The agonistic model of democracy and the European Union

Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel

vorgelegt von

Caroline Maria Kalkreuth

Kiel

08.03.2021

Erstgutachter: **Prof. Dr. Dirk Nabers**

Zweitgutachterin: **Prof. Dr. Paula Diehl**

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: **11.06.2021**

Durch den Prodekan für Studium und Lehre, **Prof. Dr. Michael Elmentaler**, zum Druck genehmigt: **21.07.2021**

DEDICATION

To Simon

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

AFD – Alternative für Deutschland
AMD – Agonistic Model of Democracy
CFSP - The common foreign and security policy
EC- European Community
ECR - European Conservatives and Reformists
ECSC - European Coal and Steel Community
ECU - European Currency Unit
EEC - European Economic Community
EIS – European Integration Studies
EMS - European Monetary System
EN - European of Nations Group
EP – European Parliament
ERM - Exchange Rate Mechanism
EU – European Union
EUI – European Integration
EURATOM - European Atomic Energy Community
FN – Front National
GAL - Green-Alternative-Libertarian
HSS – Hegemonic and Socialist Strategy
IND - Independence/Democracy Group
IPS - International Political Sociology
IR- International Relations
M5S – Movimento 5 Stelle
MEP – Member of the European Parliament
NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPD – Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland
NR - New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time
PDT - Poststructuralist Discourse Theory
PJCCM - Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters
SEA - Single European Act
SYRIZA – Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras
TAN - Traditional-Authoritarian-Nationalist
TFEU - Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UK – United Kingdom
UKIP – United Kingdom Independent Party
UN – United Nations
USA – United States of America

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The successful completion of the present work would have never been possible without the support of the following people. First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Dirk Nabers, whose expertise and consistent support throughout the process was invaluable to the completion of this thesis. His insightful feedback has encouraged me to continually develop and improve my writing and research. Furthermore, I would like to thank the “Evangelisches Studienwerk” for their overwhelmingly kind and comprehensive financial support. I would also like to thank my supervisor at Yale University, Sterling Professor Ian Shapiro, who made it possible for me to stay in New Haven in 2020 despite the Corona crisis. I would also like to thank many other scholars and practitioners who have contributed to this work by providing theoretical and practical insights at various occasions. I gratefully acknowledge their relevance to my work. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support during these challenging years. My special thanks go to my partner Simon, without whom this whole project would not have been possible.

1. Introduction

The process of European integration (EUI) has long been the subject of limited public debate, and the domain was seen as dominated mainly by European political elites. The project generally presents itself as a continental-scaled, post-national political project, aiming to pool certain executive, legislative, and judicial responsibilities at the supra- or international level.[1] It aims to achieve an "ever closer union of the European people" to constrain of past national rivalries and promote a sphere of peace and stability.[2] The process can broadly be divided into three main periods: the first period spanning the early stages of the integration process in the 1950s until the late-1980s, the second period from the establishment of a union in the early-1990s until the late-2000s, and the third period lasting until the election of the European Parliament (EP) in 2019.[3]

Especially during the first period of EUI, political rivalries and ideological conflicts were mostly absent from the process. The modi-operandi within the European institutions favored compromise over conflict.[4] The process was dominated by pro-integrationists supporting the European project and a favorable attitude among the public. This favorable attitude among the European public during that time was generally labeled as "permissive consensus."[5] The presumed consensus enabled European elites to accelerate the process of integration without much interference of the broader public. For instance, it seems that the Schuman Plan from 1950 – as a fundamental political concept to amalgamate of German and French coal and steel production after

[1] Hix (2007); European Union (2012).
[2] Recital 1 of the preamble to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). See European Union (2012), also Cantat (2015).
[3] See also: Vasilopoulou (2013), who assumes a somewhat similar division of time periods within the process of EUI.
[4] About narratives, see also: Cantat (2015).
[5] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970).

the Second World War – was launched by a small political elite working in an almost conspiratorial fashion. They were able to maneuver quickly and effectively, partly due to the lack of public involvement.[6]

In the second period of EUI, the presumed permissive consensus of the public seemingly eroded.[7] This is particularly shown in Margaret Thatcher's – Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 – famous Bruges speech from 1988, in which she fundamentally challenges the European project and the direction it was taking. Her speech has often been seen as a turning point in the public debate surrounding the EUI process, stimulating divergent positions toward the European project. EUI became therefore increasingly subjected to a significant and controversial debate in the media and public. The more critical contributions towards EUI were characterized by resistance toward the process and the increasing support of re-nationalization efforts, showing disaffection with the European institutions themselves.[8]

During the third period of EUI, these movements became increasingly visible in the European institutions, whereby euro-critical and anti-establishment parties represented the growing discontent with traditional parties and elites.[9] The manifestation of resistance to EUI became particularly apparent in the 2014 and 2019 elections of the EP. For instance, in 2014, over twenty-five percent of the seats were taken by euro-critical parties, compared with around sixteen percent in 2009.[10] Parties such as the Front National (FN) in France, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), the Alternative für Deutschland (AFD) in Germany, the Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S) in Italy and Synaspismos

[6] Inglehart (1970). Scholars assume that this kind of consensus prevailed until the 1970s (Down and Wilson 2008: 46).
[7] Hooghe and Marks (2009); Risse (2017).
[8] These movements were often labeled "Euroscepticism" (Usherwood and Startin 2012).
[9] Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008); Mair (2011).
[10] See election results of the European Parliament in 2014 and 2019 (European Union 2014, 2019). See also: Brack and Startin (2015).

Rizospastikis Aristeras (SYRIZA) in Greece achieved unprecedented electoral success and gained significant shares.[11] Claims on the need for major reforms or even re-nationalization of the European Union (EU) became commonplace across the political spectrum.[12] This development experienced another peak with the "Brexit" referendum in June 2016, which eventually led to the exit of the United Kingdom (UK) from the EU.

The discourse on EUI has thus experienced a significant change over the past decades. It has transformed from a presumed permissive consensus towards a growing discontent and resistance within the general public, calling the very existence of the European institution into question.[13] As a result, the EU finds itself faced with a substantial crisis, as Emmanuel Macron – French President since 2017 – formulated in 2019:

> "[Europe] is a historic success: the reconciliation of a devastated continent in an unprecedented project of peace, prosperity and freedom. […] Never, since World War II, has Europe been as essential. Yet never has Europe been in so much danger. Brexit stands as the symbol of that. It symbolizes the crisis of Europe."[14]

These developments were accompanied by the emergence of extensive and growing academic literature around the phenomenon.[15] Earlier studies during the first period of EUI mostly showed a Europhile tenor, mainly focusing on the

[11] Brack and Startin (2015); Hobolt (2015); Hobolt and de Vries (2016a).
[12] Abbarno and Zapryanova (2013); Brack (2018).
[13] Scholars have identified challenges within the EU. This applies in particular to decision-making and the legitimation of the EU among its members (Hix 2007). These challenges have also been taken as a sign that elite and public preferences on EUI are out of sync. As the European Council expressed concerns that citizens see the EU as "a threat to their identity" and "feel that deals are all too often cut out of their sight" (European Council 2002; see also: Hobolt 2012). Against this background, it is also important to analyze the process of EUI and understand how the discourse within the EU is shaped (Hobolt and Wratil 2015; Loveless and Rohrschneider 2011).
[14] Macron (2019).
[15] For an overview, see: Flood (2002); Hobolt and de Vries (2016b).

support and legitimation of the process of EUI.[16] In later periods of the EUI, scholarly attention has shifted more towards the study of resistance and euro-critical parties. The phenomenon of resistance and the increasing questioning of the process was widely labeled as "Euroscepticism" both in the media as well as in the academic debate. The broad academic discourse assumed that Euroscepticism developed from a marginal political phenomenon to an established position even held by mainstream parties and parties in government. The phenomenon thus holds the potential to damage the EU's quest for legitimacy and stability in the long run.[17] Following these events, the study of Euroscepticism towards EUI became a well-established subfield in European integration studies (short: European studies, sometimes EU studies).[18] Most research conducted within the field of Euroscepticism focuses on rational approaches.[19] However, earlier in the 2000s, the field experienced a so-called "critical turn." Since then, critical theorists have embraced the academic field, providing the main theoretical alternative to rational approaches within the discipline.[20] Critical theorist in International Relations (IR) generally challenge the theoretical and political status quo in the discipline and, in particular, positivist and post-positivist positions. These critiques comprise Frankfurt-school theoreticians, poststructuralists, neo-Gramscian, feminists, and others.

---

[16] See for instance: Inglehart (1970); Gabel (1998).

[17] Here, see for instance: Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Marks and Steenbergen (2002, 2004a, 2004b); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002, 2017: 11); Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Hix (2005); Hooghe (2007); Hooghe and Marks (2007); Krouwel and Abts (2007); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Serricchio, Tsakatika, and Quaglia (2013); Leconte (2015); Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2016).

[18] Here, see for instance: Schmitt, H. and Thomassen (1999); Flood (2002); Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Leconte (2010); Mair and Thomassen (2010); Capuzzi (2016).

[19] These studies mainly focus on analyzing the "nature" of the term, as well as its underlying "drivers" (Brack and Startin 2015; Leruth, Startin, and Usherwood 2017a; Brack 2018). However, the study at hand takes a poststructuralist perspective and thus explicitly rejects these rational theoretical assumptions. From a poststructuralist perspective, there exists no "nature" or "driver" of a certain phenomenon; instead, the social is generally discursively constructed.

[20] Here, see for instance: Rengger and Thirkell-White (2007). Further, Robert Cox is one of the early theorists in the critical tradition of IR (Cox 1981, 1983).

They all hold different epistemological and ontological premises from those of realism and liberalism. Regarding poststructuralism, it is often described as "a critical attitude"[21] or "an ethos of critique"[22], problematizing general claims and fundamental mainstream assumptions within the field of study. Influenced by theorists such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, it further explores possible ways to understand the social and political sphere beyond rational approaches based on essentialism.[23]

The present study adopts a critical poststructuralist perspective to analyze the phenomenon of growing discontent and resistance regarding the process of EUI and gain a more comprehensive understanding of the existing debate. Chantal Mouffe's Agonistic Model of Democracy (AMD) offers such critical perspective, providing a well-researched discourse-based poststructuralist theory of democracy.[24] Mouffe's AMD proposes that the absence of agonistic confrontation between differing parties and opinions allows for a growing apathy and disaffection in democratic systems to emerge.[25] In opposition to the popular deliberative democratic approach based on the possibility of a rational consensus, Mouffe argues that the creation of democratic affection depends neither on "sophisticated rational arguments [nor] on making context-transcendent truth claims." Instead, identification within democratic systems takes place through complex articulatory practices and discourses.[26] The affection with the democratic principles requires therefore a democratic ethos constituted by the mobilization of passion within the democratic design given

[21] Campbell and Shapiro (2007); Campbell (2013).
[22] Jabri (2007).
[23] Edkins (2007: 89); Çalkıvik (2017). Further, for critique of poststructuralism, see further: Rengger and Thirkell-White (2007); Khan and Wenman (2017). Essentialism is further understood as the idea that "every entity has a set of attributes that are necessary to its identity and function" (Cartwright 1968: 615-626).
[24] See also: Dahl (1961, 1982); Held (1995); Offe (2006: 34-35). For agonistic approaches in IR, see also: Mouffe (2013: xv, Ch. 2); Norval (2007: 4-5).
[25] Mouffe (2000c: 85, 105).
[26] Mouffe (1995b: 5).

the possibility for democratic subjects to identify with diverse political positions.[27] Democratic politics thus always implies conflict and the dimension of antagonism. The aim of politics is therefore "the creation of unity in a context of conflict and diversity."[28] According to Mouffe's approach, democratic systems that place excessive emphasis on political consensus tend to preclude opportunities for a vibrant dispute between legitimate and diverse positions, thus creating space for apathy and disaffection from the democratic system.[29]

Chantal Mouffe's agonistic pluralism combines the elements of conflict, consensus, democracy and politics in a way that allows for a substantial critique of the present conjunction of the European institutions. From the perspective of AMD, it may be suggested that the development of EUI – particularly during the earlier period – indicated a lack of real debate on the direction of the integration process within the institutions. Accordingly, this reflected a situation of dislocated identification enabling apathy and ultimately re-nationalization efforts to thrive.[30] In this way, Mouffe's model offers a potentially fruitful avenue to gain new insights and a deeper understanding of the process of EUI and the destructive phenomenon of resistance. It provides ways to re-think the constitution and practice of European institutions and eventually offers reform opportunities that allow to include marginalized groups and minorities into the democratic process and thus for a stronger affection with the institution under the condition of pluralism.[31] It further suggests a compelling vision of political decision-making by emphasizing the benefits of political contestation and illustrating the dangers of a consensus-focused approach. Therefore, this analysis presents the argument that Mouffe's AMD – particularly her emphasis on conflict – can be usefully applied to the discourse on EUI, providing an opportunity to understand the functioning of the political system in new ways

[27] Mouffe (1995b: 6).
[28] Mouffe (1995b: 9).
[29] Mouffe (2000c: 105).
[30] Mouffe (2013).
[31] Jones, B. (2014: 250).

and gain a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.[32] The phenomenon under investigation has however not yet been studied from the perspective of AMD, receiving hardly any scholarly attention in the field. Accordingly, this study aims to address this research gap, aspiring to make sense of the emerging resistance and re-nationalization efforts driven by euro-critical parties from the perspective of AMD. The research question at the heart of this thesis thus reads: "How can resistance towards European integration be best understood from the perspective of Chantal Mouffe's AMD?"

Seeking to further elaborate on this question and apply Mouffe's theoretical consideration as proposed in her model of "agonistic pluralism," this thesis develops an analytical framework consisting of four categories, namely "excess of consensus," "crisis of identification," "hegemonic struggle," and "apathy and disaffection". The application of the framework is further conducted using poststructuralist discourse analysis based on Mouffe's and Ernesto Laclau's theoretical work. Their ideas were originally formulated in their collective work *Hegemony and Social Strategy* (HSS) from 1985 and further developed in Laclau's *New Reflections on Revolution of our Time* (1990), *Emancipation(s)* (1996) and *The Rhetorical Foundations of Society* (2014), also in Mouffe's *The Return of the Political* (1993) and others.[33] Mouffe's and Laclau's general approach is grounded in the ontological assumption that meaning and identity is discursively constructed and dependent on contingent relations of articulation.[34] The discursive in this sense constitutes the social and political world.[35] It thus rejects the positivist tradition building on empiricism and denies the possibility to objectively produce knowledge for scientific progress.[36] In

[32] Down and Wilson (2008: 46); Jones, B. (2014: 253).
[33] For example: Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis (2000); Glynos and Howarth (2007).
[34] See for instance: Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 2-3); Howarth (2000: 8-9, 2005a: 336); Torfing (2005: 3-4); Glynos and Howarth (2007); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 107).
[35] Howarth (2000: 9).
[36] Howarth (2000: 1-3).

epistemological terms, it thus follows the social constructivist paradigm[37] and dismisses the idea of searching for causal explanations and explaining the world with in objective universal terms.[38] Instead, since the social and political order is discursively constructed, poststructuralist discourse analysis aims to understand socially-produced meanings.[39] Following this understanding, the analysis of the discourse of EUI forms the central subject of this study. It analyzes how the hegemonic formation around the process of EUI was contested and re-articulated by the resistance movements. In order to analyze this discursive change, it reframes the established discourse around Euroscepticism with the notion of resistance as a counter-hegemonic movement, focusing on the production and change of identification within the discourse.[40] Following the poststructuralist tradition, the thesis is based on the qualitative analysis of textual data such as speeches by politicians, media reporting or debates around the discourse under investigation. The present study thus analyzes the discursive change from the presumed permissive consensus towards resistance based on the selected textual corpus, exploring and critically discussing Mouffe's AMD's theoretical assumptions.

The analysis conducted ultimately shows that the application of the developed framework based on Mouffe's AMD to the phenomenon of resistance using poststructuralist discourse analysis provides useful insights for gaining a better understanding of the research question posed. The analysis suggests that the process of EUI has experienced a substantial lack of controversial debate over its earlier periods of existence. With the emerging crisis of identification towards the end of the first period, the project experienced increasing resistance and re-nationalization efforts. This growing disaffection with the institution ultimately peaked with the UK's decision to leave the EU. On the basis of this analysis, the thesis further presents alternative ways to understand the working

[37] Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis (2000: 3).
[38] Howarth (2000: 126).
[39] Howarth (1995: 115, 2000: 113); Paul (2009: 242); Carta (2019).
[40] Crespy and Verschueren (2009).

of democratic institution. It suggests that the possibility for an agonistic confrontation is seems fruitful to confront the growing disaffection within the institution of the EU. Since Mouffe's AMD does not provide agonistic reform programs, this study refers to Manon Westphal's promising proposal, providing a comprehensive reform and comparative approach to implementing agonistic pluralism in democratic system.[41] This would enable the democratic institutions of the EU to mobilize passion in more productive ways and open up the spaces for participatory politics, therefore, simultaneously stimulating contingency and controversy.[42] This makes the understanding gained from the conducted analysis relevant to the challenges currently facing the European institutions.

The remainder of the present study is therefore structured as follows. Following the introduction, the second chapter elaborates in more detail on the subject matter at hand as well as the existing academic discourse available. Here, the history and development of the discourse on EUI illustrates the development from the permissive consensus to increased resistance and the emergence of euro-critical parties in the EP. Further, the study of resistance or Euroscepticism is introduced, illustrating the two main groups of analytical work, namely the "nature" of the phenomenon and the understanding of its "drivers." Followed by the introduction of the particular research gap of the analysis at hand to lay out its relevance and illustrate value added to the field of research. The third chapter introduces the theoretical background of Mouffe's model of agonistic pluralism. To gain a better understanding of her agonistic writings, Mouffe's theoretical development from Marxism to poststructuralism is illustrated. Further, the discourse-theoretical foundations that she developed together with Ernesto Laclau are illustrated, before the AMD by Mouffe is introduced. Finally, a conceptual framework is developed for the analysis at hand. The fourth chapter elaborates on the research strategy of the analysis. It begins with

[41] Westphal (2019: 6). Manon Westphal presents a comparison and reform-oriented approach for the implementation of AMD. Her approach will be elaborated further later in this study.
[42] Jones, M. (2014: 14-15, 20).

elaborating on the ontological and epistemological assumptions. Further, the descriptive account of the data gathered and the material for the analysis is introduced, finally, the chapter elaborates how the chosen data and material is analyzed using poststructuralist discourse analysis. The fifth chapter documents the application of the conceptual framework to the empirical data using the illustrated research design based on poststructuralist discourse analysis. The sixth chapter of the study undertakes a discussion of the results of the analysis and draws conclusions regarding both theoretical and practical domains of EUI. Furthermore, the underlying theoretical assumptions from Mouffe's model are critically discussed and further substantiated.

2. Resistance to the process of European integration

This chapter introduces the state-of-the-art of the academic debate on resistance towards EUI. First, the development of the discourse from the permissive consensus during the earlier period of EUI towards increased resistance and the emergence of euro-critical parties in the EP is illustrated. Second, the academic study of resistance or Euroscepticism is introduced. Here, the two main groups of analytical work are elaborated, namely the analysis of the "nature" of the phenomenon and the understanding of its "drivers."[43] Third, the limits of these rationalist understandings are illustrated, and finally, the research gap of the study is mapped out to lay out the relevance and additional value to the field of research.

2.1 Changing discourse from permissive consensus to resistance

For much of the history of EUI, political rivalries and ideological conflicts were absent and the process proceeded without much debate and conflict.[44] Its founders – such as Jean Monnet and his companions – were convinced that the main drivers of destructive wars and economic destruction over centuries in Europe were political and ideological conflicts between its countries.[45] One major object for the creation of the union was thus the prevention of any further European nationalism, in particular regarding the hostility between France and Germany.[46] They therefore designed a system of governance at the European

[43] As illustrated earlier, this study takes a poststructuralist perspective and thus explicitly rejects the objective and causal explanation of social and political phenomena. From a poststructuralist perspective, there exists no "nature" or "driver" of a phenomenon; instead, the social is generally discursively constructed.
[44] Leconte (2010: 100-101); Brack (2015, 2018). See also: Vasilopoulou (2013), who assumes a somewhat similar division of time periods within the process of EUI.
[45] Hix (2007).
[46] Furthermore, the reconstruction of the economy, and the inner protection in the context of the Cold War were major objects (Zurcher 1958: 6; Palmer 1968: 111).

level that aimed to ensure consensus and peace among its member states and avoid further conflicts in the future.[47] The modi-operandi within the European institutions thus favored consensus over conflict and the institutional setting of the post-national political project was dominated by European technocrats and political elites instead of an elected government or parliament.[48] This approach became, for instance, visible when the Schuman Plan in 1950, as a significant step in the process of EUI,[49] was launched in an almost conspiratorial fashion by a small European political elite. This exclusive group of people was able to maneuver quick and effectively without significant conflict and much involvement of the public.[50] The following process of EUI during its first period was shaped in a similar way. The process of integration was seen as "an accepted part of the political landscape,"[51] in which pro-integrationists naturalized the process of EUI as desirable and legitimated European politics and institutions by using narratives such as "securing peace in Europe."[52] The general attitude towards the European project was thus supportive of establishing a post-national institutional system,[53] functioning as an inclusive concept that seemingly united the European political elites and the mass public. Objections towards the project remained peripheral and political movements

[47] Crespy and Verschueren (2009: 377).
[48] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 22); Taggart (1998: 365); Hix (2007: 5).
[49] The Schuman Plan was presented on May 9, 1950 by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. It was supposed to consolidate the German and French coal and steel industries under common European authority and thus secure peace in Europe. It led to the signing of the Paris Treaties between the six founding nations (France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands) and thus created European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, thus considered the beginning of European integration in general. It further established the High Authority as the first supranational European executive with Jean Monnet as its first president and checked by a Common Assembly (McCormick 2007).
[50] Inglehart (1970). As mentioned earlier, previous research assumes that this kind of consensus prevailed until the 1970s (Down and Wilson 2008: 46).
[51] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 62).
[52] Stavrakakis (2005: 88-89). For more research on the pro-integrationist attitude, see also: Brack and Costa (2012).
[53] Leconte (2010: 100-101).

providing alternatives visions for the process of integration were rather rare.[54] The public discourse on EUI was thus rather uncontroversial and mostly dominated by European political elites. The favorable attitude toward EUI and the lack of controversial debate was widely labeled as "permissive consensus."[55] The presumed consensus was conceived as general support among the Western European public toward the European project and its receptivity to future growth. It was seen to be persisted during the next steps of EUI, such as the signing of the Rome Treaties in 1957, and the following establishment of the European Community (EC) in 1967.[56] The consensus was understood to express a general support of the legitimacy of the EC and its institutions. This extended to a wide range of economic and social functions, as well as a strong, independent role for the supranational commission. Within these parameters, national and supranational decision-maker operated relatively freely without encountering significant opposition in the public debate.[57]

---

[54] Here, see for instance: Lindberg and Scheingold (1970); Inglehart (1970); Franklin, Marsh, and McLaren (1994); Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Lahr (2002: 248); Hurrelmann (2007: 352); Crespy and Verschueren (2009); Leconte (2010); Ross (2011); Bickerton, Hodson, and Puetter (2014); Hobolt and Tilley (2014); Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2016).

[55] The term "permissive consensus" was coined by Lindberg and Scheingold in 1970 (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970). According to their study, in the 1950s and 1960s, after the Treaties of Paris and Rome were signed, a general consensus among the public prevailed in favor of the matter of EUI. Vladimir O. Key first used the term to describe general support for certain government actions on foreign affairs by the American public (Key 1961). Thus, a similar phenomenon was identified among the member states of the EC at the time. As Inglehart elaborates: "There was a favorable prevailing attitude toward the subject, but it was of low salience as a political issue – leaving national decision-makers free to take steps favorable to integration if they wished but also leaving them a wide liberty of choice" (Inglehart 1970: 773).

[56] With the signing of the Rome Treaties in 1957, the EEC (European Economic Community) and the EAEC (European Atomic Energy Community) were created. With the following Treaty of Brussels in 1967, the executive institutions of ECSC, EAEC, and EEC were put together. Together they were known as European Communities (EC) and further shared common institutions such as the Commission (replacing the High Authority) and the Council, Parliamentary Assembly and Court of Justice (McCormick 2007).

[57] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 121).

An initial rupture of the Europhile attitude within the European institutions and presumed public consensus occurred in the late 1980s with the introduction of the Single European Act (SEA) and the program to promote a single European market.[58] The program initiated the strengthening of European economic cooperation by means such as a five-year deadline for removing the remaining trade barriers. It further enlarged policy-making competences for the EC and thus redefined the division of responsibilities between the national and supranational level.[59] These substantial changes became a starting point for a powerful debate on the institutional configuration of the European system. Margaret Thatcher – Prime Minister of the UK from 1979 to 1990 – responded to these events and became the first European political leader to directly and fundamentally challenge the European project.[60] In particular, in her famous 1988 Bruges speech, Thatcher openly questioned the direction of the integration process and revealed a competing vision of the European project.[61] Her speech was often seen as a turning point in the public debate around the process of EUI, stimulating more diverging positions among the public towards the European project.[62]

---

[58] The SEA (1987) was introduced by Jacques Delores – eighth president of the European Commission (1985-1994) - and was the first major revision of the 1957 Treaty of Rome (followed by the Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon treaties). The SEA intended to create a single market within the EC by 1992, removing trade barriers and allowing more competition among its members (McCormick 2007). For a deeper understanding of the SEA, see also: Tassin (1995).

[59] See Hooghe and Marks (1997: 6); Flood and Usherwood (2007); Ceretta and Curli (2017); Brack (2018).

[60] Flood (2002); Usherwood and Startin (2012: 2).

[61] Thatcher (1988).

[62] Hooghe and Marks (1997); Flood and Usherwood (2007); Brack and Startin (2015). These events were further accompanied by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which marked a systemic turning point in European history. This event prompted a redefinition of the institutional construction of the EC and further raised questions concerning Europe's geographical and geopolitical frontiers, as well as its political, economic, and cultural boundaries (Ceretta and Curli 2017).

Another important event and qualitative change in the public debate on EUI were the negotiations around the Maastricht Treaty at the beginning of the 1990s.[63] The Maastricht Treaty marked a new stage and a major advance in the integration process by reforming and transforming the EC from an international organization into an economic and political union.[64] As such, it blurred the boundaries between the national and supranational by transferring wide-ranging political and economic competencies from the national to the European level.[65] This concerned competencies such as currency (leading to the monetary union), a shared European citizenship, and common foreign and security policies, established in a three-pillar system, comprising the EC, home affairs and foreign policy.[66] The negotiations and ratifications campaigns over the treaty marked a substantial change in public engagement, showing a more critical and stronger involvement on its direction, spread and contents.[67] Party positions at the national and European level became further more differentiated and divided on the topic.[68] Therefore, the previous level of consensus and the unchallenged pro-integrationist attitude shifted towards a more critical engagement, marking a qualitative change in the discourse on EUI.[69]

---

[63] See here: Flood (2002); Verney (2011); Mudde (2012); Vasilopoulou (2013); Startin (2015); Brack and Startin (2015); FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin (2017). The Maastricht Treaty was signed in 1992/1993.

[64] De Vries (2018).

[65] Crespy and Verschueren (2009).

[66] The pillars system was structured as follows: The first pillar was the European Communities, which was responsible for social, environmental and economic policy matters, and therefore encompassed the EC, the ECSC (until it expired in 2002), and the EAEC. The second pillar was the Police and Judicial Co-Operation in Criminal Matters (PJCCM), which was responsible for any cooperation regarding the fight against crime between the members states. The third pillar was the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which was responsible for any foreign policy and military matters (McCormick 2008; Verney 2011).

[67] Franklin, Marsh, and McLaren (1994).

[68] Down and Wilson (2008); Garry and Tilley (2009); Leconte (2010); Brack and Startin (2015); Capuzzi (2016).

