have attempted to better capture the complex dynamics of the Europeanization of foreign policy, which differ in important ways from areas of hierarchical governance located in the EU's first pillar. Very importantly, Europeanization processes in the foreign policy area are more voluntary and less hierarchical in nature.! (p. 18)

-the central added value of studying European foreign policy through the lens of Europeanization lies in the fact that Europeanization concepts shift the attention to the interactions between the national and EU level

Whetten, L. L. (1970). Recent Changes in East European Approaches to European Security. The World Today, 26(7), 277–288.

Post-war West-East efforts to create common European security.

((national - European security))

- summary of such proposals
- history of diplomatic exchanges

“A persisting handicap for the Pact members was their inability to agree on the purpose of a regional collective security arrangement. Was such a plan to increase East-West understanding, stimulate rapport and co-operation, facilitate closing the technological gap, sponsor political détente, consolidate the status quo, expand the appeal of neutrality, insure international recognition of vital interests, outline military disengagement, encourage NATO’s dissolution, curtail American leadership or disarm and incapacitate the Federal Republic? All of the above have been cited by various Pact members as a just cause for an international conference; together, however, they are self-defeating. Pursuing their varying national interests, the Easter regimes also have been unable to agree on appropriate tactics. Should a conference inaugurate or



culminate security negotiations? Should the North Americans be included in the negotiations, and if so, when? What weight should be allotted to neutral opinion? Would a conference be desirable if West Germany afforded only de facto recognition of East Germany?

If one pact will not be dismantled without concrete evidence that the other is doing likewise, what credence and verification procedures are compatible with security requirements? Are unilateral steps toward disengagement feasible or prudent? What institutional and legal structures should replace existing ones? Is the return to the Postdam Agreement and all its anachronisms, as some advocate, either feasible or desirable? What is the future of the small States in a Europeanized Europe? Will a Europeanized Europe inherently be more or less stable than the existing division with its established checks? If less, what improvisations are plausible before Europe is Europeanized, through either settlement or American lack of interest? From the Western viewpoint the inability of the East to establish a common position on such fundamental concepts and tactics has undermined the credibility of the East's proposals, and this, in turn, has prompted additional modifications or has further postponed decisions."

(Whetten, 1970, pp. 286-287)

	<p>Campion, E. J. (2014). The Politics of Becoming European: A Study of Polish and Baltic Post-Cold War Security Imaginaries. <i>The European Legacy</i>, 19(1), 100–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2013.858867</p>
> Increased European legislation	<p>Featherstone, K., Radaelli, C. M. (Eds.). (2003). <i>The Politics of Europeanization</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p>
	<p>The Europeanisation of Law: The Legal Effects of European Integration. (2000). Hart Publishing. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472562142</p> <p>-what have been the principal legal effects of European integration?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the effects of European integration on certain fields of national law, such as constitutional law, administrative law, labour law, or private law, and • the elaboration of European Union law so as to provide a new framework for or sometimes even replace national laws, • the more piecemeal development of specific legal strands of EU law which have become intertwined with national or international laws in practice, • the indirect and sometimes unintended consequences of European integration with regard to national, EU, or international law.



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	<p>-the Europeanisation of law has provoked a number of unintended or unforeseen consequences, such as new divergences among national legal systems, an incredibly complex EU legal system, a deep crisis of legitimacy and values, and the creation of contradictory norms and processes which tend to undercut Europeanisation itself (p. 4)</p> <p>-further reflection on the constitutional aspects of Europeanisation, that is, Europeanisation as a process of constitutionalisation, and notably on the basic values involved in Europeanisation and on the nature of the EU as a legal system and as polity (p. 9)</p> <p>-the Europeanisation of law stimulates certain types of economic relationships that tend to undercut the process of EU constitution-building (Francis Snyder’s chapter)</p>
<p>> Increased narratives about Europe</p>	<p>Sassatelli, M. (2009). Becoming Europeans. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230250437</p> <p>-Europeanization: from integration to identity</p> <p>-unity in diversity</p> <p>-Europeanization, a term that strives to be more inclusive and less biased than European integration itself</p> <p>-the book concentrates on European institutions because it is about explicit institutional attempts at creating (or ‘reawakening’) a sense of European</p>



	<p>belonging or identity, as a prominent example of institutional identity building and forms of resistance to it in today's conditions</p> <p>-it considers wider cultural ideas of Europe</p> <p>-the book focuses on the academic and institutional debate on European cultural identity</p> <p>-European cultural space & identity;</p> <p>“European cultural identity: both collective and individual, as it contains the two dimensions in which the process of social construction of reality crystallizes: objectified shared (public and collective) understandings of what it means, in this case, to be European, and forms of individual self-understanding, developed through interiorization (and exteriorization) of those meanings and necessary to the latter's (re)production” (p. 5)</p> <p>“Europeanization exists, not because of any mysterious virtues – or of ‘Europeanness’ – but due to the material and cultural conditions from which it emerges, a process with shifting boundaries and contents, and with no mainstream agency able to totally create, substantiate and impose a monolithic narrative or practice” (p. 69)</p>
	<p>Olsen, J. P. (2002). The Many Faces of Europeanization. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 40(5), 921–952. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00403</p>



	<p>-‘Europeanization’ is a fashionable but contested concept</p> <p>-whether and how the term can be useful for understanding the dynamics of the evolving European polity</p> <p>-an immediate challenge is to develop partial, middle-range theoretical approaches that emphasize domains of application or scope conditions, and that are empirically testable</p> <p>-5 possible uses of Europeanization</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) changes in external boundaries 2) developing institutions at the European level 3) central penetration of national system of overnance 4) exporting forms of political organization 5) a political unification project <p>(pp. 523-524)</p> <p>-exploring the scope conditions of each model is a beginning. -understanding their interaction is the long-term and difficult challenge (p. 944)</p>
	<p>Miller, R., & Day, G. (Eds.). (2012). The Evolution of European Identities. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137009272</p>



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-the nations in Euroidentities included representatives of the original states of the European Union, both its centre (Germany) and its western (Northern Ireland and Wales) and southern (Italy) peripheries. The new Accession States of the European Union were represented by a large central state (Poland) and two smaller peripheral states (Estonia, denoting a relatively economically successful new member state, and Bulgaria, one less so)

-eight distinct dimensions for the expression of European identity that will be discussed in turn further:

-Multiple social identities and biographical identity

-Transnational intimate relationships

-Collective action

-Cultural production and intercultural translation

-Inclusion/Exclusion

-Standardisation and regulation

-Structural conditions and opportunity structures

-The public sphere and state- regulated institutions

(each one further explained pp. 10-19)

Chapter 5 - Transnational Work in the Biographical Experiences of Traditional Professions and Corporate Executives: Analysis of Two Cases



	<p>“Europeanisation understood in terms of a process through which a European mental space and European identifications (as defined in the project) may emerge” (p. 76)</p>
	<p>Sittermann. B. (2006). Europeanisation – A Step Forward in Understanding Europe?</p> <p>-Europeanisation:</p> <p>1) historical Europe</p> <p>-export of European political institutions, political practise and way of life beyond European continent (mainly through colonisation)</p> <p>2) cultural Europe</p> <p>-culture and identity: citizenship, standardization of cultural practices (watching the same movies or tv programmes), cross-border personal contacts, same shops all over the Europe etc.</p> <p>3) political Europe</p> <p>-europeanisation as EU enlargement, europeanisation as the development of Polity and Policies at the European level, europeanisation as national adaptation due to EU influence</p> <p>-working definition of europeanisation:</p> <p>“Europeanisation consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of</p>



	<p>formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies.”</p> <p>“The complexity of this issue is among things due to the multi-dimensional effects of Europeanisation: It does affect not just polity, policy and politics but as well levels ranging from individual actors, regime types in policy areas to the overall functioning of the political system (e.g. loss of sovereignty for the parliament of subnational levels). Despite the broad influence of Europeanisation it is obvious as well that national diversity will persist.” (p.20)</p>
<p>> Dialogues among European citizens (EPS)</p>	<p>Blockmans, S. & Russack, S. (2020). Deliberative Democracy in the EU Countering: Populism with Participation and Debate. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.</p> <p>-Chapter 17 The European Citizens Initiative and its Reform</p> <p>-crisis of representative democracy has prompted several EU member states to introduce elements of direct democracy in order to increase citizens’ participation</p> <p>-European Citizens Initiative (ECI) in 2012</p> <p>-low legislative impact of the initiatives</p>



	<p>-new reform in 2020</p> <p>-ECI the first instrument in EU law to enable citizens to proactively contribute to the Union's policy making process</p> <p>“The tool was intended to bridge the perceived distance between the EU institutions and citizens, and to reduce the infamous democratic deficit of the European Union (EU) by allowing citizens to submit legislative initiatives to the European Commission.” (p. 281)</p> <p>“The experience with the ECI and the comparison with the national level suggest that such tools can only ever be complementary. But if established, they should be taken seriously and properly integrated into the policymaking process instead of remaining a mere gesture.” (p. 293)</p> <p>-Chapter 20 How can technology facilitate citizen participation in the EU?</p> <p>-digital and e-democracy</p> <p>-technology can both facilitate and hinder civic engagement</p> <p>-the chapter concludes with a series of recommendations for European and national authorities</p>
	<p>Anderson, P. (2009). The New Old World. London: Verso.</p>



	<p>-The tension between the two planes of Europe, national and supranational, creates a peculiar analytic dilemma for any attempt to reconstruct the recent history of the region</p> <p>-the EU is unquestionably a polity, with more or less uniform effects throughout its jurisdiction; yet in the life of the states that belong to it, politics-at an incomparably higher level of intensity-continues to be overwhelmingly internal</p> <p>-to hold both levels steady within a single focus is a task that has so far defied all comers</p> <p>-Europe, in that sense, seems an impossible object</p> <p>-past and present of the Union; first part history of the EU, second part of the book moves to the national level; third part looks at Cyprus (joined the EU in 2004) and at Turkey</p> <p>-historically important two changes of regimes: 1) neoliberalism (Reagan & Thatcher), 2) collapse of the Communist bloc</p> <p>“The European ideology that has grown up, around a changed reality, is another matter. The self-satisfaction of Europe's elites, and their publicists, has become such that the Union is now widely presented as a paragon for the rest of the world, even as it becomes steadily less capable of winning the confidence of its citizens, and more and more openly flouts the popular will.” (p. xv)</p>
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“The density of pan-European exchanges across it is without precedent, and these exchanges along with innumerable others-conferences, workshops, colloquia, lectures in adjacent disciplines, from history and economics to law and sociology-have created what should comprise the bases of an intellectual community capable of lively debate across national borders. Yet in practice, there is still remarkably little of that.

