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Political Psychology of European Integration

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Writing over two decades ago, Stuart Hall (1991) first told the story of European identity as contradictory processes of marking symbolic boundaries and constructing symbolic frontiers between inside and outside, interior and exterior, belonging and otherness, that are central to any account of the political psychology of European integration. The study of European integration has come a long way in the intervening decades, but no systematic attempt has been made to weave the stories of European identity together with those of European integration using political psychology. Given that marking inside and outside, interior and exterior, belonging and otherness, are both political and psychological processes, this absence of engagement seems problematic.

> Europe's external relations with its others has been central to the European story since its inception, and remains so. The story of European identity is often told as if it had no exterior. But this tells us more about how cultural identities are constructed – as 'imagined communities', through the marking of difference with others – than it does about the actual relations of unequal exchange and uneven development through which a common European identity was forged. Now that a new Europe is taking shape, the same contradictory process of marking symbolic boundaries and constructing symbolic frontiers between inside and outside, interior and exterior,

> belonging and otherness, is providing a silent accompaniment to the march to 1992.
>
> (Hall, 1991: 18)

This chapter takes a step towards addressing this absence of engagement by surveying what political psychology and European integration have to say to each other in the understanding of the European Union (EU). Political psychology is understood as the bidirectional interaction of political and psychological processes (Deutsch and Kinnvall, 2002: 17). European integration is understood as the economic, social and political processes of mutual accommodation and inclusion by European states and peoples. The chapter will draw on five strands of political psychology as part of this engagement – conventional psychology, social psychology, social construction, psychoanalysis, and critical political psychology. Within each of these strands, a number of examples of scholarship at the interface of political psychology and European integration will be examined in order to understand the merits of engagement.

The chapter does not argue that there has not been any engagement between political psychology and European integration, as the examples will illustrate. But the chapter will argue that there has been no systematic attempt at identifying the merits of a more holistic engagement. The work of Müller-Peters, Laffan, Cram, Mitzen, Guisan, Kristeva, Todorov, Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking all help illustrate some of the work being done at the interface of political psychology and European integration. The first section of the chapter will look at conventional psychology and European integration with an emphasis on individual psychology. The second section turns to social psychology found in the work of Müller-Peters and others on the euro and economic psychology, Laffan on transnational identity, and Cram on banal Europeanism. The third section focuses on social construction with work of Mitzen on ontological security, as well as Guisan's hermeneutics. The fourth section goes into psychoanalysis with a particular emphasis on the work of Lacan on trauma, Kristeva on post-Lacanian psychology, and Todorov on dialogicality. The fifth section draws the previous ones together through the work of Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking on the political psychology of globalisation found in Europe.

The chapter concludes with two sets of arguments and reflections on the engagement of political psychology and European integration for the understanding of the EU. Despite the examples discussed in this chapter, it is clear that there has been very little engagement between

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political psychology and European integration, to the detriment of both fields. The chapter argues that the study of the EU has much to benefit from political psychology in terms of theories and methods of European identity and integration, as the examples suggest. Second, the chapter also argues that political psychology can benefit from the insights of European integration by rethinking the processes that drive the marking of inside and outside, interior and exterior, belonging and otherness.

Conventional psychology

The past decade has seen a number of attempts to use conventional psychology to analyse questions of European integration. The term 'conventional' is used in two senses here – first, to reflect the presumed 'individualism of American psychology' (Bar-On, 2001: 334; see also Nesbitt-Larking, 2003: 247; Nesbitt-Larking and Kinnvall, 2012); second, to reflect the 'strong emphasis on psychological processes as determinants of political processes in American political psychology' (Deutsch and Kinnvall, 2002: 16). Hence conventional psychological approaches tend to read European integration from the perspective of individual psychology.

Three examples of individualistic psychology serve to illustrate this strand of conventional psychology. Kille and Scully's 2003 study of leadership at a distance focused on the personal characteristics of European Union Commission Presidents. It concluded that 'personal traits exhibited by executive heads are connected with important aspects of their behaviour' (Kille and Scully, 2003: 189). Hobolt's 2005 study of information effects and opinion formation in EU referendums drew on insights from the field of political psychology into how information affects the attitude–behaviour relation. Hobolt concludes that 'people with high levels of political awareness rely more on their EU attitudes when voting in European referendums' (Hobolt, 2005: 105). Schafer's 2013 study of European Commission officials' policy attitudes takes the political psychological perspective that individual calculations of efficiency are mediated by ideological beliefs. Schafer concludes that 'Commission officials seek a Pareto-optimal distribution of EU authority' (Schafer, 2013: 3).