[69] See here, for instance: Percheron 1991; Franklin, van der Eijk, and Marsh 1995; Norris, P. 1997; Taggart 1998; Grabbe and Hughes 1999; Dyson 2000, 2002; Sitter 2001; Kopecký and Mudde 2002; Szczerbiak and Taggart 2002, 2004, 2008; Harmsen and Spiering 2004a:

The change in attitude towards EUI in the post-Maastricht period was widely labeled as Euroscepticism.[70] The term has been used in the media and academic debate as a generic label to describe attitudes of opposition and contestation towards the process of EUI and the European project as such.[71] Since its primary emergence in the late 1980s, the label was more and more used and discussed during the 1990s and early 2000s.[72] Studies argue that the changing discourse and the phenomenon of Euroscepticism became further particularly visible in the distribution of political positions within the EP since 2009.[73]

In 2014, the elections of the EP showed a substantial success and the growing presence of euro-critical and anti-establishment parties.[74] This was often called the "Eurosceptic storm in Brussels."[75] Around twenty-five percent of seats were taken by euro-critical parties and anti-establishment parties, both left and right, compared with around sixteen percent in 2009.[76] For the extreme-right, parties

---

14; Gabel and Anderson 2004; Hix, Noury, and Roland 2007; Hooghe and Marks 2007, 2009; Eichenberg and Dalton 2007; de Vries and van Kersbergen 2007; Lacroix and Coman 2007; Down and Wilson 2008; Katz 2008: 155-159; Crespy and Verschueren 2009: 377; Hobolt and Brouard 2011; de Wilde and Trenz 2012; Usherwood and Startin 2012; Vasilopoulou 2013; van Ingelgom 2014; Hobolt and Wratil 2015; Brack and Startin 2015: 241-242; Capuzzi 2016; Rohrschneider and Whitefield 2016; FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin 2017; Leruth 2017: 4.

[70] The earliest reference of the term Euroscepticism – according to the Oxford English Dictionary – was in a citation from 1986 in *The Times Magazin*. It was understood as "a person who is not enthusiastic about increasing the powers of the European Union" (Harmsen and Spiering 2004b: 15).

[71] See here, for instance: Taggart (1998); Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Flood (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002, 2004, 2008, 2017: 12-13); Milner (2004: 79); Lubbers and Scheepers (2005); Hooghe and Marks (2007); de Wilde and Trenz (2012); Mudde (2012); Startin (2015); Brack (2018). Scholars working in this tradition assume that this indicates the shift from the assumed permissive consensus during the earlier stages of EUI (Inglehart 1970; Lindberg and Scheingold 1970) to a "constraining dissensus" (Hooghe and Marks 2009; Down and Wilson 2008) or even the hypothesis of "indifference" (van Ingelgom 2014), limiting the relatively free actions of the European elite.

[72] See here, for instance: Taggart 1998; Szczerbiak and Taggart 2001, 2003, 2008; Sitter 2001; Kopecký and Mudde 2002; Harmsen and Spiering 2004a; Brack 2018.

[73] De Wilde and Trenz (2012); Leruth, Startin, and Usherwood (2017a).

[74] Hobolt (2015).

[75] Fontanella-Khan and Carnegy (2014).

[76] Hobolt (2015).

such as the FN in France and the Danish People's Party were able to achieve historical success in the EP elections. The extreme-left was also particularly successful with parties such as Podemos in Spain and SYRIZA in Greece substantially increasing their share. Further, the EP election witnessed the first entry of neo-Nazi parties such as the German Nationalsozialistische Partei Deutschland (NPD) and Greek Golden Dawn. Moreover, the first radical right coalition was formed in the EP, which was called the Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF), which was a successor of the short-lived Identity, Tradition, Sovereignty group composed from 2007. Eventually, the euro-critical party European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) achieved to become third strongest group in the EP after the election. Therefore, the 2014 elections of the EP marked a shift in the political influence of euro-critical parties and a substantial change in power in the EP.[77] In the 2019 elections of the EP, euro-critical parties were able to consolidate their success, even achieving a slight increase compared to the previous legislature.[78] This result was particularly manifested with the success of the extreme-right parties such as Fidesz in Hungary, Lega in Italy and the National Rally in France, which were the strongest in their countries. Also, more moderate center-right, euro-critical parties such as Law and Justice in Poland and the Brexit Party in the UK achieved increased electoral success. For instance, the Brexit Party achieved more than 30 per cent of the votes in the UK during the 2019 elections of the EP.[79] With these historical successes, of euro-critical parties became an established part of the European party system, and thus, as some argue "[they] are here to stay."[80]

Outside the EP, the UK showed a particular strong euro-critical or Eurosceptic attitude, as Prime Minister David Cameron announced in 2016 that he would

[77] Brack and Startin (2015: 242-245).
[78] Brack (2019).
[79] Treib (2020).
[80] Dennison and Zerka (2019); Treib (2020).

hold a referendum on the UK's membership in the EU if his party won a majority at the 2015 general election. The referendum was held in 2016 and resulted in the decision to withdraw the UK from the EU. The UK thus became the first member in the history of integration to leave the union.[81]

The prevalence of the phenomenon illustrated here, has thus been demonstrated at a number of levels. These include the emergence of a more controversial public debate around the issue of EUI, the increasing support of euro-critical and anti-establishment parties on the national and European level, and first national attempts to leave the union.[82] Many scholars thus proclaim that EUI has entered "a new phase of its existence" in the post-Maastricht era, characterized by mass criticism and the mainstreaming of a euro-critical rhetoric.[83] Against this background, a rapidly growing scholarly debate on the criticism and resistance towards the process of EUI has emerged. In the following section, the state-of-the-art of the academic debate on this issue will be illustrated, followed by the elaboration of the selected research gap of the study at hand.

2.2 The study of Euroscepticism

This section proceeds with an analysis of the state of research on Euroscepticism as a sub-discipline of European integration studies.[84] Research on EUI has long

[81] Brack and Startin (2015).
[82] Milner (2004: 79); see also: Usherwood and Startin (2012); Serricchio, Tsakatika, and Quaglia (2013); Vasilopoulou (2013); Verney (2015); Brack (2018). These developments were also influenced by further political events that accompanied the change in discourse, such as the financial crisis (FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin 2017). Further, change in discourse and the development of different discursive positions is only possible if meaning is not finally fixed and the discursive lines between various discourses are allowed to shift. This makes the development of alternative constructions of EUI possible (Diez 1999b). This argument will be elaborate further throughout this study.
[83] Brack and Startin (2015); Vasilopoulou (2013); Verney (2015).
[84] Here, it needs to be considered that the illustration of a "state of the art" is endangered to stimulate a "retrospective teleology." This is the establishment of a certain narrative on

been characterized by a "policy-academic nexus."[85] Academic studies in the field mainly centered around the legitimation of European politics and institutions, which blurred the lines between academic research and professional politics, therefore allowing for the nexus to emerge.[86] Studies thus mostly emerged around policy concerns of Brussels practitioners, focusing on the political effectiveness of policies or control variables and causalities in the domain, such as analysis on "the extent to which integration has occurred, or the likelihood that it will occur in the future."[87] The teleological reading produced a normative bias naturalizing the process of EUI as desirable and thus contributing to a pro-internationalist and a Europhile research community.[88] The research field thus lacked the critical interrogation and contesting of its underlying assumptions, processes or institutions, which led to "a surprising intellectual homogeneity in European studies," also called "European integration orthodoxy."[89] It was long dominated by rationalist approaches such as liberal intergovernmentalism, institutionalism and multilevel governance,[90] and has paid little attention to critical approaches and compared to neighboring

---

how a particular field of study has evolved (Rosamond 2007). Further, it is necessary to analyze and understand the individual implication of the research on the field of study. In the case of European studies, scholars have highlighted the "under-researched relationship between the object of study (EU politics) and the way we as scholars seek to interpret, analyse and describe it" (Klinke 2015).

[85] Klinke (2015). For an early article on EUI, see also: Milner (2000).

[86] Klinke (2015: 568); Chamlian and Nabers (2016).

[87] Rumford and Murray (2003).

[88] Klinke (2015: 568); Ryner (2012); Chamlian (2016); Mudde (2012); Jørgensen, K.E. et al. (2015: 5). It further supports an "ideological-pedagogical project" that promotes "a European self-understanding supportive of the EU" (Calhoun 2003: 5, 13-20; Klinke 2015).

[89] Klinke (2015); see also: Jørgensen, K.E. (1997); Christiansen, Jørgensen, K.E. and Wiener (1999); Diez (1999a); Moravcsik (1999a, 1999b); Puchala (1999); Kelstrup and Williams, M.C. (2000); (Marks et al. 2006). Thus, poststructuralist interpretations of the EU were rather rare within the field (see here: Waever 1990, 2009: 167; Diez 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999b, 2001; Borzel 1997; Strath 2000).

[90] Waever (2009: 167). It thus heavily relied on positivist approaches, which aim to accumulate knowledge about the EU's nature and functioning without contesting it. Ernst Haas's work on EUI *The Uniting of Europe* – first published in 1958 – was one of the first contributions in this field. It provided the basis and one of the first academic works on EUI (Rosamond 2007: 243).

disciplines, such as International Relations (IR) or International Political Sociology (IPS).[91]

Only in the late 1990s, European studies experience a methodological and qualitative turn, which was called "constructivist turn,"[92] introducing more "critical" and "self-reflecting" approaches to the field.[93] In this turn, different discursive approaches entered the field of European studies, becoming an established part of the accepted theoretical canon of approaches. Studies in this tradition focused on the transformation of state, the development of transnational identities, or the resistance to supra-nationalization.[94] Hereby, they challenged traditional scholarship and conceptions of EUI by discussing the EU as a discursively-established idea. Poststructuralist discourse theory as one of the major approaches in the discursive tradition, often refers back to the works of Michel Foucault or Jacques Derrida,[95] and was initially mostly

[91] Critical approaches in European studies were thus not yet as relevant and they had "hardly gained a clear profile" (Risse-Kappen 1996; also: Diez 1999b, 2001; Wiener and Diez 2009: 167).

[92] See for instance: Christiansen, Jørgensen, K.E. and Wiener (1999); Schimmelfennig (2001); Risse (2003); Diez (2004); Adler-Nissen (2016: 4).

[93] See Manners (2003, 2006); Keeler (2005); Rosamond (2007); Paul (2009); Duchesne et al. (2013); van Ingelgom (2014). Further, several chapters on critical theory in European studies emerged and Routledge launched a *Critical European Studies* book series in 2013 (see here: Campbell 2013; Bigo et al. 2020).

[94] Many of these studies focus on the analysis of political and societal identities within the process of EUI. See here: Mutigl, Weiss, and Wodak (2000); Diez (2001); Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001); Musolff (2004); Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber (2007); Millar and Wilson (2007); Krzyżanowski (2010); Wodak (2011a, 2011b, 2015, 2016); Diez (2014); Zappettini (2015); Clemens (2017). For further literature on "constructivism and the EU," see for instance: Christiansen, Jørgensen, K.E. and Wiener (1999).

[95] Diez (1999b; 2004); Howarth and Torfing (2005); Wiener and Diez (2009: 12); Neumann-Stanivukovic (2014). Within this research area, Ernesto Laclau's and Chantal Mouffe's "political discourse theory" presented in *HSS* (1985) has been one of the main reference points.

represented within the sub-fields and policy areas of European security or foreign policy.[96]

A similar theoretical development can be observed in the study of Euroscepticism, as a sub-discipline of European studies. In the post-Maastricht period of EUI, the academic field was characterized by the emergence of "a true cottage industry of Euroscepticism studies."[97] However, it remained pre-dominated by pro-integrationist and rationalist approaches. Therefore, the research of Euroscepticism was marked by a lack of more critical theoretical approaches and an almost a-theoretical nature.[98] The contestation between representatives of different schools of thought in the theoretical debate and any critical distance or reflexivity to practices of knowledge production were missing.[99] Instead, two main bodies of knowledge became prevalent in this field of research: first, the contention over the "nature" of Euroscepticism;[100] and second, the explanation of its "drivers."[101] Both bodies of knowledge will be introduced in the following. First, the literature on the "nature" of

[96] For discourse analysis and EU security or foreign policy, see for instance: Larsen (1997); Diez (1999b, 2001: 201); Hay, C. and Rosamond (2002); Checkel (2007); Jørgensen, K.E. and Wessel (2011); Aydın-Düzgit (2014); Carta and Morin (2014); Carta and Wodak (2015); Chamlian and Nabers (2016), among others.

[97] Mudde (2012); see also: Flood and Usherwood (2007); Flood (2009); Brack (2018). These studies were mostly focused on the study of public opinion from a rational perspective. They mainly focus on causes and consequences of the emerged "constraining dissensus" for the EU's integration process (Hooghe and Marks 2009; Schmitt, H. and Thomassen 1999; Leconte 2010; Mair and Thomassen 2010). Here, Inglehart's *Silent Revolution* (1977) was one of the first contributions in the field (Inglehart 1977).

[98] There existed a few exceptions, such as de Wilde and Trenz (2007, 2010, 2012); de Wilde, Trenz, and Michailidou (2010).

[99] Cox (1983: 128-129); Chamlian (2016).

[100] On the conceptualization and understanding of the term and what this phenomenon actually entails, see for instance: Taggart (1998); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2001); Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Sørensen, C. (2008); Vasilopoulou (2011).

[101] Marks and Wilson (2000); Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson (2002); Marks, Wilson, and Ray (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2008); Loveless and Rohrschneider (2011); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Brack and Startin (2015); Leconte (2015); Vasilopoulou (2016); Hobolt (2016).

Euroscepticism is reviewed, before the key insights from the literature on the "drivers" of Euroscepticism are presented.

The "nature" of Euroscepticism

This section aims to illustrate the ongoing academic debate around the "nature" of the political phenomenon of Euroscepticism.[102] The term Euroscepticism generally serves as an "umbrella term" encompassing very different concepts and understandings of the phenomenon at hand, mainly focused on political party position, voters and their interaction. Due to its indifference, a large debate on the usage and the conceptualization of the term has emerged within the scholarly debate.[103] Several scholars even suggest going beyond the term of Euroscepticism due to its aforementioned shortcomings. The study at hand chooses a poststructuralist perspective and thus puts forward an alternative reading of the term. Based on the poststructuralist perspective, the phenomenon is understood as a discursive formation of the notion of resistance in the public sphere. In the following section, the mainstream approaches on the "nature" of Euroscepticism is primarily illustrated, before it highlights the limits of these approaches, followed by elaborating a discursive understanding of the phenomenon in the public sphere.

The first influential definition of Euroscepticism appeared in the 1990s and identified the phenomenon primarily as opposition towards EUI. It was the result of a study by Paul Taggart in 1998, investigating Western Europe party systems in the early-1990s.[104] The outcome was the identification and labeling

---

[102] The analysis at hand explicitly rejects this notion, since from a poststructuralist perspective there exists no nature of a certain phenomenon; instead, the social is generally discursively constructed.

[103] Crespy and Verschueren (2009); Brack (2018: 54-55).

[104] Taggart (1998). Although a few publications on the topic emerged in the beginning of the 1990s, such as Holmes (1996), Gaffney (1996), Ward (1996a), and Benoit (1998), Taggart's article *A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western*

of the phenomenon as Euroscepticism, expressing "the idea of contingent, or qualified opposition, as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration."[105] Already in this very early contribution, the unclear structure and content of the phenomenon was seen, as illustrated in the following statement by Taggart:

> "What is surprising is the diversity of this opposition and the various sources from which it sprang. In addition to specifically anti-EU parties in France, Germany, and Denmark, the issue has been taken up with varying degrees of conviction by new politics parties, neo-fascist parties, agrarian and new-populist parties. Putting these oppositions together produces a strange amalgam of discontents from across the political spectrum."[106]

In the wider academic debate, this approach has often been criticized for being too general and thus insufficiently specific to capture the rather complex and diverse phenomenon of Euroscepticism. However, since this pioneering article, scholarly literature seeking to understand Euroscepticism has grown exponentially.[107]

In a study following this first definition of Euroscepticism, the focus of analysis has extended to evaluate an even wider range of established Western and new Central and Eastern European democracies.[108] Here, an attempt was made to introduce some conceptual order by distinguishing between "hard" and "soft" Euroscepticism.[109] Hard Euroscepticism, on the one hand, describes a situation in which a principle opposition to the EU and EUI exists.[110] This opposition becomes apparent when existing member states show ambition to leave the

---

European Party Systems was a major contribution in the field of study, followed by an significant increase in scholarly attention.

[105] Taggart (1998: 366); see also: Vasilopoulou (2017: 23).

[106] Taggart (1998: 365).

[107] Flood and Usherwood (2007); Flood (2009).

[108] See Szczerbiak and Taggart (2001, 2002, 2004).

[109] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2001, 2002, 2004).

[110] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002: 7).

union, or when candidate states oppose their own membership. In addition, it can also be expressed in the dismissal of individual policies, standing for the European project as a whole or the process of EUI in its current shape.[111] Soft Euroscepticism, on the other hand, describes a contingent opposition towards the EU. It refers to a critique towards particular EU policies, rather than a general opposition to the entire project and ongoing integration.[112] This would for example be the case if the direction of integration in a certain policy area was at odds with the national interest of a particular member state. Thus, the implications of the given area would be understood as contrary to national interest.[113] This initial conceptualization distinguishing between soft and hard Euroscepticism grew to be rather influential and was adopted by many scholars. It provided the basis for several studies comparing euro-critical parties and movements across Europe.[114]

The rather influential conceptualization was however also criticized by a number of scholars based on several points.[115] In particular, the proposed binary opposing categories of hard and soft Euroscepticism were criticized as being overly simplistic and narrow, neglecting a diverse field of positions towards the process of EUI and the more complex and dynamic nature of the phenomenon.[116] Moreover, the model was seen as being too inclusive and

---

[111] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002: 7; 2004).
[112] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2001, 2002, 2004).
[113] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002: 4, 7; 2008: 240; 2017: 12-13). Some of the early studies in the field thus analyzed whether the EU elections tend to be second-order elections, meaning that voters primarily express domestic concerns with their vote (Reif and Schmitt, H. 1980; van der Eijk and Franklin 1996). This was further elaborated in relation to referendums on EUI, assuming that the results also highly depend on the support for the individual national governments (Franklin, Marsh, and McLaren 1994; Franklin, van der Eijk, and Marsh 1995), and thus assuming that the evaluation of the EU generally strongly depends on national concerns (Gabel and Palmer 1995; Anderson 1998; Anderson and Kaltenthaler 1996).
[114] For instance: Henderson, K. (2001); Batory (2001, 2002); Flood (2002); Lees (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002, 2008).
[115] See for instance: Flood (2009); Mudde (2012).
[116] Flood (2002); Krouwel and Abts (2007).

therefore imprecise. It defines Euroscepticism in such a broad manner that it encompasses almost any disagreement with the EU and its policy decisions.[117] The indicators given to distinguish between soft and hard Euroscepticism – such as support for or opposition to European membership – were further seen to be rather poorly defined.[118] Finally, it was criticized for neglecting any consideration of the ideological dimensions of parties and how these would affect the production of policy positions regarding the EU.[119]

In response to these shortcomings, an alternative conception was introduced, which differentiates between the support for the EU as an institution and the process of EUI.[120] The concept proposes a four-dimensional matrix that is based on two contrasting axes. These axes comprise of an ideological level, including Europhiles and Europhobes, and a strategic level, including EU-optimists and EU-pessimists. The Europhile/Europhobe axis shows two general attitudes towards the process of EUI. The category of Europhiles generally supports the idea of EUI. It aspires an institutionalized cooperation at the European level, possessing sovereignties and a joint liberal market economy. The category of Europhobes is explicitly opposed to or rejects one or more of these concepts. The EU-optimistic/ EU-pessimistic axis shows two general attitudes towards the EU as a political system. The category of EU-optimists can be critical about some policies, although it generally approves the current state and the general development of the political system of the EU. By contrast, the category of EU-pessimists does not approve the political system of the EU in its current state. It is pessimistic and critical about the direction and development that EUI is

[117] Kopecký and Mudde (2002: 300).
[118] Kopecký and Mudde (2002); FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin (2017); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2017: 12-13).
[119] Kopecký and Mudde (2002: 28). Other theorists such as Kopecký and Mudde focus on ideology and strategy. They assume that ideology determines the position of a party towards the underlying ideas of the European project, and that the strategy determines the position taken by the party towards its EU membership (Kopecký and Mudde 2001: 23; 2002).
[120] Kopecký and Mudde (2002).

taking.[121] Following these categories, the model divides the attitudes towards EUI under four labels, leading to the following categories. First, Euro-enthusiast (Europhile and EU-optimist) describes the category that is supportive of the general project of EUI and optimistic about the general direction in which the EU is developing. Secondly, Euro-pragmatism (Europhobe and EU-optimist) describes the category that is not supportive of the project of EUI, but it supports the agenda and policies of the EU when they match the national or a sectoral interest. Third, Eurosceptic (Europhile and EU-pessimist) describes the category with a positive attitude towards the general project of EUI but is critical of the precise and actual policies and agenda of the EU. Fourth, Euro-reject (Europhobe and EU-pessimist) describes the category that dismisses the general project of EUI as well as the actual development that the EU is showing. According to this model, the category of Eurosceptic encompasses a rather restricted scope. As illustrated above, it refers to those positions that are positive towards the general project but critical about the current development of the EU.[122]

According to critiques, this concept falls short in solving the terminological issues surrounding the definition of Euroscepticism. Much like the hard vs. soft model, it assumes an overly simplistic division between Europhile support and Europhobic rejection of the general project of EUI. Moreover, the model does not acknowledge the many different conceptions of what EUI can look like, while it remains blind to the immense variation of ideological currents.[123] Further, it confines Eurosceptics to the rank of attitudes supporting the general ideas of EUI and being pessimistic about the EU's execution of these ideas. The model thus describes the category rather narrow and fails to adequately reflect its complexity.[124] Finally, a problem of nomenclature arises since the term

[121] Kopecký and Mudde (2002).
[122] Kopecký and Mudde (2002).
[123] Flood (2002). This thus implies the disadvantage that ideology is treated in a reductive way (Flood 2002).
[124] Flood (2002); Flood and Usherwood (2007).

Euroscepticism is used for one of the categories. This leads to the emergence of two distinct usages of the term, namely the general sense and the more particular sense regarding this model.[125]

Considering that the four-scale matrix introduced above may be criticized for being overly simplistic and imprecise, a six-point scale of positions was suggested, along which broad party positions towards the EU can be situated.[126] This continuum contains the following categories. First, rejectionists are those generally opposed to any European policy, institution or the European membership of the particular country. Secondly, revisionists reflect positions seeking to return to the situation that existed prior to a particular major treaty reform. Third, minimalists imply a generally acceptive attitude towards the status quo of the EU, while rejecting any further integration. Fourth, gradualists reflect a generally supportive position towards integration, although they are only acceptive to a slow pace of EUI. Fifth, the term reformist implies positions of "constructive engagement" that pursue advancing the existing structure of the EU. Finally, maximalists demonstrate strong support of the condition of the EU and further integration. All six categories can apply to either the configuration of the entire European project or to simply one or several policy areas.[127] The general intention of the model is to be "value-natural" and free of metaphorical associations to avoid any distortion effects of the content. This is supposed to enable a relatively descriptive division of the illustrated positions, leaving aside any underlying ideological or strategic motivations.[128] However, this model has also been criticized for being overly specific in its attempt to solve the problem of conceptual inclusivity. Therefore, the model is too specific and thus becomes partly exclusive.[129] Moreover, critics identified challenges

[125] Flood and Usherwood (2007).
[126] Flood and Usherwood (2007).
[127] Flood and Usherwood (2007).
[128] Flood and Usherwood (2007).
[129] Vasilopoulou (2011, 2013).

regarding the operationalization of the concept.[130] When using this framework and the categories that it provides, there must be clear criteria of measurement in place to avoid any empirically or conceptually overlapping categories. However, this is absent from the available literature.[131]

Besides the above-introduced models and frameworks, further approaches have been brought forward in the academic debate, including a five-point continuum comprising the elements of "hard Euroscepticism, soft Euroscepticism, no commitment, functional Europeanism and identity Europeanism."[132] Another model suggests a more streamlined synthesis of the previous models, differentiating between the incentive and significance of the attitude towards the project of EUI.[133] It thus scales the positions along the two axes of "magnitude" (between soft/hard Euroscepticism) and "motivations" (balance of ideology/strategy).[134] Another popular approach addresses the issue of qualitative differences in Euroscepticism. In a two-dimensional framework, it combines the objective and the extent of discontent towards the European project.[135] The first axis implies positions towards the community, its authorities and the regime, while the second axis represents positions evaluating the extent of discontent and negativity. The framework further evaluates both dimensions displayed on the axis. It assumes that different groups of Euroscepticism show diverse political attitudes, running from "trust, over scepticism to political distrust, cynicism and alienation."[136] In the tradition of this approach formulate Krouwel and Abts:

> "Euroscepticism is a complex phenomenon, and a framework should allow for such variation. So-called Eurosceptics may first of all differ in the precise

[130] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2017: 12-13).
[131] Vasilopoulou (2011, 2013).
[132] Conti (2003, 2018).
[133] Rovny (2004).
[134] Rovny (2004).
[135] Krouwel and Abts (2007).
[136] Krouwel and Abts (2007).

> arguments for opposing the EU. Attitudes towards Europe can be directed against the very idea of European integration; the actual integration process of enlargement and/or deepening; the perceived impact of particular developments within this process; the EU and its officials, performance, output and policies; and, last but not least, politics in general. Secondly, Eurosceptics may differ in the degree of opposition. The generic label of Euroscepticism may incorporate sceptical, distrustful, cynical or oppositional attitudes."[137]

The study around the nature of Euroscepticism therefore shows a heterogeneous and diverse field of concepts and approaches and no consensus on a general definition of the term exists.[138] A similar situation is prevalent in the second large body on literature within the field, which analyzes possible "drivers" of the phenomenon. In the following section, the key insights from the second body of knowledge on the "drivers" of Euroscepticism are introduced accordingly.

Understanding the "drivers" of Euroscepticism

A significant amount of literature in the field of study has adopted the focus of examining "drivers" of Euroscepticism to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon. Here, the field mostly consists of rationalist approaches, focusing on either collective party position or public opinion to find causal explanations for the dynamics in the process of integration. In contrast to the mainly rationalist approaches in this field of study, the study at hand chooses a poststructuralist perspective and thus does not search for "drivers" or "causes." Instead, the analysis aims to gaining a better understanding of the phenomenon and to analyze how discourse may enable certain actions. However, in the following section, the key contributions in the rationalist stream of literature are

[137] Krouwel and Abts (2007).
[138] See also: Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Conti (2003, 2018); Flood and Usherwood (2005, 2007); Riishøj (2007). The assumptions of earlier works in the field such as Taggart (1998), Szczerbiak (2002), Szczerbiak and Taggart (2001, 2002), or Kopecký and Mudde (2001, 2002) are further challenged by studies such as Banchoff and Smith, M.P. (1999), Beetham and Lord (1998), Hedetoft (1998), Schmitt, H. and Thomassen (1999), and Flood (2002).

primarily introduced, before its limits will be illustrated and an alternative understanding suggested.