In part, this has to do with the characteristic traits of the academy, when scholarship turns inwards only to a profession rather than also outwards to a broader culture. In larger measure, however, it is a reflection of the lack of any animating political divisions in this-in principle-eminently political field, occupied chiefly by political scientists . To speak of a pensee unique would be unfair: it is more like a pensee ouate, which hangs like a pall over too much of it. The media offer little, if any, counterbalance, columns and editorials hewing in general to a Euro-conformism more pronounced than that of chairs or think-tanks.”

(p. xvi)

-one effect of such unanimism is to undermine the emergence of any real public sphere in Europe

“(…) It might well be thought that the echo-chambers of today's Union are less genuinely European than much of the cultural life of the inter-war, or even pre-First World War period. There are not many equivalents today of the correspondence between Sorel and Croce, the collaboration between Larbaud and Joyce, the



	<p>debate among Eliot, Curtius and Mannheim, the arguments of Ortega with Husserl; not to speak of the polemics within the Second and early Third Internationals. Intellectuals formed a much smaller, less institutionalized group in those days, with deeper roots in a common humanist culture. Democratization has dispersed this, while releasing a vastly larger number of talents into the arena” (p. xvii)</p>
	<p>Europeanising European Public Spheres (2020)</p> <p>“Within political science, Europeanisation is most frequently conceptualised as a top-down or horizontal process through which EU rules and procedures, but also norms, ideas and routines impact domestic institutions and policies. A second, very broad, field deals with Europeanisation from a different perspective, namely with the question of how the EU and European integration affect political culture, citizens’ identities and political attitudes in terms of opposition and support. Here, recent debates focus on two related issues, namely growing contestation and politicisation of the EU. Both are intimately connected with the topic of the European public sphere, which, in turn, directly touches upon questions regarding the Europeanisation of mass media or parliamentary communication.” (p. 7)</p> <p>“Transparency, openness and politicisation are also intimately related to the notion of the European public sphere as an arena for EU-wide public discourse” (p. 8)</p> <p>-most commentators agree that a unified and truly European public sphere would require a common</p>



language, a shared identity and, most importantly, a common infrastructure, i.e. European media - and that neither of these vital elements are seen as fully present or likely to fully develop in the EU within the near future.

-as a result, the academic debate has turned to the notion of national, but Europeanised and connected, public spheres, and to national media and parliaments as two important arenas for public debate.

Defining Europeanisation (pp. 18-30)

An encompassing and widely cited definition, finally, that incorporates both perspectives was provided by Claudio Radaelli:

'Europeanisation consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, "ways of doing things" and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies.'

Europeanisation in this sense can impact various different aspects of domestic adaptation, such as political institutions, policies, actor preferences, actions and strategies, but also norms, ideas, cultural traditions, everyday habits and identities. Europeanisation should not, however, be confused with either convergence or harmonisation. Convergence

can be a consequence of European integration and Europeanisation processes. Similarly, harmonisation of, e.g., national policies is often seen as an important goal of European integration. Yet empirical research suggests that Europeanisation can lead to a 'differential' impact of European requirements on domestic policies: 'Countries have responded to the pressures of Europeanization as they have to those of globalisation at different times to differing degrees with different results'. Importantly, the ways, or mechanisms, through which European integration and EU politics/policies impact the member states vary. Here, scholars distinguish between vertical and horizontal mechanisms.

European Public Sphere (pp. 37-38)

“As a result, the concept of a European public sphere defined as a single and unified public space spanning the whole of the EU was rejected in the academic literature rather early on as an unreachable ideal or utopia. Instead, and in part drawing on Habermas’s re-conceptualisation of the public sphere as constituted by different interconnected arenas of public communication, the focus turned to the concept of national, but connected and Europeanised, public spheres.

‘The public sphere extends from episodic café and street gatherings, via organised professional, cultural and artistic public spheres, to abstract public spheres, where listeners, readers and viewers are isolated and spread in time and space. There are strictly situated



public spheres, where the participants meet face to face; there are written public spheres, and there are anonymous, faceless, public spheres made possible by the new electronic technologies.’

Within the discussion on the European political public sphere, the empirical literature focuses mainly on three arenas, most importantly the media, but also on parliaments, and here national parliaments in particular, as well as political parties”

-see also 3.5 Parliaments as Europeanised Public Spheres

Europeanisation of National Media (pp. 41-45)

1) horizontal, 2) vertical

“For most scholars, the national mass media are therefore the principal forums within which a Europeanised public sphere can materialise.¹⁷² For Schlesinger¹⁷³, for example, this is based on three prerequisites, namely, first, the dissemination of a European news agenda that, second, becomes an integral part of citizens’ daily or routine media consumption and thus, third, enables them to define their citizenship beyond the national level and in European terms. In addition, it has been argued that a Europeanisation of national public spheres also requires the inclusion of (European) non-national actors, and the discussion of EU topics through similar frames that enable transnational discussion. ¹⁷⁴ Accordingly, we can distinguish between the

	<p>Europeanisation of the media in a vertical and a horizontal sense”</p> <p><i>-if focuses also on the coverage of COVID-19 (might be useful for WP2)</i></p>
	<p>Risse-Kappen, T. (2010). A community of Europeans? Transnational identities and public spheres. Cornell University Press.</p> <p>-It's no wonder that issues of European identity, community, and democracy have assumed center stage in EU politics. Policymakers, scholars, and ordinary citizens increasingly ask several basic questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the pre political conditions of a supranational polity? Can the EU rely on a sense of community among its peoples and a collective identity? How does European identity relate to communication across borders? And how can we explain the emergence as well as the limits of a European sense of community and of a European public sphere? 2. How do a European sense of community and a European public sphere affect European integration and political change? Do European identity and a transnational European public sphere facilitate or hinder effective policy making in the EU? Alternatively, can the EU work without a sense of community and without politicization? 3. What are the implications for the democratic legitimacy of the European project? How much



collective identity and shared communicative space does the EU need as a multilevel governance system? And what are the conclusions for the EU's future of thirty-plus member states?

Europe and the EU are integrated in people's sense of belonging. Empirical analyses document that more than 50 percent of European citizens hold such Europeanized national identities, if only as a secondary identity. Those who incorporate Europe into their sense of identity tend to support European integration much more than individuals who adhere to exclusively nationalist identities

(Hooghe and Marks 2005). (p. 5)

“Moreover, the Europeanization of collective identities varies widely across old and new EU member states, and the meanings attached to “Europe” are also diverse. In general, however, the Europeanization of identities is well advanced in continental Western and Southern Europe, while majorities in Scandinavia and—most important—Great Britain still hold exclusively nationalist identities. Interestingly enough, citizens of the new Central Eastern European member states are not that different from people in the older EU member states with regard to their identification levels.” (p. 5)

“(The book) challenges the notion that the EU lacks common communicative spaces because of the absence of a common language and European-wide media. Instead of looking for a European public sphere above and beyond national public spheres, we can

observe the Europeanization of public spheres whenever European issues are debated as questions of common concern using similar frames of reference and whenever fellow Europeans participate regularly in these national debates. Such Europeanization of public spheres is still segmented and varies across member states. Once again, continental Western and Southern Europe seems to be integrating into a transnational public sphere, while we know too little about Central Eastern Europe to reach firm conclusions (see, however, Kutter 2009 on Poland). Once again, Great Britain remains the odd one out.” (p. 5)

-emergence of transnational European communities of communication through the interconnectedness of Europeanized public spheres

-Europeanized identities and European public spheres are closely linked

-the increasing politicization of European affairs contributes to the Europeanization of public spheres

-2 Europes

“Struggles over European identity involve at least two distinct substantive concepts of what “Europe” actually means. On the one hand, there is a modern EU Europe supported by the European elites (Fligstein 2008; Bruter 2005) and embracing modern, democratic, and humanistic values against a past of nationalism,

	<p>militarism, or Communism. This modern and secular Europe resonates in the elite discourses of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, but also to some extent in Poland, the Czech Republic, and other new member states. On the other hand, there is a Europe of white Christian peoples that sees itself as a distinct civilization (in the sense of Huntington 1996). This European identity construction is less open to strangers and entails boundaries against Islam as well as Asian or African “cultures.” The extreme version of this antimodern and antiseccular identity construction is nationalist, xenophobic, and racist. This “nationalist Europe” is increasingly politicized by Euro Skeptical populist parties particularly on the right who have taken up the European issue, while the European elites have tried to silence debates on what kind of Europe people want to see.” (p. 6)</p>
	<p>Van Mol, C. (2018). Becoming Europeans: The relationship between student exchanges in higher education, European citizenship and a sense of European identity. Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, 31(4), 449–463. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2018.1495064</p> <p>-findings suggest the impact of European exchange programmes on European citizenship and a sense of European identity is relatively limited</p> <p>-most recent version of the programme guide, for example, it is literally stated that transnational mobility of higher education students and staff should “raise participants” awareness and understanding of other cultures and countries, offering them the opportunity to</p>



