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The European Forum was set up by the High Council of the EUI in 1992 with the mission of bringing together at the Institute for a given academic year a group of experts, under the supervision of annual scientific director(s), for researching a specific topic primarily of a comparative and interdisciplinary nature.

This Working Paper has been written in the context of the 1999-2000 European Forum programme on "Between Europe and the Nation State: the Reshaping of Interests, Identities and Political Representation" directed by Professors Stefano Bartolini (EUI, SPS Department), Thomas Risse (EUI, RSC/SPS Joint Chair) and Bo Stråth (EUI, RSC/HEC Joint Chair).

The Forum reflects on the domestic impact of European integration, studying the extent to which *Europeanisation* shapes the adaptation patterns, power redistribution, and shifting loyalties at the national level. The categories of 'interest' and 'identity' are at the core of the programme and a particular emphasis is given to the formation of new social identities, the redefinition of corporate interests, and the domestic changes in the forms of political representation.

Abstract[*]

This paper uncovers some of the implicit assumptions of polity-formation underpinning the debate about the European Union's democratic legitimacy. It uses theories of nationalism to understand why a demos is unlikely to develop easily at the European level. Based on a two-by-two categorization of the logic and scope of identity-formation, I conclude that the most promising approach to European demos-formation conceives of identities as both constructed and "sticky". Labeling this theoretical position "bounded integration," I suggest that it provides a more realistic foundation for developing democracy-enhancing reform proposals than does post-nationalist theorizing, especially due to the former's explicit attention to identity-conferring mechanisms such as education, language, and media.

"We have made Europe, now we have to make Europeans." In its paraphrased, Europeanized form, Massimo d'Azeglio's famous quip illustrates vividly how much views of polity-formation have changed compared to the time of Italian unification. While some of today's analysts worry about the European Union's "democratic deficit," most reform proposals are limited to voting procedures and other technical aspects. Some even assert that parliamentary democracy, one of the great achievements of the last two centuries and supposedly the victor after the end of the fall of communism, is obsolete anyway. Indeed, very few proponents of European integration have considered the possibility of launching an identity-constructing project aiming at the "production" of Europeans.

This paper uncovers some of the implicit assumptions of polity-formation that underpin the debate about the European Union's democratic legitimacy.[1] It does so by using theories of nationalism as a conceptual guide. Without understanding the mechanisms that prevent a European "demos" from materializing, it is hard to gauge the chances of transcending the nation-state as the prime locus of political identification. Based on a survey of such theories, I conclude that the most persuasive of them adopt a perspective of "bounded integration." Such a view tries to problematize the European demos rather than accepting or denying its existence from the outset.

Thus agreeing with those who express skepticism about a swift trend toward post-national democracy, I join the "Euro-pessimistic" analysts in recommending that the authority transfer to Brussels be decelerated in the short run. Nevertheless, this does not mean that their autonomy-protecting measures cannot, and should not, be complemented with identity-altering measures in the long run. The nationalism literature turns the attention to mass-based instruments of identity-formation. More than anything else, public education serves a central function not just as a knowledge producer but also as a creator of citizens. Language policy, both as a part of the school system and in other contexts, also plays an important role in this connection. Beyond that, the institutions of civil society, including mass media, political parties, and non-governmental organizations, support the critical infra-structure without which democracy would be impossible. Thus, rather than being a mere electoral matter, democratic governance presupposes an institutional context characterized by intense communication and social cohesion.

A nationalism-theoretic perspective usefully deflects the attention from long-standing debates in integration theory that have outlived their usefulness. Preoccupied with the question of whether there has been, or will be, more or less institutional integration, intergovernmentalists and neofunctionalists fail to address the demos question head on. Likewise, political theorists and comparativists have conducted the debate about the Union's "democratic

deficit" against the backdrop of a tacit assumption of a European people. More recently, however, theorists have begun to explore European identity-formation explicitly. Most prominently, Jürgen Habermas and his followers have applied his normative theory of "communicative action" to the European Union's legitimacy dilemma. Framed as a post-nationalist vision, the project of "constitutional patriotism" serves to "rescue" democracy from the nation-state (Habermas 1992a; 1992b; 1998). In this spirit, a number of scholars, many of whom are German, have advanced reform proposals with the purpose of democratizing the Union. But they have not done so unopposed, because constructivist scholarship taking issue with the post-nationalist principles has started to emerge.

Yet, while suggestive, these critical arguments are rather loosely related. According to Robert Dahl (1994: 34), much work remains to be done in order to specify the constraints holding back European identity-formation: "Because of the problem of tradeoffs in democratic values resulting from changes in scale has been largely ignored, the opponents of drastic increases in the size of a democratic unit have little to fall back on except sentiment, attachment, loyalties."[2] By organizing such propositions under the heading of bounded integration, I strive to clarify the contentious issues at stake and to render the counter-position to post-nationalism more coherent.

My argument proceeds in four stages. First, I introduce two conceptual dimensions, relating to the logic and scope of identity-formation respectively. This classification serves as a guide in the second section's survey of theories of nationalism, focusing on their approach to integration beyond the nation-state. The third section applies this theoretical categorization to the problem of the European Union's demos as a way to compare the constructivist positions. A final section outlines the repercussions for future theorizing of the EU's demos.

DEFINING THE KEY CONCEPTS

Before exploring the literature on nationalism, it is necessary to pin down what is meant by identification and democracy beyond the nation-state. I start by considering the analytical logic of identity-formation. Then the second dimension, representing the territorial scope of political identities, will be abridged.

The Logic of Identity-formation

Most classifications of scholarly work on nationalism divide the literature into a modernist and a primordialist camp. Whereas modernists conceive of nations and nationalism as fundamentally modern phenomena, stemming from the

period after the French Revolution, primordialists contend that they are in some sense natural and that they date back to time immemorial. Whatever specific dichotomy is suggested, modernists usually end up on one side of the debate as the overwhelming majority, leaving very few "primordialist" dissenters on the other side.[3]

As a way to highlight a more relevant fault line, I propose a slightly modified taxonomy. According to this alternative classification, the main divide running through the literature corresponds to the relationship between culture and politics. While some scholars argue that political identities flow more or less directly from the underlying cultural "raw material,"[4] others contend that the connection is much more tenuous. I will refer to the first position as *essentialism* and the second one as *constructivism.*
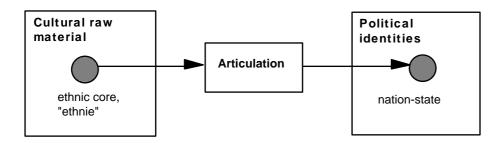

Figure 1. **The Essentialist Principle of Political Identity-formation.**

The essentialist approach is primarily driven by cultural background variables. According to this logic, each ethnic core produces a political identity in a more or less direct fashion. In its most elaborated form, essentialist theory allows cultural and political actors to play a mediating role, though they are restricted to articulating a given cultural heritage. Here cultural "primitive units" such as ethnic cores are presumed to exist, and the task of the nationalist entrepreneur is to "rediscover" and transform it into a politically operational identity (see Figure 1).

Constructivism, by contrast, places more emphasis on politics.[5] In this view, the unmitigated link between cultural raw material and political identities is broken by an active process of identity-formation entailing manipulation of cultural symbols. Since cultural systems are inherently multi-dimensional, history does not deliver ready-made packages such as ethnic cores. Instead, intellectuals and political activist select the ethnic cleavages to be mobilized or suppressed, a process that may also produce new cultural combinations (e.g. Breuilly 1982; Gellner 1983; Hroch 1985).

