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## *European Identity*

Why are hopes fading for a single European identity? Economic integration has advanced faster and further than predicted, yet the European sense of “who we are” is fragmenting. Exploiting decades of permissive consensus, Europe’s elites designed and completed the single market, the euro, the Schengen passport-free zone, and, most recently, crafted an extraordinarily successful policy of enlargement. At the same time, these attempts to depoliticize politics, to create Europe by stealth, have produced a political backlash. This ambitious survey of identity in Europe captures the experiences of the winners and losers, optimists and pessimists, movers and stayers in a Europe where spatial and cultural borders are becoming ever more permeable. A full understanding of Europe’s ambivalence, refracted through its multiple identities, lies at the intersection of competing European political projects and social processes.

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## *Preface*

When John Haslam, social sciences editor at Cambridge University Press, and Andreas Føllesdal, consulting editor for this series, first approached us to write a book on European identity, our response was along the lines of “been there, done that, why bother to do it again?” Yet, as we thought about the possibility, we began to warm to the idea. We relished the prospect of collaboration. Furthermore, existing scholarship seemed compartmentalized and missed one central feature of identity in the new Europe. European Union (EU) specialists, typically political scientists and often funded by the EU Commission, focussed overwhelmingly on the Union and the effects its institutions had in crafting senses of allegiance from the “top down,” as it were. At the same time and from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, students of immigration, nationalism, and religion explored how feelings of community in Europe arose from the “bottom up,” outside of or around EU institutions. Moreover, almost everyone was taken by surprise at how the return of Eastern Europe was profoundly and irrevocably changing European identity politics.

This book makes a start at addressing these omissions and oversights. We do not favor either top-down or bottom-up storylines. Instead, we explore the intersections and interactions between the two, and do so through the lens of multiple disciplinary perspectives. This approach allows us to capture the reality of identity in today’s quasi-constitutionalized, enlarged, and deeply politicized Europe, where senses of “who we are” are fracturing and multiplying at one and the same time. This book is thus a statement on how we should be studying European identity rather than an overview of research on it. Our intent has been to open up rather than close down opportunities for inquiry.

All chapters have been through numerous rounds of revision. Chapter 1 started as a brief conceptual memo for a first project workshop, held at Cornell University in October 2006. At this meeting, contributors, Cornell faculty and graduate students, and some

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colleagues from universities within easy reach of Ithaca responded critically to our memo and presented short papers of their own. Our rewritten and expanded memo was discussed at a workshop for PhD students convened in May 2007 by the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin. That expanded memo and the short papers of our authors became full draft chapters, discussed at a second workshop held at the University of Oslo in October 2007.

We owe thanks to many people and institutions. Our most important intellectual debt goes to our authors. As a self-consciously designed multidisciplinary project, our enterprise was not free of risk. Throughout, our contributors actively and enthusiastically engaged in our conversations about European identity, while graciously responding to endless editorial requests for changes and improvements of their chapters.

Michael Barnett and Thomas Risse gave indispensable help at a crucial later stage. At our Oslo meeting, they acted as discussants not only of individual chapters, but also of the framing chapters. Their trenchant criticisms and constructive suggestions, made in detailed written form and during our spirited discussions, have made this a much better book than it would have become otherwise. We often agreed with their criticisms; when we did not, their help made us more aware about our central aim.

During the Cornell workshop, we were helped greatly by the memos and active workshop participation of Chris Anderson, Mabel Berezin, Dominic Boyer, Martin de Bruyn, Valerie Bunce, Timothy Byrnes, Alan Cafruny, Mai'a Cross, Matthew Evangelista, Davydd Greenwood, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Mitchell Orenstein, Hans Peter Schmitz, Nina Tannenwald, and Hubert Zimmermann. At the Oslo meeting, we received critical, unfailingly constructive, extensive written criticism from Svein Andersen, Andreas Føllesdal, Iver Neumann, and Ulf Sverdrup, both on the framing chapters and on the various contributions of our authors.

Last and certainly not least, we owe a huge debt of gratitude to Sarah Tarrow, who copyedited and formatted the entire manuscript with cheerful grace and in record time prior to submission.

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Dagmar Simon for offering us the opportunity of presenting our work and for providing welcome administrative assistance, and to Klaus Eder and Georg Sørensen for co-directing the dissertation workshop. In Oslo, the Department of Political Science at the University of Oslo provided financing through its small grants program, and Bjørn Magne Forsberg helped with innumerable administrative tasks. At Cambridge University Press, we thank John Haslam for organizing an efficient review process and Carrie Cheek for overseeing the production of the book.

Differences in how the two of us confront intellectual problems – brashly marshalling the attack versus meticulously plotting the advance – are reflected in some of our other passions as well – competition on squash courts versus conquest of Swiss mountains. Such differences can make intellectual collaboration an ordeal to be suffered through or a dream come true. At the end of our journey, we are happy to report that this book has cemented a friendship many years in the making.

PJK & JTC  
Ithaca and Oslo  
February 2008