What these brief examples, and others like them, suggest is that a conventional psychological approach to European integration, with a heavy emphasis on individuals, can be problematic. In the past, the strong reliance on individual poll data, such as the Eurobarometer, has created significant problems for these types of conventional approaches

to individual psychology. For example, the over-essentialisation of Eurobarometer data tends to suggest that national identities and opinions are fairly homogenous and fixed for any one member state. However, closer examination of variation over time and variation between regions within a member state argues in the opposite direction – that identities and opinions exhibit considerable variation over time and space, raising some fundamental questions about the significant weight placed on such individual poll data in political analysis (Calhoun, 2003; Manners, 2001: 20–23). What such insights suggest is that the political psychology of European integration needs to understand polling data and identity questions as dynamic and situated within changing social contexts. In this respect, it is far more appropriate to talk of complex, multiple, relational identities constructed from a diversity of differences such as gender, class, race, age, education, and locality, rather than nationality or ideology as exhibiting 'trump card' psychology.

Social psychology

In contrast to the work of conventional psychology, social psychological approaches to the study of European integration are more common. Social psychology has historically been stronger in Europe, reflecting the 'effect of the collective on the construction of identity' (Bar-On, 2001: 335), and in particular the influence of the social identity theory (SIT) of Henri Tajfel (Nesbitt-Larking and Kinnvall, 2012: 52). Similarly, European political psychology has been 'less one-sided' in 'the study of the influence of political processes on psychological processes' (Deutsch and Kinnvall, 2001: 16). Within social psychological approaches to European integration three broad strands of work can be identified over the past two decades – SIT scholarship, 'transnational identity', and 'banal Europeanism'.

By far the largest area of scholarly engagement between social psychology and European integration is in the area of SIT. The first groundbreaking collection in this area was the 1996 edited volume by Breakwell and Lyons (1996) on *Changing European Identities: Social Psychological Analyses of Social Change*. The book focused on differing versions of SIT, as well as including interesting chapters from social psychologists such as Billig and Chryssochoou. By the late 1990s, SIT and its variants were being more widely used in the study of European integration. A second important example is the cross-national research team led by Müller-Peters (Müller-Peters, Pepermans and Kiell, 1998; Müller-Peters, Pepermans and Burgoyne, 1998) looking at the introduction of the euro.

Drawing on SIT, Müller-Peters' research team argued that multidimensional constructs of identity, together with European patriotism and nationalism, were important for explaining attitudes towards the euro.

Perhaps more interesting are the attempts by EU scholars to use social psychology to understand identity building and banal Europeanism. Laffan's work on the politics of identity in the EU has been at the forefront of the intersection between social psychology and European integration (Laffan, 1992, 1996, 2004; Manners, 2013a: 484). For Laffan 'the Community's distinctive characteristics are its multi-levelled and multi-cultural nature' where 'shared loyalty, rather than an all-or-nothing shift of loyalty, is more likely than any radical transformation of identity' (Laffan, 1992: 178, 126). Laffan's 2004 contribution on the EU and its institutions as 'identity builders' to the edited volume *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU* (Herrmann et al., 2004) is particularly interesting. The volume brought together social psychologists such as Brewer, Breakwell, and Castano with EU experts such as Laffan to interrogate the social and political psychology of European transnational identity.

Drawing on Billig's (1995) work on banal nationalism, Cram (2001) imagines the EU as a case of banal Europeanism. She goes on to argue that 'the role of the EU as facilitator for diverse understandings of collective identities encourages the enhabitation of the EU at an everyday level and the reinforcement of a sense of banal Europeanism which is a crucial aspect of the European integration process' (Cram, 2009: 110). Cram's 2009 themed section on identity, integration theory and the EU brings together a variety of contributions and different insights on banal Europeanism for stateless nations (Scotland, Wales, Catalonia); extra-territorial nations (Hungary); divided territories (Cyprus); and nationless states (Malta).