Instrumentalist constructivism lets the causal arrows primarily run "backwards" from right to left (cf. Figure 2). Instead of assuming culture to be the starting point, instrumental constructivists begin with political identity-formation emphasizing the autonomy of political factors (typically driven by external material forces), while treating culture as a mere side-effect of the process. Maximizing their influence, political leaders mobilize the population in question by carefully selecting out the cultural cleavages to be activated (Brass 1991; Haas 1997; Calhoun 1997: Chap. 2).
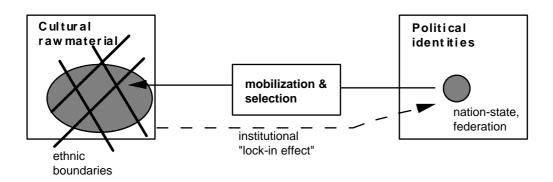

Figure 2. **The Constructivist Principle of Political Identity-formation.**

Yet other constructivist approaches complement the instrumental logic with an institutional feedback effect stabilizing the connection between culture and identity-formation (see the dashed arrow in Figure 2). This interpretation allows for an "ecological" perspective on identity-formation, which limits the freedom of choice of political entrepreneurs by blocking or deflecting their initiatives. Without ruling out rational agency, such an explanation postulates an institutional "lock-in" effect that traces how identity-formation is affected by the availability of cultural raw material and ethnic boundaries that acquire an autonomous role feeding back into the political process.

This process typically has an expressive or rule-following aspect that defies strictly rationalist explanation. Thus, both a sociological "logic of appropriateness" and a rational/instrumental "logic of consequences" can be expected to operate, sometimes reinforcing each other and sometimes in tension (March and Olsen 1998). To the extent that the former dominates the latter logic, identities becomes more stable since they are not based on constant cost-benefit calculations, though neither instrumentally based "stickiness" nor non-instrumental fickleness should be excluded (Olsen 2000: 6). Rejecting an exclusively instrumental approach to nationalism, Craig Calhoun thus argues

that "the development and spread of nationalist discourse is not reducible to state formation or political manipulation; it has autonomous significance, appears in cultural arenas not directly defined by state-making projects, and has often informed popular action to reform or resist patterns of state making" (Calhoun 1997: 11; cf. Brubaker 1998).

Whatever their precise causal logic, constructivists reject the essentialist one-way street from cultural to political units. In other words, "we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant" (Barth 1969: 14).

The Scope of Identity-formation

The second conceptual dimension asks whether the nation-state will remain the main locus of identification or whether it will be superseded. Will the old national identities lose their status as "trump" and cease to dominate other identities (Calhoun 1993: 229)? I use the term *retention* of national identity to denote assumptions that stress the staying power of actually existing nation-states together with their supporting principle: nationalism, that is, the principle that requires cultural and political boundaries to coincide (Gellner 1983: 1).

Supersession, by contrast, implies that the nation-state is likely to be partly or entirely surpassed as the dominant political identity. In other words, the nation-state is superseded as soon as a supra-national system of symbols is established and is adhered to by the masses. This can happen in many ways. Either identification is shifted entirely to the supranational level which takes over the qualities of the nation-state, or the very principle of nationalism is transcended. Whereas the former possibility generates a "super nation" (Smith 1990:3), the latter one entails a new form of polity based on non-national principles (cf. Weiler 1999: 344-348).[6]

The conceptual step from national and supranational identity to demos is a short one, for the latter term refers to the popular unit that exercises democratic rights, and as such, is usually thought to be constituted by a shared identity.[7] Thus defined, a demos is a group of people the vast majority of which feels sufficiently attached to each other to be willing to engage in democratic discourse and binding decision-making (cf. Dahl 1989; Weiler et al. 1995; Weiler 1999; Abromeit 1998).

Two important remarks should be made at this point. First, democracy is not necessarily tantamount to majoritarian rule. While, in the most demanding

case, the demos legitimizes majority decisions, it is also possible to imagine demoi based on super-majorities and more consensual types of decision-making processes guaranteeing various measures of minority protection (Lijphart 1977). Second, it should not be assumed that the demos is synonymous with nationhood. A nation implies the presence of a state, or at least the aspiration of creating one, and is therefore too limiting a notion of peoplehood (Weber 1946). This point applies in particular to ethnic nations which impose even more demanding criteria, dependent as they are on "thick" cultural identities (Walzer 1994). Such a definition of the demos ultimately confounds the second dimension of political scope with the logic of the first one associated with the logic of identity-formation (cf. Weiler 1999: 269). At the same time, however, a demos is more than a mere aggregation of individuals. There has to be a sense of community, a we-feeling, however "thinly" expressed, for democracy to have any meaning.

Below I will return to the demos issue. In anticipation of that discussion, the next section classifies theories of nationalism and integration along the two dimensions just introduced.

FOUR APPROACHES TO NATIONALISM AND INTEGRATION

How do essentialists and constructivists evaluate the prospects of supranational political identities? Intuitively, one would expect the former to answer in the negative and the latter in the affirmative. After all, a directly culture-driven approach insisting on direct links between ethnic cores and political entities clashes with the multi-cultural architecture inherent in most supranational schemes. Constructivists, who place more faith in the autonomy of political initiatives, appear more ready to imagine experiments superseding the nation-state. However, these "intuitive" positions by no means exhaust the field of theoretical possibilities; there are two other possibilities. To highlight them, we turn to Figure 3, which separates the theoretical perspective on identity-formation from the general approach to integration.

The "straight-forward" combinations are easily identified as *ethno-nationalism* and *post-nationalism*, the first of these representing essentialists' assumption of the nation-state as the final equilibrium, and the second term denoting constructivist integrationism. In addition to those conventional positions, however, the table opens the door for supranational essentialism as well as for constructivist explanations of the nation-state. The first of these two "mixed" cases could be called *pan-nationalism* since it argues for the existence of cultural entities greater than the nation-state, such as civilizations, grounded in culture. I label the opposite possibility *bounded integration* due to its emphasis on political and cultural boundaries.

The logic of identity-formation:	**Retention**	**Supersession**
Essentialism	Ethno-nationalism	Pan-nationalism
Constructivism	Bounded integration	Post-nationalism

Figure 3. **Four Analytical Perspectives on Supranational Identity-formation.**

Equipped with this simple four-way taxonomy, it is time to find out what the nationalism literature has to say about supranational identity-formation. For each theoretical combination, I will also draw links to the classical theories of integration that happen to correspond to the position under scrutiny. We start by exploring the two "obvious" positions, and then move on to the mixed, counter-intuitive combinations.

Ethno-nationalism

Although some scholars use ethno-nationalism interchangeably with nationalism (Connor 1994: Chaps. 2 and 4), I will reserve it for essentialist theories converging on the nation-state. Anthony D. Smith is perhaps the most influential analyst of the "ethnic revival" (Smith 1981). He is also the essentialist scholar who has written most extensively about supranational integration.[8] Although Smith's "ethno-symbolic" account leaves some room for cultural innovation and political agency, it does presuppose a rough one-to-one correspondence between cultural groupings and political identities. Indeed, it makes little sense to speak of "rediscovery," "reinterpretation," and "regeneration" without assuming that there is something to be rediscovered, reinterpreted and regenerated in the first place (Smith 1995b). Rejecting cosmopolitanism, Smith suggests that global culture "strikes no chord among the vast mass of peoples divided into their habitual communities of class, gender, region, religion and culture."[9]

In fact, according to this culture-driven interpretation, the nation acquires a life of its own regardless of the state (Smith 1995a: 112). A cultural nation is assumed to exist before the search for viable political identities can start. Given Smith's culture-driven assumptions, it is hardly surprising that he adopts a skeptical approach to supersession. In his view, the nation-state is unlikely to be superseded since it is "politically necessary," "functional to modernity," and

"historically embedded" (Smith 1995a: Chap. 6). Multicultural constructions striving to transcend the nation-state, by contrast, lack historical depth and consequently fail to evoke mass emotions conducive to political loyalty.

According to Smith, the European Union is no exception to this rule. It is not even clear what a European cultural identity stands for. While acknowledging that there are shared political traditions such as "Roman law, political democracy, parliamentary institutions, and Judeo-Christian ethics", and cultural ones based on "Renaissance humanism and empiricism, and romanticism and classicism," the author suggests that they add up, not to "unity in diversity," but to "families of culture" (Smith 1992: 70). Such aggregates are not to be confused with political or economic unions, which can be constructed rapidly and rationally. On the contrary, they "tend to come into being over long time-spans and are the product of particular historical circumstances, often unanticipated and unintentional" (Smith 1992: 71, see also Smith 1993: 134). Thus, at best, "a European identity ... would be likely to evolve through a slow, inchoate, often unplanned process, though selected aspects might be the objects of attempts at conscious planning" (Smith 1995a: 125). Consistent with his essentialist outlook, Smith draws the conclusion that political change on the mass level can only occur incrementally through cultural evolution.

