

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

A Union of Diversity

The European Union's motto, 'United in Diversity', contrasts with the cultural standardization entailed in the formation of nation-states and the forging of political identities in Europe. So what does being 'united in diversity' mean? Focusing on language politics and policies, this book offers a thorough assessment of the implications of cultural and linguistic diversity for the process of constructing a European polity. It sheds light on some of the most pressing problems associated with contemporary identity politics. It is often claimed that the recurrent celebration of diversity in Europe's programmatic declarations has an effective political impact. Kraus offers a critical analysis of how the European Union has responded to the normative challenge of creating an institutional frame for integration, which allows cultural differences to be transcended without ignoring them.

PETER A. KRAUS is Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Chair of Ethnic Relations at the University of Helsinki. He has previously been an associate professor of political science at Humboldt University in Berlin, Acting Chair of Political Science and Political Sociology at the University of Frankfurt, a John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellow at the Center of European Studies at Harvard University and a Theodor Heuss Visiting Lecturer at the New School in New York. He has published widely and in several languages on problems of democratic transition and consolidation; politics in Southern Europe; ethnicity, nationalism and identity politics; and the present dilemmas of European integration. Among his publications in German are the monographs *Nationalismus und Demokratie: Politik im spanischen Staat der Autonomen Gemeinschaften* (*Nationalism and Democracy: Politics in the Spanish State of the Autonomous Communities*, 1996) and *Eine kleine Geschichte Kataloniens* (*A Little History of Catalonia*, 2007, with W. L. Bernecker and T. Eßer).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Themes in European Governance**Series Editor*

Andreas Føllesdal

Editorial Board

Stefano Bartolini	Ulrich K. Preuß	Helen Wallace
Beate Kohler-Koch	Thomas Risse	Albert Weale
Percy Lehning	Fritz W. Scharpf	J. H. H. Weiler
Andrew Moravcsik	Philip Schlesinger	

The evolving European systems of governance, in particular the European Union, challenge and transform the state, the most important locus of governance and political identity and loyalty over the past 200 years. The series *Themes in European Governance* aims to publish the best theoretical and analytical scholarship on the impact of European governance on the core institutions, policies and identities of nation-states. It focuses upon the implications for issues such as citizenship, welfare, political decision-making and economic, monetary and fiscal policies. An initiative of Cambridge University Press and the Programme on Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State (ARENA), Norway, the series aims to provide theoretically informed studies analysing key issues at the European level and within European states. Volumes in the series will be of interest to scholars and students of Europe both within Europe and worldwide. They will be of particular relevance to those interested in the development of sovereignty and governance of European states and in the issues raised by multilevel governance and multinational integration throughout the world.

Other books in the series:

Paulette Kurzer *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union*

Christoph Knill *The Europeanisation of National Administrations: Patterns of Institutional Change and Persistence*

Tanja Börzel *States and Regions in the European Union: Institutional Adaptation in Germany and Spain*

Liesbet Hooghe *The European Commission and Integration of Europe: Images of Governance*

Michael E. Smith *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation*

Frank Schimmelfennig *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*

Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen (eds.) *European Integration and Political Conflict*

Gallya Lahav *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe: Reinventing Borders*

Michael Zürn and Christian Joerges (eds.) *Law and Governance in Postnational Europe: Compliance beyond the Nation-State*

Gerda Falkner et al. (eds.) *Complying with Europe: EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States*

Continued after the Index

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

A Union of Diversity

*Language, Identity and Polity-Building
in Europe*

Peter A. Kraus

University of Helsinki



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521676724

© Peter A. Kraus 2008

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2008

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Kraus, Peter A.

A Union of diversity: language, identity and polity-building in Europe/
Peter A. Kraus.

p. cm. – (Themes in european governance)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-85939-4 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-67672-4 (pbk.)

1. Language and culture – European Union countries. 2. Politics and culture –
European Union countries. 3. European Union countries – Languages –
Political aspects. I. Title. II. Series.