The mainstream literature on the drivers of Euroscepticism mainly focuses on two aspects, namely either party politics[139] or public opinion[140]. In the first stream of literature on party-political positions on EUI, there are generally two main approaches that account for most of the academic output on the topic, namely approaches privileging the ideological-programmatic competition factors and those privileging the strategic-tactical party competition factors. The ideological-programmatic approach (also called North Carolina school) analyzes how party attitudes and ideological positions towards the EU relate to each other.[141] It relies on the traditional cleavage theory,[142] which functions as a filter through which parties respond to the process of integration.[143] Studies in this tradition suggest that the political family with which a political party aligns itself acts as "a reliable and effective indicator" for its position on integration.[144] The approach further assumes that party competition and the individual position on European topics can be structured by two major dimensions: "the left/right economic cleavage and the GAL/TAN (Green-Alternative-Libertarian/ Traditional-Authoritarian-Nationalist) dimension on non-economic issues such as the environment, lifestyle and values."[145] According to this understanding, parties on the GAL side most likely have a more pro-EU attitude, such as green

[139] For instance: Marks and Wilson (2000); Marks, Wilson, and Ray (2002); Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2008); Usherwood and Startin (2012).
[140] For instance: Eichenberg and Dalton (1993, 2007); Anderson and Reichert (1995); Carrubba (1997); Gabel and Whitten (1997); Anderson (1998); Gabel (1998); Armingeon and Ceka (2014); Gomez (2015).
[141] Marks, Wilson, and Ray (2002).
[142] Introduced by Lipset and Rokkan (1967), the cleavage theory generally assumes that social and cultural conflict lines within society determine political positions. For them, there are no simple oppositions in political positions, they instead arrange along a continuum of policy preferences.
[143] Marks and Wilson (2000); Marks, Wilson, and Ray (2002); (Marks et al. 2006); Hooghe, Huo, and Marks (2007); Hooghe and Marks (2007).
[144] Marks and Wilson (2000); Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson (2002).
[145] Bartolini (2012).

parties. The parties on the TAN side are most likely to be more Eurosceptic, such as radical right-wing parties.[146] Euroscepticism is thus mostly found among the ideologically "extreme" parties.[147]

The strategic-tactical approach (also called Sussex school) focuses less on the ideology of the parties' position and more on its strategy. The particular position of parties is understood as a "strategic calculation in the national competition"[148]. In opposition to the North Carolina approach, it does not assume a linear relationship between the particular ideological preference of a party on the left/right spectrum and its approach towards the process of EUI: "a party's ideological position does not provide sufficient information to deduce its position on the EU."[149] Instead, the approach stresses characteristics of the national context as explanatory factors, such as the composition of the national institutions and the electoral systems[150], the structure of the party competition[151], or the objectives of the party (office-seeking, vote-seeking, policy-seeking).[152] This approach understands Euroscepticism mainly as a strategic resource in the national party competition mostly taken by opposition parties and protest actors or movements.[153]

These two approaches therefore provide different perspectives on the study of Euroscepticism. Scholars have criticized the fact that while both have published

---

[146] Hooghe and Marks (2009); Vasilopoulou (2013); Brack and Startin (2015); Brack (2018).
[147] Mudde (2012), see also: de Vries and Edwards (2009, 2015).
[148] Brack (2018).
[149] Taggart (1998: 377).
[150] Lees (2002); Flood and Usherwood (2007).
[151] Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002, 2008).
[152] See Sitter (2001); Raunio (2007); Batory and Sitter (2008).
[153] Mudde (2012); Vasilopoulou (2013); Brack (2018). As illustrated, these approaches thus focuses either on the domain of political ideology and identity (see for example: Marks and Wilson 2000; Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson 2002; Marks and Steenbergen 2004a) or the national level and competition between different parties (see for example: Taggart 1998; Raunio 1999; Ray 1999; Sitter 2001; Szczerbiak and Taggart 2008; Skinner 2010; Stojic 2011).

defining works in the field, they largely remained distant to each other with the exception of some cross citations.[154] This lack of knowledge exchange and communication between the two approaches results partly from their different ontological and epistemological assumptions and consequently how they approach the phenomenon methodologically. Following a positivist tradition, the ideological-programmatic approach (or North Carolina school) has utilized quantitative, longitudinal data and relied on statistical methods of data analysis. Following a constructivist tradition, the more strategic-tactical approach (or Sussex school) mostly focuses on comparative analyses and qualitative case studies.[155] However, more recent work has stressed their complementarity,[156] highlighting the possibility of a mixed-methods procedure bringing together the ideas of both schools. Here, the combination and interplay of strategic and ideological considerations guide parties' position on the particular issue, which has been called "the most promising avenue for future research."[157]

In the second stream of literature, several studies have attempted to make sense of the shift from permissive consensus to Euroscepticism (or even the "constraining dissensus"[158]), focusing on the public opinion on EUI.[159] These different studies can generally be divided into three clusters: (1) utilitarianism, (2) cue-taking and (3) identity, which are briefly outlined in the following.[160] First, the utilitarian cluster comprises studies arguing that the attitude towards EUI results from the relation between individual economic utility and its cost-

[154] Mudde (2012).
[155] Mudde (2011); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Vasilopoulou (2013); Brack (2018).
[156] Vasilopoulou (2013).
[157] Mudde (2011: 22), see also: Halikiopoulou, Nanou, and Vasilopoulou (2012).
[158] A term introduced by Hooghe and Marks (2009), as already illustrated earlier, describing an counter-concept to the permissive consensus (Hooghe and Marks 2009).
[159] Approaches focusing on public opinion generally aim to understand the socio-political context in which Euroscepticism is expressed (Sørensen, C. 2008). These contexts can be of different kind, such as "economic, democratic, sovereignty and socio-political driven" (see for example: Loveless and Rohrschneider 2011).
[160] Hobolt and de Vries (2016b).

benefit analysis.[161] Studies in this tradition have adapted utilitarian cost-benefit approaches – such as David Easton's work[162] – to the study of EUI.[163] They assume that with an economic benefit the individuals or a particular country experiences through, for instance, the removal of trade barriers within the EU, support for the project itself also increases.[164] In order to analyze whether general support for the project is affected by the economic performance of the nation state, the approach uses macroeconomic studies. Here, macroeconomic variables such as inflation, unemployment and economic growth are applied[165] to analyze economic models of voting and the relation between the economic condition of a particular country and the assessment of its national government. The approach further argues that these analyzes can be directly applied to the general attitude of a country towards the EU. In this understanding, the European public is able to recognize the EU's implications on economic welfare, even if their knowledge on EU affairs is limited.[166] However, the variation of outcomes from studies in this cluster is significant and largely depends on the selected "level of analysis, the use of control variables and the operationalization of the dependent variable."[167]

Second, the cue-taking cluster comprises of studies arguing that European citizens are not well informed about the basic aspects of the integration process.[168] Without the necessary information, it further suggests, individuals

---

[161] See for instance: Eichenberg and Dalton (1993, 2007); Anderson and Reichert (1995); Carrubba (1997); Gabel and Whitten (1997); Gabel (1998); Gomez (2015).
[162] Easton (1953, 1965).
[163] See for instance: Gabel and Palmer (1995); Gabel and Whitten (1997); Gabel (1998); Brinegar, Jolly, and Kitschelt (2004).
[164] Gabel (1998). This can for instance be the case for those directly affected by the gains, such as highly-educated people, people living close to a European border, or farmers.
[165] See Eichenberg and Dalton (1993, 2007). This further includes research built on the macroeconomic approaches, such as Anderson and Kaltenthaler (1996), Carrubba (1997), Duch and Taylor, M. (1997), and Carey (2002).
[166] Eichenberg and Dalton (1993; 2007: 512); Carrubba (1997).
[167] Carey (2002).
[168] Anderson (1998).

rely on proxies to form their particular opinion towards the EU and the process of integration. Thus, individuals' support for the EU is affected by proxies, such as the national political system, its institutions, or government[169], party-political cues[170], or national politics.[171] The cue-taking approach assumes that stronger satisfaction with the national political system likely leads to a higher degree of support towards European institutions.[172] Here, trust in the national system and the ability of political elites to influence the public through party cueing[173], media effects[174], and the provision of information[175] are taken into consideration.[176] However, this approach is contested as several studies suggest the opposite, showing that the level of support is particularly high where the opinion of the national system is lower.[177] Following this argumentation, the lower opinion on the national system leads to aspiration towards EUI, which is "seen as preferable to national political corruption or an undeveloped welfare state."[178] It thus remains ambiguous whether the attitude towards the EU correlates positively or negatively with the national proxies.

Third, the identity approach suggests that there is something like a European identity. Studies in this tradition analyze the characteristics of the European identity and its consequences.[179] They suggest at the normative level that the creation of a European identity enables a supportive attitude towards EUI. Thus,

---

[169] Anderson (1998); Armingeon and Ceka (2014).
[170] Ray (2003a, 2003b); Hooghe and Marks (2005); Steenbergen, Edwards, and de Vries (2007).
[171] Franklin, Marsh, and McLaren (1994); Anderson (1998); Armingeon and Ceka (2014).
[172] Anderson (1998).
[173] Hooghe and Marks (2005); Steenbergen, Edwards, and de Vries (2007).
[174] Bruter (2003, 2005); Carey and Burton (2004); Schuck and de Vreese (2006); Maier and Rittberger (2008); Vliegenthart et al. (2008).
[175] Wessels (1995); Tilley and Wlezien (2008); Vössing (2015).
[176] Anderson (1998); Hooghe (2007); Krouwel and Abts (2007); Steenbergen, Edwards, and de Vries (2007); Lubbers and Scheepers (2010); Sanders et al. (2012); Sanders, Magalhaes, and Toka (2012); Brack and Startin (2015); Verney (2015).
[177] Sánchez-Cuenca (2000).
[178] Carey (2002).
[179] Smith, A. (1992); Leonard (1998).

findings show that the ability to foster increased integration relies on the general success of creating and strengthening an European identity.[180] It may in fact even counter-balance and over-compensate negative individual dispositions with the union, such as satisfaction with its democracy and representation[181], identities[182], internationalism[183], and degree of religious tolerance.[184] On the contrary, studies in this tradition assume that the intimidation of the national identity and culture by strong European identity can also lead to increasing opposition towards the EU.[185] Further, strong debate exists around the conceptualization and possible measures of identity within the field of study. Thus, little consensus on the theoretical foundation of the concept of identity or its empirical exposition can be found.[186]

Studies on public opinion regarding EUI have further been questioned. The critique features three major aspects. First, the data used for these types of studies are mostly provided by Eurobarometer, which is widely considered controversial.[187] Further, there are hardly any other data available, especially for the earlier periods of EUI, prior to Eurobarometer's creation in 1974.[188] Second, studies on public opinion toward EUI analyzing referenda show contradictory results. For instance, although research data shows that citizens in

---

[180] Laffan (1996).
[181] Rohrschneider (2002); Vasilopoulou (2013).
[182] Carey (2002); Hooghe and Marks (2005).
[183] Kuhn (2012, 2013).
[184] Hobolt et al. (2011).
[185] Carey (2002); McLaren (2002, 2004, 2006); Bruter (2005); Hooghe and Marks (2005, 2009); Kentmen-Cin and Erisen (2017).
[186] For example: Kosterman and Feshbach (1989); Smith, A. (1991, 1992); Kriesi, Armingeon, and Siegrist (1999); Lilli and Diehl (1999); Dowley and Silver (2000); Carey (2002).
[187] Scholars argue that since its establishment in the 1970s, the data from the Eurobarometer "blurs the line between research and propaganda" since it prefers questions producing outcome supportive of the EUI. Critics further claim that it uses "incomprehensible, hypothetical, and knowledge-inadequate questions, unbalanced response options, insinuation and leading questions, context effects, and the strategic removal of questions that led to critical responses in previous Eurobarometer waves" (Höpner and Jurczyk 2015).
[188] Franklin, van der Eijk, and Marsh (1995).

France, the Netherlands and Ireland are mostly "pro-European," their votes against the European constitutional treaty have often been interpreted as opposition to the current developments with the EU.[189] Due to this contradiction, the general usefulness of analyzing results from referendums to measure public attitudes towards EUI has been questioned.[190] Third, some research on the mass-level support for EUI has been criticized for using questionable variables, such as material interests,[191] cognitive capacities,[192] or national identity.[193] Further, the field of study ignores other relevant aspects such as an elitist dimension[194] the phenomenon of globalization[195], or similarities to the mechanism of political participation at the domestic level.[196]

The limits on the conceptualization of "Euroscepticism"

As demonstrated in the section above, there is no single universally accepted definition or usage of the term "Euroscepticism;" rather, there are various understandings and conceptualizations that co-exist, each implementing

[189] During the ratification process of the European Constitution in the early 2000s, several countries hold a referendum. Any European Treaty needs to be ratified by all member states of the European Union. This process of ratification differs depending on the individual regulation in the country. Even though most members ratified the treaty, some countries rejected the document in 2005 and thus brought the process to an end (European Union 2016).
[190] Franklin, van der Eijk, and Marsh (1995).
[191] Gabel (1998).
[192] Inglehart (1970); Cautrès and Grunberg (2007).
[193] Duchesne and Frognier (2002); McLaren (2002).
[194] Costa and Magnette (2007). More on the elitist dimension, see (de Wilde 2010), discussing aspects such as the lack of engagement by the European elites with the public (Usherwood and Startin 2012), or the lack of critically discussion of their positions and responds to public demands on the topic (Morgan 2005; Nivet 2016; Brack 2018).
[195] Kriesi (2008); Crespy and Verschueren (2009: 379); Schild and Hessen (2009).
[196] Crespy and Verschueren (2009); Reungoat (2010). More approaches were added to the study on Euroscepticism, which focused on non-state actors such as civil society (Usherwood and Startin 2012; Oppermann 2013), or the media (Koopmans and Statham 2010; Daddow 2012; de Wilde, Trenz and Michailidou 2013; Startin 2015; Gattermann and Vasilopoulou 2017; Leruth, Startin, and Usherwood 2017b; Bijsmans 2015), further considering its pan-European and transnational relevance (Usherwood and Startin 2012).

different categories and groups. The field of study experienced a further proliferation of ad-hoc definitions. Since scholars unsatisfied with the existing concepts of Euroscepticism, added new conceptualizations suited to their particular research, such as euro-indifference,[197] euro-realism,[198] euro-ambivalence or euro-alienation.[199] This led to an even stronger granularization of the term, followed by a "semantic confusion and poor categorizations."[200]

Besides the outlined fuzziness of the term, scholars have highlighted other limitations of the existing conceptualizations around Euroscepticism.[201] Here, studies stress that several aspects upon which the particular concept is based remain undefined, making its understanding and usage difficult.[202] This concerns, for example, the specific targets and ideas implied by phenomenon of Euroscepticism, as it remains unclear what it opposes, and thus what "pro-Europeanism" describes.[203] The determination of such aspects is particularly challenging, as it presupposes a definition of the EU and a shared vision of the "finality of European integration and its structures."[204] Moreover, the proposed concepts combine a very diverse and heterogeneous range of political positions along the political spectrum under one label. These range from positions that are generally in favor of some form of EUI to far-right nationalist positions that reject the idea of the EU as such.[205] It further implies almost any agent not accepting "the EU unconditionally and want[ing] their preferences to be taken

[197] Delmotte (2007).
[198] Neumayer (2008).
[199] Krouwel and Abts (2007); van Ingelgom (2014).
[200] Roger (2007: 31).
[201] Flood (2002).
[202] Kaniok (2012); Leconte (2015).
[203] Kaniok (2009: 163).
[204] Kaniok (2012). Here, different approaches have been put forward. For instance, Kopecký and Mudde argued that the essence of EUI consists of "the liberal market economy and supranationalism" (Kopecký and Mudde 2002). However, this has also been questioned, since the treaties of the EU specify a "social market economy" and not the idea of a "liberal market economy" (see here article 3 TFEU; European Union 2012).
[205] Kopecký and Mudde (2002).

into consideration more."[206] The whole field of study is thus no longer about the desirability of EUI but about qualified criticisms.[207] Finally, scholars criticize that it contains a strong normative charge, which is often used to "disqualify certain actors or political adversaries."[208] The term therefore remains conceptually unclear, impeding its operationalization in the academic context.[209] Following these elaborations, a debate around its general usefulness has emerged, with several studies suggesting abandoning the simplistic pro-/anti-EU contradiction.[210]

The study at hand adopts the more critical approach towards the conceptualization of the illustrated phenomenon. It aims to explore the phenomenon as an element of discourse and replaces the study of Euroscepticism with that of resistance. The term "resistance" is not new to the field of European studies and the scholarly debate on EUI. It has been used by scholars analyzing Euroscepticism and has been generally defined as "manifestations of hostility towards one (or several) aspect(s) of European integration perceived as a threat with respect to one's values."[211] This definition enables a discursive conceptualization of the phenomenon, being established in discursive practices that oppose European integration.[212] It further allows to acknowledge the impossibility of objectively determining "the essence of European integration."[213] From a poststructuralist perspective, it is not possible to ground an analysis in a "given" subject or object because both are constituted

[206] Usherwood (2005).
[207] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a).
[208] Brack 2018: 18; see further: Ward (1996a, 1996b); Neumayer (2008).
[209] Harmsen (2010: 339).
[210] Such as Flood (2002). Therefore, it is suggest that any study analyzing the phenomenon must inevitably provide a precise definition (Kopecký and Mudde 2002).
[211] Crespy and Verschueren (2009: 379), see also: Lacroix and Coman (2007); Costa, Roger, and Saurugger (2008); Lacroix and Nicolaidis (2011).
[212] Lacroix and Coman (2007); Crespy and Verschueren (2009: 385); de Wilde and Trenz (2009; 2012: 8). Also called the "sociological turn" of EU studies (Delmotte, Mercenier, and van Ingelgom 2017).
[213] Crespy and Verschueren (2009: 379).

discursively and therefore studied by their processes of constitution.[214] This approach, then, allows to move away from the search for an essence within the study of EUI to the identification of the production and contestation of its meaning.[215] It also makes possible for an analysis of hostility towards Europe in a broader and polymorphous sense that includes different social actors[216] and historical contexts throughout the history of the European project.[217] Finally, the narrow understanding of the phenomenon as opposition can be broadened to include attitudes such as the display of disaffection with democratic institutions.[218] The discursive constitution of the phenomenon as resistance, therefore, makes it a more flexible and unified approach applicable to a variety of empirical realities.

In contrast to conceptually limited rationalist approaches seeking a causal explanation of the object of study, this study adopts a discursive and thus more comprehensive approach. It argues that it is necessary to reframe the academic debate on Euroscepticism around the discourse of resistance in order to provide a better understanding of the often-underestimated resistance to the European project.[219] Accordingly, the phenomenon manifests itself in discursive practices of euro-critical positions aiming at re-nationalization and thus showing disaffection from the European democratic institutions.[220] The particular

---

[214] Waever (2009: 163).
[215] De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017: 8).
[216] See here also: Goldstone (1998); Surel (2000); Höpner and Schäfer (2007); Nicolaïdis and Schmidt (2007); Balme and Chabanet (2008); Katz (2008); Kriesi (2008); Schmitter (2009).
[217] Guieu et al. (2006); Caporaso and Tarrow (2008).
[218] Delmotte (2007); Duchesne and van Ingelgom (2008); Brack (2018). Disaffection is understood to be more than opposition often going along with apathy from the political system or institution. It was further expressed in several political events throughout the process of the EUI, as illustrated later in this study (see als: FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin 2017).
[219] See also: Laclau (1994); Diez (1999b: 611); Delmotte (2008); Duchesne et al. (2013); van Ingelgom (2014); Delmotte, Mercenier, and van Ingelgom (2017: 228).
[220] de Wilde and Trenz (2012).

research agenda and research gap of this study are further elaborated in the following section.

2.3 Research gap

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the underlying phenomenon and the question concerning how resistance to the EUI can best be understood, this study adds a more critical discursive poststructuralist approach to the existing debate on Euroscepticism by examining Mouffe's AMD.[221]

In contrast to the approaches introduced earlier, the theory applied in this study does not search for the essence of things. Instead, poststructuralist approaches analyze how discursive practices construct social reality.[222] Discourse is thus treated as constitutive of social reality, such that no social reality exists outside of discursive practices.[223] A poststructuralist analysis is therefore primary concerned with the discursive production of structures of meaning and identification. It focuses on the emergence and transformation of political identities and analyzes how articulatory practices are able to produce and change relations between elements.[224] From this perspective, the social phenomenon of resistance to EUI is inherently linked to its discursive

[221] Here, it is important to acknowledge that the selection of a theory is an important decision that drives the way in which the social is observed. The application of a more critical approach allows intervening in the conventional understanding and the established debate in the field.
[222] see Laclau (1994); Diez (1999b: 611). The theoretical background and foundation of this study will be further elaborated in chapter 3 of this study.
[223] Discourse is understood as the "temporary fixation of meaning" around discursive nodal points constituting social reality (Laclau 1996: 4). This will be elaborated further in chapter 3 of this study.
[224] See also: Laclau (1994).

construction, and the study focuses on the discourse of resistance toward EUI using poststructuralist premises.[225]

Chantal Mouffe's AMD offers a well-researched, discourse-based poststructuralist theory of democracy, which is an increasingly popular angle in the discipline of IR. It allows for critical examination of the discourse on EUI and challenges the accepted canon in academic debate. Her model also draws attention to the limitations of consensus-focused approaches and the existence of a "Eurocentric" truth in the discourse on EUI. From Mouffe's perspective, the European project lacks the possibility of identification and legitimate ways to express a diversity of political positions within the political design. She formulates this as follows:

> "Not so long ago, the European Union was something that people could identify with. But over the last ten years things have changed: we've seen a growing movement of Euroscepticism and Euro-rejection. For me the reason for that is clear: people today can't identify with Europe. […]"[226]

According to Mouffe's AMD, for a strong identification to become possible, the system needs to provide legitimate ways to channel passion within the political system and make an agonistic debate between different positions possible. However, in the present conjunction, the European political system in a "non-political environment", which lacks a real political debate over the direction of the integration process and therefore real politics, as Mouffe states in the following:

> "[…] at present it's a kind of bureaucratic, non-political environment […] elections to the European Parliament need to be contested along genuine right-wing and left-wing lines with real alternatives offered to voters. […] European

[225] This is closely related to the works of other authors using discursive approaches such as de Wilde and Trenz (2012).
[226] Mouffe (2014).

> institutions do not allow for a real debate over the direction of the integration process."[227]

The political system of the European Union therefore needs to be politicized and enable for a real agonistic confrontation within the democratic institutions. For Mouffe, conflict and power are therefore always present in democratic designs and the democratic system needs to provide ways to handle power productively. The possibility for legitimate criticism within the democratic design must thus be given: "[…] we should understand that people who want a different Europe are not anti-European. […] all over Europe there are groups getting organized, […] that are critical of the current state of the European Union but are not anti-European."[228] The European system thus lacks the possibility for an agonistic confrontation within the institution of the EU, which is, according to Mouffe, absolutely vital to provide identification. Subsequently, she stresses the urgency of fostering an agonistic approach to enable a real debate about the EUI process and the contestation of different political projects in the democratic system of the EU.[229] Her model of agonistic pluralism further stresses the dangers of a consensus-based approach, as she formulates in the following statement: "[…] Given the current emphasis on consensus, it is not surprising that people are less and less interested in politics and that the rate of abstention is growing."[230] Mouffe thus advocates a form of radical-democratic discourse that is consciously opposed to Kantian liberalism and liberal rationalism; instead, it acknowledges the conflictual and agonistic character of the liberal democracy.[231] As she argues, "radical democracy demands that we acknowledge difference – the radical, the multiple, the heterogeneous – in

[227] EUROPP and Mouffe (2013: 2); see also: Mouffe (2013: 60).
[228] Mouffe (2005a: 23-24).
[229] Mouffe (2013: xvi). This is elaborated further in chapter 3 of this study.
[230] Mouffe (2005a: 23-24).
[231] Jones, B. (2014).

effect, everything that has been excluded by the concept of Man in the abstract."[232]

Mouffe's model thus combines conflict, consensus, democracy and politics in a way that allows for a substantial critique of the current of the EUI. The model offers opportunities to rethink the composition and practices within the European institutions to address the growing resistance and disaffection observed.[233] It has the potential to provide new insights into the object of study and a more comprehensive understanding to the underlying question. However, despite the examined relevance of the agonistic approach to the discourse on EUI, Mouffe's AMD has not yet been applied, leaving a knowledge gap on how best to understand resistance to EUI. This study aims to fill the identified research gap by providing a critical and poststructuralist reading of the established assumptions about the process of EUI and the phenomenon of resistance.

This study therefore applies Mouffe's AMD to the discourse on EUI and provides a novel understanding of how resistance to EUI can best be understood. The central argument of the study is that, particularly during the first period of EUI, the discourse on EUI tended to be uncontroversial and there was an excess of consensus. This excess of consensus created the possibility for a crisis of identification with the European institution to develop. Further accelerated by various political and economic events, the existing hegemonic formation dislocated, allowing for a weakening of the level of consensus and the emergence of resistance movements. These movements filled the void created in the field of identification and eventually established themselves in the European institutions, making disaffection a manifest phenomenon. Poststructuralist discourse analysis is applied to analyze these assumptions. The analysis is based on relevant qualitative data and key texts from different

[232] Mouffe (1993: 13).
[233] Jones, B. (2014).

sources such as speeches of politicians, media coverage or debates in the EP. It uses discourse analytic techniques proposed by David Howarth, Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, and Dirk Nabers.[234] Furthermore, the study critically engages with Mouffe's theoretical assumptions and therefore also attempts to substantiate her argument. The following chart present respective research agenda[235] of the analysis:

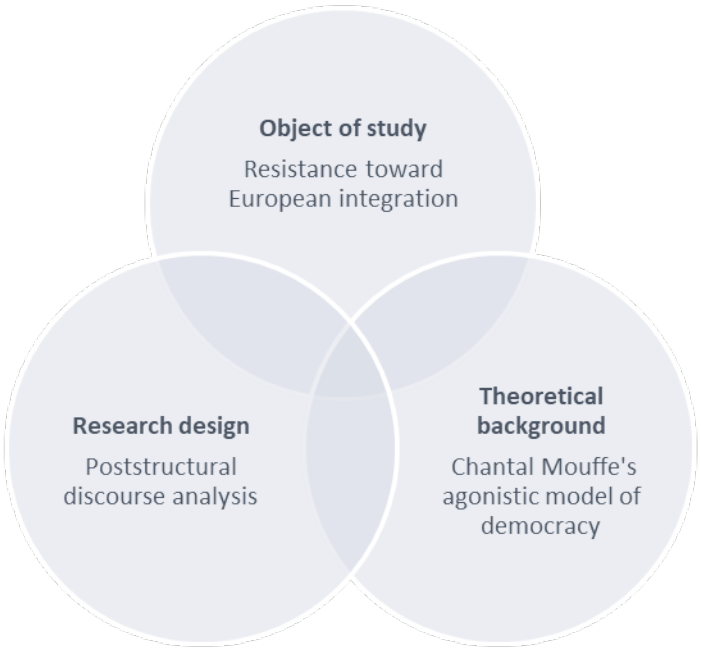

Figure 1: Research agenda

2.4 Conclusion

The idea of EUI has a long history and gained traction after the Second World War. The EU was officially established in the 1990s with the Maastricht Treaty, which also marked a shift from permissive consensus to more resistance within the discourse on EUI. Prior to the Maastricht Treaty, EUI was largely driven by

[234] The research design will be elaborated further in chapter 4 of this study.
[235] It is called research agenda or design instead of methodology to incorporate the ontological and normative assumptions of this particular research agenda (see here also: Glynos and Howarth 2007: 201; Paul 2009).

European political elites, while consensus was assumed in the public sphere. In the post-Maastricht period, the discourse on EUI became increasingly controversial and critical among the broader public. As shown above, this is also reflected at a number of levels, including the shift in public debate around the EUI, the growing support of euro-critical and anti-establishment parties across Europe, and attempts of member states to leave the Union.[236] Scholars thus proclaim that the EU has entered "a new phase of its existence" in the post-Maastricht era, characterized by mass criticism and the "mainstreaming" of euro-critical rhetoric.