Within the specialized integration literature, "classical" intergovernmentalism comes close to Smith's ethno-nationalist position. As opposed to more recent strands that do not explicitly analyze the cultural dimension of politics, traditional forms of intergovernmentalist refer explicitly to "unit-level" characteristics, including culture.[10] Stanley Hoffmann emphasizes the "logic of diversity" of the state system according to which "the weight of geography and of history—a history of nations—has kept the nation-states in their watertight compartments" (Hoffmann 1966: 893, see also Aron 1964). In the end, what drives the search for the "national interest" is not a sense of "national consciousness" but an underlying "national situation" for "[a]ny nation-state ... is ... thrown into the world; its situation is made up altogether of its internal features—what, in an individual, would be called heredity and character—and of its position in the world" (Hoffmann 1966: 868).[11]

To sum up, ethno-nationalist theories of nationalism assume that political identities depend directly on their "own" pre-modern cultural communities. In their view, supranational constructions attempting to transcend national identities are doomed to fail since they lack the emotional anchoring of the nation-state. This culturally driven logic is usually postulated rather than dynamically disentangled. What is missing is a constructivist account of how various institutionalist mechanisms conspire to reproduce national identities. As I show below, this is the strength of bounded-integration theories of identity-

formation, but before turning to those, I turn to the polar opposite of ethno-nationalism.

Post-Nationalism

Whereas essentialist theories of ethno-nationalism arrive at a negative conclusion regarding the chances of superseding nationalism, many constructivists conclude precisely the opposite. In opposition to the ethno-nationalist emphasis on culture as the theoretical starting point, this modernist program insists on the primacy of politics as a functional response to expanding material conditions of production. Modern communications created the nation-state, but since technology continues to develop, political organization will keep up by increasing its own scale. Eventually this trend will break the politico-cultural bond of nationalism.

Basing his case on liberal principles of Kantian bent, Jürgen Habermas classifies nationalism as a "modern phenomenon of cultural integration" created through historiography and transmitted through "the channels of modern mass communications" (Habermas 1992: 3). Consistent with this constructivist outlook, British historian Eric Hobsbawm regards nationalism as a myth and nations as modern inventions held together by "proto-national" bonds (Hobsbawm 1990: 46).

Once the artificial nature of nationalism as a political principle has been recognized, it becomes possible to detach politics from culture, or to put it differently, "depoliticize the nation" (see Smith 1995a: 11ff). Habermas argues in favor of a "political culture" serving as a "common denominator for a constitutional patriotism which simultaneously sharpens an awareness of the multiplicity and integrity of the different forms of life which coexist in a multicultural society" (Habermas 1992: 6; see also Ferry 1992a; 1992b). Along similar lines, Hobsbawm illustrates the historical independence of these two realms by devising a two-way periodization of European nationalism. While nationalists of the mid-19th century expressed their cause in civic terms, geo-cultural contingencies rendered nationalist activity from about 1870 onwards increasingly ethnic. In an era of large-scale polities such as the superpowers, however, these reactionary tendencies will fade because of their inherent inefficiency. Seen in this light, they "are symptoms of sickness rather than diagnoses, let alone therapy. Nevertheless, they create the illusion of nations and nationalism as an irresistibly rising force ready for the third millennium" (Hobsbawm 1990: 177).

Thus political and cultural units are not only conceptually distinct but also historically contingent. In case of clashes between these two organization

principles, politics will prevail, leading to a redefinition of culture to serve political functions. It is important to note, however, that though this rationalist approach to ethnicity presupposes assimilation, full cultural assimilation is not required. Post-nationalism, then, does not call for a mere shift to some sort of "super nation-states." Rather than being a mere increase of geopolitical scale, this emancipatory move rests on a qualitative transformation of political membership (Ferry 1992b: 45).

Among the traditional integration-theoretic perspectives, it is clearly functionalist theorizing that comes closest to the assumptions of post-nationalism. In the European context, the most common expression of functionalism is its refined neofunctionalist form as propounded by Ernst Haas and others (Haas 1958; 1964; see also Lindberg and Scheingold 1970). An outspoken and self-conscious constructivist, Haas conceives of this process as a form of "rationalization." In his view, ethnonationalism is an unhelpful term that can be reduced to instrumental principles: "I believe that ethno-nationalists, being modern and sophisticated people, are easily bought off" (Haas 1993: 525; see also Haas 1997).

In spite of the important caveats weakening the automaticity of functionalist theory, neofunctionalists were looking for a "process of increasing the interaction and the mingling so as to obscure the boundaries between the system of International Organizations and the environment provided by their nation-state members" (Haas 1964: 29). To explain this postulated shift, Haas advanced a set of elaborate and detailed mechanisms, collectively labeled spill-over and comprising functional, political, and "cultivated" dimensions (see Tranholm-Mikkelsen 1991).[12]

Yet, it should be noted that contemporary post-nationalist thinking differs quite considerably from traditional neofunctionalism which strives to erect a European federal state as a long-term goal. Far from all post-nationalists are ready to embrace a statist framework, let alone one that approximates the nation-state (Shaw 1999). Moreover, as opposed to Haas' heavy reliance on instrumental rationality, Habermas' version of post-nationalism attempts to transcend this mode of action in favor of the "theory of communicative action" (cf. Risse 2000). All the same, the overall Enlightenment theme anticipating and favoring a thrust toward collective learning and larger-scale governance is shared by both literatures.

In order to go beyond this by now somewhat worn dispute between intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism, I use the two-by-two categorization as a way to find two other theoretical positions. Combining an essentialist approach to culture with a belief in the nation-state's supersession, the first of

these possibilities, pan-nationalism, can be discussed quite briefly since it has little to say about identity-formation as a process. The bounded-integration perspective, however, deserves more attention. As will be shown in the next section, constructivist "Euro-pessimism" offers important insights about Europe's demos dilemma.

Pan-nationalism

Even though essentialists are usually associated with nationalism, there is no logical reason why a culture-driven approach could not at least in theory be extended beyond the scale of the contemporary nation-states. As a special case of pan-nationalism, pan-Europeanist doctrines apply the nationality principle beyond the scale of the contemporary European nation-state (Snyder 1984). To make politics fit culture, this essentialist line of reasoning assumes Europe to be a cultural entity waiting to be "rediscovered": "Although [post-nationalist scholars] may speak of a new European culture and new Europeans, they see both as modern versions of something that existed in the past but was destroyed by the national state and its internecine wars and must now be recovered and restored" (Smith 1995a: 128-129).

Given the importance of economics in the European integration process, it does not come as a surprise that these culture-driven views have never been held by more than a small minority of supranationalists. These scholars find inspiration in a long tradition of peace plans from earlier centuries. Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalgeri, who started his lobbying for "Pan-Europa" in the interwar period, is counted as the father of the modern Pan-Europeanist movement (Snyder 1984: 4). Denis de Rougemont, perhaps the most prominent exponent of Pan-Europeanism, also came very close to offering an essentialist defense of European integration (de Rougemont 1965: 56; cf. Varenne 1993).

Perhaps, Samuel Huntington's controversial "clash of civilizations" thesis offers the best-known recent example along these lines, although the main emphasis is on perpetual conflict rather than transcendence of warfare. Claiming that future conflict will follow civilizational rifts rather than national borders, this contentious proposition views civilizations as the "highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of identity people have" (Huntington 1993a: 24; see also Huntington 1996). Without predicting the demise of the nation-state, Huntington envisages at least partial supersession of nationalism, a proposition that is reflected in Huntington's strictures about European integration: "The European Community rests on the shared foundations of European culture and Western Christianity" (Huntington 1993a: 27; see also Obradovic 1996).