P35.5.E85K83 2008

306.4'49094–dc22 2007037504

ISBN 978-0-521-85939-4 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-67672-4 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for
the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or
third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication
and does not guarantee that any content on such
Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Tables and Figure</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
1 Introduction: The dynamics of European integration	1
1.1 The Transnational Political Space of the European Union	2
1.2 Integration and Legitimation in a Diverse Polity	7
2 The European Union's democratic deficit and the search for a European demos	13
2.1 The Challenge of Democracy in the European Union	14
2.2 The Democracy Deficit: A 'Demos Deficit'?	21
2.3 Between Westphalia and Cosmopolis	26
2.4 Sovereignty as Homogeneity	29
2.5 Assessing the European Union Against the National Model	32
3 The identity of a multinational polity	37
3.1 Cultural Identity and Political Integration	38
3.2 European Identity Strategies	43
3.3 Limits of European Identity	50
3.4 Socio-Cultural Heterogeneity in Multilevel Politics	58
3.5 The 'Multinational Moment' in Europe's Institutional Order	62
3.6 An Example: The 'Battle of the Nations' at Nice	66
3.7 Distinctive Features of Cultural Pluralism in the European Multinational Community	70
4 Language and politics: A challenge for Europe	76
4.1 Language as a Social and Political Bond	78
4.2 Mill's Verdict	83
4.3 The Language Policies of European States	88
4.4 From Linguistic Pluralism to Linguistic Recognition	99
4.5 Language and the Protection of Minorities in the Context of a European Human Rights Regime	105

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

Contents

5	The language question in the institutional complex of the European Union	111
5.1	The Institutional Path to Multilingualism	112
5.2	Official and Real Multilingualism	120
5.3	The Politicization of the Language Issue	125
5.4	The Reform of the Institutional Regulation of Language: A Pending Debate	132
6	Political communication in the transnational civil society	139
6.1	Constitution, Publicity, Language	140
6.2	Political Communication in Multilingual Contexts	144
6.3	Europe's Linguistic Landscape and the External Language Policy of the European Union	152
6.4	Vanishing Point Internet?	161
6.5	Which Language for a European Civil Society?	167
6.6	The Political Option of a Converging Multilingualism	172
7	Recognition, self-determination and integration in a union of diversity	180
7.1	Recognition and Subsidiarity	181
7.2	Self-Determination	188
7.3	Diversity as a Political Challenge	195
	<i>References</i>	199
	<i>Index</i>	217

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of Tables and Figure

Tables

3.1 European and National Identity	<i>page</i> 52
3.2 European Cultural Identity	54
3.3 Turnout Rates at Elections to the European Parliament, 1979–2004	55
6.1 Europeans and Foreign Languages	157

Figure

4.1 Political recognition of multilingualism in Western European states	95
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

Language politics and language policies played a crucial role in the historical processes of nation-state formation. Cultural and political integration in modern societies is largely based upon language. Thus, the making of nation-states went hand in hand with political attempts to introduce and maintain standardized communication codes. At later stages of political development, language policy was frequently associated with the goal of establishing a comprehensive and democratic public sphere. In multilingual settings, however, the political definition of a common language regime often became a matter of conflict. These general observations hold particularly true in the context of European history. It is in Europe where the idea of the national language originated and where it became inextricably connected with the dynamics of nation- and state-building. All over Europe, the forging of modern political identities entailed introducing communicative practices based on shared linguistic standards.

Against this background, it is quite obvious that the language issue bears extraordinary relevance if we want to assess to what extent the former logic of political integration has undergone substantial changes. We are experiencing the emergence of ‘postnational’ patterns of identification, which will ultimately reduce the salience of our ‘national’ attachments. The European Union has often been characterized as a regional harbinger of a coming global age of postnationalism. Accordingly, analyzing the role of language in the process of building Europe should improve our knowledge on the actual scope of the transition from ‘national’ to ‘postnational’ forms of political association in this part of the world.

At the same time, focusing on the role language and languages play in creating a ‘union of diversity’ will allow us to discuss some of the most demanding normative challenges related to present-day identity politics in a thorough way: Language can be considered a ‘hard’ evidence for how *cultural* elements play a role in the construction of our *civic* identities. In Europe (as elsewhere), the contemporary discourse on citizens’ rights tends to accept the intrinsic value of linguistic bonds, thereby conceding that members of smaller language groups deserve to be protected against

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii Preface

assimilationist pressures. Yet the complex setting of the European Union reveals that there may be a potential trade-off between recognizing the value of linguistic pluralism and creating an institutional context that allows for smooth and functional communication. At any rate, it should not be taken for granted that the recurrent celebration of diversity in the Union's programmatic declarations of intent has an effective impact on the often rather harsh realm of European *realpolitik*.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