	<p>build networks of international contacts, to actively participate in society and develop a sense of European citizenship and identity' (European Commission 2018, 30)</p> <p>-three main research questions:</p> <p>“First, how do exchange and non-Exchange students differ, on average, in the development of their identification with Europe, as a European citizen and as a European over the course of one year? Second, do non-exchange and exchange students who have similar identification scores at the pre-test, differ at the post-test? And third, which interaction patterns abroad are most influential in changing identification patterns among exchange students? By relying on a pretest – posttest nonequivalent groups design including higher education students from thirteen European countries (n = 400), the methodological approach adopted in this paper aims to overcome the limitations of repeated cross-sectional research (e.g. King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Van Mol 2013) or an exclusive focus on one national departure and/or receiving context (e.g. Llurda et al. 2016; Sigalas 2010; Stoeckel 2016; Wilson 2011), which mostly informed our current understanding of the relationship between student exchanges and the development of a sense of European identity (for an exception, see Mitchell 2015).” (p. 450)</p> <p>-theoretical background (p. 450-451)</p> <p>-the analysis clearly shows no relationship between participation in student exchanges and changes in</p>
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	<p>identification with Europe, as a European and as a European citizen for our sample (p. 459)</p> <p>-in contrast to the studies of Mitchell (2015) and Stoeckel (2016), my analysis did also not confirm the idea that social interaction with international students would be most constitutive in changing existing identification patterns (p. 459)</p> <p>-for specific sample, no significant relationships could be detected between participation in intra-European student exchanges and the development of a sense of European identity and citizenship (p. 461)</p>
	<p>Walter, S. (2017). EU Citizens in the European Public Sphere: An Analysis of EU News in 27 EU Member States. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14486-9</p> <p>“The European democratic deficit mainly refers to a lack of input legitimacy (Schmidt 2006; Fisher 2004) and is based on the assumption that democratic legitimacy of the EU cannot be derived by its policy output alone. Therefore, making the EU institutions more representative and participatory is often seen as a solution to the European democratic deficit” (p. 20)</p> <p>-possibility that there is a communication deficit between citizens and governmental actors located at the bottom-up side of European political communication</p> <p>-one component of the political system that is not directly a part of the formal arrangement of the EU, but</p>



	<p>is nevertheless a requirement for democracy at the EU level, is the European public sphere</p> <p>-concept of public sphere originally developed in the context of the national state and is considered an essential element of democratic governance</p> <p>-public sphere can be defined as a communication system that mediates between the citizens at the micro-level and the governmental system at the macro-level</p> <p>“Since the European integration has led to a shift in governance from the national state to the EU level, a European public sphere is needed to ensure accountability and responsiveness and ultimately the legitimacy of EU governance (Koopmans 2007; Meyer 2005; Peters et al. 2005).” (p. 21)</p> <p>“As citizens hardly have any direct experience with EU governance, the mass media constitute a relevant mechanism through which EU citizens’ views can be communicated to the decision makers at the EU level. The visibility of political actors in the news coverage as such is seen as a precondition for the functioning of representative democracy at the national and European levels (cf. de Vreese, 2003). The media therefore play an important role in political communication by operating as an intermediary between governments and citizens (Habermas 2006).” (p. 21)</p> <p>“This study argues that especially in the case of the EU, which a large number of people perceive as a distant and elitist institution (Follesdal and Hix 2006), the visibility of citizens in the news coverage can enhance</p>
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communication between the institution and its constituents. From a participatory perspective, the visibility of EU citizens in the news coverage about the EU is important, because it makes citizens and their opinions visible to policy makers.

Given the decline in support for the European integration (e.g., Eichenberg and Dalton 2007; Armingeon and Ceka 2013), it is important that politicians at the EU level take citizens' preferences into account when making decisions. The visibility of EU citizens in the news coverage can also function as a feedback mechanism for policies implemented at the EU level.” (p. 21)

-pp. 21-22 !!!

-Europeanisation of the national public spheres (pp. 85-88)

-previous studies mostly claim that the emergence of a European public sphere can more realistically be expected to result from a Europeanisation of national public spheres

-in the broadest sense, Europeanisation refers to a process where debates in the national public spheres of the EU member states become more “European” by discussing EU affairs to a greater extent. Gerhards (1993b), who systematically introduced the distinction between a transnational European public sphere and the Europeanisation of national public spheres, defines the latter as discussions of EU governance in the national media

	<p>-vertical and horizontal Europeanisation</p> <p>-when thinking about the role of the public sphere for facilitating accountability and responsiveness of governance, it is the vertical dimension of the European public sphere that is of importance for the legitimacy of EU governance. (p. 86)</p> <p>“This study proposes a minimal definition, in which the European public sphere is constituted by public discussions on EU governance in the national media. The thematic focus on governance has also been a defining criterion for the public sphere in the nation state context (cf. Habermas 1974). Hence, a European public sphere exists and can fulfil its mediating function for the EU’s political system and enhance democratic legitimacy at the EU level, if discussions on EU affairs take place in the national media of EU member states.” (p. 87)</p>
	<p>Pérez, F. S. (2013). Political Communication in Europe: The Cultural and Structural Limits of the European Public Sphere. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137305138</p> <p>-focuses on mediation, and also on what is being mediated (p. 7)</p> <p>-”communications gap”</p> <p>-hypothesis:</p> <p>“(…) the way in which the EU has been built, the way in which the EU is governed and the sort of cultural</p>



community that EU citizens form are the three main factors (the first two structural or systemic, the third cultural) that explain why Europe lacks a European public sphere comparable to those of its constituent member states. The key to explaining the poor popular engagement with the EU is not to be found in the news media or with the journalists, but with the sort of political regime and cultural community that “Europe” is. The EU is not a state (though it has some traces of a regional state, as there are supranational institutions and EU law is binding to its member states) and Europe is not a nation (though it is a form of cultural community, in which European identity, as Eurobarometer figures have historically shown, is second or third in the scale of popular loyalties).

The understanding that the EU is not a liberal-democratic state, but a sui generis polity, should be at the forefront of any examination of the European public sphere.” (p. 7)

Chapter 1 The true deficits of the European Public Sphere: Domestication and Politicisation

“The two key issues where which I expect the European public sphere to be dysfunctional are a) its ability to enable domestication (the ability to facilitate an identification between representatives and represented) and b) its capacity to encourage politicisation (the capacity to visualise conflict between/among alternative/optional ways of governing a society). The term domestication draws heavily on Carl Schmitt’s concept of democracy as identification between the government and the governed. The term



	<p>politicisation is also very much a Schmittian expression, but I rely on one of his interpreters, Chantal Mouffe, to distinguish between antagonistic politicisation (between enemies, such as the USA and Iran) and agonistic politicisation (between rivals, such as the UK's Labour and Conservative parties). There is a tight relationship between the two concepts" (p. 12)</p>
	<p>Koopmans, R., & Statham, P. (n.d.). The Making of a European Public Sphere. 357.</p> <p>-three theoretically possible forms of Europeanization of public communication and mobilization (Koopmans and Erbe 2004):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The first form is the emergence of a supranational European public sphere constituted by the interaction among European-level institutions and collective actors around European themes, ideally accompanied by (and creating the basis for) the development of European-wide mass media. 2. The second is vertical Europeanization, which consists of communicative linkages between the national and the European level. There are two basic variants of this pattern: a bottom-up one, in which national actors address European actors, make claims on European issues, or both; and a top-down one, in which European actors intervene in national public debates in the name of European regulations and common interests. 3. The third is horizontal Europeanization, which consists of communicative linkages between different



	<p>European countries. We may distinguish a weak and a strong variant. In the weak variant, the media in one country cover debates and contestation in another country, but there is no communicative link in the structure of claim making between actors in different countries. In the stronger variant, there is such a communicative link, and actors from one country explicitly address or refer to actors or policies in another European country. (p. 38)</p> <p>-p. 39 - the model</p> <p>-weak and strongest variant of each forms follows</p> <p>“We can speak of a Europeanized public sphere to the extent that a substantial – and, over time, increasing – part of public contestation goes beyond a particular national political space (the European public sphere’s inner boundary), and does not bypass Europe by referring only to non-European supranational and transnational spaces (the outer boundary of the European public sphere). Coverage of other member states’ internal and foreign affairs constitutes a borderline case and can only be interpreted as a form of Europeanization if such coverage is overrepresented (and over time increasingly so) compared to the coverage of the internal and foreign affairs of non-European countries.” (p. 43)</p>
	<p>Cathleen Kantner (2016). War and Intervention in the Transnational Public Sphere: Problem-solving and European identity-formation. London: Routledge</p>



	<p>-”The results of this study provide a differentiated long-term picture of transnational public discourses on wars and humanitarian military interventions across Europe and the US.” (p. 3)</p> <p>-”This study provides surprising empirical evidence regarding the dynamics of transnational political communication on wars and humanitarian military interventions and the expression of European collective identities in this context.” (p. 5)</p> <p>European integration began with defence (p. 10)</p> <p>-(pp. 16-17) identity is presumed to be a functional precondition of democracy (European-identity formation)</p> <p>-(p. 17) This study argues that a ‘European identity’ is emerging as ordinary citizens across Europe already share important pragmatic and even ethical convictions with regard to European policies.</p> <p>-European defence identity</p> <p>-strong European identity is considered to be of crucial importance for the prospects of further political integration</p> <p>-(pp. 23-24) theoretical background for collective identity</p> <p>-(p. 33) If something is to be said about European identity in the qualitative sense, one has to evaluate how Europeans see themselves as Europeans</p>
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	<p>-(pp. 34-35) transnational political communication</p> <p>-“the lack of a transnational European public sphere is at the root of the impossibility of democratising the EU.</p> <p>The development of a transnational European public sphere is a precondition for overcoming the often criticised 'democratic deficit'" (p. 35)</p> <p>(p. 37) - the development of a transnational (European) public sphere (!!!)</p>
	<p>Uricchio, W. (Ed.). (2009). We Europeans: Media, representations, identities. Intellect.</p> <p>-homogenization and diversity: media and cultural identities</p> <p>-exploring the relations between media and identity among the many shifting collectivities, both past and present, that constitute Europe</p> <p>-chapter Imaginary Americas in Europe’s Public Space</p> <p>-chapter Media and Cultural Diversity in Europe</p> <p>-public broadcasting system (the integrator of democracy)</p> <p>-in post-war years, it was broadcasting that became the central mechanism for constructing this collective life and culture of the nation (p. 109)</p> <p>-over the past twenty years:</p>