In response, a growing body of literature has attempted to make sense of the phenomenon of Euroscepticism. In terms of its "nature," conceptualizations ranging from hard and soft Euroscepticism along different continua have been proposed. However, there is no universally accepted definition or conceptualization of Euroscepticism. Research has also sought to understand the "drivers" of the phenomenon. The existing literature aims to understand such drivers either the political party or public opinion level. From the party perspective, two dominant schools of thought have emerged yet not merged: the North Carolina school in the positivist tradition and the Sussex school in the constructivist tradition. At the public level of analysis, the debated revolves around three different perspectives that seek to understand the underlying drivers of Euroscepticism; namely economic, cue-taking and identity-based.

However, this study approaches a more critical understanding of the phenomenon. The term Euroscepticism is therefore replaced by the study of resistance to allow for a discursive construction of the phenomenon. Furthermore, Chantal Mouffe's AMD is applied to provide a more comprehensive answer to the underlying question that informs the research on

[236] See here for instance: Milner (2004: 79); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Serricchio, Tsakatika, and Quaglia (2013); Vasilopoulou (2013); Verney (2015); Brack (2018).

EUI. This study thus provides a poststructuralist reading of the process of EUI and the phenomenon of resistance from the perspective of Mouffe's AMD.

3. Through the lenses of the agonistic model of democracy

This section introduces Chantal Mouffe's model of agonistic pluralism. To illustrate her model and the theoretical underpinnings in her agonistic writings from the 1990s, a recourse to her earlier stages proves helpful. Mouffe's earlier pre-agonistic writings were characterized by two distinct phases: the first period was focuses on elaborations based on Marxism, developed primarily in *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (1979). The second period was considered the post-Marxist era, elaborated in the seminal work *Hegemony and Social Strategy* (1985), co-authored with Ernesto Laclau.

The initial Marxist stage was motivated by the struggle of "proletarian subjects" for freedom and autonomy. In *HSS*, Mouffe and Laclau develop their radical theory of democracy, a left hegemonic project for collective political action under the condition of pluralism. They adopt poststructuralism and combine it with Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, thus moving from the initial Marxist stage of thought to post-Marxism.[237] By turning to poststructuralist theory, they place language at the center of their approach to formulate their radical democratic project.[238] It is against this background that Mouffe develops her particular agonistic writings. Thus, these theoretical developments remain important foundations for understanding Mouffe's later agonistic work. The following section therefore begins with a reconstruction of the central ideas of Mouffe's earlier works.[239]

---

[237] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 37). See also: Laclau (1977; 1990: 222); Mouffe (1979); Howarth (2000); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 142); Mascha (2019: 208).
[238] Butler, Laclau, and Zizek (2000).
[239] Therefore, Mouffe develops her AMD against the background of a range of philosophical traditions (Mouffe 1993: 20; Mouffe 1996a: 1).

3.1 Mouffe's trajectory from Marxism to post-Marxism

Mouffe's early Marxist writings were motivated by the struggle of "proletarian subjects" for freedom and autonomy. It generally followed central Marxist ideas, albeit it challenged the idea of a "necessary class belonging" and transformed all of the ideological components of the Marxist understanding of society.[240]

The idea of classical Marxism was generally motivated by the collective struggle of subordinated subjects for emancipation. It assumed that modern society is increasingly divided into two opposing or antagonistic groups. These groups are, on the one hand, the bourgeoisie – which rules over the means of production such as industry and corporations – and, on the other hand, the proletariat – which are the workers in society. The progressive emergence of this division in the political sphere was seen as a necessary effect of the underlying contradiction in the relations of production in society.[241] As Marx writes, "the relations of production and the distribution of the conditions of production" lead to the domination of the society by the market.[242] He goes on to suggest that the rule of the market will ultimately fail and that socialism and the proletarianization of the working class will be the inevitable result.[243] Here, the proletariat functions as a privileged agent aiming to provoke revolutionary change.

---

[240] On post-Marxism and *HSS*, see also: Callionicos (1985); Mouzelis (1988, 1990); Boron (2000).
[241] Kamenka (1983: 204); Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 30ff.); Howarth (2013: 123ff.); Wenman (2013: 191); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 151).
[242] Marx (1844); Kamenka (1983: 204).
[243] Marx (1844); Kamenka (1983: 204).

Conventional Marxism had already been experiencing a significant political and theoretical crisis since the "Second International"[244] in the late 19th century.[245] On the one hand, the socialist project failed in number of political events such as the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s or the lack of revolutionary consciousness among the Western working classes.[246] On the other hand, Marxism was unable to grasp the growing complexity and fragmentation of the social and the corresponding proliferation of political struggle as a central characteristic of modern society.[247]

These emerging so-called "New Social Movements" from the 1970s were not primarily concerned with the relations of production and thus shed their previous working-class identity.[248] Instead, they turned to heterogenous and often unrelated political projects such as peace, feminism, ecological issues, sexuality, or ethics. The inability to connect with these movements was seen as a major theoretical shortcoming of conventional Marxism.[249] As Laclau and Mouffe formulate,

> "A whole series of positive new phenomena underlie those mutations which have made so urgent the task of theoretical reconsideration: the rise of the new feminism, the protest movements of ethnic, national and sexual minorities, the anti-institutional ecology struggles waged by marginalized layers of the

[244] On the Second International (a socialist labor organization from 1889-1916), see also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 150).
[245] Nabers (2015: 12). The expression "crisis of Marxism" was already coined in 1898 by Thomas Masaryk.
[246] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 12, 151); Nabers (2015: 12); Townshend (2004).
[247] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 12, 151). The limits of Marxism were further associated with "the bureaucratization of the welfare state, the expansion of mass communications, the rise of a 'democratic consumer culture,' increased commodification of all aspects of society, decline of the traditional family, and capitalism's effect on the natural environment" (Tormey and Townshend 2006: 95).
[248] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 12).
[249] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 142ff.).

> population, the anti-nuclear movement, the atypical forms of social struggle in countries on the capitalist periphery."[250]

With the rise of these social movements, scholars increasingly questioned the ontological relevance of the working class the central actor in the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.[251] As Laclau and Mouffe put it in *HSS*,

> "What is now in crisis is a whole conception of socialism which rests upon the ontological centrality of the working class, upon the role of Revolution, with a capital 'r', as the founding moment in the transition from one type of society to another, and upon the illusory prospect of a perfectly unitary and homogeneous collective will that will render pointless the moment of politics."[252]

The emergence of diverse and heterogeneous political projects in this period thus facilitated the already prevailing theoretical crisis of classical Marxism.[253] From here, Mouffe and Laclau were motivated to develop a post-Marxist approach that claims to form a more sophisticated theory for the formation of collective political action,[254] challenging the central ideological elements of orthodox Marxism[255] and proclaiming "without apologies" to leave behind its historical materialism.[256]

These "post-Marxist" aspirations were generally shared by a variety of other theorists of the time, such as Cornelius Castoriadis, Jacques Rancière, or Slavoj Zizek. Although, they maintained the concern to develop a theory of human emancipation. They all strove to "go beyond" the Marxist ideas and the ideal of

---

[250] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxi).
[251] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 2-3, 6); Therborn (2008: 149); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxi).
[252] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxii).
[253] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxi).
[254] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 4).
[255] See here also: Zavarzadeh, Ebert, and Morton (1995: 42).
[256] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 4; 1987). Nevertheless, they remain linked to Marx's work since they called their extended approach "post-Marxist" (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 4; Tormey and Townshend 2006: 1-2).This motivation is especially prevalent in *HSS*.

Soviet communism, thereby problematized and partially displacing its core concepts.[257] As Laclau and Mouffe argue, "[…] to reread Marxist theory in the light of contemporary problems necessarily involves deconstructing the central categories of that theory. This is what has been called our post-Marxism."[258]

Laclau and Mouffe's contribution in *HSS* arguably represents the most important contribution in the post-Marxist tradition.[259] In *HSS* they problematize and question central categories of Marxism.[260] The main criticisms revolve around (1) historical determinism, (2) economic determinism, (3) the assumed hostile binary division, (4) the centrality of class and ideology, and (5) the authoritative tendencies inherent in Marxism. These are elaborated further in the following.

Laclau and Mouffe challenge Marxist "historical determinism," according to which the communist utopia will unfold in various stages with historical necessity. The productive forces will eventually collide with the social relations, leading to the revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. As Marx describes in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)[261]:

> "At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the

[257] See also: Tormey (2001); Robinson and Tormey (2006); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 3); Howarth (2015); Therborn (2008: 165). For critique of Marxism, see also: Jacques Lacan's theory of the subject (Lacan 1989), and Miller and Sheridan (1998: 42ff).
[258] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: ix).
[259] The term "post-Marxism" is closely associated with Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical work *HSS* (Geras 1987; Mouzelis 1988, 1990; Tormey and Townshend 2006: 1). It is further inspired by the emergence of poststructuralism as an important intellectual development (see also: Tormey and Townshend 2006: 87; Therborn 2008: 165).
[260] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xi-x, xxiii); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 1). Philosophically, post-Marxism counters deviationism and essentialism (McLean and McMillan 2003).
[261] Marx (1859).

> framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead, sooner or later, to the transformation of the whole, immense, superstructure."[262]

This leads to the emergence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of a socialist state. The original contradiction between the productive forces and social relations will be eradicated, resulting in a harmonious society free from class division.[263] Therefore, social (or revolutionary) change will inevitably occur due to the economic structure of society[264] and the domination of the market over society.[265] As Engels puts it, "the final causes of all social changes and political revolution are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's insight into internal truth and justice... but in the economies of each epoch"[266].

Laclau and Mouffe further dismiss Marxist "economic determinism" (or "economism"), according to which the political and social organization of society is coercively based exclusively on economic relations. In this Marxist conception, civil society is divided into the "economic base" and the "political superstructure." The competitive relationship between the two classes forms the foundation of society and the individual belonging to the social classes is inevitably predetermined. The economic system thus determines position and power in society.[267] The base-superstructure division is further developed in Marx's preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859).

---

[262] Marx (1859: Preface).
[263] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 87); Sharpe, Jeffs, and Reynolds (2017: 149). Laclau and Mouffe further characterize the Marxist view of the historical process as a teleological philosophy of history (Tormey and Townshend 2006: 6).
[264] Marx (1844); Kamenka (1983: 204).
[265] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 3, 7, 46, 151).
[266] Engels (1880: 54).
[267] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 91).

> "In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely [the] relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises the legal and political superstructure, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."[268]

Laclau and Mouffe however dismiss the assumed "hostile binary division" within society and call this political vision the "Jacobin imaginary."[269] As they see it, this Marxist scheme of a simple structural division of society between the people and the old regime goes back to the French Revolution.[270] However, the French society of the late 19th century was also the last moment in which this fundamental division retained its validity. As she formulates with Laclau in *HSS*,

> "[…] the opposition people/*ancient regimé* was the last moment in which the antagonistic limits between two forms of society presented themselves – with the qualification noted – in the form of clear and empirically *given* lines of demarcation."[271]

In their attempt to capture the changing social relations in a more sophisticated approach for collective political action, they leave behind the "Jacobin temptation" and further dismiss the ontological "centrality of class."[272] For them, there exists no necessary, causal relation between "social beings" and their individual consciousness.[273] Instead, they strive to acknowledge the

---

[268] Marx (1859: Preface).
[269] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 152).
[270] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 152).
[271] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 135, emphasis in original).
[272] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxi, 151), see also: Townshend (2004); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 87, Ch. 4); Wenman (2013: 191). They further reject the standard class reductionist explanation of ideology (of "class belonging").
[273] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 91-92).

individual specificity of political movements in order to connect to the New Social Movements. To challenge the class reductionism and strict "economism", they adopt Gramsci's "non-reductionist conception of the superstructures," which constitutes political subjects not by their class belonging alone, but by "a multitude of democratic contradictions."[274] Gramsci thus provides the conceptual tool necessary to reject the illusion of a necessary class belonging of political identities and dismiss the idea that the working class is the only social agent capable of bringing resistance or political change.[275] As Mouffe asserts in *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (1979): Gramsci is "the only theorist of the Third International who pointed to a break with 'economism', 'reductionism' and 'epiphenomenalism'"[276].

For Laclau and Mouffe, its essentialist apriorism further leaves Marxism in danger of totalitarian closure and gives it a strong "authoritarian tendency" when in power, as shown in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.[277] Marxist theory thus resists an openness and tolerance that is necessary for democracy to function. According to Laclau and Mouffe, any essentialist concept must therefore be set aside to allow for a democratic equality that maintains the space for political difference.[278] In their effort to develop a radical theory of

---

[274] Laclau and Mouffe (1981: 20, 21). See further: Mouffe (1979: 10, 168-170, 171-172, 188; 1981: 183); Gramsci (1988, 2005); (Wenman 2013: 186). In the context of the failure of the socialist project, Gramsci became interested in the strategic question. He was convinced that communism could not rely on the laws of dialectical materialism to realize the proletarian revolution and that there was no simple causal determinism between the transformation of the relations of production and their reflection in the legal and political superstructures (Gramsci 1988: 197; Kamenka 1983: 160).

[275] Mouffe (1979: 174); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxvi); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 6, 91). They thus abandon the basic Marxist categories such as "base," "superstructure" and "false consciousness" as they imply essentialist thinking.

[276] Mouffe (1979: 169-170, 201). Mouffe's work in this period strongly reflected their common concern to move beyond the Marxist essentialism to form a sophisticated account for the formation of the collective action (Tormey and Townshend 2006: 88, 92). For the Third International (an international organization from 1919-1943 controlled by the Soviet Union supporting communism), see also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 121, 66-67).

[277] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 91).

[278] Sharpe, Jeffs, and Reynolds (2017: 149).

democracy for collective political action under the conditions of pluralism, they therefore abandon the above introduced concepts of Marxist ideology. As they state in the following:

> "At this point we should state quite plainly that we are now situated in a post-Marxist terrain. It is no longer possible to maintain the conception of subjectivity and classes elaborated by Marxism, nor its vision of the historical course of capitalist development, nor, of course, the conception of communism as a transparent society from which antagonisms have disappeared."[279]

Mouffe's and Laclau's earlier theoretical elaborations were therefore characterized by the critical discourse of Marxist ideas and the socialist political project.[280] They problematize and challenge core Marxist concepts in their attempt, motivated by the subjects' struggles for emancipation in the historical context of a multiplication of political spaces and the growing proliferation of differences. Hereby, they adopt Gramsci's conception of the political subject and add poststructuralism to their theoretical considerations in order to leave the essentialist apriorism's behind and form a sophisticated account for collective action.[281]

Against the illustrated background, Laclau and Mouffe formulate their understanding of discourse and hegemonic contestation in modern times.[282] The following section elaborates the ontological location from which they embark to develop their theory of discourse. It illustrates their post-Marxist theoretical development combining Gramsci's notion of hegemony with poststructuralist theoretical conception, and thus transforming hegemony into a "discursive

[279] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxiv).
[280] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 96).
[281] Mouffe (1979: 201); Donaldson (2008). Mouffe's earlier ideas on theoretical conversion of Foucault and Derrida with Gramsci can be found in Gramsci and Marxist Theory (1979).
[282] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 95).

moment of intervention,"[283] understanding social change in a non-deterministic way.

3.2 Social ontology of the political discourse theory

In order to connect with the newly-emerging political movements (the so-called New Social Movements) and form an emancipatory subject position in contemporary societies, Laclau and Mouffe left behind all traces of the "Jacobin imaginary" and the Marxist essentialism.[284] As they formulate in *HSS*:

> "[I]n developing this task, it is important to point out that it cannot be conceived just as an internal history of Marxism. Many social antagonisms, many issues which are crucial to the understanding of contemporary societies, belong to fields of discursivity which are external to Marxism, and cannot be reconceptualized in terms of Marxist categories – given, especially, that their very presence is what puts Marxism as a closed theoretical system into question and leads to the postulation of new starting points for social analysis."[285]

In their attempt to develop the socialist agenda based on liberal values, they therefore develop a post-Marxist, non-essentialist framework and provide a discursive formation of social subject positions.[286] They understand discourse as "the condition for any engagement with the world."[287] As they put it in *HSS*, "[in] our interchange with the world, objects are never given to us as mere existential entities; they are always given to us within discursive articulations."[288] Meaning and identity are thus discursively constructed and therefore contingent and always open to change. This understanding avoids any attempt to fix meaning over time and allows essentialism and the dangers of

---

[283] Hansen, A.D. and Sonnichsen (2014a).
[284] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 82-83).
[285] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: ix-x; 1-5).
[286] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xi, 4-5, 37). In this way, post-Marxism becomes the background to their theoretical development (Therborn 2008: 165).
[287] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 105).
[288] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 103).

authoritarianism – as in the Marxist theory – to be overcome.[289] Instead, only liberal democratic principles and institutions are able to fully recognize their attempt. This theoretical transition beyond Marxism thus builds on poststructuralism. The adoption of poststructuralism, with its emphasis on the constitutive nature of discourse, thus allows Laclau and Mouffe to move away from essentialism.[290]

Poststructuralism emerged as an intellectual development in the 1960s. It is associated with a tradition of continental philosophers[291] and critical theorists in the discipline of social and political theory.[292] The theorists associated with poststructuralism responded to a general discussion and development of ideas in a distinct political and social context, such as "the withering of modernist values, the death of God, the atrocities of the Second World War, processes of decolonization, the decline of the belief in progress, or the democratization of university education and the cultural revolution of the 1960s."[293] In addition, it

---

[289] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xi, x, 79, 105); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 91).

[290] This point shows parallels to Ludwig Wittgenstein's work. Wittgenstein assumes, similar to Laclau and Mouffe, that it is not possible to "think of any object without using language" (Wenman 2017: 566).

[291] Continental philosophers are theorists that emerge from the 19th century in central Europe (Critchley 1998: 4). They for instance stand for "German idealism, phenomenology, existentialism (and its antecedents, such as the thought of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche), hermeneutics, structuralism, poststructuralism, deconstruction, French feminism, psychoanalytic theory, and the critical theory of the Frankfurt-school and related branches of Western Marxism" (Critchley 2001: 13).

[292] Cusset (2008); Dillet, MacKenzie, and Porter (2013); Howarth (2013: 3, 6), Angermüller (2014, 2015). The term was first used in the 1970s among English-speaking philosophers such as Fredric Jameson, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Jonathan Culler mainly referring to French and other European philosophers and political theorists. There were theorists associated with poststructuralism outside Europe such as Richard Rorty. However, the main thinkers were Martin Heidegger, Friedrich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Gilles Deleuze, and many others (Edkins 1999; Edkins and Vaughan-Williams 2009; Neal 2009; Waever 2009: 166; Zehfuss 2009; Carlsnaes, Thomas, and Simmons 2013). Further including the tradition of phenomenology (see here Zehfuss 2013; Dillet 2017). There are various works on the poststructuralist tradition, such as Belsey (2002) and Williams, J. (2005). For further literature on the difference between postmodernism and poststructuralism, see for instance: Mouffe (1993, 1994a).

[293] Dillet (2017).

was a response to a series of political events that demonstrated political struggles against systems of power, such as "the Algerian and Vietnam wars, the Prague Spring of 1968, the May 1968 movement in France, cultural expression in Yugoslavia, demands for Third World economic justice, and the civil rights, environmental, and women's movements in the USA and elsewhere."[294]

The emergence of poststructuralism in IR appeared in the context of a general "critical turn" in social science and humanities in the late-1980s,[295] which had a strong impact on the fields of study. It was prompted by the dissatisfaction with classical theories and often interpreted as a theoretical intervention by critical theories such as poststructuralism.[296] Because classical theories in IR focused mainly on interactions between states, they remained unable to predict and understand emerging social and political events, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War,[297] or concerns associated with globalization.[298] In response to these shortcomings, critical theorists combined the discipline of IR with more critical theoretical perspective, challenging conventional understandings and exposing the limitations of established practices.[299] Poststructuralism became particularly popular in IR with the work

[294] Campbell (2013: 226).
[295] Rengger and Thirkell-White (2007); Zehfuss (2013). The emergence of more critical approaches in IR was related to the general critique of positivism in social science at that time. The critical approaches that emerged in the field thus developed around the emerging understanding of knowledge construction and production (Zehfuss 2013; Campbell 2013: 238). They included the Frankfurt-school-inspired critical theory, Gramscian IR, postcolonialism, feminism and many others (Rengger and Thirkell-White 2007: 4; Zehfuss 2013).
[296] Foucault (1978: 75); Campbell (1992, 2013: 238); Laclau (1994); Glynos and Howarth (2007: 5); Rengger and Thirkell-White (2007); Calkivik (2017).
[297] Zehfuss (2013).
[298] Campbell (2013).
[299] Campbell (2013: 238); Zehfuss (2013), George (1994).

of Richard Ashley (1981, 1984), James Der Derian (1987), R. B. J. Walker (1987, 1993), and Michael Shapiro (1988).[300]

This pioneering works were followed by diverse and numerous studies over the years. These works were strongly devoted to analyzing the discursive production, reproduction and change of meaning and identity in the international system.[301] They examine contemporary problems, such as understanding of political subjectivity in a context of globalization and late forms of capitalism,[302] and further analyze how the particular discourse emerged historically in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon under study.[303] The individual significance attached to a particular social phenomenon depends on its discursive power and ability to dominate over a period of time.[304] They focused on topics, such as studies on diplomacy,[305] foreign policy,[306] development aid and famine,[307] popular dissent,[308] war,[309] borders,[310] international finance,[311] global health,[312] and crisis[313].

---

[300] Campbell (2013: 199); Waever (2009: 167).
[301] Campbell (2013: 226); Zehfuss (2004, 2007, 2009, 2013); Calkivik (2017).
[302] Campbell (2013: 226), Howarth (2000, 2013: 5-8, 13, 17-18, 24ff., 88, 116, 120); Angermüller, Maingueneau, and Wodak (2014).
[303] Campbell (1992: Preface).
[304] Campbell (1992: 226). Poststructuralism developed from "an intellectual curiosity to a well-established research programme" (Torfing 2005 :3; also Waever 2009: 166). Over the years, many studies associated with the tradition emerged, focusing on state identity, foreign or immigration policies, diplomacy, sovereignty, or security, and many others (see for instance: Campbell 1992, 1998, 2005; Doty 1993, 1996; Constantinou 1995, 1996; Weber 1995, 1999; Bleiker 2005; Dillon 1996; Grovogui 1996; Kuehls 1996; Debrix 1999; Soguk 1999.
[305] Der Derian (1987, 1992); Der Derian and Shapiro (1989).
[306] Campbell (1992); Bulley (2009).
[307] Edkins (2000).
[308] Bleiker (2000).
[309] Campbell (1992, 1993); Shapiro (1997); Dauphinée (2007); Der Derian (2009).
[310] Vaughan-Williams (2009).
[311] De Goede (2005).
[312] Elbe (2009, 2010).
[313] Nabers (2015).

Poststructuralism however is not a homogeneous and self-conscious group that seeks to establish an alternative, comprehensive philosophical theory.[314] Rather, the scholars working in this tradition are united by a critical attitude, approach or ethos toward the dominant theoretical tradition.[315] In this way, poststructuralism differs from other theoretical approaches reflecting an attempt to critique in a particular way rather than forming a theory or producing a particular paradigm. It sees critique as a necessary exercise aimed at identifying and understanding the underlying assumptions within conventional and dominate approaches in the particular field of study. Poststructuralist working in IR thus move away from any pre-existing or naturally-given subject in international politics, such as states or institutions[316] and critically examine the existing assumptions of positivist theories in relation to ontological and epistemological issues.[317] In this way, opportunities arise to understand the social and political world in alternative ways.[318]

Structuralism has played a central role in the development of the poststructuralist ethos and the attempt to challenge universalist and positivist assumptions.[319] Poststructuralism is explicitly associated with those theorists reworking structuralist theorists and their attempts to understand the social based on a grounded and fixed structure.[320] In the spirit of the poststructuralist tradition, Laclau and Mouffe also critically evaluate structural assumptions.

---

[314] Scholars associated with the poststructuralist tradition are often not using the term themselves (Campbell 2013: 226; Angermüller 2014, 2015; Khan 2017).
[315] Campbell (2013: 225). Further the emphasis on the concept of "discourse" and "difference" constructing meaning in any social or political context is a combining factor of this diverse set of theorists (Young 1990; Connolly 1991; Inayatullah and Blaney 2004; Behr 2014).
[316] Campbell (1992, 2013: 238); Howarth (2013: 6); Hansen, L. (2014: 176); Khan (2017).
[317] See here Zehfuss (2013); Campbell (2013), and others.
[318] Campbell (2013: 243).
[319] Structuralism studies assume that "the social and cultural construction of the various structures give meaning to our everyday lives" (Khan 2017). It is associated with French theorists such as "Claude Lévi-Strauss in anthropology, Jacques Lacan in psychoanalysis, Louis Althusser in Marxism and Ferdinand de Saussure in Linguistics" (Khan 2017).
[320] Dosse (1997a, 1997b); Campbell (2013: 205).