There were many people who helped me to move on with this study, and there were quite a few occasions on which I had the chance to present and discuss my ideas. All lists of gratitude are bound to be incomplete, but I would still like to point out a few people and a few places that played an important role on the long trajectory leading to this monograph. My stay as a Kennedy Fellow at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University in 2000–2001 gave me an exceptional opportunity to gain momentum on the project. In the context of that stay, my gratitude goes to Karen Alter, Lars-Erik Cederman, Abby Collins, Pratap Mehta, Andy Moravcsik, Glyn Morgan, Andrea Sangiovanni and Judith Vichniak. Looking back at the long and rewarding period I spent in Berlin at Humboldt University, I thank Henri Band, Harald Bluhm, Klaus Eder, Michael Kreile, Ulrich K. Preuß, Stefan Solleder and Christina Wendt; in different ways, they all helped me to keep momentum. Claus Offe definitely deserves special mention for his constructive criticisms and his continuous encouragement. I also thank those who offered me a forum for discussing European identity politics at the University of Frankfurt, in particular Rainer Forst, Christian Lammert, Hans-Jürgen Puhle and Martin Saar.

My research in Brussels would not have been possible without the support of Johan De Deken, Renée Haferkamp and Barbara Rhode. Among the numerous experts I met at the headquarters of the European Commission as well as at the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union in Brussels, let me specifically mention Ian Andersen, Hans Brunmayr and Paul Nemitz. Without their help, it would have been much more difficult for me to proceed with my agenda in the ‘capital’ of Europe.

Moreover, my thanks go to Ulrich Ammon (Duisburg), Thomas Faist (Toronto/Bielefeld), Wolfgang Merkel (Social Science Research Center Berlin), Nadine Berenguier (University of New Hampshire), Isabelle de Courtivron and Bernd Widdig (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Juan Linz (Yale), Gary Marks (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Jan-Werner Müller (Oxford/Princeton), Ari Zolberg (New School

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv Acknowledgments

for Social Research), Ronald Beiner and Phil Triadafilopoulos (Toronto), Yolande Cohen, Alain Gagnon and Laurence McFalls (Montréal), Oliver Schmidtke and James Tully (Victoria), Richard Bellamy (London), Dario Castiglione and Chris Longman (Exeter), Lynn Dobson (Edinburgh), Philippe Van Parijs (Brussels), Jürgen Nagel and Ferran Requejo (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), Kari Palonen (Jyväskylä) as well as Erik Allardt, Maria Kreander and Heikki Patomäki (Helsinki).

A previous version of this book was published in German in 2004 (*Europäische Öffentlichkeit und Sprachpolitik*, Frankfurt: Campus). The English edition includes substantial revisions and updates. Several former sections disappeared; other sections were largely modified to take into account recent political developments and additional sources; new sections were added. Eventually, therefore, we cannot speak of the same book anymore, and I very much hope that the changes have contributed to improving the argumentation. Ciaran Cronin was an invaluable support in making this volume possible, translating parts of the German manuscript and editing those chapters that I chose to (re)write in English myself.

Material in Chapter 2 has been included in ‘Cultural Pluralism and European Polity-Building: Neither Westphalia nor Cosmopolis’, published in the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41 (2003), 665–86. Parts of Chapter 3 have appeared as ‘A Union of Peoples? Diversity and the Predicaments of a Multinational Polity’, in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, edited by Lynn Dobson and Andreas Føllesdal (2004). Chapter 4 incorporates parts of ‘Intercultural Recognition and Linguistic Diversity in Europe’, in *The Language Question in Europe and Diverse Societies*, edited by Dario Castiglione and Chris Longman (2007). In Section 6.4 of Chapter 6, I drew on some material that was also used for ‘Transnational Communication and the European Demos’ (with Lars-Erik Cederman), in *Digital Formations*, edited by Robert Latham and Saskia Sassen (2005).

I express my gratitude to Andreas Føllesdal as series editor and John Haslam at Cambridge University Press for their patience and for their support in the publication of this project.

Finally, I dedicate this to my (multilingual) family, to Reetta, Aura and Pau.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-85939-4 - A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-Building in Europe

Peter A. Kraus

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

A Union of Diversity