	<p>1) shift in media regulatory principles: from regulation in the national public interest to a new regulatory regime (deregulation);</p> <p>2) proliferation of new, or alternative, distribution technologies, and particularly satellite television (transnational broadcasting systems to be developed and new transnational and global audio-visual markets to be formed)</p> <p>-”Contemporary developments in media industries and cultures are crucial for contemporary Europe. If public service broadcasting was central to the institution of national cultures and communities, we may argue that the new broadcasting culture must be central to the imagination of the new Europe that is coming into existence.” (p. 110)</p> <p>-transnational Turkish media - a case of imagined community?</p> <p>-a call for a new political and cultural geography for media policy and regulation</p> <p>-there are important cultural issues concerning ‘cultural rights’ and multiculturalism</p> <p>-there are also very significant political questions to be raised concerning the public sphere and the future of public service philosophy</p> <p>-”But, if developments in transnational broadcasting are thus raising new issues about both media regulation and cultural policy, we may say that there is no constituency for discussing what the implications of this</p>
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	<p>new development are. There are now possibilities for the institution of what could be an interestingly and productively new transnational European map.” (p. 121)</p> <p>-chapter Meanings of Money: the Euro as a Sign of Value and of Cultural Identity</p>
<p>> Increased weight of European identity</p>	<p>Menédez, J. (2004). Which Citizenship? Whose Europe? — The Many Paradoxes of European Citizenship.</p> <p>(spec. issue of German Law Journal --- 'EU Citizenship: Twenty Years On')</p>
	<p>Brändlea, V. K, Galpin b, Ch., Trezn, H.-J. (2018) Marching for Europe? Enacting European citizenship as justice during Brexit. Citizenship Studies, vol. 22, no. 8, 810–828</p> <p>https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2018.1531825</p> <p>-article examines pro-European mobilisation in the United Kingdom following the European Union (EU) referendum</p> <p>-develops a framework that combines Isin’s ‘acts of citizenship’ with Nancy Fraser’s three dimensions of justice – redistribution, recognition and representation – to examine the way in which Brexit has served as a mobilisation trigger for claims about European citizenship</p>



	<p>-Brexit as a process that makes people aware of the 'right to have rights' as EU citizens</p> <p>-interview with anti-Brexit protesters</p> <p>“Our findings demonstrate that many protesters experience Brexit as an injustice relating to redistribution, recognition and representation within the United Kingdom. Concerns about economic downturn and an erosion of the NHS, a misrecognition of their British identities away from tolerance and internationalism and ordinary-political misrepresentation in the form of distrust in the government and opposition parties, who are seen as ignoring the concerns of ‘the 48%’ or pandering to xenophobia, are visible.” (p. 824)</p> <p>-for these protesters the conception of justice as redistribution, recognition, and representations extends beyond the nation-state</p> <p>-the EU becomes a crucial political frame from which they might be excluded in the future, economically, culturally, politically (fears of lack of agency)</p>
	<p>Marfleet, P. (1999). Nationalism and internationalism in the new Europe. International Socialism (84).</p> <p>“As British prime minister Tony Blair explained to a European Union (EU) summit, 'This place Kosovo is right on the doorstep of Europe,' and Europeans were required to act in solidarity with their neighbours.¹ For</p>



Blair, principles of 'European justice' and of 'civilised society' were to be defended against national antagonism and ethnic conflict.”

“The EU is routinely presented by its supporters as an internationalist project. Its founding documents refer to 'ever closer union' between peoples of the region,³ and for decades it has been promoted as a means of overcoming national differences and state rivalries. The call to be a 'good European' therefore appeals to many on the left, who often identify the EU with modernisation, economic and social advance, and as a means of moving beyond the conflicts of the past. Social democratic and Communist parties, which have been strongly attached to national (often nationalist) agendas, have increasingly identified an internationalist dimension to the EU.”

“'Europeanism' is based upon the idea of 'Europeanness'-the notion that Europeans have a common heritage which sets them apart from 'others'. It is this which gives them rights in the EU--most importantly, the right of residence. For EU strategists, wider awareness of a shared European identity, and of the imagined benefits it brings, is seen as vital for successful political integration. They hope to increase popular identification with the EU and to induce consent to decisions taken through the bodies such as the European Parliament. But this notion rests upon the idea of fundamental differences between 'Europeans'

	<p>and 'non-Europeans', and upon the proposition that the latter have no rights in the EU. It is on this basis that people who wish to enter EU state are excluded. Poor and vulnerable people, notably refugees, are depicted as opportunists seeking to exploit the benefits of life within the Union. At the same time, citizens of EU states are invited to identify 'internal enemies'--those depicted as out of place or even 'alien' within the New Europe. The effect is to heighten racism, weakening solidarities within the working class across the continent and between workers of Europe and others worldwide. The EU has nothing to do with internationalism, a tradition which has always been built from below, against all ideas of national and ethnic difference, and against top down 'transnationalism'."</p> <p>---</p> <p>-critical about the European project</p> <p>"Forty years later the nation states of Western Europe declared a new project for peace and mutual understanding. This European community was another 'apparently utopian' but reactionary plan--a phoney internationalism which has used the rhetoric of unity in the interests of capital."</p>
	<p>Aydın-Düzgüt, S. (2012). Constructions of European identity: Debates and discourses on Turkey and the EU. Palgrave Macmillan.</p> <p>-Europe as a Security Community</p> <p>-Europe as an Upholder of Democratic Values</p>



	<p>-Europe as a Political Project</p> <p>-Europe as a Cultural Space</p> <p>-“At the end of the 1990s, the French political scientist Dominique Moisi (1999) used the phrase ‘soul-searching’ to describe Europe’s quest for identity in an era of rapid change”</p> <p>-“The question of Turkish accession to the European Union (EU) provides an ideal case to assess the essence of this ‘soul-searching’ in the EU.” (p. 1)</p> <p>-“Amidst this strong emphasis on the criteria of being European with respect to Turkish membership, this book aims to take up the challenge of looking into the ways in which Europe is discursively constructed through current EU representations of Turkey” (p. 2)</p> <p>---</p> <p>-Europe is taken as a contested notion, the meaning of which is not fixed</p> <p>-“post-structuralist perspective: identity as relational and discursively constructed within representations where its construction is dependent on the definition of the European Self with respect to various Others” (p. 2)</p> <p>-argument:</p> <p>-EU discourses on Turkey, through their representations of the country, give significant insights into the discursive construction of European identity</p>
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	<p>“The discursive struggle to define Europe is a political act, which, by definition, entails the drawing of both spatial and temporal boundaries that can only be revealed through deconstructing the various meaning(s) given to Europe in order to make more transparent the attempts at the fixation of the concept under the rubric of the European Union.” (p. 8)</p>
	<p>Keinz, A., & Lewicki, P. (2019). European Bodies. Anthropological Journal of European Cultures, 28(1), 7–24. https://doi.org/10.3167/ajec.2019.280104</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -europeanisation and colonisation -body, embodiment, and europeanisation -focus on processes of europeanisation and the work of colonial legacies and their impact on the production of the european body, a body that is always already racialised, classed and gendered. ‘european body’ can be observed in discourses and practices that constitute the normal/desired/legitimate body and concomitantly impacts notions about the civilised/cultured body, often linked to whiteness, secularism, legitimate class and gender performances -how does europeanisation generate (tacit) knowledge about the legitimate body? -what is a ‘european body’ then? Jean Comaroff (1993) has once shown that: ‘nationality, culture and physical type are condensed into the language that [. . .] would mature into scientific racism’ which ‘imprinted the physical contours of stereotypic others on the



European imagination – and, with them, a host of derogatory associations’ (p. 309).

-connected to refugee crisis and eu enlargement -both processes produced questions about the category of "europe"

“(…) we turn the focus on different forms of Europeanisation and embodiment and suggest we explore the work of imperial legacies (Stoler 2013a) ethnographically in the production of the legitimate – precious and prosperous – european bodies (see also Hirschkind 2011; Stoler 2002). We ask in which ways these formations mutually embody the Other and the european self and how a body is constructed as specific type of body that is embedded in imaginations of ‘the west’ – of progress, freedom, and modernity – in representations, images, politics and everyday life” (p. 3)

-(…)we follow recent studies on europeanisation that see it as a global, historical and entangled process of production of Europe

-“we believe that this perspective helps to move anthropological research on europe and europeanisation beyond the reproduction of implicit eurocentrism. It instead turns the focus of anthropological research on europe away from doing research in europe and towards the production of europe and processes of europeanisation – ostensibly trivial cultural dynamics that activate postcolonial and imperial genealogies in embodiment, in the way bodies, as heterogeneous and unsecluded processes and

	<p>products of global entanglements, are living-in-the-world and emerge in relations with their surroundings as well as in distant spaces away from Europe” (p. 5)</p> <p>-an inquiry into discourses and materiality, practices as well as emotional, affective, and sensual/olfactory dimensions, stipulating new research perspectives on body, embodiment and Europeanisation (p. 14)</p>
	<p>Checkel, J. T., & Katzenstein, P. J. (n.d.). (2009) European Identity. 281.</p> <p>-European identity as project</p> <p>-European identity as process</p> <p>-European identity in context</p> <p>-multidisciplinary perspective on the politics of European identity (anthropology, sociology, history)</p> <p>-“This approach allows us to capture the experiences of the winners and losers, optimists and pessimists, movers and stayers in a Europe where spatial and cultural borders are becoming ever more permeable. A full understanding of Europe’s ambivalence, refracted through its multiple, nested identities, lies at the intersection of competing European political projects and social processes.” (p. 2)</p> <p>-European identity theory (pp. 4-14)</p> <p>-Europeanization (pp. 9-10)</p>



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-“Europeanization, which in many senses provides the state of the art on how Europe might be reshaping deeply held senses of community – national, local, regional, and otherwise” (p. 9)

-examination of the effects Europe has on the contemporary state - its policies, institutions, links to society, and patterns of individual-collective identification