Like many poststructuralists, they particularly engage with Ferdinand de Saussure theory of structural linguistic and his pioneering ideas to understand language as a system.[321] Therefore, a further illustration of this work seems fruitful for the elaboration of their poststructuralist understanding.[322]

Saussure's conception of language introduces radical innovations by approaching the study of social phenomena from a linguistics perspective.[323] For him, language generally has an oral and a written tradition. Both traditions exist independent from each other, with a clear hierarchy between them.[324] Here, writing serves to represent the oral tradition and is therefore subordinate and less relevant to the oral tradition.[325] Thus, for Saussure, the oral tradition (such as speech) represents the fundamental mode of the linguistic sign,[326] allowing for a pure science of speech.[327] It follows from here that "the basic unit of any language [is] the linguistic sign." Every sign is further composed of two inseparable components: "a sound or acoustic element (the signifier) and the mental image/concept or idea (the signified)."[328] However, there is no necessary or natural relationship between the two parts; instead, the relation between signifier and signified is "arbitrary."[329] Linguistic signs thus do not possess

---

[321] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 92, 99, 106, 108, 112-113); Dillet (2017). For many poststructuralists, Ferdinand de Saussurean and the post-Saussurean conception of language are a main source of inspiration (see here: Bradley 2008: 58; or Khan 2017).
[322] Bradley (2008: 61); Nabers (2015: 84).
[323] See here in particular: Ferdinand de Saussure *Cours de linguistique générale* (1974).
[324] Saussure (1974: 46), see also: Nabers (2015: 84).
[325] Saussure (1974: 34, 51).
[326] Saussure (1974: 30, 32, 45).
[327] Saussure (1974: 24). His underlying assumption is that the spoken word describes the initial mental element. However, the written word represents this already-existing element. Saussure thus assumes that "language and writing are two distinct systems of signs: the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first" (Saussure 1974: 23-24). In this way, the Saussurean model reproduces the classic hierarchy of word and speech that exists in the tradition of Western philosophy (see also: Angermüller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014; Nabers 2018), where no genuine science of the written word exists and thus reduces the science of linguistics (Derrida 1976: 27, 42; Bradley 2008: 56).
[328] Saussure (1974: 67-68); Sturrock (1979: 6); Bradley (2008: 61).
[329] Saussure (1974: 10-16).

meaning through a "positive" value. For example, as Saussure shows, there is no natural relation between the sound "cat" and its underlying concept.[330] Instead, linguistic signs acquire their meaning through difference from other linguistic signs. As Saussure asserts: "[in] language there are only differences … without positive terms."[331] He illustrates this understanding of relationality with the example of chess by noting that the signifier is to be understood like a pawn: "it is not defined by its 'positive content' – as a pawn 'in and of itself' – but rather negatively, that is, in its relations to the other chess pieces."[332] It follows that meaning is not naturally given or determined by itself; rather, the meaning of any term is entirely relational and defined in difference to something else. These differences and relational meanings of any given term or sign further appear within a structured totality or language systems.[333] These language systems can vary substantially, organizing and structuring the world differently. The meaning of a term thus continues to dependent on the particular context or system in which it appears.[334] Therefore, different terms in different language systems may carry the same concept.[335] Saussure's thus assumes that each linguistic sign acquires its meaning through relations within an internal structure of signs, rather than in affiliation with reality.[336] He understands language as "a system of signifiers without positive terms" in which meaning is purely relational, dependent on the system or context in which it is invoked.[337]

Poststructuralists, including Laclau and Mouffe, generally follow these structuralist considerations by Saussure, having similar concerns by analyzing

---

[330] Saussure (1974: 117).
[331] Saussure (1974: 120).
[332] Saussure (1974: 117).
[333] Saussure (1974: 67, 110-120), see also: Currie (2004: 31); Wenman (2013); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 99); Nabers (2015: 84).
[334] Saussure (1974: 121-122); Smith, A.M. (1998: 84-85); Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 9-10); Wight (2006: 132-134); Diez (2010: 168); Nabers (2015: 85); Khan (2017).
[335] Saussure (1974: 68), see also: Currie (2004: 8-10).
[336] Saussure (1974: 67-68).
[337] Saussure (1974: 110-120); Glynos et al. (2009: 9ff.); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 92, 99).

meaning-producing structures. Saussure however further envisions that relational signification leads to a closed linguistic system within which it is possible to fix meaning over time.[338] It presents a linguistic-structural totality in which signs are related without being challenge and can be analyzed at a fixed point in time rather than investigating the evolution of meaning.[339] Laclau and Mouffe, and many other poststructuralists, reject this idea of a static linguistic structure and a final constituted structural space at a given moment. Instead, they assume that the particular relation of a sign is always mutable and never fixed or total and thus focuses on the understanding of change within social order.[340] For them, Saussure's concept of a closed linguistic system involves the search for an underlying structure and a new essentialism.[341] As they put it, "a discursive formation is [also] not the expression of any underlying principle external to itself."[342] It is never "the revelation of [a] previously hidden or essential meaning."[343] For them, there exists no pre-given essence, and they reject any assumption of a fully structural totality.[344]

In their critique of Saussure's structuralist assumptions, Laclau and Mouffe primarily follow Jacques Derrida, who most prominently reworked Saussure's structural linguistics into a poststructuralist understanding.[345] As they put in *HSS*:

---

[338] Saussure (1974: 110-120); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 99).
[339] Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 8-9); Khan (2017).
[340] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 111); Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 10); Campbell (2013: 226); Khan (2017).
[341] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 13, 99).
[342] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 92).
[343] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 96).
[344] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: x, 82).
[345] Derrida (1976; 1978b: 351–370; 1982: 307–330); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: x). Derrida develops his critique of structuralism inspired by the work of Martin Heidegger (Derrida 1976). He further develops a process of deconstruction to unravel the always hidden "transcendental signified" within language, which he defines as, "the task is [...] to dismantle [deconstruire] the metaphysical and rhetorical structures which are at work in [the text], not in order to reject or discard them but to reinscribe them in another way"

> "On this point, our analysis meets up with a number of contemporary currents of thought which – from Heidegger to Wittgenstein – have insisted on the impossibility of fixing ultimate meanings. Derrida, for example, starts from a radical break in the history of the concept of structure, occurring at the moment in which the centre – the transcendental signified in its multiple forms – […] is abandoned, and with it the possibility of fixing a meaning which underlies the flow of differences. At this point, Derrida generalizes the concept of discourse in a sense coincident with that of our text."[346]

Derrida generally questions the hierarchical relation between speech and writing that Saussure assumes. He claims that when all meaning is relational, it is not possible to oppose speech and writing since they are also structured by difference. Signs are split into signifier and signified, and language is constituted entirely by difference and is not a collection of pre-given terms. They thus have common roots and the hierarchy between them must be obsolete. Derrida therefore completely abolishes the hierarchy between speech and writing, assuming that everything is discourse and that there is "nothing outside of the text."[347] He further emphasizes the constitutive character of "différance."[348] The notion of différance – in Derrida's understanding – draws

(Derrida quoted in Spivak 1976: lxxv). See also: Spivak (1976: lxxvii); Derrida quoted in Johnson (1972: viii); Zehfuss (2004: 229–230); Bradley (2008: 71-73); Blackburn (2011); Nabers (2015: 91). Deconstruction is widely used in poststructuralist studies and illustrates their ethos well (Wenman 2017: 564-565).

[346] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 98).

[347] Derrida (1976: 30); see also: "Plato's Pharmacy" in Derrida (1972). In response to the assumed superior position of speech, Derrida proposed a new concept of writing or "grammé" in his work *Grammatology* (1976). He introduces a separation between "la langue" and "parole" (speech). The la langue is the underlying structure of language as a whole and parole is the specific speech act. Further, he introduces the notion of "arche-writing," which describes a kind of writing that exists before speech and writing (Derrida 1976).

[348] Derrida (1976). Derrida thus calls "différance" the process determining the act of meaning production. It derives from the French term "differer," which means "to differ" as well as "to defer." (Derrida 1982). It describes the "non-full, non-simple, structured and differentiating origin of difference [that repeatedly] dislocates itself in a chain of differing and deferring substitutions" (Derrida 1982: 11, 26; also Wenman 2013: 184). It thus presents the relationality constitutive to all signification. However, although différance presents objects, it is never fully present (Derrida 1982: 3, 6, 26; Gasché 1994: 99; also Wenman 2013: 184).

attention not only to spatial difference or binary oppositions between signifiers within a given context, but also to the never-ending process of relational signification.[349] Because of the arbitrary character of the sign, the structuring of signs in relation to each other never exhausts all possibilities. Thus, language and meaning creation remains an endless process of identity and difference in which any given signifier can be part of numerous relations. The never-ending relational signification disrupts any attempt to finalize meaning within the "organizing principle of [a given] structure"[350] and therefore also makes Saussure's attempt of a final closure of meaning impossible.

In Laclau and Mouffe's terminology, Derrida's concept of structure is turned into a concept of discourse. They assume that if articulation is a practice of ongoing relational signification between signifiers, "it must imply some form of separate presence of elements which that practice articulates or recomposes."[351] These separate elements in the process of articulation, moreover, lack an immanent meaning, and are thus floating with a polysemy character. As soon as these elements are connected to other connotative signifiers and therefore discursively structured, they can different ascriptions of meaning attached to them.[352] These discursively-structured elements further turn into moments. Moments, then, are elements to which a temporally fixed meaning is attributed. They are constituted as relational difference from something else within a particular discourse. Discourse therefore reduces the

[349] Derrida (1982).
[350] Derrida (1978b: 351–370, Ch. 10), see also: Nabers (2019). In his discussion of the never-ending disruption in the process of signification (Derrida 1978a: 351), Derrida also looks at Friedrich Nietzsche, who stresses the productive potential of language, which is defined as a "mobile army of metaphors" (Nietzsche 1976). Further, Derrida also discusses Jacques Lacan's reworking of Saussurean theory in the poststructuralist tradition. Lacan emphasizes that meaning is "repeatedly displaced until some anchoring point manages to halt this sliding and temporarily stabilize meaning" (Lacan 1989: 32). This constant change thus prevents a total fixation of meaning (Lacan 1989: 161–197; Derrida 1978a: 351).
[351] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 79-80).
[352] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91); Torfing (2005: 7), for floating signifiers or empty signifier see further: Laclau (1990: 28; 1993: 287; 2005: 133); Nabers (2015: 117).

polysemy character of elements and enables the formation of moments into a temporal discursive structure. It thus temporally interrupts relational signification.[353] This describes the process of articulation, as Laclau and Mouffe put it in *HSS*:

> "[…] we will call articulation any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call discourse. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call moments. By contrast we will call element any difference that is not discursively articulated."[354]

The practice of articulation therefore converts elements into moments within a discursive totality and establishes their temporal meaning.[355] The practices of articulation is, as noted above, is only possible since "every moment is subsumed from the beginning under the principle of repetition."[356] The polysemy character of elements allows any discursive structure to be penetrated and disarticulated.[357] The meaning of elements can thus be disarticulated and then fixed again in a different discursive context, making final articulation impossible.[358] This makes the disarticulation of a discursive structure possible and the conversion of elements into moments never exhausted or final. It further makes any temporary transition to a relational totality within a discursive structure contingent and never the revelation of a deeper essence.[359]

The impossibility of closure in the process of articulation further rests on the assumption that any discursive system exists surrounded by a "surplus of

---

[353] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91, 96-97).
[354] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91).
[355] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91).
[356] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 93).
[357] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 93, 99).
[358] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 100).
[359] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91-93, 97, 99).

meaning."[360] In Derrida's terminology, since the meaning of every sign is constituted in difference, any sign always implies a trace of what it is not. Accordingly, signs bear the traces of eternal other signs by which they are surrounded. Derrida calls this the "originary of trace," which has far-reaching implications for his reading of Saussure.[361] Any attempt to establish fixed synchronic structures is thus overflown by the excess of relationality that prevents their stable articulation.[362] Laclau and Mouffe call this surplus of meaning the "field of discursivity," which comprises everything that a particular discourse is not. The field of discursivity thus has the potential to disrupt and destabilize any discursive system.[363] This makes instability an intrinsic characteristic of any discourse and its most essential possibility. Therefore, no "discursive totality is absolutely self-contained;"[364] it arises from "a relational space unable to constitute itself as such."[365]

The purely relational character of meaning further applies to the dimension of identification.[366] In a particular discourse "where every element has been reduced to a moment of that totality," all identification is constituted relational.[367] Identification thus becomes the field of "overdetermination"

---

[360] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 97-98).
[361] Trace is thus the "always-already hidden" contradiction in any meaning construction, as Derrida elaborates, "this deconstruction of presence accomplishes itself through the deconstruction of consciousness, and therefore through the irreducible notion of the trace, as it appears in both Nietzschean and Freudian discourse" (Derrida 1976: 70). He, however, intentionally avoids a clear definition and distinction between the terms "trace," "différance," "arche-writing," "pharmakos/pharmakon," and "specter." They therefore often carry similar meaning and are used interchangeably (Derrida 1976; see also: Johnson 1972: xi).
[362] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 107); Edkins (1999: 12–13); Bennington (2004: 194–199); Currie (2004: 55, 48–60); Wenman (2013: 184); Behr (2014: 11); Nabers (2015: 89, 90; 2018).
[363] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 97-100).
[364] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 113); Laclau (1990: 90).
[365] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 99).
[366] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 99).
[367] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 92, 96-97); Laclau (2004).

always threatened to be disarticulated again.[368] This makes identification never final and it exists "no identity that is self-present to itself and not constructed as difference,"[369] as put in *HSS*:

> "As a systematic structural ensemble, the relations are unable to absorb the identities, but as the identities are purely relational, this is but another way of saying that there is no identity which can be fully constituted."[370]

Discursivity thus presents the requirement for the constitution of identification but also its impossibility.[371] "[T]he precariousness of every identity, which manifests itself as a continuous movement of differences"[372] further applies to the "category of subject," which is presented within a discursive structure and not separately as the determination of any social relation.[373] Following the assumption that all subject positions are discursive and that no discourse is finally fixed, different positions and the relationships among them are also never fixed or present themselves in a "closed system of difference."[374] Instead, the category of subject is also affected by the "ambiguous, incomplete and polysemical character which overdetermination assigns to every discursive identity."[375]

Laclau and Mouffe thus do not break with the structuralist episteme but radicalize it in two regards. First, following Derrida's example, they emphasize the absence of any external, extra-discursive logic, thus necessarily excluding any objective authority.[376] Second, they emphasize "the impossibility of closing

---

[368] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 97, 108).
[369] Mouffe (1993: 141).
[370] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 97).
[371] Mouffe (1995b: 10; 1993: 81; 1994b: 109).
[372] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 108).
[373] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 101).
[374] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 101-102).
[375] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 121).
[376] Derrida (1982: 280), Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 120).

any context" that produces meanings.[377] In other words, discourses are not static structures; they are produced and reproduced, maintained and transformed in articulations. Discourse are therefore "a structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed."[378]

Laclau and Mouffe further base the final impossibility of any stable discursive order on the ontological dimension of antagonism.[379] For them, antagonism denotes neither a simple dialectic negation such as labor versus capital in orthodox Marxism, nor a stable and objective relation of otherness, since this would imply an essentialist difference between two prior opposed entities.[380] Instead, it expresses the unavoidable and always-present division of any discursive space. In this sense, antagonism prevents any discursive system from being fully constituted and thus represents "the final impossibility of any stable difference and thus of any objectivity"[381] As Laclau and Mouffe further put it, "[o]ur thesis is that antagonism are not objective relations, but relations which reveal the limits of all objectivity."[382] On the one hand, then, antagonism in its discursive presence represents the impossibility of any closed totality. On the other hand, since any discursive system is relational and constituted in difference, antagonism is also the very condition for the constitution of any

[377] Laclau (1999: 146).
[378] Laclau (1988: 254). For more on discourse, see for instance: Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 24ff., 37-39); Goodin, Pettit, and Pogge (2007: 541ff.).
[379] Here, antagonism (singular) is understood as the always-present ontological dimension. Laclau and Mouffe's concept also describes antagonisms (plural), which means its ontic dimension as the social struggle of diverse positions, which is illustrated later in this chapter (Laclau 2014: 104-105, 1990: 5-26; for a discussion of these terms, see further: Nonhoff 2017).
[380] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 108); Hildebrand and Seville (2019: 325). With the concept of antagonism, Laclau and Mouffe thus explicitly do not refer to a "real opposition" (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: xiv) or a logical "contradiction" (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 125). It is neither a "cunning of reason" realized through antagonistic relations, or a "kind of super-game" submitting antagonisms to a particular system of rules (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: xiv).
[381] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 108, 112).
[382] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xiv).

signifying structure. As Laclau puts it, "[a]ntagonism is not only the experience of a limit to objectivity but also a first discursive attempt at mastering and re-inscribing it."[383]

The lack of a final ground and the impossibility of "ultimate fixity"[384] does not however lead to a "chaotic postmodern universe;" instead, the constitution of meaning clearly needs the possibility of temporally fixation.[385] Thus, any discourse within this structure is ultimately understood as an effort to temporarily interrupt the flow of difference and dominate the field of discursivity to establish a center. Laclau and Mouffe call these discursive points of partial fixation within the general dynamics of meaning construction nodal points.[386] Nodal points, then, are particular discursive centers in a given discourse that connect meaning in a certain way.[387] It is from here that their notion of articulation emerges:

> "The practice of articulation, therefore, consist in the construction of nodal points which partially fix meaning, and the partial character of this fixation proceeds from the openness of the social, a result, in its turn, of the constant overflowing of every discourse by the infinitude of the field of discursivity."[388]

Laclau and Mouffe's further assert that the "purely relational or differential character" of signification cannot be reduced to the realm of language, but "holds relevance for all signifying structures – that is to say, for all social

---

[383] Laclau in an interview (Norris, A. 2006: 133); see also: Nabers (2015: 122).
[384] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 98).
[385] Howarth (2000: 7).
[386] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 98-99). The notion of nodal points is related to Jacques Lacan's concept of "points de caption." Nodal points organize a discourse and other signs around them, as "the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point" (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 98-99). This is vital since "a discourse incapable of generating any fixity of meaning is the discourse of the psychotic" (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 112). The notion of nodal points thus contains the "'universal' structuring function within a certain discursive field" (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: xi; 99).
[387] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 98-99).
[388] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 100).

structures."[389] Against this background, the social is constructed as a "discursive space" constituted and organizes entirely by articulatory practices.[390] Hence, their innovation also lies in the application of Saussurean "notion of value" to all social structures and relations.[391] The social is thus intrinsically relational and acquires its meaning and identity through discursive practices.[392] As a result, Laclau and Mouffe do not distinguish between linguistic and behavioral aspects within the social:

> "It affirms: a) that every object is constituted as an object of discourse, insofar as no object is given outside every discursive condition of emergence; and b) that any distinction between what are usually called the linguistic and behavioural aspects of a social practice, is either an incorrect distinction or ought to find its place as a differentiation within the social production of meaning, which is structured under the form of discursive totalities."[393]

Thus, according to Laclau and Mouffe, discourse comprises not only linguistic, but also non-linguistic elements,[394] since any non-linguistic material – such as institutions or economic processes – is always also constructed in difference within discursive systems.[395] This implies that the social is entirely discursive and that there is nothing outside of discourse.[396] Since discourse is inherently unstable, the social is also not directed by any structural determination. It can only be selectively structured and is never perfectly sutured.[397]

Any temporarily organized social space is thus never fixed or a closed essence. Laclau and Mouffe thus chose an anti-essentialist ontology for their approach.

---

[389] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 109).
[390] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: x, 82, 97, 100).
[391] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 92, 99); Laclau (2005: 68).
[392] Laclau (1977); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 107); Smith, A.M. (1998); Torfing (1999: 94); Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 34-37); Norval (2004); Nabers (2015).
[393] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 93).
[394] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 93, 95); Torfing (1999: 94); Nabers (2015).
[395] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 95); Torfing (2005: 5-8).
[396] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 105-114).
[397] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 107); Wenman (2013: 184).

For them, there is no given essence that defines meaning and identities within a fixed structure.[398] Society has no positive quality or a unified principle: "[t]here is no sutured space peculiar to 'society', since the social itself has no essence."[399] Instead, the social has a "negative essence" characterized by a constitutive openness.[400] Following the Derridean and poststructuralist terminology, social structures are characterized by an "undecidability" and, moreover, are incomplete and permanently threatened by internal crises.[401] As a result, the social is a "relational space unable to constitute itself as such"[402], and society as an objective entity is never completed or total. Instead, it exists only "as an effort to construct that impossible object."[403]

This section thus far has illustrated the ontological location from which Laclau and Mouffe embark to develop their theory of discourse. The following section will further elaborate on the political level of the discourse theory.

3.3 The political level of the discourse theory

While the previous paragraphs referred to the social ontology of Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse (also called theory of hegemony), this section focuses more on the political level of their theory, emphasizing political processes and discursive struggles. In their attempt to develop a sophisticated account of collective action in a pluralist environment, they combine Derridean poststructuralism with Gramsci's notion of hegemony.[404] The treatment of Gramsci's theory of hegemony reflects Laclau and Mouffe's concern to eliminate class reductionism and "economism" from the Marxist conception of

[398] Torfing (2005: 13).
[399] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 82).
[400] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 82).
[401] Wenman (2017: 566).
[402] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 99).
[403] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 98).
[404] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 4-5, 37, 55ff.); Wenman (2013: 181).

ideology.[405] With Gramsci, they instead create a "discursive substitution of the hegemonic struggles,"[406] and thus consider discourse as the constitutive horizon for politics and social subject position.[407] This allows them to abandon the "single political space" as the necessary arena for political articulation.[408]

Gramsci's theoretical novelty lies in defining hegemony as "political and moral leadership" over allied groups with the potential to structure an emergent historical bloc.[409] Unlike Lenin, hegemony is not defined simply as an instrumental political strategy, or merely as a political leadership within a class alliance with predetermined identities and ideologies.[410] Instead, the establishment of hegemony involves the creation of a "higher synthesis," which is the ideological construction of a "collective will." The construction of a collective will functions as a means of political action and implies the transformation and re-articulation of existing ideological elements.[411] This process of ideological transformation through re-articulation is further referred to as intellectual and moral reform.[412] In order to form a unified political subject or a collective will, the creation of a subject's identity independent of economic class-belonging becomes necessary.[413] Understanding hegemony as moral and

---

[405] Mouffe (1979). As illustrated earlier, Mouffe already includes Gramsci's theory in her earlier work *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (Mouffe 1979). She was particularly interested in his emphasis on politics, which he constructed as the "strategic formation of collective action." (Mouffe 1979: 174, see also: Tormey and Townshend 2006: 88; Wenman 2013: 185-186).
[406] Therborn (2008: 147).
[407] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 136).
[408] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 123).
[409] Gramsci (1971: 181-182); Torfing (2005: 14ff.).
[410] Lenin (1978); Mouffe (1979: 184); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 89, 93).
[411] Gramsci (1971: 380); Mouffe (1979: 184). This describes the creation of a "common world-view" that enables the unification of diverse groups to a "collective man" (Gramsci 1971: 349; Mouffe 1979: 188, 191, 197).
[412] Mouffe (1979: 188, 191).
[413] Mouffe (1979: 190).

intellectual leadership thus dismisses the idea of a necessary class-belonging.[414] As Mouffe puts it in her earlier work *Gramsci and Marxist Theory:*

> "The social agent possesses several principles of ideological determination, [such as] sex, a family, of a social class, of a nation, of a race or as an aesthetic onlooker, and he lives these different subjectivities in which he is constituted in a relation of mutual implication. In reductionist perspective each of these has a necessary class-belonging. But if we accept the principle of overdetermination, we must conclude that there can exist no necessary relation between them, and that it is consequently impossible to attribute a necessary class-belonging to them."[415]

Gramsci here moves beyond the necessary class-belonging and instead understands hegemony as the creation of a unity through the fusion of different elements.[416] This requires the construction of a contingent hegemonic formation that implies that the superordinate group represents the concerns of the subordinated groups.[417] The final triumph of the proletarian struggle, according to Gramsci, ultimately rests on the ability of the working classes to form a "collective national will."[418] The working class must therefore open up its narrow class identity and "persuade these allies to accept its definition of the 'nation', of the 'national-popular' will [which implies the] re-articulation of existing ideological elements."[419] The resulting unified political subject provides the ideological cement required to form the basis for its leadership in a new historical bloc, independent of the class origins of the individual hegemonic agents.[420] This understanding of hegemony as moral and political

---

[414] Mouffe (1979: 189, 192).
[415] Mouffe (1979: 171-172).
[416] Mouffe (1979: 189, 191).
[417] Gramsci (1971: 161; 1988: 205, 234); Mouffe (1979: 9-10, 193); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 93-94); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 55, 67).
[418] Mouffe (1979: 9, 184-185, 194-195). Class identity in Marxism was not able to speak in the name of diverse social groups. According to Mouffe, Gramsci's work is able to solve this issue since he understands the working class as part of the nation (Mouffe 1979: 8).
[419] Mouffe (1979: 188, 194).
[420] Gramsci (1988: 200-209); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 93-94).

leadership thus represents more than a class alliance and has a genuinely democratic and pluralistic potential.[421]

From this perspective, however, the hegemonic struggle and change remains possible only in the context of the working class becoming the national class and representing the interests of various social groups.[422] The industrial working class ultimately stays the central historical agent that serves the socialist project to build a collective project and wins over the peripheral struggles of the newly arriving movements for the interests of the proletariat.[423] Gramsci therefore ultimately remains within the logic of economic determinism, the conventional base/ superstructure topography, as well as the teleology of the Marxist theory of history. The fundamental classes (working class and bourgeoisie) determined through the relations of production are key protagonists in Gramsci's account of hegemony,[424] as Laclau and Mouffe put it in *HSS*:

> "Yet even for Gramsci, the ultimate core of the hegemonic subject's identity is constituted at a point external to the space it articulates: the logic of hegemony does not unfold all of its deconstructive effects on the theoretical terrain of classical Marxism. Here remains a last redoubt of class reductionism."[425]

In order to take the discursive construction of the hegemonic struggles and the social subject position seriously,[426] they thus abandon the privileged position of the fundamental classes in the struggle for social hegemony. As they formulate:

> "[The] defined break with 'economism' implies the abandonment of Gramsci's thesis that only the working class can [ultimately] provide the articulating

---

[421] Mouffe (1979: 184); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 89, 93).
[422] Mouffe (1979: 15, 183, 197).
[423] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 75); Wenman (2013: 187).
[424] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 69, 75); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 93-94); Wenman (2013: 187).
[425] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 75).
[426] Therborn (2008: 147).

> principle of the totality of anti-capitalist and democratic struggles…and give them a socialist orientation."[427]

Laclau and Mouffe thus abandon the centrality of the working class in articulation of any social and political concerns.[428] Instead, for them, the plurality and individual specificity of political or social movements must be recognized, none of which represents a predetermined centrality.[429] As they put it in *HSS*:

> "Once the conception of the working class as a 'universal class' is rejected, it becomes possible to recognize the plurality of the antagonisms which take place in the field of what is arbitrarily grouped under the label of 'workers' struggles', and the inestimable importance of the great majority of them for the deepening of the democratic process."[430]

Laclau and Mouffe therefore dismiss Gramsci's conception of hegemony in two respects: first, that "hegemonic subjects are necessarily constituted on the plane of the fundamental classes," and second, that "[…]every social formation structures itself around a single hegemonic center."[431] The departure from these two remaining essentialist assumptions in Gramsci's theory rests primarily on the emphasis on the constitutive effect of discourse on politics and the construction of subject positions.[432] As illustrated above, Gramsci conceives of politics as articulation capable of transforming social identities and shaping the formation of hegemony through, thus providing the basis for a new, enlarged understanding.[433] For him "politics is the very activity through which social relations are constituted [and] it becomes evident that everything in society is

---

[427] Mouffe (1983: 22). See also: Wenman (2013: 187-188).
[428] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 75ff., 123).
[429] Mouffe (1983: 15, 23-24).
[430] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 151).
[431] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 124). See also: Gramsci (1971: 161); Torfing (2005: 14ff.).
[432] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xxiii).
[433] Gramsci (1988, 2005); Mouffe (1979); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: x, xi, 45, 55, 66, 75, 136-138); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 90); Wenman (2013: 188).

political."[434] Laclau and Mouffe, however, further radicalize Gramsci's concept of articulation and politics by considering discourse as the constitutive horizon for any hegemonic activity.[435] This allows them to abandon the idea of a "single political space" as the necessary arena for political articulation and to allow for a plurality of struggles in democratic political space.[436] As Mouffe and Laclau note in *HSS*:

> "It has been through the development of certain intuitions and discursive forms constituted within Marxism that we have constructed a concept of hegemony which, in our view, may be a useful instrument in the struggle for a radical, libertarian and plural democracy."[437]

Laclau and Mouffe therefore reject the idea that hegemony is a given set and the simply domination of a particular group.[438] Instead, they understand hegemony as a phenomenon that emerges from political interaction, which allows them to leave behind the class reductionism of conventional Marxist.

As shown in the previous section, Laclau and Mouffe's conception of articulation forms the bases of any social order, which is also characterized by undecidability and the absence of a fixed essence. In a relational space characterized by contingency, articulatory practices attempt to temporarily fix meaning by turning elements into moments and constructing nodal points.[439] These temporary discursive fixations that constitute any concrete social order are always "an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, and to construct a center."[440] Therefore, according to Laclau and

---

[434] Mouffe (1981: 185), see further Mouffe (1979: 184); Gramsci (1988, 2005); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 45, 55, 66, 75); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 89-90, 93-94).
[435] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 123). They thus conceive the political with the "status of an ontology of the social," and not as a superstructure (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: xiv). See also: Tormey and Townshend (2006: 88); Therborn (2008: 147); Wenman (2013: 185-186).
[436] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 123).
[437] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 4).
[438] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 4-6).
[439] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 120, 122).
[440] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 112).