These four examples of the engagement between social psychology and European integration, using Breakwell and Lyons' 'changing European identities', Müller-Peters' 'psychology of the Euro', Laffan's 'transnational identity', and Cram's 'banal Europeanism' illustrate how the politics of identity entered EU studies in the 1990s. The social psychological approach is undoubtedly the most common way of engaging with European integration (see also Castano et al., 2003; Chryssochoou, 2000; Genna, 2009; Jonas et al., 2005; Klein et al., 2003; Kohli, 2000). However, it is also clear that the social psychological studies discussed here are not widely known or engaged with within EU studies, much to the detriment of all. The following sections discussing social construction, psychoanalysis, and critical political psychology all take steps

further than the conventional and social psychological approaches described so far – further towards addressing multiple audiences and further in advancing our understandings of the political psychology of European integration.

Social construction

While social psychology has its roots in the work of Tajfel, Turner, Moscovici and Billig, social construction has broader origins in hermeneutics, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, and poststructuralism. Although Berger and Luckmann's 1966 *The Social Construction of Reality* marks the meeting of phenomenology and social construction, it was Giddens' 1979 *Central Problems in Social Theory* and 1984 *The Constitution of Society* that did most to popularise notions of structuration and social construction. For Giddens, '[t]he concept of structuration involves that of the *duality of structure* which relates to the *fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency*' (Giddens, 1979: 69, emphasis in the original; Manners, 2003: 73–76; Manners and Whitman, 2003: 394). Within social construction, there are two psychological approaches to European integration that will be considered in this section – Giddens' concept of 'ontological security', as well as Ricoeur and Arendt's hermeneutics.

Drawing on Giddens' 1991 concept of 'ontological security', Kinnvall (1997/2002) has pioneered its use in the study of political psychology and international relations. According to Kinnvall (2002: 102),

> ontological security refers to a person's elemental sense of safety in the world where trust of other people is like an emotional inoculation against existential anxieties: 'a protection against future threat and dangers which allows the individual to sustain hope and courage in the face of whatever debilitating circumstances she or he might later confront'
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> (Giddens, 1991: 38–39; see also Kinnvall, 2004, 2006).

Three interesting examples of the use of 'ontological security' in the study of Europe and European integration focus on European diplomats, postcolonial Europe, and European security. Mitzen's (2006, 2013) work on European diplomats and ontological security suggest that 'what Brusselisation does is to give European diplomats a "European" home to supplement their national home, and this can be seen to provide a secure space for being "Europe" together. That is, having a place devoted

to maintaining their conversations gives ontological security' (Mitzen, 2006: 280). Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking (2009, 2010) shift the focus of ontological security from diplomats to Muslim minority populations in postcolonial societies. They argue that 'many Muslims in the diaspora find that their religion assumes new significance, and/or discover that its symbolic connotations have somehow shifted... When the security anchor of home is lost, new moorings – or a new "home" – for ontological security are searched for' (Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking, 2009: 1060). Finally, the concept of ontological security can be found at the nexus of the study of European integration and European security (Manners, 2002, 2013b). As argued, 'this final dimension of analysis presents a central challenge for the EU to achieve security in a sustainable fashion, which ensures peace rather than securitisation, and highlights the need to ensure ontological security among those implicated in European integration' (Manners, 2013b: 413).

Still located broadly in social construction, Guisan's 'hermeneutic analysis' draws on the ideas of Hannah Arendt and Paul Ricoer to argue the need to understand the internal process of European reconciliation as it has been experienced by those involved (Guisan, 2005, 2012). For Guisan, Arendt and Ricoeur are both indebted to Husserl's 'phenomenological analysis of human consciousness [to] probe how various aspects of the human condition are experienced by people and what can be said/is being told about these experiences' (Guisan, 2011: 542). Guisan is interested in both the cognitive and affective processes of reconciliation involving the 'healing of emotions and the elimination of resentment' (Guisan, 2011: 544). Within this 'hermeneutic analysis', it is argued that power as action in concert, reconciliation, and recognition of the other constitute the 'lost treasures' of European integration (Guisan, 2012).

Social construction scholars working within traditions of structuration and post-structuralism, as well as phenomenology and hermeneutics, have taken different routes towards bringing political psychology and the study of European integration closer together. Scholars using notions of 'ontological security' and 'hermeneutic analysis' have, since the late 1990s, focused less on the social identity of groups found in social psychology and more on the search for security and meaning through (dis)affective processes of dislocation and reconciliation.