-complex dynamic through which Europe and the nation-state interact (not to be stuck in binary distinctions - both EU and nation-state)

-work on europeanisation generated new thoughts and empirical evidence on european identity

-positive-sum nature (one can be French and at the same time European; European and national)

-europeanisation (top-down focus on institutions), but:

“With its strong institutional focus (Fligstein, Sandholtz, and Sweet 2001), Europeanization research misses the politics and conflict that often accompany transformational dynamics. In a recent conversation, a specialist on the Middle East decried the way in which Europeanists study identity. “For you folks, identity is something nice; it’s all about institutions, deliberation and elites. Where I study identity, people die for it!” Although it is true that European identity politics are today typically not a matter of life or death, they do incite strong political reactions. And as those living in London and Madrid have learned firsthand, such



	<p>politics can easily become a matter of life and death even in contemporary Europe.”</p> <p>(pp. 10-11)</p>
	<p>Paasi, A. (2001). Europe as a Social Process and Discourse: Considerations of Place, Boundaries and Identity. European Urban and Regional Studies, 8(1), 7–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/096977640100800102</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -During the 1990s competing images emerged of what constitutes European identity, who belongs to it, and what are its internal and external boundaries -This has forced reflection on the links between state territoriality, and territorialities occurring on and between other spatial scales -Europe is understood as an experience, a structural body and an institution -Growing flows of refugees and immigrants call into question the state-centred identities and narratives of nationally bounded cultures -cosmopolitan view > exclusive concept of place -Place as the spatiality of experience <p>“The perpetual striving to redefine ‘spatial categories’ such as region, place and boundaries reflects a search for making sense of the rapid changes occurring in the</p>



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	<p>dialectic between spatial structures, social relations and meanings” (p. 24)</p> <p>“the spatial identities of human beings are by necessity changing elements or ‘hybrids”” (p. 25)</p>
	<p>Cantat, C. (2015) Narratives and counter-narratives of Europe.</p> <p>Constructing and contesting Europeanity. Cahiers Mémoire et Politique, no. 3.</p> <p>-the article examines the relation to Europe and to narratives of European belonging of migration solidarity movements in the European Union.</p> <p>-the narratives of European belonging (mainly pro-migrant solidarity and activism)</p> <p>« Europe » has never been as present in the media and in political discourse as it is today. -the 2009 Eurozone crisis has sparked heated debates between partisans and opponents of austerity and the recent « negotiations » opposing the Greek Syriza-led government to European leaders and institutions have made the headlines for months</p> <p><u>-debates about Europe:</u></p> <p>-austerity - Eurozone - financial crisis</p> <p>-migration</p>



	<p>-transnational movement of solidarity with migrants has been in formation in the EU over the last two decades</p> <p>-increasingly trans-European in shape, this movement is not however structured around shared narratives of alternative European futures or counter-discourses of Europe and European identity</p> <p>-for activists, the EU is too contradictory to be grasped</p> <p>-neoliberal Europe brought racialised patterns of marginalisation and exploitation</p> <p>-activists' accounts of the European Union pointed to a process of ideological disengagement from a project they felt shared little with the forms of internationalism or cosmopolitanism they defended</p> <p>-more than EU citizens, activists were connected to the idea of world citizen</p>
<p>> Increased European capitalism</p>	<p>Žižek, S. & Horvat, S. (2013) What does Europe want – the Union and its Discontents. New York: Columbia University Press.</p> <p>-This book is an attempt to rethink Europe's current deadlock and to prepare a terrain for future, meaningful political action for the roosters who will come.</p> <p>-Greece</p> <p>-Cyprus</p> <p>-Slovenia</p>



	<p>-Croatia etc.</p> <p>-both Horvat and Žižek are arguing for the strong European Left or left eurocentrism</p> <p>---</p> <p>-the deconstruction of Greece as a Model for All of Europe: Is this the future that Europe deserves (Alexis Tsipras)</p> <p>-economic crisis 2008 - breaking point (collapse of Greece)</p> <p>-Greek economy entered a vicious cycle of uncontrolled depression</p> <p>-austerity; debt crisis spreading to other European countries</p> <p>-European pact of stability (central institutions of the EU are allowed to intervene in budgets and impose tough fiscal measures to reduce deficits)</p> <p>“If people use democracy as a defence against austerity, as happened recently in Italy, the result for democracy is even worse.” (p. XI)</p> <p>-the generalised European model was not created in order to save Greece, but to destroy it</p> <p>-Europe’s future: happy bankers, unhappy societies</p> <p>“These problems led to an historic conflict in Europe. A conflict that seemingly has geographical dimensions and designations: on the surface it seems to be divided</p>
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into that of north-south, yet beneath the surface there is a class conflict that relates to two conflicting strategies for Europe. One strategy defends the complete domination of capital, unconditionally and without principles, and without any plan for secure social cohesion and welfare. The other strategy defends European democracy and social needs. The conflict has already begun.” (p. XII)

Horvat, S.

“The pattern is always the same: according to the then Slovenian foreign minister, by joining the EU, Slovenia has come ‘one step closer to the European centre, European trends, European life, European prosperity, European dynamics and the like’. On the other hand, all things that are ‘back wards’, ‘bad’ or ‘out’ stand for – you can guess – the Balkans. Or, as one journalist said in the Spanish daily El País, ‘By joining the EU, Slovenia escaped the Balkan curse.’ But if we take a closer look, Europe is ‘Balkanised’ already, and, on the other hand, the Balkans is ‘Europeanised’ as well.” (p. 30)

Žižek, S.

“Late in his life, Freud asked the famous question, ‘Was will das Weib?’ (‘What does Woman want?’), admitting his perplexity when faced with the enigma of feminine sexuality. And a similar perplexity arises today, when post-communist countries are entering the European Union: which Europe will they be entering? For long years, I have been pleading for a renewed ‘Leftist Eurocentrism’. To put it bluntly, do we want to live in a world in which the only choice is between the American



	<p>civilisation and the emerging Chinese authoritarian - capitalist one? If the answer is no, then the only alternative is Europe. The Third World cannot generate a strong enough resistance to the ideology of the American Dream; in the present constellation, it is only Europe that can do it.” (p. 40)</p> <p>“What we find reprehensible and dangerous in US politics and civilisation is thus a part of Europe itself, one of the possible outcomes of the European project. There is no place for self satisfied arrogance: the United States is a distorted mirror of Europe itself. Back in the 1930s, Max Horkheimer wrote that those who do not want to speak (critically) about liberalism should also keep silent about fascism. Mutatis mutandis, one should say to those who decry the new US imperialism: those who do not want to engage critically with Europe itself should also keep silent about the United States. This, then, is the only true question beneath the self-congratulatory celebrations that accompany the extension of the European Union: what Europe are we joining? And when confronted with this question, all of us, ‘New’ and ‘Old’ Europe, are in the same boat” (p. 43)</p>
	<p>Jacobsen, J. K. S. (2003). The Tourist Bubble and the Europeanisation of Holiday Travel. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 1(1), 71–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/14766820308668160</p>



> Increased European civil society

Salgado, R. S. (2014) Europeanizing Civil Society How the EU Shapes Civil Society Organizations. London: Palgrave

-a combination of institutional analysis with a micro-sociology of the European Union (EU) (a better understanding of the impact of Europe on state-society relationships)

-europeanisation-absence of common definition (p. 14)

-sociologically informed concept of Europeanization

“Olsen (2002) has pointed out the many contrasting uses of this term. For example, it is used to describe changes in external territorial boundaries, the development of governance at the EU level, EU penetration in national and subnational systems of governance, the export of European forms of governance beyond the European territory and a political project aiming for a unified and politically strong Europe.” (p. 15)

-some definitions include processes of construction and the institutionalization of rules or the emergence of new modes of governance at the EU level

-studies are defining Europeanization as "uploading"

-Defining Europeanization exclusively as ‘downloading’ has the advantage of offering the most clear-cut approach to the term. This definition, in establishing a sharp separation between the process of European integration (uploading) and the process of



	<p>Europeanization (downloading), preserves the analytical distinction between the dependent and the independent variables. (p. 15)</p> <p>-different conceptualization of Europeanization (p. 16)</p> <p>-Europeanization: an interactive process in which dependent and independent variables cannot be clearly disentangled</p> <p>“This definition has the advantage of giving a broader picture, increasing the number of cases to be researched and uncovering the interactive character of the Europeanization process (for example, feedback loops). The definitions that place the emphasis on this interactive character highlight the explanatory variables of the process of change: institutions, strategic interests and shared beliefs (EPIIE 2007). This move has also the advantage of bringing European studies closer to mainstream comparative research (Hassenteufel and Surel 2000). However, the formulation of a research design that can capture uploading and downloading dynamics simultaneously is much more challenging. The conception of Europeanization as interaction is better adapted to capture the sociological dimension and thus is more appropriate for the study of civil society organizations (CSOs)” (p. 16)</p> <p>-more detailed theoretization pp. 15-24</p>
	<p>Porta, D. & Caiani, M. (2009). Social Movements and Europeanization. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>-limited attention to soc movements in the EU</p>