Mouffe, any attempt to fix meaning and install a particular order in a situation of contingency is a political intervention that articulates a particularity.[441] They therefore refer to these attempts as hegemonic practices of articulation.[442] As Laclau puts it, "in a society (and this is finally the case of any society) in which its fullness – the moment of its universality – is unachievable, the relation between the universal and the particular is a hegemonic relation."[443] According to this understanding, hegemonic practices are articulatory processes that may install a particular social order.[444]

Laclau and Mouffe call a relatively unified space constituted through hegemonic practices a "hegemonic formation." This is generally based on Gramsci's understanding of an articulated totality of difference as a "historic bloc."[445] Laclau and Mouffe further assume that the creation of a hegemonic formation takes place in a space characterized by antagonism.[446] As they formulate in *HSS*:

> "A social and political space relatively unified through the instituting of nodal points and the constitution of tendentially relational identities, is what Gramsci calls historical bloc. The type of link joining the different elements of the historical bloc – not unity in any form of historical a priori, but regularity in dispersion – coincides with our concept of discursive formation. Insofar as we consider the historical bloc from the point of view of the antagonistic terrain in which it is constituted, we will call it hegemonic formation."[447]

In a hegemonic formation, linguistic and non-linguistic fractions of a discourse are transformed into nodal points and jointly constitute a structure of differential

---

[441] This makes the idea of contingency relevant for the intra-discursive level as well as the inter-discursive political struggles (Westphal 2018a: 4-5).
[442] Laclau (1996: 53); Hildebrand and Seville (2019: 325); Marttila (2019b: 8f.).
[443] Laclau (1996: 53).
[444] Mouffe (2018: 88).
[445] Gramsci (1977: 115-119).
[446] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122-123, 129, 136); Torfing (2005: 14ff.).
[447] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122-123).

articulations. It therefore comprises a number of basic articulatory principles, which are combined as an "articulated totality of difference."[448]

The hegemonic formation as a relative unified space is further constituted through the interplay of two competing articulatory logics of difference and equivalence.[449] The logic of equivalence, on the one hand, allows for the constitution of identifications that are equivalent, expressing the negation of a discursive system.[450] As Laclau and Mouffe put it, "[t]he condition of equivalence is that the discursive spaces is strictly divided into two camps. Antagonism does not admit *tertium quid.*"[451] The logic of difference, on the other hand, works in the contrary way. It disintegrates existing chains of equivalence and extends an present system of difference by integrating the disarticulated elements from disintegration.[452] Thus, while the logic of equivalence works to divide discursive space by establishing meaning between two antagonistic centers, the logic of difference seeks to disperse a given antagonistic center and shift this discursive division.[453] Therefore, equivalents are always precarious as they prevent differences from being fully constituted.[454] As formulated in *HSS*:

> "Every historical bloc – or hegemonic formation – is constructed through regularity in dispersion, and this dispersion includes a proliferation of very diverse elements: systems of differences which partially define relational identities; chains of equivalences which subvert the latter but which can be transformistically recovered insofar as the place of opposition itself becomes regular and, in that way, constitutes a new difference; forms of

[448] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 67, 129).
[449] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128-129); Torfing (2005: 14).
[450] Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 21).
[451] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 115).
[452] Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 21).
[453] Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 21).
[454] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 129-131); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.).

> overdetermination which concentrate either power, or the different forms of resistance to it; and so forth."[455]

Laclau and Mouffe deduce form this that the interplay of the two competing logics of equivalence and difference is never complete and that society is therefore "not totally possible, neither ... totally impossible" – namely, as an "objective" and universally agreed concept – or "signified."[456] Instead, any social or political order is a temporally "articulated totality of difference" that is constituted through a series of articulatory practices such as the logics of equivalence and difference.

Hegemonic practices that establish a temporal hegemonic order are thus inseparable from the exercise of power.[457] However, since the interplay of these hegemonic practices is never complete, power is also never foundational, but only a temporal configuration of social space. As Laclau and Mouffe put it in *HSS*: "The important point is that every form of power is constructed in a pragmatic way and internally to the social, through the opposed logics of equivalence and difference; power is never foundational."[458] Political or social spaces that appear natural at a given moment are thus "never the manifestation of a deeper objectivity," but rather the result of articulatory practices that create a hegemonic formation. As Laclau and Mouffe formulate:

> "[…]no hegemonic logic can account for the totality of the social and constitute its center, for in that case a new suture would have been produced and the very concept of hegemony would have eliminated itself. The openness of the social is, thus, the precondition of every hegemonic practice."[459]

---

[455] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128).
[456] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 115). See also: Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 21); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.).
[457] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 125, 128).
[458] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128-129).
[459] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128, 142).

Despite the claimed "openness of the social", hegemonic practices can have very material power effects. Laclau and Mouffe make use here of the Husserlian distinction between "sedimentation" and "reactivation." The notion of sedimentation refers to the various ways in which hegemonic articulations become institutionally and materially fixed (sedimented) in society.[460] Sedimented hegemonic practices thus constitute society and create an institutionalized structure through the articulation of a discursive system in which meaning is temporarily fixed.[461] This momentary fixation allows the sedimented meaning associated with the particular hegemonic discourse to be "de-politicized." Meaning in this situation, then, presents itself as given or natural and allows for the emergence of a relatively stable social order, even though its constitution is based on hegemonic practices.[462] However, since discursive systems are inherently unstable and unable to fully hegemonize the field of discursivity and overcome the always-present ontological condition of antagonism, the possibility of reactivation and "re-politicization" of the sedimented hegemonic discourses on which it is based always remains.[463] As Laclau and Mouffe note, "[w]e could say that the social is equivalent to a sedimented order, while the political would involve the moment of reactivation."[464] Thus, a situation of sedimentation overcovers the contingent political acts necessary for its institution, and in a situation of reactivation, the political becomes visible again.[465] Political activity is thus an ever-present

[460] Laclau (1990: 34); Nabers (2015: 109); Mattissek and Schopper (2019: 251).
[461] Mouffe (2018: 88); Hildebrand and Seville (2019: 325); Marttila (2019b: 8f.).
[462] Mouffe (1993: 143); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96). For a hegemonic project, the link with sedimented discourses can be seen as a precondition for successful hegemonic politics, as elaborated later.
[463] Torfing (2005: 14ff.). In the disruption of sedimented practices, the contingent character of discourse becomes visible as institutions are no longer able to represent the demands of the political sphere.
[464] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: viii).
[465] Laclau (1990).

possibility capable of shaping the social.[466] This in turn generates contingency and the possibility for resistance and change in society to emerge.[467]

In order to experience hegemonic activity and make the re-articulation of meaning under the condition of antagonism possible, the sedimented social space must be weakened. Laclau and Mouffe call this moment the "notion of dislocation."[468] The notion of dislocation describes a situation in which a relatively stable discursive system collapse.[469] As a result, fixed nodal points become unfixed and articulated elements become floating again.[470] The meaning attached to the particular discourse becomes lose and a proliferation of floating elements emerges, making the transformation of elements into moments possible.[471] Mouffe and Laclau thus describe the notion of dislocation as follows, "[a] conjuncture where there is a generalized weakening of the relational system defining the identities of a given social or political space, and where, as a result there is a proliferation of floating elements."[472]

Despite the fact that the social is always already "dislocated insofar as it depends on an outside which both denies that identity and provides its condition

---

[466] Sumic (2004: 186); Nabers (2015: 122).
[467] Carpentier (2019: 157).
[468] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128); Laclau (1990: 39–44, 46, 60). Laclau introduces the notion of dislocation in his post-*HSS* work *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time* (Laclau 1990). He radicalizes the notion of antagonism as the limit of the social by introducing the category of dislocation, understood as a subversive threat. In *HSS*, this difference is still disregarded, and the ambivalence was instead called "subversion" (Marchart 2004: 59; Stähli 2004: 234). A further elaboration on the relation between dislocation and antagonism is discussed in Norval (1997, 2000) and Dyrberg (1995: 24). For more on dislocation, see also: Laclau (1999: 137, 2014); Critchley and Marchart (2004: 6); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128); Carpentier (2019: 162).
[469] Laclau (1990: 39-45; 1999: 137); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128); Stähli (2004: 239-240).
[470] Dyrberg (2004: 251); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96).
[471] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 136); Torfing (2005: 14-16); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.).
[472] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122).

of possibility at the same time."[473] Dislocation generally occurs when a hegemonic discourse encounters a situation that cannot be integrate into the discursive system in question. Although discursive systems are generally relatively flexible, they will eventually reach their limits and thus be unable to integrate a particular situation. The inability to integrate a particular situation eventually weakens the discursive system and allows dislocation to occur.[474] As Laclau states, "[d]islocation refers to unsymbolized events, external to the hegemonic order and aiming at its disruption."[475] It remains however completely contingent which moment becomes the site of reactivation or re-politicization. The dislocation of a situation will only become visible retroactively through the process of de-sedimentation and reactivation.[476] Nonetheless, the result is always the emergence of a structural crisis, which Gramsci calls an "organic crisis."[477]

Dislocation thus implies a productive dimension, as it gives rise to a situation of structural or organic crisis, in which the reactivation or re-politicization of a relatively stable, sedimented system becomes possible and a proliferation of antagonism emerges.[478] This makes hegemonic activity and the re-articulation of temporally fixed meaning possible. It allows the existing system to be challenged and for new ways of forming hegemonic formations to emerge.[479] As such, dislocation has an intrinsically emancipatory potential, making new

---

[473] Laclau (1990: 39-45).
[474] Torfing (2005: 17). Following this understanding, a certain discourse becomes dislocated in a situation unable to integrate particular "events" (Laclau 1990: 72–78; Howarth 2004: 261). Here, Laclau introduces an "extra-discursive" dynamic to his concept of the social. He further suggests that postmodern societies experience dislocation at an "accelerated tempo" (Howarth 2000: 111), enabled by phenomena such as "commodification, bureaucratization, and globalization" (Howarth 2000: 261; also Löwy 1981).
[475] Laclau (1990: 222).
[476] Sumic (2004: 186).
[477] Laclau (1990: 222); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 113, 117).
[478] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122-123, 136); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96).
[479] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 136).

articulations and social and political change possible, thus serving as "the foundation on which new identities are constituted."[480] It thus functions as a rupture to a relatively stable situation, making it a crucial aspect in the process of hegemonic practices.[481]

In the process of re-articulation in a situation of structural crisis, dislocated sedimented hegemonic discourses are newly-assembled around empty signifier that operate as nodal points.[482] Empty signifier are essentially signifier without a signified.[483] Since they do not have a fixed content, they can represent a totality by establishing a chain of equivalence between different demands and thus function as a nodal point, while at the same time demarcating this identity from the outside.[484] Empty signifiers thus exist due to the impossibility of any final signification.[485] The lack of stability of meaning and identities further constitutes the condition in which the battle between different social groups play out.[486] Different hegemonic projects thus aim to construct unifying chains of equivalence by means of particular empty signifiers. They struggle to fill empty signifiers with their particular objectives and present them as universally valid, which Laclau describes as the process of hegemonization.[487] He argues that, "[t]he presence of empty signifiers [...] is the very condition of hegemony."[488] Hegemony is only possible because "a particular signifier ('people', 'nation', 'revolution') which is emptied of its particular meaning […] comes to represent

[480] Laclau (1990: 39); (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 122-123, 136); Torfing (2005: 14-16); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.). In *HSS*, Laclau and Mouffe further describe change as a "subversion" that dissolves the established meaning of identities through creating a new identity (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 127).
[481] Dyrberg (2004: 251); Sumic (2004: 186); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128).
[482] Laclau (1996: 44). Thus, nodal points are empty now, as Laclau determines.
[483] Laclau (1996: 36).
[484] Laclau (1996); Mattissek and Schopper (2019: 251).
[485] Howarth (2004: 261).
[486] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94-95).
[487] Laclau (1996: 44).
[488] Laclau (1996: 43).

the 'absent fullness' of a symbolic order."[489] In a situation characterizes by dislocation, hegemonic projects thus aim to install a hegemonic formation by successfully filling empty signifier with their particular, presenting them as universal.[490]

The emergence of hegemony has thus very precise conditions. First, the already-mentioned lack of immanent stability and "dimension of structural undecidability."[491] Hegemony presupposes an incomplete social terrain that is open for articulation and re-articulation.[492] Within an established order where the meaning of all articulatory elements are finally fixed, and where objectivity determines the structural arrangement, contingent hegemonic practices and re-articulation of empty signifier or floating elements would not be possible.[493] As Laclau and Mouffe formulate in *HSS*:

> "The general field of the emergence of hegemony is that of articulatory practices, that is, a field where the 'elements' have not crystallized into moments. In a closed system of relational identities, in which the meaning of each moment is absolutely fixed, there is no place whatsoever for a hegemonic practice. A fully successful system of differences, which excluded any floating signifier, would not make possible any articulation; the principle of repetition would dominate every practice within this system and there would be nothing to hegemonize."[494]

---

[489] Howarth (2004: 261).
[490] Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 9); Nabers (2015). Laclau further elaborates in this studies that sedimented practices often mature around naturalizing and universalizing myths (of original purity and self-presence) and imaginaries (Laclau 1990, 2014; Nabers 2015: 109). He introduces this notion in his post-*HSS* work *New Reflections on the Revolutions of Our Time* (1990). It is a central part of the hegemonic practices aiming for an ideological totalization (Torfing 2005: 15), and involves the formation of "a new objectivity by means of the re-articulation of the dislocated elements" within any given situation (Laclau 1990: 61). These aspects are further elaborated in chapter 5 of this study.
[491] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii).
[492] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: x, xi, 120, 128); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94-95).
[493] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii, 120, 125).
[494] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 120).

Second, hegemonic articulation occurs in a space that is characterized by the always present dimension of antagonism. In this phenomenological sense, antagonism describes the moment in which the potential for conflict realizes itself and at the same time political identities emerge as a shared opposition towards an aspect of the social order.[495] The ineradicable existence of antagonism thus allows for a plurality of political spaces and the confrontation of hegemonic practices.[496] Laclau and Mouffe therefore describe the two necessary conditions for the emergence of hegemony as follows:

> "The two conditions of hegemonic articulation are the presence of antagonistic forces and the instability of the frontiers which separate them. Only the presence of a vast area of floating elements and the possibility of their articulation to opposite camps – which implies a constant redefinition of the latter – is what constitutes the terrain permitting us to define a practice as hegemonic."[497]

The proliferation of antagonism and the undecidability of the social are thus the sources for hegemonic practices and change.[498] It permits the articulation of different hegemonic formations and thus negates the "single political space."[499] Instead, different discursive projects participate in an ongoing battle for hegemony.[500] They struggle to implement a different interpretation of the social world, defining society and identity by using the opposing logics of equivalence and difference.[501] Hegemony is therefore essentially the discursive struggle between different hegemonic projects aiming to install political leadership and

---

[495] Westphal (2018a). As mentioned above, Laclau and Mouffe use antagonism in an ontological and a phenomenological sense. In its phenomenological sense, antagonism implies the potential for conflict always already inherently in the ontological dimension of the political.
[496] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xvii, 122, 124).
[497] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122).
[498] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 124); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.).
[499] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xvii, 100, 101, 131, 124).
[500] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 120); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94-95); Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 33).
[501] Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 29).

construct a collective emancipatory project.[502] This struggle for hegemony – which Gramsci calls the "war of position"[503] – is ongoing until a particular discursive position succeeds as the dominant group in the field.[504] Hereby, it is undetermined which of the different projects struggling within the war of positions might succeed.[505] As Laclau formulates in *Emancipation(s)*:

> "[…]if all differential struggles […] are equally capable of expressing […] the absent fullness of the community, […] if none is predetermined per se to fulfil this role; what does determine that one of them rather than another incarnates, at particular periods of time, this universal function?"[506]

Hegemony is further conditioned by the impossibility of suture. It is generally impossible to fill the gap between particular and universal. Therefore, any hegemony is never a final state, even though, they temporarily take the place for the universal. However, although the full closure of the social is impossible, this does not mean that closure, fullness, or full representation disappear from political discourse. Instead, the concept of final closure or fullness continues to serve as an impossible ideal that hegemonic struggles aim to achieve, as Laclau states: "[…] it will always show itself through the presence of its absence."[507]

The ongoing attempt to fill the unachievable lack of fullness is precisely what describes the category of politics.[508] Politics thus becomes possible because the social is characterized by a constitutive impossibility. It presents itself through the production of empty or floating signifier filled with particular meaning,

---

[502] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 75).
[503] Mouffe (1979: 194). Gramsci's concept describes the process of disarticulation and re-articulation defined as a revolutionary strategy (Mouffe 1979: 197; Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 69). It primarily confirms the impossibility of social closure preventing the social from being finally fixed (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 129). For more Gramsci, see also: Bieling and Steinhilber (2000).
[504] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 75).
[505] Nabers (2015: 121).
[506] Laclau (1996: 42).
[507] Laclau (1996: 53).
[508] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii-xiii); Dyrberg (2004: 251-252); (Nabers 2015).

presenting them as universal.[509] The modus of politics is thus the permanent discursive struggle around hegemony, aiming to establish order in a context of contingency.[510] Laclau and Mouffe further emphasize the primacy of politics, since any social or political order ultimately bases on hegemonic practices and the always-present antagonism in its ontological dimension.[511] The political is thus, "[…] the dimension that is inherent to every human society and that determines our very ontological condition."[512] This makes all social relations ultimately political and the political a hegemonic terrain.[513] It follows that any social order is vulnerable to those that are excluded and social division is always possible in democratic politics.[514] The concept of hegemony thus takes place in a social space characterized by an irreducible plurality.[515] As Laclau and Mouffe state in *HSS*, "[t]his proliferation of political spaces and the complexity and difficulty of their articulation is a central characteristic of the advanced capitalist societies."[516]

In contrast to orthodox Marxism – which fixes meaning a priori as essentialist manifestations of the economic base – for Laclau and Mouffe meanings and identities are thus contingent and always open to contestation, change and negotiation.[517] From here, they drew the simple conclusion that only liberal-democratic principles and institutions fully recognize the unfixity of meaning and the plurality of positions. Any attempt to fix meaning for all time would result in authoritarianism.[518] Based on these assumptions and the dynamics,

---

[509] Laclau (1996: 44).
[510] Mouffe (2013: 1).
[511] Laclau (1996: 53); Mouffe (2007: 43); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii, 105; 136).
[512] Mouffe (1993: 3).
[513] See also: Glynos and Howarth (2007: 5); Dyrberg (2004: 251-252).
[514] Laclau (1990); Mouffe (2000c: 13, 100); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xiv, 125); Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 14).
[515] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xiv; 125-126); Dyrberg (2004: 251-252).
[516] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 123).
[517] Mouffe (1979: 192); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 87, 92).
[518] Tormey and Townshend (2006: 90).

Mouffe develops her agonistic pluralism, which is further elaborated in the next section.[519]

3.4 Chantal Mouffe's agonistic model of democracy

Chantal Mouffe's post-*HSS* work focused less on post-Marxist theory. She had "given up the idea of a radical alternative to the capitalist system"[520] and regarded Marxism as "unlikely" to recover due to its discredited totalitarian association and its inability to respond to the aspirations of the New Social Movements owing to its class reductionism.[521] As for socialism, if defined as the democratization of the economy, she argued that this was a "necessary component of the project of radical and plural democracy" and could only be attained through a liberal-democratic regime.[522] Mouffe thus left behind the idea of class at the center of political change. Instead, she focuses on the conceptualization of collective democratic action under the condition of pluralism, combining Derridean poststructuralism with Gramscian notions of hegemony and Carl Schmitt's depiction of the political.[523] Mouffe develops her explicit agonistic writings, constructing an "analytic theory of democracy" from the early-1990s in *The Return of the Political* (1993), *The Democratic Paradox* (2000), *On the Political* (2005) and others. These were strongly informed by the

[519] The introduced concepts, such as empty signifier, dislocation, or hegemony are valuable discourse analytical tools in the analysis of resistance towards EUI in the study at hand (further introduced in chapter 4.2 and 5 of this study).
[520] Mouffe (2000c: 15).
[521] Mouffe (1993: 9).
[522] Mouffe (1993: 90); Wenman (2013). For an introduction to agonisms and understanding democracy, see also: Tambakaki (2017); Perote-Penã and Piggins (2015).
[523] Wenman (2013); Davidson (2016). Mouffe's model is based on the critical appropriation and de- or re-articulations of various frameworks of contemporary political philosophy, such as Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, Derrida's poststructuralist linguistic model, and Carl Schmitt's depiction of the political (Mouffe 1993: 20).

theoretical assumptions developed in *HSS* and thus widely seen as a hegemonic maneuver within contemporary political theory.[524]

Within political theory, the concept of agonism has become increasingly influential and been subjected to many different interpretations. Besides Chantal Mouffe, theorists such as William E. Connolly, Bonnie Honig and James Tully have provided agonistic approaches.[525] Despite their differences, they all agree on the relevance of passion, the constitutive dimension of pluralism and the necessary presence of conflict in contemporary democratic systems.[526] Inspired by either Hannah Arendt, Friedrich Nietzsche, or Carl Schmitt, each approach suggests different concepts on how to deal with these dimensions in a democratic context.[527]

Chantal Mouffe's "agonistic pluralism" is arguably the most influential agonistic model of democracy. Mouffe shares with the other theorists the general acknowledgment of the dimensions of passion, pluralism and conflict. For Mouffe, the main difference between her and the other agonistic theorists is however that they understand "agonism without antagonism."[528] Here, she means that they consider agonism as a kind of individual self-realization, while Mouffe insists on a collective and political interpretation of the concept. According to her, the world is ontologically antagonistic and conflictual, and agonism is a way to mitigate and control this always present dimension of

---

[524] Mouffe (2000c: 131).
[525] Connolly (1991); Honig (2001); Lederman (2014); Hansen, H.L. (2020: 14). For an introduction to other agonistic thinkers such as William E. Connolly, Bonnie Honig, James Tully, see for instance: Wenman (2013); Lowndes and Paxton (2018).
[526] Agonistic thinkers thus understand pluralism as constitutive and dismiss the idea of any social homogeneity. Instead, the positive dimensions of conflict and division are emphasized (Mouffe 2000c: 19; Mouffe 2013: xi, 6).
[527] Mouffe (2013: 9).
[528] Mouffe (2013: 10). The antagonist dimension thus differentiates Mouffe's approach from other agonistic theorists, as she formulates: "It seems to me that their conception leaves open the possibility that the political could under certain conditions be made absolutely congruent with the ethical, optimism which I do not share" (Mouffe 1999a: 760).

antagonism.[529] She develops her model of "agonistic pluralism" to provide the theoretical foundation to create a democratic system under the condition of pluralism where antagonism and power are acknowledged. The main task for democratic institutions in an agonistic pluralism is thus to provide legitimate political channels to convert power into forms that are compatible with democratic ideas and values and enable different political projects to constantly struggle for hegemony.[530] From her perspective, the problem with contemporary political theory is that "few attempts have been made to elaborate the democratic project on an anthropology which acknowledges the ambivalent character of human sociability and the fact that reciprocity and hostility cannot be dissociated."[531] She therefore bases her approach on the ontological "dimension of radical negativity that manifests itself in the ever-present possibility of antagonism."[532] Mouffe's reflections thus belong to the dissociative view of the political in democratic theory, assuming that society cannot exist beyond power and conflict,[533] which she develops explicitly in opposition to the "associative view," seeing the political as a space of freedom and public deliberation.[534]

The associative tradition is strongly connected with the liberal form of contemporary political philosophy. This view asserts that the political is an arena of liberty and consensus-focused policy.[535] In *The Return of the Political* (1993) – one of her most popular books – Mouffe discusses the associative view.[536] Mouffe particularly criticizes the evolution of liberal thought, which has – according to her – always been stuck between economics and ethics. Here,

---

[529] Mouffe (2013: 10); Maxwell et al. (2019); Hansen, H.L. (2020: 14).
[530] Mouffe (1994a: 1537; 2000c: 100; 2005a: 21, 30; 2013: 1, 7, 14-15; 2018: 87).
[531] Mouffe (2000c: 131; 2005a: 3).
[532] Mouffe (2018: 87).
[533] Mouffe (2018: 87-88).
[534] Mouffe (2005a: 9).
[535] Marchart (2007: 38-44); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.).
[536] Mouffe locates her position within the discourse on democratic theory by critically examining the debate between liberal and communitarian theorists (Westphal 2018a: 9).

she focuses on the two main liberal paradigms, the "aggregative" and the "deliberative." The aggregative model of democracy was dominant in the second half of the 20th century.[537] It essentially applies the idea of the market to the terrain of politics, employing concepts from economics. It further understands the process of politics as the determination of a compromise between different groups in society. The individual in such a setting is interpreted as a rational being, acting in an instrumental way in a political world and driven by the maximization of one's own particular interest.[538] One of the main theoretical contributions in the domain of the aggregative approach is Joseph Schumpeter's seminal work *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1943). His aggregative approach focuses on democratic processes for "the aggregation of preferences" in the wake of the development of mass democracy. The aggregation takes place through a competitive electoral system in which citizens are able to accept or reject political groups and parties and their politics at regular intervals.[539] The aggregative model was further developed by Anthony Downs in his work *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957), aiming to provide a descriptive perspective of democracy, rather than a normative one.[540] Scholars in this domain typically assume that under the condition of modern democracy, pluralism has to be acknowledged and thus historical concepts such as the "common good" or the "general will" to be abandoned. The aggregative view on democracy therefore separates democracy from its normative dimension and instead approaches it from a purely instrumentalist standpoint.[541]

The deliberative approach of liberal thought emerged in the second half of the 20th century in response to the dominance of the instrumentalist model, outlined above. It generally dismisses the idea that democracy should be reduced to

---

[537] See also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xvii); Mouffe (2005a: 12).
[538] Mouffe (2005a: 13-14).
[539] Schumpeter (2003).
[540] Downs (1957). It has thus further become the foundation of empirical political theory.
[541] Downs (1957); Held (2006); Flügel et al. (2004).

procedures enabling pluralism among interest groups.[542] Instead, it aims to develop a model that reactivates the normative dimension of democracy and creates a link between morality and politics through communicative rationality.[543] Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls – as two main representatives of the deliberative approach – suggest that a rational consensus with a moral dimension can be reached through a set of deliberative processes between free and equal citizens.[544] Habermas and Rawls differ in their concepts for implementing and achieving such consensus. Rawls suggests in his publication *A Theory of Justice* (1971) – a key publication in the liberal domain – that the achievement of normative rationality lies in the use of "free public reason" and the emphasis on "principles of justice." In order to achieve rational results, he elaborates that the participants in a discourse need to take the position of the original state, the "original position."[545] This position of the original state enables the participants to discard their particularities and interests and thus find a rational consensus in the debate.[546] Rawls formulates this as follows, "I have said that the original position is the appropriate initial status quo which insures that the fundamental agreements reached in it are fair. This fact yields the name "justice as fairness.""[547]

Habermas advocates a strictly procedural approach of "communicative action."[548] For him, the deliberative process must meet the condition of "ideal discourse" to achieve reasonable results and generate communicative power. These conditions presuppose that the deliberative process is impartial, equal and

---

[542] See also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xvii).
[543] Mouffe (2005a: 13-14).
[544] Habermas (1992); Habermas and Benhabib (1994); Rawls (1971); See also: Gutmann and Thompson (2004: 10ff.); Held (2006: Ch. 9); Goodin (2008); Mouffe (2008: 87f.) Schäfer (2017: 24f.).
[545] Rawls (1971: 15; 1993).
[546] Rawls (1971: 15ff.); Mouffe (2008: 90).
[547] Rawls (1971: 15).
[548] The term is coined in one of Habermas' main works *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (1981). It describes the practical meaning of communicative action for social life.

open, so that the participants can be guided by the better argument without constraint. In this way, the political decision-making and opinion-forming processes can produce "reasonable and fair results" that reflect the common interests and can be accepted by all concerned.[549] It thus generates the common good among free and equal citizens in a process of deliberation free from domination.[550]

Both forms of deliberative democracy theory presented here, Rawls and Habermas, thus see the possibility for achieving normative rationality through predetermined procedures of deliberation, such as the illustrated ideal discourse, communicative action and the free, public use of reason.[551] For Habermas and Rawls, the rediscovery of the moral dimension in consensus-building is – under the condition of the "fact of pluralism"[552] – decisive for the future of the Western liberal democracy.[553] Such a consensus is, according to them, capable of representing generalizable interests and can thus create a stable basis in liberal democracy, which contributes to securing the future of liberal-democratic institutions.[554]

Mouffe generally shares their concern about the current state of democratic institutions and the associated criticism of aggregative models of democracy.[555] She agrees that the aggregative model does not adequately prepare democratic societies for the political challenges linked to pluralism. Mouffe thus formulates already in *HSS* with Laclau:

---

[549] Habermas (1992: 349ff.). Reflections on Habermas' discourse theory describe the conditions necessary to achieve such a conversation situation, see in particular Habermas (1992: 349ff.).
[550] Habermas (1992: 359ff.; 1999: 284ff.).
[551] Mouffe (2008: 89, 92).
[552] Rawls (1993: 64, 441), as already illustrated above.
[553] Mouffe (2008: 87).
[554] Mouffe (2008: 96).
[555] Mouffe (2008: 97); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xvii).