Psychoanalysis

The origins of political psychology as a discipline are to be found in the psychoanalytical work of Freud and Lasswell (Post, 2013: 461–466;

Ward, 2002: 62–63). For Nesbitt-Larking and Kinnvall (2012: 49–50), 'Freud's political psychology is about the struggle between desire and order and the challenges of balance'. In the study of international relations, Jacobsen argues that 'the purpose of psychoanalysis is to pry into our unconscious drives and defences to illuminate their influence over the motives and behaviour of the beholder as well as the beheld' (Jacobsen, 2013: 394). Important here is Lacan's linguistic reading of Freud in which 'to be positioned as an outsider, as marginal, as eccentric, engenders a space from which to question the encrusted and obdurate character of the established order' (Nesbitt-Larking, 2003: 248; see also Epstein, 2010). Psychoanalysis is understood as the role of the unconscious in the political, illustrated here with reference to work drawing on Lacan, Kristeva, Bakhtin, and Todorov.

Houtum's Lacanian borderwork is interesting here, with an emphasis on psychoanalytical concepts of desire, comfort and the unnameable in the study of EU bordering practices. Houtum argues that Lacan's (1981) post-Freudian psychoanalysis provides insights into the desire for the comfort of a unified self in the EU (2002: 41–42), as well as an understanding of the fear of discomfort from the perception of being overwhelmed by the other at the borders of Europe (Houtum and Pijpers, 2007: 297). As Houtum and Boedeltje (2009: 227) put it, 'psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan has in a commanding way argued that the construction of fear has to be explicated from a feeling of being deluged by *unnamable*, potentially immense hordes, masses and streams of "others" who threaten to negate the existing and familiar world, or worse, to make it disappear'.

Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking (2011) interpret Lacan through the psychoanalytical perspective of self in the work of postcolonial scholars, Fanon and Bhaba. Using this approach, they argue that 'the identities of both colonizers and colonized are defined by one another and reproduced, modified, and changed in relation to each other' when looking at Muslims in Europe and the west (Kinnvall and Nesbit-Larking, 2011: 8–9). Kinnvall (2012: 267) develops the idea of 'European trauma' by using a Lacanian understanding of trauma as 'being both outside our experience and psychologically debilitating'. The research focuses on the European traumas of the events in London 2005 (public transport bombings) and Norway 2011 (Breivik mass murders) within the context of the idea of Europe and its bordering processes.

Developing and moving beyond Lacan's work, Kristeva's psychoanalytical research on Europe argues that the other is always part of the

self – an abject foreigner which is part of our conscious and unconscious selves (Kristeva, 1982, 1991). Kristeva's (1982: 4–5, 155–156) work helps to understand the way in which Europeans deal with the horrors of fascism and Nazi crimes, such as Auschwitz, by abjecting (rejecting the abjectness) of their past selves and projecting them onto others. Kristeva (1991: 192–195, 1998) sees European integration as part of a cosmopolitan ethic that recognizes the strangers to ourselves, the othering practices of nationalism, and a different type of freedom. As Kristeva argues in term of the European subject, 'the coordination of European differences . . . refer not only to visions of society but, more precisely and in the last resort for me as a psychoanalyst, to very different conceptions of the *human person* or *subject*' (Kristeva, 2000: 115, emphasis in the original).

The use of Kristeva's psychoanalysis suggests that European integration symbolises far wider processes of coming to terms with, coordinating, and cohabiting with difference and diversity – processes of reconciling and recognising plurality and strangeness in oneself and others (Manners, 2006a: 127–128, 2007: 86, 2011: 249). The rise of the far right across the EU and their portrayal of abject foreigners are important from the perspective of Kristevian psychoanalysis. The projection of otherness onto individuals and the social groups they represent is so strong precisely because they are also an abjected and disturbing part of European selves (Diez and Manners, 2007: 185; Manners, 2006b: 178).

The psychoanalytical works of Bakhtin and Todorov have also proved fruitful in the engagement between political psychology and European integration. Bakhtin's theory of dialogism argues that a person is 'born into meaning through dialogue and proposes a vision of human action in which rationality and relationship cannot be disengaged' (Bakhtin, 1982; Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking, 2011: 9; Todorov, 1984). Bakhtin's influence in the study of European integration can be illustrated through three examples of relations between Hungary, the United Kingdom, Turkey and the EU (Borocz, 2000; Mullender, 2006; Nykänen, 2011). In all three studies, the authors argue from the point of view of a dialogic understanding of (potential) member state relations with the institutions of the EU.