	<p>-europeanization - multilevel governance</p> <p>-Europeanization from below</p> <p>-some insights from the research on Europeanization might help in understanding a growing relevance of the EU for social movements, which follows different and complex paths</p> <p>-research on multilevel governance as a complex field of interaction among different actors at different geographical levels</p> <p>-inspired by constructivist approaches in international relations, we shall refer to the role of ideas and images of Europe as structuring the conflicts on the EU, its politics and policies</p> <p>“Research on Europeanization has addressed, in fact, processes of resistance, transformation, and adaptation to European policies and norms in member states, shifting attention from the supranational level to multilevel governance. Linked to this is the notion that public policies are no longer the exclusive product of national institutions, but are instead part of a complex system where several norms and implementing agencies interact.” (p. 10)</p> <p>-“Europeanization involves a complex process of transcending internal boundaries, as well as constructing new boundaries against the outside” (p. 10)</p> <p>-“If Europeanization is seen as producing more layers of decision-making, social movements might be</p>
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	<p>expected to adapt themselves to a multilevel governance that includes variable networks of both territorial and functional actors” (p. 13)</p> <p>-“triangulated sources and methods in an attempt to overcome their specific limits and exploit their strengths in reconstructing the complex picture of Europeanization from below, which we defined as Europeanization of and by civil society” (p. 25)</p> <p>-self-organised citizenry - including grass-roots social movement organizations, and more formalized non-governmental organizations</p> <p>-civil society constitutes what, in relation to European institutions, Young and Wallace (2000) call the civic interests- as opposed to the private or sectoral interests of economic groups-and includes groups active on environmental, gender or social rights (p. 26)</p>
	<p>Bellamy, R., Castiglione, D. & Shaw, J. (2006) Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context. London: Palgrave.</p> <p><u>-Introduction: From National to Transnational Citizenship</u></p> <p>-what citizenship means and what it entails in contemporary societies remain open questions, as does the nature of the relationship between the political community and its members. Nor can one treat the construction of citizenship as an entirely elite-driven, top-down process. Ours is a more problematic statement</p>



	<p>-the investigation of whether, and if so how, EU citizenship has been constructed as a formal status, a practice and a normative commitment</p> <p>-it invokes a certain methodological perspective: one that sees the construction of citizenship as a dynamic and contested process emanating as much from below as from above</p> <p>-volume address the degree to which European citizens are not only being 'made' and 'transformed' by European institutions and contemporary social and economic conditions but also (and more importantly) 'making' and 'transforming' both themselves and the European political space</p> <p><u>-PART III - Citizens' Mobilisation and Opportunities - Europeanisation of Civil Society</u></p> <p>-the Europeanisation of Eastern European interest representation</p> <p>"the Europeanisation of interest representation is here understood as the convergence of the accession countries' repertoires of interest intermediation with the EU-model" (p. 160)</p>
	<p>Soysal, Y. N. (2002). Locating Europe. European Societies, 4(3), 265–284. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461669022000013586</p> <p>-emerging European public space and identity - as it is built and exercised in educational spheres</p>



	<p>-shared identity and culture</p> <p>-argument: the presumed inextricable link between such constructs as identities, cultures and political communities is neither tenable nor empirically suitable in the European case</p> <p>-European identity is a loose collection of civic ideals and principles, such as democracy, progress, equality and human rights</p> <p>-European identity will not replace the nation, the nation still strong notion</p> <p>-the emerging Europe is a space for participation</p> <p>-European public space is open to conflict but also creates its own conflicts</p> <p>---</p> <p>“Europe requires Europeans. Otherwise, there is a legitimacy crisis of the very process of European integration and the European project, the argument goes. The problem of identity and legitimacy constantly surfaces in debates over Europe and European integration.” (p. 266)</p> <p>-Europe as a cultural collectivity</p> <p>-Europe as a category of subjectivity</p> <p>-Europe as institutional unity</p> <p>-Europeanization (the creation of Europe)</p>
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“I will focus my discussion on two specific aspects of the Europeanization of identity (or the emergence of the category of European identity): its location and its content. By location I mean the public and social spaces within which Europeanization is ‘happening’. This raises methodological questions for studying Europeanization from an institutionalist perspective: first, the actors and processes on which we focus our analytical gaze, and second, the level of analysis we choose. By content, on the other hand, I mean the discourses through which the claims to identity are advanced, and also the constitution of the emerging identities. A discussion on the content of European identity invites us to revisit the two major analytical concerns of the institutionalist theory: first, the issue of convergence and divergence; second, institutional conflict and change” (p. 269)



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Becoming (better) European

<p>> Increased weight of European identity</p>	<p>Menéndez, J. (2004). Which Citizenship? Whose Europe? — The Many Paradoxes of European Citizenship.</p> <p>(spec. issue of German Law Journal --- 'EU Citizenship: Twenty Years On')</p>
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<p>> Strengthening citizen participation (and CS)</p>	<p>Ålander, M. & Ondarza, N. (2020) The European Citizens' Initiative and its reform: Truly unique or the same old story?. In Blockmans, S. & Russack, S. (ed), <i>Deliberative Democracy in the EU Countering: Populism with Participation and Debate</i>. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.</p> <p>Chapter 17 The European Citizens Initiative and its Reform</p> <p>-crisis of representative democracy has prompted several EU member states to introduce elements of direct democracy in order to increase citizens' participation</p> <p>-European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) in 2012</p> <p>-low legislative impact of the initiatives</p> <p>-new reform in 2020</p>
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	<p>-ECI the first instrument in EU law to enable citizens to proactively contribute to the Union's policy making process</p> <p>-The tool was intended to bridge the perceived distance between the EU institutions and citizens, and to reduce the infamous democratic deficit of the European Union (EU) by allowing citizens to submit legislative initiatives to the European Commission. (p. 281)</p> <p>-The experience with the ECI and the comparison with the national level suggest that such tools can only ever be complementary. But if established, they should be taken seriously and properly integrated into the policymaking process instead of remaining a mere gesture. (p. 293)</p>
	<p>Blockmans, S. (2020) Participatory fusion: How to galvanise representative democracy with deliberative tools. In Blockmans, S. & Russack, S. (ed), <i>Deliberative Democracy in the EU Countering: Populism with Participation and Debate</i>. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.</p> <p>-most European citizens doubt that their children have better prospects than their parents; democracy under threat (China & Russia)</p> <p>-proposal how to strengthen representative democracy fit into coherent framework following the four cumulative criteria used by modern political theorists to</p>



	<p>assess the health of democracy: inclusion, choice, deliberation and impact</p> <p>-“Inclusion means that all adult citizens have an equal opportunity to participate. Choice means that the alternatives for public decision need to be significantly different and realistically available. Deliberation requires that people are encouraged and empowered to think critically about competing alternatives. Finally, impact means that people’s deliberative choices direct or constrain official decisions or policies.” (p. 358)</p> <p>“Our project concludes just as the Conference on the Future of Europe kicks off, with one of its stated aims to improve democratic processes. While the focus along the institutional strand of its work is expected to rest on the election of the EU’s leadership and transnational lists (after the difficult process that followed the 201 EP elections), the discussion should be extended to the whole spectrum of democratic legitimacy (Chapter 17). Indeed, the Conference presents an opportunity for the EU, and in particular the new Commissioner responsible for democracy and demography, to consider a more proactive strategy to develop new kinds of democratic representation, deliberation and accountability, and to encourage a more far-sighted vision of democracy.” (p. 379)</p>
	<p>Sebe, M., Mure, B. & Va, E. (2020) How can technology facilitate citizen participation in the EU? In Blockmans, S. & Russack, S. (ed), <i>Deliberative Democracy in the EU Countering: Populism with</i></p>



	<p>Participation and Debate. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -digital and e-democracy -technology can both facilitate and hinder civic engagement -the chapter concludes with a series of recommendations for European and national authorities (pp. 341-343): -using digital tools to spread awareness about EU legislation and its impact on citizens -supporting citizen participation in the EU with the help of artificial intelligence -reducing disinformation in the EU by fostering critical thinking via media literacy
	<p>Europeanisation from below: Still time for another Europe? Introduction to the special issue of the European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -on social movements' alternative visions and practices of 'another Europe' -as trust in the EU is falling, research on alternative visions of Europe 'from below' are more relevant



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	<p>-changes based on endogenous as well as exogenous processes</p> <p>-“Nowadays, progressive movements seem to combine all of them, but in different balances than in past movements, with a return to domestication, but also the emergence of forms of solidarisation, that could be considered an additional path to Europeanisation.” (p. 229)</p> <p>-Europeanisation - different paths: 1) domestication, 2) externalisation, 3) transnationalisation</p> <p>“Through a path of externalisation (Chabanet 2002), national movement actors targeted the EU in order to put pressure on their own governments. In these cases, actors who feel weak at home try to mobilise allies at the transnational level: protest addresses EU institutions, pushing them to intervene in domestic governments.” (p. 230)</p> <p>-Research on the ESF has also singled out a third path of Europeanisation of protest, through transnationalisation, as the creation of EU-wide social movement organisations putting forward claims directly in front of EU institutions</p> <p>-financial crisis 2008 another impulse for transnational path of Europeanisation</p>
<p>> Strengthening enlightenment values</p>	<p>Hasan, R. (2021). Modern Europe and the Enlightenment. Eastbourne :Sussex Academic Press</p>



	<p>-an interesting question is whether Enlightenment values and ethos have permeated the body fabric of former communist countries that have liberalised and democratised</p> <p>-(the book) It assesses the extent to which Enlightenment values influence the polity and society of the different parts of Europe delineated into Western Europe, former Eastern European communist countries who are members of the EU, and former Eastern European communist countries who are not members of the EU</p> <p>-core values:</p> <p>reason</p> <p>human rights</p> <p>religion and secularism</p> <p>freedom of thought and expression</p> <p>political and economic liberalism</p> <p>race</p> <p>women's rights</p> <p>workers' rights</p> <p>-decolonisation</p> <p>-eastern Europe contra EU</p>
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	<p>-enlightenment values in the face of current development in central Europe (Hungary and Poland) and pandemics</p> <p>-enlightenment and climate change</p> <p>-the dangers of counter-Enlightenment values thinking</p> <p>-the science=the triumph of the Enlightenment</p> <p>-“What is, however, important to observe is that the tackling of the deadly virus has been firmly grounded in Enlightenment values with primacy accorded to hypothesis-building, evidence, reason, modelling of data – in sum, the rigorous and transparent application of the scientific method. Faced with such a global crisis, there was unanimity that science was the only and indispensable tool to grapple with the problem and urgently provide solutions.” (pp. 166-167)</p> <p>“At the heart of counter-Enlightenment thinking is hostility to or disregard for reason, objectivity, universality, rigorous evidence, and the supremacy of the scientific method in the discovery of robust theories and truths. Such thinking manifests itself primarily on the part of those with strong religious sentiments and beliefs but also, in regard to the coronavirus pandemic, by those drawn to wild conspiracy theories and others who for whatever reason minimised the impact of the virus.” (p. 170)</p>
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> **Strengthening rules of law and human rights (and nature / non-human animal rights)**

Latour, B. (2018). Down to Earth: Politics in the New Climatic Regime. Cambridge: Polity.