> "Like them, we criticize the aggregative model of democracy, which reduces the democratic process to the expression of those interests and preferences which are registered in a vote aiming at selecting leaders who will carry out the chosen policies. Like them, we object that this is an impoverished conception of democratic politics, which does not acknowledge the way in which political identities are not pre-given but constituted and reconstituted through debate in the public sphere. Politics, we argue, does not consist in simply registering already existing interests, but plays a crucial role in shaping political subjects. On these topics, we are at one with the Habermasians. Moreover, we agree with them on the need to take account of the many different voices that a democratic society encompasses and to widen the field of democratic struggles."[556]

While Mouffe shares the concerns of deliberative democracy theory, she however considers their proposed solutions to be inadequate and even counter-productive in dealing with pluralism in democratic societies.[557] From Mouffe's perspective, the creation of active democratic citizenship and the associated identification with democratic values and institutions is not based on intellectual approval or rational justification. Instead, it is a matter of passion and takes place via "continuous recognition" and the "passionate commitment to a system of reference."[558] As she states in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy* (1995), "[a] radical, democratic citizen must be an active citizen, somebody who acts as a citizen, who conceives of herself as a participant in a collective undertaking."[559]

---

[556] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xvii).

[557] Mouffe (2005b: 222f.; 2008: 98). Mouffe sees the predominance of the liberal model and its assumptions about the moral obligation of political consensus as one of the central factors for growing disaffection with democratic institutions, which will be elaborated further throughout the study (Mouffe 1993: 2; 1994a: 1535; 2005a: 24). She further accuses the deliberative approach for being a moral philosophy instead of a political philosophy (Mouffe 1993: 113, 147).

[558] Mouffe (2008: 97-98).

[559] Mouffe (1995b: 4). Mouffe's aim was to find a conception of citizenship which responded to the political demands and challenges social democracy faced with the emergence of the New Social Movements and "acknowledge concerns relating to ecology, gay issues, ethnicity and others, as well as the struggles around class, race and gender" (Mouffe 1995b: 4).

Democratic citizenship is thus created through the availability of democratic forms of identification and subjectivity.[560]

Instead of replacing the prevailing "rationality of purpose" of the aggregative model with a "reasonable" or "communicative" rationality,[561] it is necessary to recognize the limits of all rationality and understand passion and conflict as the central dimension of the political.[562] Mouffe puts therefore power at the center of her approach, instead of eliminating it from the public space.[563] As already laid out in *HSS*, the core thesis here is "that social objectivity is constituted by acts of power"[564] and the point of convergence between power and objectivity is understood as hegemony. Any social or political order has a hegemonic nature and expresses a temporal configuration of power. It is "never the manifestation of a deeper objectivity,"[565] and always contains traces of exclusion of other possibilities that are currently not in power, which are however decisive for its constitution.[566] The hegemonic nature of any social order shifts the traditional relationship between democracy and power. The task of democratic politics is no longer to offer ways to prevent power, but rather to find forms of power that are compatible with democratic values.[567] For this reason, Mouffe advocates a democratic model that offers space for dispute over power.

Deliberative models remain unable to acknowledge the essential role of power and passion in securing identification with democratic values.[568] Under the condition of pluralism, they assume the possibility for a common good or a

---

[560] Mouffe (2008: 98-100).
[561] Mouffe (2008: 97).
[562] Mouffe (1993: 2, 115; 2008: 57, 98, 101). Here, Mouffe follows Carl Schmitt's understanding of the political (see also: Schmitt, C. 1976: 70).
[563] Mouffe (2000c: 95–100).
[564] Mouffe (2008: 36f., 101); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 120ff.).
[565] Mouffe (2007: 25f.; 2008: 101); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 121ff.).
[566] Mouffe (2007: 27f.).
[567] Mouffe (2008: 37).
[568] Mouffe (1993: 49, 51, 52, 56, 113, 115, 140-141; 2000c: 24-30; 2008: 57, 98).

general consensus on perspectives and values building a "non-conflictual ensemble," as Mouffe states in the following:

> "[t]he typical liberal theories understanding is that we live in a world in which there are indeed many perspectives and values and that, owing to empirical limitations, we will never be able to adopt them all, but that, when put together, they constitute an harmonious and non-conflictual ensemble."[569]

This understanding of pluralism, which assumes the possibility for the building of a "non-conflictual ensemble," further negates "the political in its antagonistic dimension."[570] For Mouffe, every particular order rests however on a diversity of positions due to the antagonistic dimension constitutive to their existence. The notion of antagonism thus forecloses the possibility of rational consensus since any consensus is always based on exclusion.[571] Conflict and division are therefore the precondition for every democratic system under pluralist conditions. Without conflict and division, a pluralist democratic politics would not be possible. Different positions shape the pluralistic environment and thus enable deliberation in the first place.[572] The ideal of a rational consensus without exclusion therefore eventually eliminates pluralism.[573] Mouffe describes this as follows:

> "Because it postulates the availability of a consensus without exclusion, the model of deliberative democracy is unable to envisage liberal democratic pluralism in an adequate way. Indeed, one could indicate how, in both Rawls and Habermas — to take the best-known representatives of that trend — the very condition for the creation of consensus is the elimination of pluralism from the public sphere."[574]

---

[569] Mouffe (2005a: 10).
[570] Mouffe (2005b: 11-12).
[571] Mouffe (2005b: 11-12).
[572] Mouffe (2008: 100).
[573] Mouffe (1993: 5; 1994a: 1535; 2005b: 222f.; 2008: 60).
[574] Mouffe (1997: 28).

Mouffe thus rejects the idea to overcome particularity and achieve a universal consensus with a moral dimension that reflects the common good of the citizens in dealing with pluralism. Instead, the "limits of rationality"[575] must be recognized and the idea of a rational consensus be abandoned.[576] Mouffe describes this as follows:

> "Seeing things in that way should make us realize that taking pluralism seriously requires that we give up the dream of a rational consensus which entails the fantasy that we could escape from our human form of life. The obstacles that stand in the way of such rationalistic tools as the original state or the ideal discourse are in no way empirical or epistemological, but ontological"[577]

This understanding is presented in Mouffe's model of "agonistic pluralism." In order to introduce her theoretical conception, the following section elaborates further on relevant elements, such as the notion of antagonism and hegemony.

Agonistic pluralism

Against this background, Chantal Mouffe provides her agonistic model of democracy. She presents her model of "agonistic pluralism" as an anti-essentialist or post-foundationalist counterpoint to the "naïve idealism of the consensus theories."[578] She rejects the consensus-oriented liberal approaches and does not seek to ground her ideas of politics in the moral dimension. For her, there is no ultimate reason, the common good or a deeper essence of things.

---

[575] Mouffe (1993: 115).
[576] Mouffe (1996a: 1; 1997: 27ff.; 2008: 23ff., 100). By criticizing liberalism and the deliberative perspective, Mouffe thus generally questions substantial characteristic of the Enlightenment and modernity, such as the Kantian aspiration of universalism, rationalism and individualism. In her view, those principles were unable to acknowledge the discursively construction of the social based on power, antagonism and exclusion. However, as an exception, Mouffe sympathized with Rorty's tradition-based, non-foundational liberalism (Mouffe 1993: 10, 15; also Tormey and Townshend 2006: 103ff.).
[577] Mouffe (2008: 100).
[578] Mouffe (2000c: 17); Marchart (2007: 2); Wenman (2013: 6-8, 197).

She therefore takes an anti-essentialist perspective and identifies the shortcomings of the rationalist and individualist theory of democracy in her approach.[579]

The first central theme in Mouffe's democratic theory is her understanding of "the political" characterized by an antagonistic dimension.[580] Its central tenet is directly taken from *HSS* describing that the dimension of antagonism is constitutive to human societies, expressing the unavoidable division on ontological matters between subjects within any given society. Mouffe's depiction of the political is further inspired by the German conservative political philosopher Carl Schmitt,[581] who understands the political in terms of the ineradicability of passion-driven, human conflict.[582] As Schmitt claims, "antagonism is an ever-present possibility, the political belongs to our ontological condition."[583] The political thus belongs to the ontological conditions of society characterized by the always present dimension of antagonism.[584]

The pervasive potential of antagonism further presents itself in the radical negativity or "negative essence" of the existing. It follows from here that social or political order dismisses any kind of essence or final form.[585] Rather, order is the result of hegemonic articulatory practices aiming to create order in the context of contingency.[586] This makes the political deeply connected to the acts of hegemonic institutions.[587] It further establishes that order is characterized by the dimension of undecidability and rests on the exclusion of other possibilities.

---

[579] Mouffe (2013: 7).
[580] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xiii, 112, 117).
[581] Mouffe (1993: 20; 2000c:131; 2005a: 11).
[582] Mouffe (1993: 2).
[583] Mouffe (2005a: 16).
[584] Mouffe (2005a: 9, 16).
[585] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 82); Mouffe (2005a: 17; 2013: 1-2).
[586] Mouffe (2018: 87).
[587] Mouffe (2005a: 17).

In a relatively stable structure, these other possibilities are temporally suppressed and can be reactivated through hegemonic articulatory practices, as illustrated above.[588] As Mouffe formulates it, "[e]very hegemonic order is susceptible of being challenged by counter-hegemonic practices, i.e. practices which will attempt to disarticulate the existing order so as to install other forms of hegemony."[589] The concept of hegemony thus holds central relevance when addressing "the political."[590]

The actual practices and institutions that mange these hegemonic dynamics further belong to the sphere of "politics" and are thus clearly distinguished from "the political". Politics are thus the mere collection of practices and institutions that design a certain social order.[591] Their main task being the diffusion of potentially antagonistic relations. In this way, the co-existence in a social order is always potentially conflicted since it is based on the political and its antagonistic dimension[592] A fully inclusive political space where antagonism, division and conflict disappeared becomes impossible. Order is however always political and characterized by an exterior that is the condition of its existence.[593]

Antagonism as a key constituent of the political also affects the construction of identity through processes of relational exclusion.[594] Following the poststructuralist tradition, Mouffe highlights that the construction of identities is purely relational and thus results from processes of differentiation.[595] She further introduces the term "constitutive outside," which was originally proposed by Henry Staten.[596] Staten's concept draws on several notions from

[588] Mouffe (2005a: 9, 17-18; 2013: 1-2; 2018: 87).
[589] Mouffe (2008: 17-18), see also Mouffe (2009: 549; 2013: 2).
[590] Mouffe (2005a: 17-18; 2000c: 13, 100).
[591] Mouffe (2005a: 17).
[592] Mouffe (2013: 2-3).
[593] Mouffe (1993: 69, 85, 114; 2000c: 32-33, 99-100).
[594] Mouffe (1993: 2).
[595] Mouffe (2005a: 15; 2013: 5).
[596] Staten (1985).

Derrida, such as "supplement," "trace," and "différance."[597] According to this understanding, no identity is "self-present to itself" but constructed through the assertion of difference by distinguishing itself in an antagonistic fashion from an constitutive "other" that is "exterior" to itself. Identity is therefore purely contingent and the result of the established division between a discursive inside and an outside.[598]

At the collective level, the creation of a group identity is further about the creation of a "we" in differentiation from a "they."[599] It entails the division between those who belong to the "we" and those who are outside it.[600] Collective identities are therefore also constituted in an antagonistic fashion being never completely fixed. Any temporal established we/they opposition is never the expression of essentialist identities, pre-existing the process of identification.[601] As Mouffe aptly states,

> "[…] the social agent [it] is constructed by a diversity of discourses, among which there is no necessary relation but a constant movement of overdetermination and displacement. The identity of such a multiple and contradictory subject is therefore always contingent, precarious, temporarily fixed at the intersection of those discourses and depend on specific forms of identification."[602]

The we/they relations further entail the potential to become an antagonistic relation. This is what Mouffe calls the friend/enemy opposition. This relation appears when the counterpart in the process of identification questions the

---

[597] Mouffe (2005a: 15; 2013: 5).
[598] Mouffe (1993: 141; 2000c: 21; 2013: 5, 44); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91ff.); Derrida (1982: 3, 6).
[599] Mouffe (2013: 5; 2016b).
[600] Mouffe (2013: 44).
[601] Mouffe (2005a: 19; 2013: 46). Mouffe also refers to insights provided by Freud's psychoanalysis. Freud emphasizes the important role of "affective libidinal bonds in processes of collective identification." Translated into Mouffe's understanding "a collective identity, a 'we', is the result of a passionate affective investment that creates a strong identification among the members of a community. […]" (Mouffe 2013: 46).
[602] Mouffe (2018: 88).

individual identity and threatens its existence, instead of considering each other as simply different.[603] Relations between enemies can take extreme forms in ethnic, national, economic or religious issues and thus become the place of political antagonism over non-negotiable moral values that have the potential to tear up society.[604]

Up to this point, Mouffe generally shares her understanding of identity construction with Schmitt. She agrees with him that individuals and groups define themselves as a we/they relation and that this relation can become political, thus turning into friend/enemy.[605] For Schmitt, the political is thus characterized by antagonism and hostility, which can take different forms.[606] However, in contrast to Mouffe, he did not see the possibility to turn "the political" into "politics" and thus domesticate the passions created by antagonism.[607] Schmitt's model is therefore unable to transform the hostile relation between "enemies" into a friendly form compatible with liberal democracy.[608] In order to be political, this we/they relation takes inevitable an antagonistic form. For Schmitt, under the condition of pluralism and the ever-present threat of extreme antagonism, democratic polity therefore requires a strong sovereign who secures the basis of political unity and ensures that the conflict between citizens will not dissociate into a state of extreme hostility.[609] Schmitt therefore shares Hobbes' view that any degree of pluralism will eventually result in the dissolution of the unity of the political whole.[610] For him, democracy is therefore only possible under the condition of a homogenous society, which precludes any kind of pluralism, as he puts it:

---

[603] Mouffe (1993: 2-3, 91, 114, 147; 1994b: 108-109; 2013: 5).
[604] Mouffe (1993: 2, 141; 2000c: 21, 104; 2005a: 14-15; 2013: 5-7).
[605] Schmitt, C. (1976: 35); Mouffe (1993: 2).
[606] Mouffe (1993: 2; 2005a: 11); Schmitt, C. (1976: 35).
[607] Mouffe (1993: 2-4; 1994b: 108).
[608] Mouffe (2000c: 101–102).
[609] Mouffe (2005a: 14, 16); Schmitt, C. (1976: 39; 1999: 203).
[610] Schmitt, C. (1999: 202, 207).

> "Every actual democracy rests on the principle that not only are equals equal but unequals will not be treated equally. Democracy requires, therefore, first homogeneity and second - if the need arises - elimination or eradication of heterogeneity."[611]

Schmitt therefore identifies a fundamental contradiction between liberal pluralism and democracy,[612] as Mouffe formulates in *The Return of the Political*:

> "For [Schmitt], pluralist democracy is a contradictory combination of irreconcilable principles, whereas democracy is a logic of identity and equivalence, its complete realization rendered impossible by the logic of pluralism, which constitutes an obstacle to a total system of identification."[613]

Mouffe follows Schmitt in his argumentation that these two logics contradict each other and that the promise made by the liberal democracy to solve this conflict is impossible, and instead only contingent hegemonic forms of stabilization can be found.[614] She therefore identifies a "paradox of democracy"[615] in pluralist societies, as she formulates in the following:

> "[…] pluralist democracy contains a paradox, since the very moment of its realization would see its disintegration. It should be conceived as a good that only exists as good so long as it cannot be reached. Such a democracy will therefore always be a democracy 'to come', as conflict and antagonism are at the same time its condition of possibility and the condition of impossibility of its full realization."[616]

Unlike Schmitt, however, Mouffe arrives at a different conclusion. She rejects his assumption that liberal democracy is a "non-viable form of government."[617]

---

[611] Schmitt, C. (1976: 9).
[612] Mouffe (2005a: 14).
[613] Mouffe (1993: 133).
[614] Mouffe (1993: 8; 2000c: 5).
[615] Mouffe (1993: 83-84; 2000c: 4-5).
[616] Mouffe (1993: 8).
[617] Mouffe (1993: 133).

Instead, for her, the tension between equality and difference is the very essence of pluralist democracy, making it a particularly suitable form of government,[618] as she states in the following:

> "[…] far from bewailing this tension, we should be thankful for it and see it as something to be defended, not eliminated. […] The desire to resolve it could lead only to the elimination of the political and the destruction of democracy."[619]

Mouffe, however, proposes to maintain a pluralist democratic order under these "Schmittean" conditions and thus "think with Schmitt, against Schmitt".[620] As she formulates: "My objective is […] to use his insights in order to strengthen liberal democracy against his critiques."[621] She further elaborates:

> "Schmitt is right to stress the deficiencies of the kind of pluralism that negates the specificity of the political association […] but I do not believe that this must commit us to denying the possibility of any form of pluralism within the political association."[622]

For her, Schmitt's negative view of liberal democracy is based on his inability to solve the tension between freedom and equality and transform human conflict into something less destructive.[623] However, to meet this challenge, it is necessary to find a we/they relation that is compatible with pluralist democracy. It is necessary to enable the construction of a "they" as a legitimate enemy and not as an enemy that needs to be demolished. Mouffe therefore introduced the category of an "adversary." The adversary is a legitimate opponent whose ideas are challenged, albeit remaining able to defend its political position. The adversary generally shares the "ethico-political principles" of a liberal

---

[618] Mouffe (1993: 4, 133; 2000c: 131; 2005a: 15).
[619] Mouffe (1993: 133).
[620] Wenman (2013: 197).
[621] Mouffe (1993: 2).
[622] Mouffe (2000c: 53).
[623] Mouffe (1993: 119-120; 1999b: 5).

democracy, such as liberty and equality, with the "we." Nevertheless, ongoing disagreement exists over the interpretation and implication of those shared principles of liberal democracy.[624] Accordingly, the category of adversary allows disagreement and thus does not eliminate antagonism from the public sphere.

Mouffe thus reworks Schmitt's concept of the political regarding his idea of the "friend-enemy" relation.[625] Her novelty of Mouffe's is that she does not seek to overcome the potential antagonistic we/they division in society. For her, democratic pluralism and the ineradicability of antagonism do not negate each other.[626] Instead, it is the main challenge for democratic systems to combine them by keeping "the emergence of antagonism at bay" and at the same time "constitute the framework of a consensus within which pluralism can exist."[627] Democratic order thus requires some extend of consensus among its citizens "a form of commonality strong enough to institute a 'demos'."[628] The common bond or "res publica" however needs to be compatible with "[...] religious, moral and cultural pluralism,"[629] to make room for differences in many cultural terms,[630] as Mouffe states, "an extreme form of pluralism, according to which all interests, all opinions, all differences are seen as legitimate, could never provide the framework for a political regime."[631]

---

[624] Mouffe (2000c: 102).
[625] Mouffe (2005a: 11-14).
[626] Mouffe (2000c: 101; 2005a: 14, 19; 2013: xi, 6).
[627] Mouffe (1995a: 14; 2005a: 16). Here, Mouffe further differentiates her approach distinctly from other agonistic theories, as mentioned above.
[628] In her description of this common bond, Mouffe in fact comes close to the Rawlsian vocabulary (Mouffe 2000c: 102; 2005a: 30-31). Here, Mouffe chooses liberty and equality since she considers them the most important and broadly supported ones. Since they are the general identifiers of democracy in the democratic revolution. Other values that are important for democracy are however also possible (Mouffe 2000c: 102).
[629] Mouffe (1999a: 5; 1999b; 2000c: 53-55).
[630] Mouffe (1996a: 135); Wenman (2013: 197).
[631] Mouffe (1995b: 11, 13), see further: Mouffe (1996b: 250; 2005b: 227); Westphal (2018a).

With the introduction of the category of the adversary, Mouffe further complexifies the concept of antagonism by distinguishes between antagonism and agonism. Mouffe calls antagonism the battle between enemies and agonism the ongoing disagreement over the ethico-political principles between adversaries. The aim of the democratic political institutions is to "transform antagonism into agonism."[632] They thus need to provide structures that allow conflicts to take place in an agonistic fashion, in which the opponents are not enemies but rather adversaries.[633] As Mouffe formulates, "they provide the terrain in which passions can be mobilized around democratic objectives and antagonism transformed into agonism."[634] Mouffe thus redirects the threat of extreme forms of conflict by acknowledging the presence of antagonism, and further finding ways to translate antagonism into constructive forms of contest.[635]

The agonistic confrontation within the political institutions must further be conducted through democratic procedures that the adversaries agreed on.[636] Under these mutually-agreed democratic conditions and procedures, each participant aspires to implement a different interpretation of the shared ethico-political principles.[637] Participants in an agonistic democracy thus find themselves in a paradoxical situation: they are friends because they share ethico-political principles such as liberty and equality, yet they are also adversaries because they want to organize these principles in different ways and thus implement different hegemonic projects.[638] As Mouffe formulates,

---

[632] Mouffe (2000c: 102-103).
[633] Mouffe (2000c: 103-104; 2013: xii).
[634] Mouffe (2000c: 103-104).
[635] Wenman (2013: 197).
[636] Mouffe (2013: 9).
[637] Mouffe (1995b: 13-14).
[638] Mouffe (1999b: 4; 2000c: 13; 2005: 20). This thus describes the hegemonic process, in which a "chain of equivalence" among different democratic projects is created to form a "we" or a "collective will." This constitution of a "we" can – as elaborated above – only be based on the determination and defeat of a they, understood as an adversary (Mouffe 2005a: 53, 71).

"[…]there will always be disagreement concerning the meaning of those values and the way they should be implemented. This consensus will therefore always be a 'conflictual consensus'."[639] The disagreement over the interpretation of liberty and equality creates diverse conceptions of citizenship, such as "liberal-conservative, social-democratic, neo-liberal, radical-democratic, etc."[640] This represents different interpretations of the "common good" and thus provides for a conflictual nature of society, aiming to create unity in a context of conflict and diversity.[641]

The availability of different contending forms of identification within a democratic polity is therefore absolutely vital in Mouffe's agonistic pluralism to foster affection to its democratic institutions.[642] When these agonistic dynamics of pluralism and the identification with conflicting positions are hindered, the ground is laid for identification and political confrontations over non-negotiable moral values outside the democratic system.[643] The lack of confrontation ultimately allows for the creation of a void that enables collective identification "that put[s] into jeopardy the civic bond that should unite a democratic political association."[644] The lack of confrontations has the potential to release antagonism that cannot be managed within the democratic process

[639] Mouffe (2013: 8).
[640] Mouffe (2000c: 103).
[641] Mouffe (2000c: 101, 103; 2013: 7). Each interpretation can be dominate at one point in time, as a result of a provisional hegemony and a stabilization of power. It thus dominates the democratic society temporarily within the context of agonistic struggle (Mouffe 2013: 7). Here, it becomes clear that Mouffe and Laclau end up with a different understanding of hegemony. For Laclau, hegemony develops in three steps of representation, which are an "initial moment of metonymy to metaphoric substitution and then to a decisive (although necessarily incomplete) synecdoche: the part standing in for the whole" (Wenman 2003: 584). Mouffe, on the other hand, suggests the necessary condition of radical democratic hegemony is "the exclusion of synecdoche: the exclusion of any part standing in for, or attempting to stand in for, the whole" (Wenman 2003: 584).
[642] Mouffe (2000c: 104; 2013: xii).
[643] Mouffe (2000c: 103; 2013: 8).
[644] Mouffe (2000c: 96).

and therefore endanger the very basis of any democratic society.[645] This substantially differentiates her agonistic model from deliberative approaches, as Mouffe states in *The Democratic Paradox:*

> "[a]n important difference with the model of 'deliberative democracy' is that for 'agonistic pluralism', the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions from the sphere of the public, in order to render a rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards democratic design."[646]

This makes the liberal idea of dispersing power through rational debate an illusion that endangers democratic institutions. The fixation on consensus and the negation of ongoing confrontation further enable apathy and disaffection, as Mouffe states in the following, "[d]emocracy is in peril […] when its agonistic dynamic is hindered by an apparent excess of consensus, which usually masks a disquieting apathy."[647] The liberal model is therefore incapable and even counter-productive in its attempt to solve the challenges in dealing with pluralism in democratic societies.

> "[…] Liberal theorists are unable to acknowledge […] the integrative role that conflict plays in modern democracy. A democratic society requires a debate about possible alternatives and it must provide political forms of collective identification around clearly differentiated democratic positions."[648]

Mouffe presents her agonistic model as a counterpart to the liberal consensus-focused theories,[649] which acknowledges the existence of power, conflict and antagonism in pluralist modern democracies. It provides ways to sublimate

[645] Mouffe (2005a: 21, 30, 104).
[646] Mouffe (2000c: 103).
[647] Mouffe (1993: 6).
[648] Mouffe (1993: 14).
[649] Mouffe (2000c: 104; 2013: 9).

passion and conflict into constructive forms of contest to allow political association with the democratic institutions.[650]

The institutional setting of the agonistic pluralism

Mouffe further emphasizes that agonistic confrontation should take place within the existing liberal political institutions. She considers the political institutions of "formal democracies" to be perfectly suited for meeting the demands of agonistic politics.[651] These democratic institutions must therefore provide the political procedures and the processes for the articulation and realization of public demands and make room for agonistic confrontation between these different positions to take place.[652] According to Mouffe, civil society and extra-parliamentary movements play a central role in formulating political demands, although the realization of these demands must explicitly take place within the democratic institutions.[653] She further criticizes extra-parliamentary "autonomous" movements such as "Occupy Wall Street,"[654] arguing that their political influence remains limited and weakens the democratic system by staying outside of the established institutions. Instead, these movements should seek real power and influence in the institutions and government.[655] Mouffe describes this as follows:

> "[T]he refusal of these horizontal movements to engage with the political institutions limited their impact. And without any form of articulation with institutional politics, they soon began to lose their dynamics. Although such protest movements have certainly played a role in the transformation of political consciousness, it is only when they have been followed by structural

[650] Mouffe (2000c: 103, 105; 2013: 6-7); Wenman (2013: 197).
[651] Mouffe (2007: 71f.). Since *HSS*, Mouffe has always held onto the institutions of so-called "formal democracy" (see also: Westphal 2013: 24).
[652] Mouffe (2007: 72; 2013: 9); Westphal (2013: 24).
[653] Mouffe (2005a: 29); Westphal (2013: 23).
[654] "Occupy Wall Street" is a protest movement criticizing financial institutions such as banks. It emerged during the financial crisis and intensified by the Arab Spring. It has occurred primarily in North America and Europe since 2011 (see Kraushaar 2012).
[655] Mouffe (2016a: 4ff.); Lowndes and Paxton (2018: 10).