As A. D. Smith illustrates, the fundamental difficulties of establishing the existence of a European cultural essence cast doubt on this position. Besides repeated attempts by the European Commission and other activists to introduce policy proposals geared toward promoting cultural Europe's identity as if it already existed, few scholars are ready to sign onto a pan-Europeanist agenda.

Bounded Integration

Many constructivist students of nationalism are much less optimistic than their post-nationalists counterparts about the prospects for erosion of the nation-state. They emphasize the staying power of nationalism, but for very different reasons than scholars subscribing to the ethno-nationalist position. Instead of stressing cultural continuity as the key to nation-formation, they contend that stable political identities originate in, and are upheld by, explicit policies and mechanisms. If an institutional equilibrium of this type is reached it usually proves very stable. Yet, without on-going processes of identity-maintenance, identities often quickly dissipate. To the extent that the nation-state represents such an equilibrium, supra-national identity formation becomes unlikely.

This view rests crucially on the assumption that the modern nation constitutes an abstractly and categorically constituted "imagined community" (B. Anderson 1991). National communities are seen as Durkheimian social facts, linking personal identities with those of the state: "In simpler societies, you become a citizen by occupying a social slot. In modern society, man does not possess citizenship in virtue of prior membership of some organic sub-part of it, he possesses citizenship directly" (Gellner 1964: 156). Thus, despite their imagined nature, these national identities take on an objective character often quite resistant to change:

> Nations may indeed be inventions. But like the wheel, or the internal combustion engine, they are endowed, once invented, with a real, palpable existence which is not just to be found in the subjective perceptions of their citizens, but is embodied in laws, languages, customs, institutions—and history.[13]

Thus it is evident that many mechanisms contribute to stabilizing and retaining national identities. Though Gellner has rightly been criticized for his "demand-side" explanation of nationalism stressing the "needs" of modern industrial society (Mann 1992; O'Leary 1998), his account does point to specific institutional mechanisms on the "supply side," the most important of which is state-organized education:

> At the base of the of the modern social order stands not the executioner but the professor. Not the guillotine, but the (aptly named) *doctorat d'état* is the main tool and

symbol of state power. The monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than the monopoly of legitimate violence (Gellner 1983: 34).

As opposed to pre-modern societies, which socialized their children mainly within the family, the nation-state is so complex that "production" of citizens calls for specialized, educational institutions. To be effective as a tool of political socialization, moreover, formal schooling normally requires a versatile medium, such as a high language that transcends local dialects. Other important mechanisms include the printing press (Anderson 1991) and modern media institutions (Schlesinger 1991). Less obviously identity-conferring projects, such as road building, legal unification and bureaucratic standardization, create indispensable symbols and enhance mobility considerably, thus helping to create the conditions for a national community (Deutsch 1953; E. Weber 1979; Mann 1993). In addition, external processes relating to warfare, immigration and other flows contribute to the creation and maintenance of the nation-states' cultural boundaries (Mann 1992; Colley 1992; Brubaker 1992).

The continued presence of most of these mechanisms together with the inertia of the cultural representations residing in interaction habits and peoples' minds make supranational identity formation difficult. Once locked into their respective "power containers" national identities are unlikely to change drastically (cf. Giddens 1985). Whereas Ernest Gellner partially supports projections of cultural convergence as a result of the communication revolution, he parts company with integrationist predictions along post-nationalist lines, for, in his view, "it remains difficult to imagine two large, politically viable, interdependence-worthy cultures cohabiting under a single political roof, and trusting a single political centre to maintain and service both cultures with perfect or even adequate impartiality" (Gellner 1983: 119). The reason for Gellner's skepticism stems from his belief in a strong, reciprocal link between politics and culture. The post-nationalist effort to separate the two encounters difficulties since it fails to realize that "men are dependent on culture, and that culture requires standardization over quite wide areas, and needs to be maintained and serviced by centralized agencies" (Ibid., p. 121). The inevitable conclusion of this reasoning is that "the nationalist imperative of the congruence of political units and of culture will continue to apply. In that sense, one need not expect the age of nationalism to come to an end" (Ibid.).

Though not directly addressing European integration, Stein Rokkan's (1999) theory of nation-building in Europe leads to similar conclusions. In a recent essay, Peter Flora (2000) renders this link explicit. Asserting that Rokkan's "bundle of processes" that created the nation-state are unlikely to be repeated at the European level. According to Flora, European integration has been animated by a concerted attempt to "devalue the nation-state" and to erect

a common market. This project undermines the historically contingent connection between identity, political participation, and welfare. Without the clear boundaries and identity-(re)producing processes of the nation-state, it is hard to imagine how a viable European identity could ever emerge (on boundaries see also Bartolini 1998).

In the classical integration literature, constructivist approaches that emphasize the boundedness of the nation-state have been more rare. Though his name has often been associated with modernization, Karl Deutsch adopted a skeptical attitude to supranational identity-formation (Pentland 1973). It is often thought that Deutsch's interest in transaction indicators reflected an overly optimistic view of political identity convergence excluding the possibility of conflict and setbacks (cf. Breuilly 1982: 20). Yet, while it is true that some of his students moved closer to post-nationalism (cf. e.g. Puchala 1984), Deutsch himself remained skeptical of communication as an automatic catalyst of integration. In fact, the main work *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* explicitly rejects this proposition as a popular but mistaken belief (Deutsch et al. 1957: 22):

> [M]odern life, with rapid transportation, mass communications, and literacy, tends to be more international than life in past decades and centuries, and hence more conducive to the growth of international or supranational institutions. Neither the study of our cases, nor a survey of more limited data from a larger number of countries, has yielded any clearcut evidence to support this view. Nor do these results suggest that there has been inherent in modern economic and social development any unequivocal trend toward more internationalism and world community.

Still there is some doubt about his theory's constructivist foundations, mainly because of Deutsch's fascination with behaviorist methods. In an otherwise favorable reconstruction of his theory of security communities, Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett have recently argued that his book "missed the constructivist turn" (Adler and Barnett 1998; see also Calhoun 1993: 234).

Instead of discussing the boundaries of national and supranational communities, it is time to return to the issue of democratic governance within the European Union. In the next section, therefore, I will elaborate further bounded integration as an analytical position in the debate about the European Union's legitimacy problem. As will become clear, these contributions to the literature on nationalism help uncover the foundations on which Euro-pessimistic constructivism rests and put reform proposals on a more solid polity-theoretic footing.

NATIONALISM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION'S DEMOS DILEMMA

Historically, the debate about the constitutional legitimacy of European integration has proceeded in three stages (Weiler 1996). During the first decades, the economic performance and legal validity of the EC's institutions attracted most scholarly attention. As long as the Community did not intervene heavily in national affairs, the democratic cycle within the nation-states remained intact and thus carried most of the weight in terms of legitimating political life. The Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on European Union, TEU), however, shifted the focus to the so-called "democratic deficit". The increased interest in the democratic component of legitimacy stemmed from both the real and perceived intrusiveness of the EU in national affairs. Once the "permissive consensus" eroded, analysts came to treat democracy as the main component of legitimacy rather than reducing it to material performance (Banschoff and Smith 1999). More recently, and most importantly for the present purpose, the discussion has reached a third stage that addresses identity formation and the underlying myths legitimating the entire integration process. Indeed, the question of the Union's demos has surged to the top of the debating agenda (see especially Weiler 1999: 268).

Since I have defined the demos concept as a collective identity constituting a people, the link to the theories reviewed in the previous section should be obvious. Without implying that the two first stages of the debate lack interest, the rest of this essay concentrates exclusively on the demos debate, especially as it has unfolded in Germany.[14] I will therefore limit the exposition to the constructivist approaches to political identity while setting ethno-nationalism and pan-Europeanism aside. Instead of featuring an exchange between neofunctionalists and intergovernmentalists, the main theoretical discussion confronts post-nationalists with students of bounded integration.

But before turning to the constructivist debate, a few words about essentialist ways of framing the legitimacy problem are in order.