!!! pp. 94-103 !!!

-Latour's environmental politics manifesto results into the new vision of Europe (colonialism - globalization - humans w non-humans)

-reevaluates history to come with the prospect for sustainable future

-globalization-plus, globalization-minus

-Europe as province (although it once has attempted to dominate the whole world; provincial experiment is what it means to inhabit an earth after modernization)

-Europe's second chance

To land is necessarily to land someplace. What follows should be taken as an opening in a highly risky diplomatic negotiation with those with whom one wishes to cohabit. In my case, it is in Europe that I want to come down to earth.

-Europe: changed its geopolitics (two main events: brexit & Trump)

"It is toward what I hesitate to call the European homeland that I should like to turn. Europe is alone, it is true, but only Europe can pick up the thread of its own history. Precisely because it went through August



1914 and dragged the rest of the world along with it. Against globalization and against the return to national and ethnic borders.

...

The European Union has managed, through an incredible amount of tinkering, to materialize in countless ways the superimposition and overlapping of the various national interests. It is by the intricacy of its regulations, which are attaining the complexity of an ecosystem, that it shows the way. Exactly the sort of experience that one needs to approach the ecological mutation that is straddling all borders.” (p. 95)

“Continental Europe is said to have committed the sin of ethnocentrism and to have claimed to dominate the world, and therefore it has to be “provincialized” to bring it down to size. But this provincialization is saving it today.” (p. 96)

“knows the fragility of its tenure in global space. No, it can no longer claim to dictate the world order, but it can offer an example of what it means to rediscover inhabitable ground.” (p. 96)

“If the first united Europe was created from below, on a base of coal, iron, and steel, the second will also come from below, from the humble matter of a somewhat durable soil. If the first united Europe was created to give a common home to millions of “displaced persons,” as was said at the end of the last war, then the second will also be made by and for the displaced persons of today.” (p. 97)

	<p>Gray, E., & Statham, P. (2005). Becoming European? The Transformation of the British Pro-migrant NGO Sector</p> <p>in Response to Europeanization*. <i>JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies</i>, 43(4), 877–898. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2005.00600.x</p>
<p>> Avoiding antagonistic nationalisms</p>	<p>Meek, J. (2019). <i>Dreams of Leaving and Remaining</i>. London: Verso Books.</p> <p>-a collection of essays previously published in <i>London Review of Books</i></p> <p>-the polarisation of society by referendum</p> <p>“Puzzlingly, I’d found other, contradictory impulses triggered in me by things I had heard or read: impulses that suggested that, although I had voted to remain in the EU, and would do so again, I had my inner Leaver too. Impulses that, if spoken out loud, would sound like ‘How did it get to the point that untangling a set of bureaucratic agreements makes everyone so hostile and emotional? I’m not sure I want to stay in an organisation that makes such a big deal about us leaving it.’” (pp. 9-10)</p> <p>-inner leaver (Brexit)</p> <p>-psychic dislocation</p> <p>-Britain as a fortress against globalisation and immigration</p>



“One of the strangest of the Facebook ads funded by Brexiteers declared, ‘The EU blocks our ability to speak out and protect polar bears!’ The claim seemed to relate to an episode in 2013 when EU member governments were trying to come up with a common position on an international move to ban the world trade in polar bear skin, paws and teeth. Most EU countries, including Britain, were in favour of the ban. Denmark was against. In the end, the European Commission persuaded the EU states in favour of a ban to abstain, the proposal was defeated, and the trade in bear parts continued. Naturally the Brexiteers wanted to emphasise the wickedness of the EU by portraying the bloc as a bear-murdering police state, and assumed voters wouldn’t look too closely at the details.

(...)

Far from showing the EU as the Brexiteers like to portray it – as a monolithic bureaucracy ruthlessly crushing national nonconformity, paying no heed to cultural difference and local sovereignty – it reveals the EU as agonisingly cautious in its deliberations, clumsily trying to please everyone, aiming to do the right thing and, in the end, trying to protect the ancient traditions of the Inuit hunters against the big, politically correct, liberal-infested, tree-hugging nations of Europe.”

(p. 17)

EU=national vs supranational

	<p>“The two idealistic strands are deeply contradictory. A belief in the imperative to conserve the traditional, authentic and distinctive in local cultures clashes with an equally fervent promotion of universal rights and freedoms. This is the liberal bourgeois dilemma.” (p. 18)</p>
	<p>Sasson, D (2021). A Morbid Symptoms. London: Verso Books.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -history lesson initiated by the current crisis of European democracy and the rise of nationalism across European landscape -roots of political barbarism -Brexit & Trump -the optimism of the will (Gramsci) <p>---</p> <p>(pp. 191-192)</p> <p>“Both nations and nationalism are too strong to be ignored in the European project. Indeed, all the documents of the European Union, whenever they mention the need for more coherence and a common identity, are careful to mention the necessity of avoiding fragmentation, chaos, and conflict, and the desirability of achieving cohesion, solidarity, subsidiarity, and cooperation, and of respecting the existing national identities of the member states.</p>



I don't think a European identity can be taught. I don't think that one can make Europe a nation-state of nation-states – which is not to say that the slow and painful construction of the European Union, in spite of all the problems, the mistakes, the silly rules, the democratic deficit, and the low turnout at elections, is not a Good Thing. Besides, elements of a European identity have evolved in some countries, thanks to a common currency, the abolition of passport controls in the Schengen area, and the university exchange known as the Erasmus programme. What is certainly not taught, or not taught enough, is the history of other European countries. But let us not forget that most people's idea of history is not based purely on what they were taught at school. They learn their history partly from the distorted recollections and prejudices of parents and grandparents, partly from the inchoate references to the past they glean from broadcast news, newspapers, books (particularly novels), and, above all, from television and films.”

(p. 209)

“The persistence of provincialism and low-level nationalism is only one of the reasons for the relative failure of the European project. Euroscepticism has increased remarkably in the last twenty years, as have Eurosceptic parties, even in Italy, a former euro-enthusiastic country, where Eurosceptic parties have grown enormously. In 2004, 50 percent of Europeans trusted the EU, but by 2016 the figure was down to 32 per cent (converging with the dismal percentage of



	<p>those trusting their national governments, which hovers around 31–2 per cent mark).”</p> <p>(p. 47)</p> <p>“The celebration of a pre-communist past, however unsavoury, is an increasingly common feature of post-communist nationalism. In Warsaw an enormous statue was erected to Roman Dmowski, the so-called father of Polish nationalism and a notorious anti-Semite, while a plaque commemorating the birthplace of Rosa Luxemburg in Zamość was removed. As Brecht wrote in his ‘Epitaph for Luxemburg’ (1948):</p> <p>Here lies, buried</p> <p>Rosa Luxemburg</p> <p>A Jewess from Poland,</p> <p>Champion of German workers</p> <p>Killed on the orders of the</p> <p>German oppressors. Oppressed,</p> <p>Bury your discord.”</p>
	<p>Goodfellow, M. (2019). Hostile Environment: How Immigrants Became Scapegoats. London: Verso Books.</p> <p>-UK and immigration</p> <p>-Eastern European immigrants as well</p>



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	<p>-immigration and European citizenship</p> <p>-intws with migrants</p> <p>-hostile environment</p> <p>-”From anti-immigration politics come all kinds of policies: ones that ruin lives, leave people to drown at borders, treat them as subhuman or make their lives more difficult in a myriad of quiet and subtle ways. This book sets out to explain why this is not an inevitability; it will show how decades of restrictive policy and demonising rhetoric have created this system. And it will argue that it doesn’t have to be this way.” (p. 14)</p> <p>---</p> <p>-”The name ‘hostile environment’ is surprisingly appropriate for the raft of policies it refers to. It stands out from the dreary, opaque names governments give to those they’d rather stay under the radar. (...) But when Theresa May unveiled her flagship immigration package as home secretary, she didn’t even attempt to hide its cruelty. She flaunted it. The aim was to create a ‘really hostile environment for illegal immigrants,’ she boasted.¹ The plan was to make their lives unbearable. And, so, the government began to create this hostile environment, stitching immigration checks into every element of people’s lives. Through measures brought in by the 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts, a whole host of professionals – from landlords and letting agents to doctors and nurses – were turned into border guards” (p. 14)</p>
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<p>> Humane European Capitalism</p>	<p>Klein, N. (2020). On Fire: The Burning Case for a Green New Deal. NY: Simon & Schuster.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -immigration-fortification -post-WW2 development and the death of nature -new green deal for Europe
	<p>Aglietta, M. (2020) The Reform of Europe: A Political Guide to the Future. London: Verso Books.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -what is Europe's role in the new age of globalization -written in 2014 -crisis of eurozone -euro - a unification through currency <p>“Europe as such does not exist politically. The first reason, underscored throughout this book, is the incompleteness of the euro. Europe will only have political influence if the institutional developments discussed in Chapters 5–7 are implemented. A European constitutional order, legitimating political power at community level, is a precondition for articulating a European goal for the world.</p> <p>But that is not enough. This ambition must also be relevant, offering answers to the problems humanity will face in this century. As I have recalled, after the Second World War such an ambition existed. It was to establish peace and offer the world the most advanced model of</p>



	<p>social progress. In our era, as I tried to show in Chapters 8 and 9, inclusive, sustainable growth should be the goal.” (p. 168)</p> <p>-Europe has abandoned the social market economy for market fundamentalis</p> <p>-international climate negotiations</p> <p>-in search of international monetary governance</p>
	<p>Moore, J. W. (2016) Anthropocene or Capitalocene?: Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism. Oakland: PM Press.</p> <p>“Ongoing economic development and overproduction, the spread of industrial infrastructures, the contagion of industrial food production and consumption, and the dissemination of consumer material and ideational culture are proliferating “neo-Europes”¹² everywhere (Manning 2005). The existential endpoint of this biological and cultural homogenization is captured by the Invisible Committee’s description of the European landscape:</p> <p>We’ve heard enough about the “city” and the “country,” and particularly about the supposed ancient opposition between the two. From up close, or from afar, what surrounds us looks nothing like that: it is one single urban cloth, without form or order, a bleak zone, endless and undefined, a global continuum of museum-like hypercenters and natural parks, of enormous suburban housing developments and massive agricultural projects, industrial zones and subdivisions,</p>