Developing Bakhtin's ideas, Todorov (2005, 2008) brings ideas of dialogicality to European integration, specifically to advocate 'plurality as a basis of unity' and the EU as a 'tranquil power' in global politics. For Todorov, the emerging power of the EU can actually be new, opening an unexplored path between imperialism and the deficiencies

of isolationism (Manners, 2006c: 40). Todorov puts this connection between psychology, European pluralism and the EU in global politics this way:

> [T]he new tensions within and without Europe are tensions that I experience inside myself.... It is often claimed that pluralism is not something you decree, but something you discover to be already present in the situation;...People also sometimes wonder whether a pluralist world would not be condemned to permanent confrontation...The simplistic schema of 'friend/enemy' may be very widespread, but it doesn't explain the diversity of relations between different countries.
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> (Todorov, 2005: 2–3)

These examples of scholarship working within both psychoanalysis and the study of European integration illustrates the ways in which Freud, Lacan and Bakhtin, as well as the research of Kristeva and Todorov, can illuminate the interrelationships between the unconscious, the self, the plural, and the other. Despite the examples discussed here, psychoanalytical political psychology has had little impact in the study of European integration more broadly, which is strange given that integration in any social definition implies the coming together of entities that were formally separate.

Critical political psychology

The final consideration is of critical political psychology at the forefront of the interface between political psychology and European integration. It is undoubtedly here that the most interesting, challenging and yet insightful critical social science is to be found – a crucial arena for trying to understand the dissatisfaction and alienation that many Europeans feel towards politics, politicians, government and the EU in the twenty-first century. Critical social sciences are those that understand the contextual and subjective nature of social enquiry. For Busch (2009: 1, 1993, 1999), working within Frankfurt School critical theory, 'critical political psychology in its narrow conceptual sense can be understood as a product of the alliance of critical political economy and psychology'. For Nesbitt-Larking (2003: 239), discourse and rhetorical analysis facilitates a critical political psychology that contributes 'toward cross-cultural political psychology and the possibilities of political psychology beyond the framework of possessive individualism'. The engagement

between critical political psychology and European integration will be illustrated with reference to two works on the political psychology of globalisation and on European communion.

In many respects, Kinnvall and Nesbit-Larking's (2011) *The Political Psychology of Globalization: Muslims in the West* brings together many of the strands already discussed, including the social construction of ontological security and psychoanalytical grounded in Lacan and Bakhtin. As the authors make clear, 'employing broad socioeconomic and political concepts of global forces in combination with critical political psychology, we explore the concept of identity by addressing how events on the global stage interact with the local and particular' (Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking, 2011: 10). By using critical political psychology the authors conclude that 'a dialectical conception of identity as socially conditioned practice . . . brings together a meaningfully a diverse range of sources on identity, multiculturalism, globalization, and citizenship' (Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking, 2011: 17).

In contrast to Kinnvall and Larking's ground-up approach to minorities in European societies, European communion takes a multilayered approach to European integration. By drawing on the psychology of Bakan (1966), Abele and Wojciszke argue that in psychological terms communion is neither selfish nor selfless behaviour, but a consideration of others (Abele and Wojciszke, 2007; Abele et al., 2008; Manners, 2013a: 490). In 'European communion: political theory of European union' (Manners, 2013a: 474) it is argued that 'the concept of European communion is defined as the "subjective sharing of relationships", understood as the extent to which individuals or groups believe themselves to be sharing relations (or not), and the consequences of these beliefs for European political projects, processes and products'. The article and subsequent research sets out how understanding the projects, processes and products of European union, based on 'sharing' or 'communion', provides a better means of perceiving the EU as a political object rather than terms such as 'integration' or 'cooperation' as is generally used in functionalist-institutionalist European integration studies.

These two examples illustrate the uses of critical political psychology and critical social theory in examining the interface between political psychology and European integration, either with a focus on the micro-social processes of minority–majority relations or on the macro-political processes of sharing and communion within Europe. Although these two examples are very rare in both political psychology and the study of European integration, they are clearly becoming crucial to the understanding of why 'another Europe is possible' (Manners, 2007), indeed

even probable in the face of widespread disenchantment and disillusion with the processes of globalisation and Europeanisation. As Adorno and the Frankfurt School questioned in the last century, we still need to understand the political psychology of antidemocratic, nationalistic and destructive political patterns, whether found in minority or majority populations (see e.g. Capelos and Van Troost, 2012).