Essentialist Remedies to the Democratic Deficit

By definition, essentialist arguments assume the existence of either a national or European identity as their starting point. For example, British Euro-skeptics defend Westminster democratic self-determination against "Brussels". Likewise, in an important decision reached in 1993, the German Constitutional Court examined the democratic legitimacy of the European integration process. After ten months of deliberation, the Court "acquitted" the Union since it contended that, in the absence of a demos, the question of democracy could not even be put in the first place: "On this view, a parliament without a demos is conceptually

impossible, practically despotic" (Weiler et al 1995, p. 13). According to Weiler, this "no demos thesis" fails to recognize the malleability of political identities and thus exemplifies the ethno-nationalist approach.[15] Because of these limitations, the efforts to establish democratic legitimacy under ethno-nationalist conditions have usually turned to consociationalist analogies, with fixed nation-state identities replacing reified sub-national units. Such a recipe, however, suffers from elitism and tends to generate status-quo-oriented policies (cf. Weiler 1999: 279-283).

Taking the opposite position while tacitly postulating the existence of a European identity, ambitious Euro-federalists analyze the institutional options very much as if the Union were a federal state. Some of these policies remain firmly embedded in the first debate about pre-democratic legitimacy. For instance, the European Commission has promoted various PR measures, such as the adoption of a Community flag and a national hymn (see de Witte 1987; Shore 1993). These reforms assume that the main legitimacy problem afflicting the Union concerns its lacking visibility and the citizens' insufficient knowledge. If the EU only were made more palpable in the everyday lives of the average European, its popularity would automatically increase.

More deep-going proposals emanate from those analysts who insist on democratic rather than other types of legitimacy. While retaining the assumptions of a pre-existing, pan-nationalist identity, these diagnoses, that have been labeled "the Standard Version" (Weiler et al. 1995), analyze the constitutional preconditions of democracy at the European level. Here the main emphasis is on establishing parliamentary accountability by strengthening the European Parliament vis-à-vis other Union institutions (e.g. Williams 1991) or other institutional solutions based on multi-cameralism or federalism (for an overview, see Abromeit 1998: Chap. 3).

Returning to the third debate, it is clear that the proposals covered so far fail to problematize the Union's demos (Grimm 1995: 292; Closa 1998: 420; Zürn 1998: 247; Abromeit 1998: 32-35). Only by abandoning these essentialist perspectives, that have been referred to as the "DemDefLit" by Weiler (1999: 268), it becomes possible to explain what it would take to construct a European identity that is strong enough to carry the weight of democratic politics. Such an analysis by no means presupposes that a demos will actually emerge. But if Europeanized identity-formation is judged unlikely, it is necessary to state why this is the case.

Using the categorization introduced above, I divide constructivist theorizing about Europe's legitimacy problem into two main categories (cf. Olsen 2000: 6). Because of their belief in materially driven rather than culturally

rooted identities, post-nationalists are convinced that the political process itself will give rise to the necessary identifications. In contrast, analysts more impressed by the boundedness of the integration process find this position both utopian and potentially dangerous. As I have already indicated in the introduction, I shall argue that the bounded-integration criticism of post-nationalist thinking provides the most convincing line of argumentation.

Post-nationalist Proposals to Solve the Demos Dilemma

In a series of important essays, Jürgen Habermas (1992a; 1992b, 1996, 1998) has developed a project that is intended to transfer democratic decision-making from the nation-state to the European Union, and potentially beyond. Above I have summarized the post-nationalist polity model, so the analysis underpinning this argumentation should be clear. The underlying assumption, shared by other analysts in this tradition (Held 1995; Zürn 1998; forthcoming), is one of increasing globalization, or at least "de-nationalization," which expands the scope of economic and social interaction thus rendering the nation-state at least partly obsolete as a locus of effective and democratic decision-making.

Thus framed, Habermasian post-nationalism attempts to circumvent the demos dilemma by promoting a "thin" political identity detached from the nation while at the same time redefining the notion of democracy itself. Rather than merely emphasizing the electoral dimension, this approach focuses on *deliberative democracy*, which can be defined as collective decision making (i) "with the participation of all who will be affected by the decision or their representatives" and (ii) "by means of arguments offered *by* and *to* participants who are committed to the values of rationality" (Elster 1998: 8).[16]

In Habermas' terminology, communicative action within the framework of deliberative democracy requires an "ideal speech situation", or a "community of communication" in which the best argument wins after the participants have attempted to convince each other to change preferences (Habermas 1992a). More precisely, arguments are evaluated based on their factual veracity, normative appropriateness, and authenticity of the speakers (Müller 1994: 26). When applied to supranational integration, and to IR more generally, the main challenge concerns the extent to which such conditions can really be said to apply in culturally fragmented settings (Müller 1994: 27; Risse 2000).

While the European Union presents less difficulties as a candidate for democratization than the world as a whole, the problems should not be underestimated. Unlike pan-Europeanists, post-nationalists are not willing to merely postulate the existence of a workable community at the European level (Zürn 1998: 249). In fact, they admit that the Union has quite some way to go

until it can aspire to such an ideal. Insisting that the democracy be detached from the nation-state, especially in its ethnic form, they place their hopes in democratic process itself. Thus, the question becomes: Can democracy be trusted to generate its own sources of community-building? (Schmalz-Bruns 1999: 188).

Answering this question in the affirmative, post-nationalists refer to a number of mechanisms with "community-creating potential" (Zürn 1998: 254). These can be organized in three groups in descending order of post-nationalist emphasis: the *associative*, *electoral*, and *civic* channels:

The associative channel. Due to the post-nationalists' emphasis on the non-traditional, deliberative dimensions of democratic governance, the associative channel plays the most prominent role in their diagnosis. Building on ideas of transnational politics, Michael Zürn's (1998; forthcoming) diagnosis relies heavily on epistemic communities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Recognizing the risk of elitism, his and others' reform proposals, which introduce formal admission criteria and status categories for NGOs, are intended to improve the representativity and transparency of such multi-level policy-making networks (see also Schmitter 1998). It has even been argued, that the Union's system of "comitology" converges on the conditions of deliberative democracy (Joerges and Neyer 1998; cf. Schmalz-Bruns 1999: 213-218).

The electoral channel. This set of proposals comprises identity-creating changes of the national and EU voting schemes. Modifications of the existing institutions, such as the introduction of direct elections to the Council of Ministers, can be expected not only to enhance political representation in Europe, but also to involve citizens more closely in the Union's politics (Schmitter 1998). Other post-nationalist reforms strive to complement the European Parliament with Union-wide referenda. If the questions are chosen carefully, however, it is hoped that such directly-democratic instruments would have the desired impact on identity-formation (Zürn 1998: 354-355; Schmitter 1998; cf. Abromeit 1998: 148; Weiler 1999: 350-351).

The civic channel. This dimension transgresses the institutional domain narrowly defined as democratic decision-making. Here the stress is on the civic infrastructure of democratic governance, in particular the demos as constituted by the body of citizens. Most post-nationalist proposals have targeted the membership criteria and rights of European citizenship. Introduced through the TEU, the current notion of European citizenship is directly dependent on its national counterpart and offers a rather meager list of rights. If the exercise of political rights were linked more firmly to residence rather than to national citizenship, participation and belonging would benefit accordingly (cf. Soysal

1994; Delanty 1995, Chap. 10; Wiener 1997; Schmitter 1998; Closa 1998). Other aspects of citizenship have gained less prominence, especially the conditions for political communication and socialization beyond actual participation in the political process. Though post-nationalist scholars occasionally comment on these aspects (e.g. Habermas 1998: 154-155), little by way of positive proposals has materialized in their writings. By contrast, these issues, which include media, language, and most importantly education, preoccupy the students of bounded integration to whom we now turn.

Bounded Integration and the Demos Dilemma

The boundedness perspective views modern representative democracy as a process that co-evolved with nationalism. If the first generation of direct democracy emerged in the Greek city states, it was within the framework of the nation-state that democratic rights for the masses finally developed. Thus, the current issue concerns democracy's transformation to a third, post-national stage (Dahl 1989). The stakes are high, because "the danger is that the third transformation will not lead to an extension of the democratic idea beyond the nation state but to the victory in that domain of de facto guardianship" (Dahl 1994: 33).