	<p>country inns and trendy bars: the metropolis. . . . All territory is subsumed by the metropolis. Everything occupies the same space, if not geographically then through the intermeshing of its networks. (The Invisible Committee 2009, 52)”</p> <p>---</p> <p>-cheap nature</p> <p>-origins of ecological crisis (medieval Europe transformed Continental ecology, deforesting vast regions etc.)</p> <p>-fast growing urbanisation, European imperialism</p> <p>“For European modernity, nature is engaged in value, torn from its natural context and integrated into an economic circuit of value circulation. The complexity of nature is reduced to a simple, fetishized category: natural capital.” (p. 149)</p>
<p>> Stimulating inclusions (avoiding Fortresse Europe) and (gender/ethnic) equality</p>	<p>Žižek, S. (2017). Against the Double Blackmail: Refugees, Terror and Other Troubles with the Neighbours. London: Penguin Books.</p> <p>-Žižek is quoting Sloterdijk’s In the World of Interior of Capital:</p> <p>“What Sloterdijk correctly points out is that capitalist globalization stands not only for openness and conquest, but also for the idea of a self-enclosed globe separating its privileged Inside from its Outside. These two aspects of globalization are inseparable: capitalism’s global reach is grounded in the way it</p>



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introduces a radical class division across the entire globe, separating those protected by the sphere from those left vulnerable outside it.

In this way, both the Paris terrorist attacks and the now constant flow of refugees into Europe are momentary reminders of the violent world outside our glasshouse: a world which, for us insiders, appears mostly on TV and in media reports about distant conflicts, not as part of our everyday reality. That's why it is our duty to become fully aware of the brutal violence that pervades the world outside our protected environment – violence that is not only religious, ethnic and political but also sexual. In her outstanding analysis of the trial of South African athlete Oscar Pistorius, Jacqueline Rose pointed out how Pistorius's killing of his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp has to be read against both the complex background of white men's fear of black violence and the terrible reality of widespread violence against women: 'Every four minutes in South Africa a woman or a girl – often a teenager, sometimes a child – is reported raped and every eight hours a woman is killed by her partner. The phenomenon has a name in South Africa: "intimate femicide", or, as the journalist and crime writer Margie Orford calls the repeated killing of women across the country, "serial femicide".'

With regard to the refugees, our proper aim should be to try and reconstruct global society on such a basis that desperate refugees will no longer be forced to wander around. Utopian as it may appear, this large-scale solution is the only realist one, and the display of altruistic virtues ultimately prevents the carrying out of this aim. The more we treat refugees as objects of



humanitarian help, and allow the situation which compelled them to leave their countries to prevail, the more they come to Europe, until tensions reach boiling point, not only in the refugees' countries of origin but here as well. So, confronted with this double blackmail, we are back at the great Leninist question: what is to be done?"

"The refugee crisis offers Europe a unique chance to redefine itself, to mark its distinction from both poles that oppose it: Anglo-Saxon neoliberalism and the 'Asian values'-infused authoritarian capitalism.

Those who bemoan the ongoing decline of the European Union seem to idealize its past – yet the 'democratic' EU, whose loss they now regret, never in fact existed. Recent EU policy is just a desperate attempt to make Europe fit for the new global capitalism. The usual Left-liberal critique of the EU – it's basically OK, just with something of a 'democratic deficit' – betrays the same naivety as the critics of ex-Communist countries who basically supported them while complaining about the lack of democracy. In both cases, however, these friendly critics failed to realize that the 'democratic deficit' was a necessary, inbuilt part of the structure." (p. 11)

-emancipatory core of the idea of Europe

"So, what if Europe should accept the paradox that its democratic openness is based on exclusion: there is

	<p>'no freedom for the enemies of freedom', as Robespierre put it long ago? In principle, this is of course a reasonable proposition, but it is here that one has to be very specific. In a way, the Norwegian terrorist Breivik was right in his choice of target: he didn't attack foreigners but those within his own community who were too tolerant towards the intruders. The problem is not foreigners, it is our own (European) identity. Although the ongoing crisis of the European Union appears as one of economy and finance, it is, fundamentally, an ideologico-political crisis. The failure of referendums on the EU constitution in France and the Netherlands in 2005 gave a clear signal that voters perceived the EU as a 'technocratic' economic union, one lacking any vision that could mobilize people: until the recent wide protest movements in Greece and Spain, the only ideology able to inspire action was the anti-immigrant defence of Europe (or the defence of UK borders, in the case of Britain)." (p. 33)</p> <p>-European homeland</p>
	<p>Dahl, H., Keränen, M., Kovalainen, A. (Eds.) (2011) Europeanization, Gender and Care: Global complexities. London: Palgrave.</p> <p>-care in Europe, care as a form of europeanization, europeanization of care</p> <p>-it considers care as a crucial part of European restructuring of care labour markets, the contents of care and the different forms of care that range from the EU legislation level to the diversities among the</p>



individual care workers' life situations and experiences of being cared for in present-day Europe

-”The argument binding the articles of the book is that the renegotiations of relationships among the family, the market and the social welfare state take different forms and different shapes throughout Europe, thus requiring special attention to be given to care chains, forms of care and the embedded and embodied nature of care.

Still, Europeanization is not a single, straightforward process of integration and unification of similarities, but is full of smaller processes that are closer to differentiation and even contradictory by nature. In addition, global trends have an

effect at the European and the national levels: the interdependency of economic fluctuations and national possibilities to allocate budgets to care structures is clearly increasing with the current global economic uncertainty.” (p. 2)

“Whatever the nature of Europeanization processes, the Europeanization of the nation-state is not leading to any grander, single version of the nation-state. Europeanization can in fact be treated as a specific form of globalization (see, for example, Rumford 2003; Delanty and Rumford 2005; Sassen 2007), thus displaying and articulating the tendencies that can unify and can be common to nationstates, tendencies that may tear them apart, as well as other tendencies such as culturally and socially embedded ideas of citizenship, good care, the role of women in care



processes and positions of families, markets and the state.” (pp. 2-3)

“Care takes place in informal and formal settings where embedded institutional arrangements (such as national or supranational legislation, the welfare state or the labour market) enable or define the forms of care. Thinking about care in general terms involves seeing and taking responsibility for the needs of dependent people, such as children, and handicapped and elderly persons, that they cannot possibly meet themselves.” (p. 4)

-care interpersonal, care is also socio-cultural, care carries also legal notions of how and in what ways care is permanently and institutionally arranged, supported, organized, discussed and handled in the nation-state context

-aspect of dependency

Europeanization of care

-emerging, yet thin, European social citizenship

“Europeanization can be identified as taking place at various levels. At one level the Council of Europe issues directives such as the formally binding piece of legislation on parental leave (1996), and it can also issue less binding targets such as those adopted for child care provision (2002). At another level the European Court of Justice gradually pushes welfare regulation on health issues forward, thus reducing the

	<p>sovereignty of the member states and creating rights for European citizens on some forms of care (Martinsen 2009). Other understandings of Europeanization highlight the convergence toward a European social model on social expenditures (Greve 1996; Heichel et al. 2005). And yet at another level it seems impossible to neglect the spread of sociocultural ideas about good care around countries within Europe, which also contributes to the Europeanization of care” (pp. 6-7)</p> <p>“One of the consequences of Europeanization is that the models and the varied ways of organizing care in different parts of Europe need to be taken into consideration at the same time as the process of Europeanization modifies and changes the models themselves. Welfare state models therefore become descriptions of variation in the local contexts. At the same time Europeanization has to be described as a process that transforms and revises.” (p. 8)</p>
	<p>Niemi-Kiesiläinen, J., Peroni, L., & Stoyanova, V. (Eds.). (2020). International law and violence against women: Europe and the Istanbul Convention. Routledge.</p>
	<p>Galpin, Ch. (). Contesting Brexit Masculinities: Pro-European Activists and Feminist EU Citizenship. Manuscript in preparation.</p> <p>-Although Brexit campaigns mobilised discourses of hegemonic masculinity that marginalise women,</p>



	<p>women seemed to be at the forefront of pro-EU campaigns post-referendum</p> <p>-to what extent pro-EU activists make claims to EU citizenship that contest masculinities of Brexit</p> <p>-citizenship as 'performed subject positions', interseccional feminist theory</p> <p>-masculinity became a site of EU citizenship contestations</p> <p>-interviews with grassroots pro-EU activists</p> <p>-rejecting British militaristic discourses of British identity by asserting multiple embodied identities, demanding rights relating to the intimate sphere, and participating in informal, local and non-hierarchical ways</p> <p>-European colonialism</p> <p>-during Brexit, the masculinity became a site of struggle at the European level; Brexit's white masculinity constructed through ideas about European exceptionalism</p> <p>-embodied nature of the citizen through intersectionality</p> <p>“Race, gender and class – and national and European identities – are therefore not separate, pre-existing categories but instead ‘come into existence in and through relation to each other – if in contradictory and conflictual ways’ (McClintock, 1995, p. 5). These identities reflect intersecting structures of power inherent to citizenship; unpacking them can help to</p>
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	<p>understand how citizenship ‘can be both domination and empowerment separately or simultaneously’ (Isin, 2009, p. 369).” (p. 8)</p> <p>-this article calls for an intersectional feminist theory of EU citizenship that conceptualises citizenship as subjectivity, deconstructs the public/private divide through sites and scales, and makes visible the "unnamed and unmarked" whiteness in traditional masculine conceptions of EU citizenship (p. 23)</p> <p>-multiple and embodied nature of European identities</p>
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