Conclusion: Inside and outside, interior and exterior, belonging and otherness

This chapter began by drawing on the insights of Stuart Hall, the 'godfather of multiculturalism' (Butler, 2014), on the relationships between European identity, European integration and the political-psychological processes of marking symbolic boundaries and constructing symbolic frontiers. The discussions in the sections on 'Social psychology' and 'Social construction' regarding social psychology and social construction speak to Hall's inside and outside of Europe's other self. The section on 'Psychoanalysis' examined Hall's interior and exterior of Europe's other self. Finally, the section on 'Critical political psychology' interrogated Hall's belonging and otherness of Europe's other self.

In the context of twenty-first-century European crises of EU governance, the Eurozone, the rise of the far right and the return of neo-racist and xenophobic movements not seen since the 1930s, Hall's discussions of Europe's other selves now seems visionary 20 years later. In this respect, the chapter has both illustrated the *potential* for greater engagement between political psychology and the study of European integration and the *necessity* for such an engagement in order to better understand contemporary Europe. But it is also clear that engagement must meet the fundamental definition of political psychology – it must be a bidirectional interaction of European political and psychological processes.

The first direction is the potential for the study of European integration to benefit from political psychology. If a broad understanding of European integration as the economic, social and political processes of mutual accommodation and inclusion by European states and peoples is assumed, then the benefits of engagement are potentially huge. The fields of European integration and political psychology have lots to say to each other about the psychological processes and consequences of globalisation and Europeanisation. The effects of the global financial crisis in Europe has brought home to many just how interlaced

the economic processes of globalisation and Europeanisation appear to most inhabitants of Europe. Similarly, the study of European multi-national and transnational groups and movements that have been either empowered, such as independence movements, or mobilised, such as xenophobic movements, would undoubtedly benefit from a conversation between European integration and political psychology. In addition, it is certainly clear that many of the methods of political psychology have much to say to the study of European integration. Throughout this chapter, a number of scholars and their engagement with the political psychology of European integration have been iden-tified, for example the work of Müller-Peters, Laffan, Cram, Mitzen, Guisan, Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking. However, despite these exam-ples, it has to be said that in general there is virtually no engagement between the two fields. For example, *Political Psychology* and the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, the respective flagship disciplinary journals, have only collectively published five articles on the subject of politi-cal psychology and European integration since they began in the 1970s (*Political Psychology*) and the 1960s (*Journal of Common Market Studies*).

The other direction is the potential for political psychology to benefit from the study of European integration. One of the most interest-ing factors for political psychologists to study must undoubtedly be how the world's most conflict-prone region managed to shift from a condition of centuries-old enmity to institutionalised amity in just six decades. Beyond this broader question of enmity and amity, the chapter has used six examples which talk from European integration to political psychology. The question of attitudes towards the euro (Müller-Peters et al.) raises questions about the political psychology of symbolic exchange. The issues of multiple identities practices (Laffan) within, without and across Europe says something interesting about complex and rapid identity (re)constructions. Beyond the banal nationalisms of EU member states, European integration speaks to the questions of the banality of Europeanisation (Cram) as a political psychological pro-cess. In these processes of enmity and amity between conflict-prone states such as France and Germany, Greece and Turkey, Serbia and Croatia, the hermeneutics of reconciliation (Guisan) are potentially fruitful. Going further towards the unconscious, the recognition of strangeness and reconciliation of difference (Kristeva) within, without and across European societies should undoubtedly be of interest to psychoanalytically informed scholars. Finally, the bringing together of cosmopolitical ethics and communitarian politics through a 'cosmopo-litical' engagement within and between minority/majority populations

across the EU and its member states (Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking) is undoubtedly a crucial issue for scholars concerned with progressing the legacy of Stuart Hall and genuinely multicultural political psychology. If a new Europe is to take shape that neither perpetuates the 'homogenising "indifference" of globalisation' (Hall, 1991: 19) into European integration, nor accentuates twenty-first-century reactionary politics, then the contradictory processes of marking and constructing Europe's other self need to be understood through a political psychology of European integration.

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