An emphasis on integration's boundedness implies that the nation-state represents a stable equilibrium capable of uniting large populations. Such a community guarantees a communicative capacity that enables deliberation and generates a sufficiently strong we-feeling that can carry the weight of effective and democratic governance (March and Olsen 1995). In particular, effective decision making needs to counter free-riding. By demarcating clear membership criteria, the nation-state is able to impose duties on and extract resources from its citizens (Brubaker 1992; Streeck 1995; 1998; Scharpf 1999). The connection between the nation and democracy, then, should be seen as contingent though far from arbitrary.

This point is important, for the fact that democracy and the nation "grew up together" does not mean that the two are indissolubly linked. Indeed, bounded-integration thinking does not in principle exclude the possibility of democracy beyond the nation-state; it just postulates more demanding and precise conditions for its success than do post-nationalists. Thus, it is misleading to depict bounded views of the nation-state as "primordialist" (Schmalz-Bruns 1997: 71) or to claim that all adherents of a retention perspective fail to realize the contingency of the link between democracy and the nation-state (Zürn 1998: 250). Clearly, identities can be bounded and "sticky" without being based on ethnic principles (e.g. Grimm 1996: 292; Offe 1998: 38).

The advantage of the bounded-integration perspective is that it offers a more profound and dynamic picture of the entire polity, and thus also of the democratic process *including the production and maintenance of the citizens' identities.* By contrast, the post-nationalist perspective is based on an implicit notion of a social-contract that highlights the associative and electoral channels of democracy at the expense of the civic dimension. But in the case of the European Union, it would be a mistake to take for granted the existence of a pre-politically defined population that already possesses the basic cognitive capacity and emotional commitment to participate productively in collective decision-making.

In keeping with Gellner's original insight, then, the key to civic participation lies mainly in education, language policy, and mass media (Lepsius 1991). Even a quick glance at the current situation reveals how far the European Union is from securing these processes:

Education: Despite several innovative mobility-enhancing reforms, the education continues to be almost entirely national within the European Union. The European Commission and other integration enthusiasts have repeatedly attempted to introduce a "European dimension" into the national curricula, but all such proposals have fallen upon deaf ears because of fierce national resistance (de Witte 1987: 137; Theiler 1998). Originally, the Rome Treaty included a very narrow educational mandate strictly linked to labor mobility. Thus, the provisions guaranteed vocational training, mutual recognition of diplomas, and some measures intended to promote scientific research (Field 1998). The first wave of proposals was introduced in the 1970s after it became clear that instrumental justifications of the European integration process would not suffice to generate a political identity. In 1972, an expert group issued the Janne Report, which attempted to broaden the Community capacity in public education especially in terms of curricular contents. Yet, this and subsequent attempts to strengthen the "European dimension" in curricula did not enjoy the member states' support (Field 1998: 30-31; Theiler 1998). In the 1980s, the European Commission made further attempts to push the educational agenda. These bore fruit in the areas of student mobility (Erasmus) and foreign language teaching (Lingua) but there was no progress in terms of curricular contents. The trend promoting mobility-enhancing initiatives at the expense of more sensitive, contents-related reforms continued in the 1990s (Theiler 1998). If anything, the road to reforms in this area has now been blocked more permanently by constitutional guarantees included in the TEU and the Amsterdam Treaty (Koswlowski 1999). But it would be a mistake to put the entire blame on the governments because survey evidence shows that of all policy areas, education ranks as the one with the lowest popular support for Europeanization (*Eurobarometer* 45).

Language. Mirroring the bleakness of the educational area, the European Union also lacks legal instruments to shape the European language regime. Again the Treaty of Rome provides no direct means to intervene other than indirect justifications linked to the freedoms of movement (de Witte 1993: 156). Rather than enhancing linguistic coordination, regulations have been enacted that protect minority languages, though primarily those recognized by the member states (Ibid.). While French and English remain the de-facto working languages of the Union bureaucracy, all eleven of the member states' languages still enjoy equal official status. Thus, to the extent that language initiatives have been suggested, they have usually aimed to safeguard the Union's linguistic diversity rather than creating a viable communicative space. Beyond the elite level, however, the linguistic unification of Europe is often overestimated by cosmopolitan intellectuals. Even if English makes steady inroads in the language repertoires of the national populations, thus reducing the coordination problem (de Swaan 1993), foreign language knowledge remains very modest especially in Southern Europe (e.g. Grimm 1996: 295).[17] Given the difficulties of living up to the requirements of mass-based deliberative democracy in a single language, it would seem that the EU's multi-language regime needs urgent reform. Despite some efforts such as the LINGUA program, foreign-language teaching remains under-funded and fragmented (cf. Coulmas 1991). So far, language policy has remained a taboo topic within the EU. It may be that multilingual regimes exist, but none of them equal the Union's complexity. Thus comparisons with multilingual democracy in Switzerland seems to be of limited relevance (Grimm 1996).[18]

Mass media. As in educational and language policy, the Europeanization process has not got very far in the media sector. Indeed, at the mass level, the European media establishments remain firmly nationally organized (Gerhards 1993). Viewers overwhelmingly national programming in their own native tongue (Schlesinger 1999). Moreover, news reporting and general coverage of Europe have also stubbornly resisted Europeanization (Gerhards 1993). If an all-European communicative space has emerged at all, this has only been the case among a privileged minority of European power wielders who read the *Financial Times* and watch Euronews (Schlesinger 1999). Relying less on the printed word for information, the "common" Europeans watch television new broadcasts in their own language. Yet, the absence of sweeping reforms is not for lack of trying. A series of attempts were made to create all-European television channels in the 1980s, such as Eurikon, and Europa TV, but they failed because their commercial appeal turned out to be very limited (Schlesinger forthcoming). In addition, the member states have systematically opposed the European Commission's efforts to Europeanize the audiovisual production sector through anti-Americanization campaigns (Theiler forthcoming).[19] More recently, the European Commission has seen itself forced

to play down the cultural-defense theme in favor of a more technocratic stress on "multimedia" and other technocratic buzz words. In addition, the privatization of the sector has made it even harder to imagine a politically coordinated Europeanization of mass media (Schlesinger forthcoming).

Given the near or total absence of these and other identity mechanisms, such as party politics and external military threats, it is not surprising that opinion researchers have registered a reversal of the Europeanization trend in the 1980s toward a "renationalization" of public opinion (Niedermayer 1995; Sinnott 1999). Against the backdrop of the increasing intrusiveness and politicization of the integration process, this trend is precisely what one would expect from a bounded-integration perspective. If the post-nationalist perspective were right, the deepening of the integration process affecting more European citizens should have been reflected in increased loyalty.[20]

In view of these observations, the post-nationalist project would seem to resemble wishful thinking rather than an effective action program. Indeed, one does not have to a pan-nationalist believer in a European nation-state to find it puzzling how constitutionalization and institutional manipulation could somewhat make supranational identities "trickle down" to the average European. In fact, rather than solving the democratic deficit, many of the post-nationalist reform proposals may even worsen the demos dilemma (Scharpf 1999). Critics of deliberative democracy have pointed out that, even under the best of circumstances, such a notion of legitimacy is likely to favor those who excel in communication at the expense of those who do not dispose of such resources (e.g. Schlesinger 1999). At least it seems necessary to ask: "Does the unequal distribution of education, information, and commitment pose a threat to deliberative democracy?" (Elster 1998: 16).

In particular, the post-nationalists emphasis on the associative channel renders their proposals particularly vulnerable to such critique, for "expert" networks of EU insiders involve a wafer thin minority of Europeans without any safeguards of equal representation (one-person-one-vote) or electoral accountability (if necessary, throw out the "rascals"). Instead of the "best" argument prevailing as in Habermas' "ideal speech situation" (to the extent that it even exists in a given case), the most powerfully backed interests will be the likely winner, especially in redistributive issues. The tendency toward "representational monopolies" is particularly worrying (Weiler 1999: 284).[21] Furthermore, deliberation in policy networks without the "shadow" of binding majority decisions and state-led regulation is hardly likely to be either democratic or effective (Abromeit 1998: 90-91).[22] In this connection, Joseph Weiler's warning is worth heeding:

> It is time to worry about infranationalism—a complex network of middle-level national administrators, Community administrators and an array of private bodies with unequal and unfair access to a process with huge and economic consequences to everyday life—in matters of public safety, health, and all other dimensions of socio-economic regulation. Transparency and access to documents are often invoked as a possible remedy to this issue. But if you do not know what is going on, which documents will you ask to see? (Weiler 1999: 349).

It seems hard to deny, then, that the Habermasian project has more to do with utopian, liberal theory along the lines of David Mitrany's (1975) technocratic functionalism than with pragmatic and politically grounded neofunctionalism. Even though Haas' (1958; 1964) theory falls short of providing an accurate approach to mass-based legitimacy, at least his version of functionalism incorporates a power logic and specific political mechanisms. In this very sense, contemporary post-nationalist theorizing represents a regressive step back to utopian functionalism. In its diluted, highly normative, post-national form, deliberate democracy risks degenerating into deliberation without democracy.[23]

Similar problems afflict the post-nationalists' suggestions for an improved electoral channel of democratic legitimacy. The fact remains that elections, whether direct or representative, require a minimal agreement of the electorate to be bound by majority decisions (even if qualified):

> Given the historical, linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and institutional diversity of its member states, there is not question that the Union is very far from having achieved the 'thick' collective identity that we have come to take for granted in national democracies—and in its absence, institutional reforms will not greatly increase the input-oriented legitimacy of decisions taken by majority rule (Scharpf 1999: 9).

Although Scharpf may be asking for too much in this quote, his observation does highlight a chicken-and-egg dilemma confronting optimistic post-nationalists who believe that Europe-wide referenda could create a demos. The crux is the same that haunts radical federalist plans: how to justify voting until there is agreement on being bound by collective decisions? The Maastricht ratification debacle illustrates that much less drastic plans could provoke considerable resistance with potentially disastrous consequences for the integration process. It is hard to see how the Union's legitimacy problem could be solved through yet more elections without prior, or at least simultaneous, deployment of alternative means of identity formation. In other words, European decisions "*are legitimate only because they do in fact respect the limitations of their legitimacy base*" (Scharpf 1999: 23).[24]

Despite the ingenuity of the post-nationalist proposals, I conclude that there is no way around the civic channel. Granted the existence of demos-dependent legitimacy constraints that limit the level of institutional integration,

there are only two options.[25] Bounded integrationists therefore suggest autonomy-protective schemes and direct identity-promoting plans:

Autonomy protection simply means that the integration process must be slowed down in order for identity-formation to catch up. In the most drastic case, "roll back" or "re-nationalization" of particular issue might be necessary. At least, it is recommended not to Europeanize any issue area that is so controversial that it would worsen the legitimacy problem. As opposed to neofunctionalist spillover, this version of bounded integration emphasizes the desirability of both territorial, but also of functional, boundaries. Hence, in order to protect democratic decision-making, integration should be limited to those issues where national policies are truly ineffective (see Scharpf 1996; 1999; Gustavsson 1997).

There is much to said for this pragmatic way to ameliorate the demos dilemma, at least in the short run. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether it really presents a solution for the long-term evolution of the Union. First, given the built-in momentum in the European integration process, authority transfers to the EU may turn out to be unstoppable (Zürn 1998: 252; Flora 2000). Second, even if the process could be halted, autonomy protection may still be insufficient since a lot of power has already been transferred to Brussels. After all, roll back is probably unrealistic in view of the institutional inertia of the EU. Third, if confronted with an external, security-related crisis, the Union might need to strengthen its internal cohesion. While the crisis itself could contribute to this effect, it would be irresponsible to wait until the crisis hits.[26]

For all these reasons, it seems hard to avoid advocating *direct identity-promotion* if only in the more distant future. Of course, a introduction of such radical measures would tax the Union's legitimacy base as much as, and potentially even more than, radical post-nationalist constitutionalization. Nevertheless, if designed so as to guarantee the nation identities' continued survival, such mechanisms could broaden the European communicative space. Given the almost complete absence of civic education on European themes, there would seem to be plenty of room for Europeanization of parts of the curricula without threatening the dignity of the nation-states. By the same token, a radical improvement of foreign language teaching could be combined with a strengthened system supporting minority languages. Once "Europeanized" citizens with a broader cultural horizon and better language skills start to enter the media "market place," the conditions for all-European mass media might finally materialize. Provided that the "supply" of European identity is secured, the civic "demand side" could be attended to, for example through some of the post-nationalist proposals mentioned above. As long as the political will lacks to

build a democratic infrastructure, however, democratization in the narrow, institutional sense will probably cause more trouble than it solves.

CONCLUSION: FROM A EUROPEAN POLICY TO A EUROPEAN POLITY

By applying theoretical ideas from the literature on nationalism, this paper has highlighted a lacuna in contemporary integration theory. While the scientific attention has come to include identity-related issues, there is still a bias in favor of integrationist attitudes in the constructivist literature. In order to create a counter-weight to this tendency, I have sketched the contours of an opposing research program centered on the notion of bounded identities.

The boundary focus brings to the fore an aspect of identity-formation seldom touched upon in the constructivist IR literature. While identities play a central role in that literature, they are usually understood as role descriptions rather than comprehensive polity definitions (cf. Wendt 1994). Thus, much of today's constructivist research concerns how national identities and policy-making are affected by the Europeanization process without questioning the very boundaries between the nation-state and the European level. Though undoubtedly valuable as an account of how role definitions evolve and affect policies, social-constructivist theories of integration have less bite on processes triggering the emergence of national and supranational communities (Cederman and Daase 1999).

As already indicated, the question of a European demos falls into this category. One does not have to believe that a European people already exists, or could easily emerge, to find a bounded-integration perspective useful. Rather than stipulating Euro-pessimistic predictions as a matter of assumption, retentionist theorists need to explain *why* a corporate identity is indeed unlikely to form on the supranational level. Such an explanation requires a boundary-endogenizing perspective uncovering the mechanisms maintaining and reproducing national identities. Likewise, to the extent that a transformation is thought to be possible, theorists must provide an explicit theory outlining the causal mechanisms changing the relevant identities.

Fortunately, there are contemporary strands of constructivism that do precisely this. John Meyer and his colleagues at Stanford University have developed a version of sociological institutionalism that explicitly traces the creation of citizens. One of the main dimensions of their research program has been the development of mass schooling. According to this perspective, which comes close to Gellner's view of education, the state not only creates citizens by

socializing individuals to a civic culture but also a public: "Mass education expands the number of persons seen as possessing human and citizenship responsibilities, capacities, and rights" (Meyer 1977: 70). Further emphasizing the macro perspective, Meyer, Ramirez, and Soysal (1992: 131) conclude that "mass education became a core component of the nation-state model."

In addition to these sweeping comparisons, the Meyer group has produced more detailed, historical studies that trace the dynamic unfolding of mass schooling. For example, John Boli (1989) provides a detailed account of how education took on a central importance in the Swedish quest to build a new, egalitarian society in the 19th century. Instead of being limited to the role of as welfare-promoting institution for training and knowledge transfer, public schools became the prime instrument for the realization of modern citizenship, and by extension participatory democracy. While Boli records an eroding influence of a "refeudalizing" trend defining the role of education in more narrowly economic terms, he optimistically speculates that Europe would could become fertile soil for the emergence of world citizenship in the 21th century.

Whether one agrees with Boli's post-nationalist projections or not, his and his colleagues' work shows that there is a rich sociological-institutionalist literature on demos-formation although it has not yet been applied systematically to European integration. Although this particular school has been criticized for paying insufficient attention to causal mechanisms (Hall and Taylor 1996; though see Meyer et al. 1997), it provides sharper analytical tools and more sophisticated methodologies than the interdisciplinary literature on nationalism.

In combination, both these intellectual currents could make up the basis for future research conceptualizing and evaluating the bounds of European integration. Without extrapolating from historical cases, such a program would analyze the way that today's national identities emerged, how they are being reproduced, and what it would take to complement them with a new, mass-based layer of political identification ultimately constituting a viable European demos. It is hard to see how we could resist this invitation.

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ENDNOTES:

[*] On leave from Department of Politics; University of California at Los Angeles; Box 951472; Los Angeles, CA 90095-1472. I am indebted to Ronald Jepperson, Thomas Risse and the other members of the European Forum as well as Simon Hug and Tobias Theiler for stimulating comments. However, the responsibility for mistakes and errors remains my own. This paper contains material drawn from my introductory chapter in Cederman (forthcoming).

[1] Other analysts have also come to the conclusion that "polity-building" is an understudied theme in the integration literature (see e.g. Laffan 1998; Weiler 1999; Christiansen et al. 1999: 538; Olsen 2000).

[2] For a similar attempt to evaluate debating positions based on an underlying polity-categorizing framework, see Weiler (1999, Chap. 8).

[3] For classifications of this type, see e.g. Anthony D. Smith (1986; 1995a; 1995b). There is a disturbing tendency in the political science literature to dismiss sophisticated work as "primordialist" (e.g. A. D. Smith and Walker Connor) just because it highlights the inertia of cultural constructs (Calhoun 1997). Yet, a quick glance at their work shows that this is unfair (cf. Smith 1986, pp. 12-13; Connor 1994, pp. 103-106).

[4] Etzioni (1965) uses the term "identitive assets".

[5] Note that constructivism in the nationalism literature entails endogenization of nations as whole actors. Most of the constructivist literature in IR endogenizes states' "social identities," while exogenizing states' corporate identities and completely bracketing national identities (Wendt 1994; 1999). Moreover, essentialist theories can be said to contain an element of construction to the extent that they show how cultural élites uncover the cultural essence of the nation. Yet, as we have seen, such perspectives have little to say about the institutional basis of identity-formation, which is the focus of constructivist theories.

[6] Another important issue concerns the status of sub-national identities, but that topic will be explored in this paper. See, e.g., Smith (1995a: Ch. 4); Connor (1994: Ch. 7); Streeck (1998).

[7] It is also possible to imagine other types of democracy that do not depend on the existence of a people (Münch 2000). Cf. Schumpeter's elitist model of democracy comes to mind (cf. Dahl 1956; Closa 1997: 420). However, today, the vast majority of democratic theorists tend to agree tacitly or explicitly that democratic governance requires a demos.

[8] Another authority on this topic, Walker Connor, has done much to dispel the assimilationist illusions propagated by modernization theorists. While emphasizing the "emotional" and "ethnic" aspects of nationalism, Connor distances himself from the essentialist standpoint more clearly than does Smith. See Connor (1994: 75, 104-105). Still, Connor (1994: 134), agrees with Smith's skeptical attitude toward a pan-European identity.

[9] Smith (1995a: 24). Elsewhere, Smith weakens the link between *ethnie* and nation by remarking that "however and whenever ethnogenesis took place, it forms the essential building block of later national identities—even if that identity comes to include other *ethnies* or ethnic fragments than the core itself." It is clear, however, that those modifications do not detract from the existence of a pre-modern cultural core driving the entire process, thus the references to "other *ethnies*" and "the core itself." Smith 1993: 130; 1992.

[10] Due to its heavy reliance on rationalistic theory, liberal intergovernmentalism has little to say about identities but tacitly assumes the existence of nation-states (cf. Moravcsik 1998).

[11] Other variants on intergovernmentalism include an historical school led by Milward (1992) and Taylor's (1991) "modified intergovernmentalist" paradigm based on consociationalist principles.

[12] Nevertheless, the integration setbacks in the 1960s and 1970s triggered a theoretical reorientation tempering the hopes of a massive transfer of loyalty (Haas 1976). While continuing to stick to a predominantly instrumentalist line in his more recent scholarship, has

qualified his earlier "Euro-optimistic" attitudes by endorsing a more guarded "Euro-agnosticism" (Haas 1993; 1997).

[13]D. Cannadine as quoted in Miller (1995: 164). This view is compatible with the epistemological postulate of a third realm beyond the two "conventional" worlds populated by objective, natural phenomena and subjective, psychological minds (Adler 1997). In this view, nations are social facts, as opposed to natural ones.

[14] For other important dimensions of democracy, see Zürn (1998) and Scharpf (1999).

[15] Note, however, that the "not-yet demos thesis" is constructivist and coincides with the bounded integration perspective (cf. Weiler 1996: 10). For example, Kielmansegg (1996) defends national democracy since he argues that the necessary conditions are lacking at the European level and an identity would take a very long time to develop.

[16] See Cohen and Rogers (1995) and Schmalz-Bruns (1997) on the related notion "associative democracy." For an overview and critique, see Abromeit (1998: 87-90)

[17] According to the European Commissions's (2000) optimistically phrased web site, "half of Europe is already multilingual." Closer scrutiny shows that there are several countries in which the proportion of speakers of any foreign language is below a third, in most cases by a wide margin (e.g. Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Italy, the UK). In addition, these figures should probably be taken with a grain of salt since they reflect self-reported, "conversational" skills that may fall short of what would be required by "deliberative democracy."

[18] In addition, it can be doubted if Switzerland really lives up to the liberal ideals of deliberative democracy (Sciarini, Hug, and Dupont forthcoming). Laitin (1997) even refers to India as a model for Europe, but its exemplary value can be doubted, at least within the respect to deliberative democracy.

[19] Arguably, American media, such as CNN, have contributed more to forming unified media-consumption habits in Europe, though the programming material is hardly adapted to European circumstances.

[20] Banschoff and Smith (1999: 7-9) attempt to play down the significance of the survey results, but their arguments fail to convince. To say that the loyalty gap depends on the increased intrusiveness of the integration process does not make the problem less serious—on the contrary it accentuates the need for identity mechanisms. They also suggest that the dissatisfaction might be linked to particular issues. But this point is spurious because if the overall support for the EU depends on single issues, its identity cannot be very secure in any case. Finally, they remark that the surveys only offer mere snapshots of a dynamic process. Of course, there could be a delay until participatory habits spread to the masses but it is worrying that there still is no sign of improvement. If there is a trend, it is pointing in the opposite direction.

[21] Schmalz-Bruns (1999: 215-216) tries to circumvent this fundamental objection by invoking "epistemic proceduralism" but in my view the dilemma remains. One of the main stumbling blocks is that the "right solution" depends on the discursive framing of a particular issue (cf. Cederman 2000).

[22] This does not mean that post-nationalists pay no attention to the electoral channel. One has to agree with Weiler (1999: 284) that it is especially hard to realize who will supervise and regulate the system of non-governmental organizations, as suggested by post-nationalist scholars (e.g. Zürn 1998; Schmitter 1998). Yet, all these problems do not negate the usefulness of "informal patterns of interaction *preceding or accompanying* formal decisions taken by parliaments under the majority rule, or by negotiated agreement among governments, or in other formally legitimized modes of interaction" (Scharpf 1999: 20).

[23] Given the prevalence of learning theory in Haas' (1990) and other liberal scholars' work, it is also unclear to what extent the "theory of communicative action", as applied to European integration or IR more generally, represents a truly new development.

[24] Furthermore, without (or until there is) a fully legitimate European Parliament, it remains obscure who will select the suitably identity-promoting questions that Zürn (1998) advocates. To expect the member states to be willing to hand over the power to call and design referenda to the European Commission appears doubtful both from a factual and normative standpoint.

[25] See Deutsch (1953) for an early hypothesis stating that centrifugal conflict is likely when mobilization outpaces assimilation.

[26] From a macro-historical perspective, loose confederations have tended to be unstable (Riker 1964). In other contexts, "ethno-federalism" has paved the way for spectacular state collapses, as evidenced by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (Bunce 1999). Other critiques appear less convincing, such as Zürn's (1998: 252-253) assertion that autonomy protection necessarily entails secrecy or that autonomy protective schemes are particularly irreversible.