> political movements, ready to engage with political institutions, that significant results have been achieved."[656]

This emphasizes the importance assigned to the parliamentary system in the process to enable the articulation of demands of civil society. Therefore, Mouffe further pleads for an institutional reform of processes and procedures within existing democratic institutions to enable agonistic procedures and confrontation, as she elaborates, "to accord parliament and parties a crucial role in modern democracy […] in no sense amounts to defending these institutions as they currently function."[657] The institutions of "formal democracies" need to make visible a wider range of positions and emerging conflicts and make them available for the shaping of society. In order to enable active disruption and politicization, it needs to be possible to challenge the entrenched power relations in the existing democratic institutions.[658] As she formulates, "[w]e need a war of position where progressive forces can build real influence in civil society, the dominant institutions, mainstream culture, and the media."[659] In this way, political institutions can serve as instruments for identifying and resolving conflicts and do justice to the constitutive character of the social.[660]

The inability of political systems around the globe to allow the articulation of demands and permit controversial debate lies, according to Mouffe, at the origin of the success of anti-establishment and extreme parties that articulate anti-democratic political identities. These parties therefore articulate their demands outside the given system, "they articulate, albeit in a very problematic way, real democratic demands which are not taken into account by traditional parties."[661] They move into the vacuum created by consensus-focused democratic systems and technocratic post-politics. According to her, this has been shown in the

---

[656] Mouffe (2018: 19f.).
[657] Mouffe (1993: 130).
[658] Mouffe (2016a: 4ff.); Lowndes and Paxton (2018: 10).
[659] Mouffe (2016a: 10).
[660] Mouffe (2005a: 23); Westphal (2013: 26).
[661] Mouffe (2005b: 69-72).

electoral success of parties such as the FN in France and the Freedom Party in Austria, as well as the strong support for the British National Party in the UK.[662] These trends thus open the door to extremist parties and have the negative effect of bringing about political polarization outside the democratic design and therefore endanger the very basis of society.[663] As Mouffe elaborates in the following:

> "[…] the blurring of the line between Left and Right mean that conflict cannot find a form of expression through representative institutions and through democratic parties.' 'For example, this was the case with the riots in the banlieues in France in 2008. People were saying, 'But these people have no demands, this is not politics, just destruction of public buildings!' Well, precisely. They could not forward political demands because the system does not allow them to express their demands in a political form. So, for me, the agonistic struggle concerns the manner in which different demands can find political expression."[664]

In order to analyze the phenomenon of resistance in the process of EUI, the following section develops an analytical framework that incorporates the central theoretical categories and concepts of Mouffe's agonistic model, which is used in this study for the analysis of the phenomenon under investigation.

---

[662] Mouffe (1999b: 3); Wenman (2013: 196).

[663] Mouffe (2005a: 62-69). Mouffe also applies her model to the international political sphere. According to her, legitimate agonistic ways to resist or challenge the prevailing hegemonic neoliberal model of globalization are lacking (Mouffe 2013: 19). This lack lies at the origin of the proliferation of discourses and practices that seek to radically negate the established order (Mouffe 2005a). Mouffe is thus critical of conceptions that favor the idea of a cosmopolitanism in IR, since posits the availability of a world beyond hegemony and sovereignty, thus negating the dimension of the political in the international domain. By predicting the universalization of the "Western model," it does not create space for a plurality of alternatives. It further avoids legitimate dissent at the international level and gives rise to violent forms of antagonism (Mouffe 2013: 20; also Rummens 2009: 377).

[664] Hansen, A.D. and Sonnichsen (2014b: 6).

3.5 Analytical framework

In order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of resistance within the discourse on EUI, this analysis applies the central categories of Mouffe's agonistic pluralism. The application to the problematized object of investigation demands constructing a theoretical framework. This involves the articulation of relevant theoretical concepts, categories and dimensions from the agonistic model for the analysis of discursive change. This chapter therefore develops an analytical framework that implies the necessary categories for the analysis conducted in chapter 5 of this study. The developed model is illustrated in the following figure:

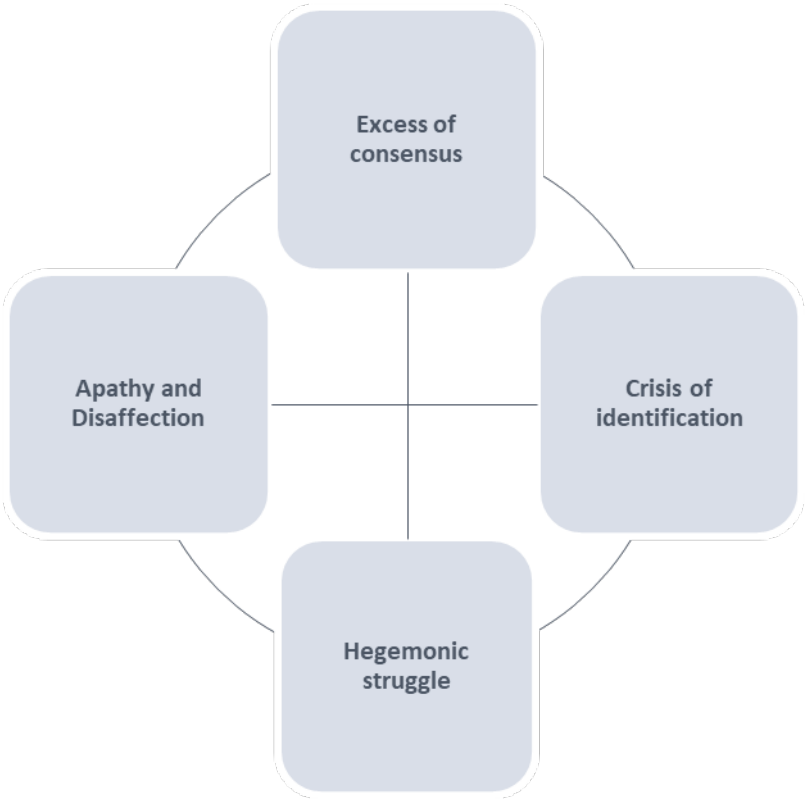

Figure 2: The phenomenon of resistance

The single components of the framework above are further outlined in the following sections. Beginning with the illustration of the aspect of "excess of

consensus," followed by "crisis of identification," then "hegemonic struggle," and finally the category of "apathy and disaffection."

Excess of consensus

The theoretical starting point of the framework is a situation of excess of consensus in a democratic system. It assumes a political constellation in which a clear differentiation between left and right party positions no longer exist and a "consensus at the center" is established.[665] The dominant idea here is that the dissolution of the left-right spectrum and the focus on consensus in the center best serves the democratic community. Furthermore, it is assumed that the focusing on consensus shows a particularly high degree of political maturity that ultimately lead to a unified and pacified world.[666] This political constellation is what Mouffe calls in *The Return of the Political* an approach or situation of excess of consensus.[667] It corresponds with the assumption of liberal theory that the determination of the common good or "a universal consensus based on reason" is possible.[668] Under the condition of pluralism a variety of perspectives and values exist in society. However, due to empirical constrains, they cannot all take place simultaneously in a democratic community. Nevertheless, deliberation and rational debate under predetermined conditions enable the creation of "a harmonious and non-conflictual ensemble." In contrast to this understanding, Mouffe's agonistic pluralism suggests that society is characterized by the dimension of antagonism, which reveals the very limit of any rational consensus. It emphasizes that in order to think politically, the existence of radical negativity must be acknowledged, which implies the impossibility of ultimate objectivity, instead; the always present dimension of antagonism characterizes the political, and the moment of decision is therefore

[665] Mouffe (2005a: 62-69).
[666] Mouffe (2005a: 60ff.).
[667] Mouffe (1993: 6).
[668] Mouffe (1995b: 3).

inescapable.[669] Mouffe identifies such situation of excess of consensus in various representative systems around the world.[670] Here, she observes blurring of the line between the center-right and center-left within democratic systems, which she calls the ideology of the Third Way.[671] In this understanding, political conflicts are no longer expressed through the left-right metaphor that was typical of industrial society.[672] It is believed that a consensus can be established between experts, politicians, industrialists and citizens on political priorities and the effective management of risks.[673] The Third Way rhetoric of inclusion and modernization effectively forecloses the possibility of opposition. An opposition can now only be thought of in negative terms. There is no choice between significantly different policies.[674] Mouffe sees this as a "post-political" situation that lacks real alternatives and real choices for citizens. Therefore, such systems lack the passion and thus the possibility "for people to identify with a project."[675] It eliminates the political and democratic space in which different political projects have the chance to confront each other. The conflictual dimension that is constitutive of democratic politics and the political is further dismissed.[676] Instead, politics is about the management of the existing order, which is dominated by political elites.[677] Therefore, Mouffe suggests that consensual practices presuppose the very disappearance of what constitutes the viral core of democracy.

[669] Mouffe (2013: 2-3).
[670] Mouffe (1999b: 3).
[671] Mouffe (2005a: 38).
[672] Mouffe (2005a: 38).
[673] Mouffe (2005a: 41).
[674] Mouffe (2005a: 30).
[675] EUROPP and Mouffe (2013: 2).
[676] Mouffe (2005a: 28-29).
[677] Mouffe (2018: 13-18).

Crisis of identification

In a situation characterized by an excess of consensus, following Mouffe's theoretical model, the formation of collective identities becomes unavailable. She assumes that identification is constituted as difference, emphasizing the notion of the "constitutive outside." Accordingly, identification is always relational created by determining something "other" that shows its particular "outside." Moreover, the creation of collective identities requires the constitution of a common bond or a "we" in opposition to a "they."[678] The availability of various contending forms of identification is absolutely necessary to foster affection for democratic institutions.[679] It is the central task of the democratic institutions to enable identification with various political positions and "mobilize those passions towards democratic design."[680] The political system is therefore responsible for making a vibrant conflict between different identities possible. These struggles ideally take place between adversaries over different interpretations of ethico-political principles. In a situation of excess of consensus, however, the processes of identification become unavailable because the antagonistic or conflictual dimension, as illustrated above, is eliminated. This allows for a crisis of identification in a system of consensus to emerge.[681] For Mouffe, the possibility for an agonistic confrontation is thus a necessary requirement for the working of a democracy in a pluralist environment. Since liberalism is unable to adequately understand pluralism in this way, the ideal of "consensus without exclusion and the hope for a perfectly reconciled and harmonious society need to be abandoned."[682] Therefore, Mouffe assumes that the absence of a political frontiers is not a sign of political maturity, but a symptom of a void that endangers the democratic system. Instead, conflict is essential to pluralist democracies and therefore cannot be

[678] Mouffe (2013: 5).
[679] Mouffe (2000c: 104; 2013: xii).
[680] Mouffe (2000c: 103).
[681] Mouffe (2013: 6-7).
[682] Mouffe (1995b: 3; 2013: xi-xii).

eradicated. If these agonistic dynamics of pluralism are impeded, the ground is laid for a "crisis of identification" which may endanger the political system.[683]

Hegemonic struggle

Mouffe's AMD suggests that the overemphasis on political consensus and the lack of agonistic political confrontation within a democratic system can lay the ground for a "crisis of identification." In such a configuration, political frontiers between different parties' blur and confrontation between diverse democratic political positions is absent. As a result, voters lack the possibility to identify with a variety of democratic political positions. Political institutions further fail to secure people's demands, and passion cannot be channeled in a productive and democratic way. The void created in a situation of crisis of identification continues to enable the dislocation of the existing hegemonic formation. As a consequence, the re-activation of the sedimented hegemonic practices and thus a weakening of the hegemonic formation becomes possible. This is accompanied by the emergence of a hegemonic struggle or structural crisis and the proliferation of antagonism, allowing the disarticulation and destabilization of the existing order.[684] According to Mouffe, these processes become possible since every order is constituted on the exclusion of other possibilities. This makes order inherently unstable and open to change. Things could always be different, and the threat of resistance and re-articulation to the temporally established discourse always remains.[685] As Mouffe formulates it, "[e]very hegemonic order is susceptible of being challenged by counter-hegemonic practices, i.e. practices which will attempt to disarticulate the existing order so as to install other forms of hegemony."[686] The counter-hegemonic practices thus aim to negate the established order by re-articulating the existing hegemonic

[683] Mouffe (2000c: 103; 2013: 8).
[684] Mouffe (2018: 28).
[685] Mouffe (2013: 2).
[686] Mouffe (2008: 18).

formation using discursive practices such as the logics of difference and equivalence.[687] In a situation of hegemonic struggle, different hegemonic projects seek to establish order and gain political leadership in the context of conflict and diversity.[688] They struggle over the interpretation of the shared ethic-political principles and thus different conceptions of citizenship, such as "liberal-conservative, social-democratic, neo-liberal, radical-democratic, etc."[689] Each interpretation can dominate as a result of a provisional hegemony and a temporal stabilization of power in the context of agonistic struggle.[690] The different hegemonic projects therefore aspire to fill the void emerged in society and satisfy multiple demands by implementing a different interpretation of the "common good." As Mouffe states in *HSS*, "[t]he major aim of these hegemonic projects is to compete for hegemony and fix meaning in a way that makes them look like universal ones preventing opposing forces from articulating these terms."[691] They thus have the potential to re-configurate the social order as previous political logics are challenged, and a new hegemony can be established.[692]

Apathy and disaffection

The hegemonic struggle among diverse hegemonic projects strives to fill the void created representing different conceptions of citizenship. They therefore strive to satisfy multiple demands and gain political leadership in the context of conflict and diversity.[693] Each conception can be dominate as a result of provisional hegemony and temporal stabilization of power in the context of agonistic struggle.[694] However, if the political system lacks democratic

[687] Mouffe (2005a).
[688] Mouffe (2000c: 101, 103; 2013: 7).
[689] Mouffe (2000c: 103).
[690] Mouffe (2013: 7).
[691] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii-xiii).
[692] Mouffe (2013: 2-3).
[693] Mouffe (2000c: 101, 103; 2013: 7).
[694] Mouffe (2013: 7).

processes allowing hegemonic struggle within the system, the void created can easily be occupied by forms of collective identification outside of the democratic design.[695] The types of collective identification outside the classical forms of political participation have the potential to grow around essentialist identities, such as the nationalist, religious, or ethnic kind. They are thus based on non-negotiable moral values, which pays the ground for the emergence of extreme antagonisms and calls into question the functioning of the democratic system.[696] As Mouffe puts it, "[it can] put into jeopardy the civic bond that should unite a democratic political association."[697] Moreover, the emergence of such collective identification outside the democratic design symbolizes disaffection with political participation and even apathy toward democratic institutions. Therefore, Mouffe's model suggests that democratic systems under pluralist conditions must allow for the agonistic confrontation of democratic political positions. If this capacity to mobilize people around different political projects within the democratic system is lost, the ground is laid for the emergence of apathy and disaffection, which endangers the basis of society. The illustrated void in a crisis of identification thus provides a fruitful terrain for political demagogues to formulate their political concerns. According to Mouffe, euro-critical and anti-establishment parties articulating anti-democratic political identities around the globe are moving into the vacuum created by the absence of vibrant democratic debate in technocratic, post-political, and consensus-focused democratic systems.[698] These trends thus open the door to extremist tendencies and have the negative effect of bringing about political polarization outside the democratic design.[699]

The framework presented (see Figure 2 in this chapter) is applied in the following analysis to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of

[695] Mouffe (2013: 9).
[696] Mouffe (2013: 9).
[697] Mouffe (2000c: 96).
[698] Mouffe (1999b: 3); Wenman (2013: 196).
[699] Mouffe (2005a: 62-69).

resistance in the discourse of EUI. The central thesis of the present study is that in a situation of excess of consensus and lack of identification in the post-war EUI, euro-critical anti-establishment parties formulated demands that expressed growing disaffection and apathy with the democratic system. The strong appeal of these parties was thus possible due to the incapacity of the democratic system to put forward ways for significant alternative political positions to be expressed. Instead, the system was dominated for decades by an elite- and consensus-focused approach. An agonistic debate about the direction of EUI within the political system was therefore missing. In order to further substantiate this thesis and gain a better understanding of the discursive change from excess of consensus to resistance in EUI, the research question of the present study is formulated as follows: "how can resistance towards European integration best be understood from the perspective of Chantal Mouffe's AMD?" In the following analysis, the presented analytical framework based on Mouffe's AMD will be applied using poststructuralist discourse analysis. The next chapter thus addresses how the analysis is conducted and the framework is applied.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the theoretical underpinnings to Chantal Mouffe's model of agonistic pluralism and developed an analytical framework based on its central theoretical concepts. Mouffe's earlier pre-agonistic writing was characterized by a Marxist stage, which was motivated by the battle of "proletarian subjects" for freedom and autonomy. Here, she generally followed central Marxist ideas, albeit challenging the "necessary class belonging" and thus transforming and enhancing the ideological components of the Marxist understanding of society. The later stage is considered a post-Marxist era, which she mostly elaborates in the seminal work *Hegemony and Social Strategy* (1985), co-authored with Ernesto Laclau. Here, Laclau and Mouffe aim to go beyond Marxist ideas to form an emancipatory subject position and understand

newly-emerging social antagonism in contemporary societies.[700] To this end, they combine Derridean poststructuralism with Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, considering discourse as the constitutive horizon for politics and social subject position.[701]

Against this background, Mouffe develops her particular agonistic writings. She leaves behind the idea of class at the center of political change and focuses on the conceptualization of collective democratic action under the condition of pluralism.[702] In demarcation to liberal theory, Mouffe develops a dissociative view of the political in democratic theory, conceiving the political as the field of antagonism and power. In her model of agonistic pluralism, the central thesis is that particular interests cannot be overcome to achieve a universal consensus in dealing with pluralism; instead, diverse political positions shape the pluralistic environment and thus enable deliberation.[703] Her model thus suggests that political contestation between differing political positions in a democratic system under the condition of pluralism is vital. The absence of agonistic confrontation further leaves room for disaffection and apathy in democratic systems.[704]

Her model is well discussed in the debate of democratic theory and has been applied to several political phenomena at the national and international level, showing apathy and disaffection from democratic institutions.[705] However, despite the illustrated relevance, the model has not yet been applied to the dynamics in the process of EUI and the discursive development from consensus to resistance. For this purpose, an analytical framework based on Mouffe's model of agonistic pluralism has been developed and presented. This involved articulating relevant concepts, categories and dimensions from the AMD for this

[700] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 82-83).
[701] See also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 55ff.).
[702] Wenman (2013); Davidson (2016).
[703] Mouffe (1996a: 1; 2008: 23ff., 100).
[704] Mouffe (1995b: 134; 2000c: 105; 2005a).
[705] Mouffe (2000a; 2000b; 2000c: 105).

particular analysis. The framework generally comprises four categories, namely excess of consensus, crisis of identification, hegemonic struggle and apathy and disaffection. With these considerations in mind, the next chapter elaborates on the research design used to analyze the illustrated research question of this study.

4. Research design of the study

This section illustrates the chosen research design, including its ontological and epistemological premises, the selection and collection of empirical data, as well as the techniques and approaches used to analyze the data.[706] The aim of the analysis conducted in the chapter 5 of the present study is to address the identified research gap and the illustrated research question through poststructuralist discourse analysis. There are many different kinds of discourse analysis within the social sciences. They emerged primarily in the 1970s during the so-called "linguistic turn," which evolved into a "discursive turn" as the major social science disciplines increasingly recognize the importance of studying of discourse. In this way, discourse theory has participated in the critical revision of various disciplines, such as "IR-theory, EU-studies, public administration, mass media analysis, cultural geography, and urban studies."[707] Here, the poststructuralist discourse theory – in its various forms – seems to have dominated. Many scholars developed new ideas around the poststructuralist discourse analysis over the decades. For instance, works by Carl Cederström and André Spicer (2014) and Tomas Marttila (2015a, 2015b, 2018) have developed the poststructuralist approach toward a "post-foundational discourse analysis."[708] The present study focuses on the

---

[706] As illustrated earlier, it is called a research design instead of methodology to incorporate the ontological, normative, and sociological assumptions relevant for this particular research.

[707] Torfing (2005: 21-22).

[708] Glynos and Howarth (2007: 100ff.); Marchart (2007: 8, Ch. 3; 2010: 2); Torfing (2005: 3). Post-foundationalists assume that society is based on founding narratives that their proponents believe to be incontestable. Since not all citizens will accept these logics, their implementation will always involve the establishment of power. Thus, this implies that "society will always be in search of an ultimate ground, while the maximum that can be achieved will be a floating and contingent grounding ... a plurality of partial grounds" (Marttila 2019c: 17ff.). See also: Laclau and Bhaskar (1998); Mouffe (2005b: 222ff.; 2007: 25; 2008: 36f.; 2018: 87f.).Other studies have considered the emergence of a "material turn" in the field, see here for instance: Lemke (2015); Marttila (2015b, 2019c: 17ff); Angermüller, Maingueneau, and Wodak (2014). On related topics see further: Torfing (2005: 21-22); Laclau and Mouffe (1987); Law (2004); Bevir and Kedar (2008); Blatter,

poststructuralist discourse analysis mainly inspired by Laclau's and Mouffe's elaborations, further following approaches by David Howarth (2005), Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002), and Dirk Nabers (2015).

In order to introduce poststructuralist discourse analysis as the main means of analysis, it is necessary to first elaborate the differentiation between discourse theory and discourse analysis. Poststructuralist discourse theory, on the one hand, is primarily interested in the more abstract, ontological level against which society is formed, as mentioned above.[709] The ontological position of poststructuralist discourse theory has already been laid out in chapter 3 of this thesis. In general, it assumes an anti-essentialist ontology and argues that there exists "no pre-given, self-determining essence" that determines meaning and identity within a fixed structure.[710] Instead, the notion of discourse, understood as the relational configuration of elements, functions as the ontological horizon. It thus understands the social as being discursively constructed, therefore any given system underlies the principle of radical contingency and is thus incomplete and in a state of constant change.[711] Poststructuralist discourse theory therefore rejects the presence of any non-discursive foundation of the social, further establishing the condition for the examination of the social reality.[712]

Discourse analysis, on the other hand, is concerned with the examination of any social reality. It engages with the concrete analysis of social phenomena

---

Haverland, and van Hulst (2016); Blatter, Langer, and Wagemann (2018); Carpentier (2019); Carta (2019).

[709] Howarth (2005: 336). Ontology refers to "the claims or assumptions that a particular approach to social inquiry makes about the nature of social reality - claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other" (Blaikie 1993: 6). These assumptions further inform a particular research design (Blatter, Langer, and Wagemann 2018).

[710] Torfing (2005: 13); Glynos and Howarth (2019: 106).

[711] Nabers (2015: 130).

[712] Heidegger (1962: 31-35; 1967). Thus, the ontological emphasis is on language.

characterized by the ontological presumptions illustrated above.[713] These presumptions further entail some epistemological consequences in terms of how the social reality can be analyzed.[714] Following the poststructuralist conception of discourse and the ultimate contingency of social order, discourse analysis rejects the essentialist idea of knowledge production.[715] Instead, any investigation implies the dimension of discursive construction and production of meaning, epitomizing the idea that scientific methods always produce the objects they study.[716] Poststructuralist discourse analysis further displaces the positivist notions that assert that natural actors are able to adopt exterior positions and thus objectify reality.[717] Laclau calls this "the death of the death of the subject."[718] Instead, it follows the conviction that the production of research results unaffected by the research is not possible.[719] It thus follows the constructivist approach, which assumes that it is not possible to "step outside the world that we are thrown into."[720]

Poststructuralist discourse analysis thus dismisses the idea that it is possible to uncover causal truths and produce any universally valid knowledge[721] and thus "explain phenomena and events in objective universal terms."[722] It thus denies

---

[713] Heidegger (1962: 31-35; 1967).
[714] Hansen, L. (2006: 20); Paul (2009). Epistemology refers to the question of "what can be regarded as knowledge - what can be known, and what criteria such knowledge must satisfy in order to called knowledge rather than belief" (Blaikie 1993: 7; also: Hay, D. 2013).
[715] Howarth (2000: 132). Knowledge is thus viewed as indeterminate, a position also represent by postmodernism, see here: Potter (1996: 98; 2001); Glynos et al. (2009: 9ff.); Bryman (2012: 30); Nabers (2015: 130); Marttila (2019c: 17ff.).
[716] Hansen, L. (2006: 20); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 108). Seen in this way, methods of discourse analysis function as theoretically-informed and -induced "phenomenotechnics" (Marttila 2019c: 17ff.).
[717] Dillet (2017: 517).
[718] Laclau (1996: 42).
[719] As Allan Dreyer Hansen states, the research is affected by "the eyes that see and the hands that produce data" (Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. 2005: 98).
[720] Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis (2000: 3).
[721] Hansen, L. (2006: 9).
[722] Howarth (2000: 126).

the existence of "brute facts" and claims that there are "only theoretically informed and socially shaped descriptions of a discursively constructed reality."[723] Any facts, methods, or criteria that assert to secure the enclosure of true and universal knowledge outside of the discursive are thus dismissed. In this way, the approach allows the researcher to question central theoretical categories presupposed in political analyses, and it follows an anti-foundationalist or even anti-epistemology position that criticizes both empiricism and positivism.[724] In contrast, poststructuralist discourse analysis is interested in understanding the socially created meaning, making the positivist dichotomy of "empirical discovery" and "theoretical explanation" obsolete. In this way, it agrees with and even radicalizes the post-positivist critique of epistemology.[725]

In poststructuralist discourse analysis, the relation between theoretical assumptions and empirical research instead relies solely on the notion of articulation. As discussed above, articulatory practices establish discursive system that constitute any social order through relational signification.[726] This does not imply that all material existence of objects is denied. Instead, it allows analyzing the discursive construction and production of meaning attributed to a particular object or event in social reality.[727] Poststructuralist discourse analysis thus seeks to understand the discursive production of meaning and identification.[728] It therefore focuses on "concrete social practices in which

---

[723] Marttila (2019c: 17ff.).

[724] Empiricists assume that it is possible to gather valid observations through direct experience that can then be translated into propositions. Positivists assume that science progresses through the production of objective knowledge. The development of stable theories and search for causal explanations about the social and political world is the main goal (Kirchner and Mohr 2010: 556).

[725] Howarth (2000: 113); Paul (2009); Glynos and Howarth (2007: 41); Marttila (2019c: 17ff.).

[726] Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis (2000: 3-4).

[727] Hansen, L. (2006: 20); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 108).

[728] Nabers (2018: 11). In contrast to Howarth, who assumes that "discourse theory is concerned with understanding and interpreting socially produced meanings" (Howarth

social actors' "articulate" discursive elements along the axes of what they call equivalence or difference."[729] It is particularly suited to reconstruct discourse and further uncover power relations and logics of political action and change.[730] It usually focuses on qualitative data from a variety of possible sources,[731] which can include both linguistic and non-linguistic data.[732]

Any research that seriously seeks to embrace the anti-essentialist ontology rooted in poststructuralist discourse theory therefore further opposes the idea of a predetermined set of techniques and methods applicable to any kind of empirical object. The classical understanding of method, which refers to the identification of independent variables applied by permanent rules, must therefore be abandoned.[733] Nevertheless, discourse analysis, when applied, offers a wide range of techniques and analytical tools to select material and analyze data.[734] However, as mentioned above, there is not one way to conduct poststructuralist discourse analysis, but rather a number of different approaches and styles compatible with the particular social ontology.[735] In general, the empirical deployment of discourse theory was extensively debated around the "problem of application."[736] Initially, questions about the method and research strategies of discourse theory played a "Cinderella role" in the field of study.[737] Some commentators suggested that the application of discourse theory followed

---

2000: 113), Nabers stretches the point that discourse theory is not an interpretative approach, and it does not interpret reality, but instead discourse creates reality (Nabers 2018: 11). See also: Howarth (2000: 128); Paul (2009); Mascha (2019: 208); Nabers (2019).

[729] Howarth (1995: 115); Glynos et al. (2009: 9ff.).

[730] Howarth (2000: 1-3).

[731] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 93ff.); Wrana (2014).

[732] Andersen (2005: 140); Nonhoff (2011); Angermüller (2014).

[733] Howarth (2000: 132ff.; 2005b: 316); Nabers (2015: 130); Marttila (2019c: 17ff.).

[734] Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000); Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis (2000); Howarth (2005: 316); Nabers (2015: 130).

[735] Nabers (2015).

[736] Howarth (2005: 316); Glynos and Howarth (2007: 210-211).

[737] See here: Keller (2013); Marttila (2015a, 2015b); Torfing (2005: 27); Howarth (2005: 316).

a "methodological anarchism" or was "irrational"[738] because the extensive reflection on these matters was missing.[739] Over the decades, however, this gap has been filled, and various approaches have been developed.[740]

The availability of a diversity of ways to operationalize discourse theory, therefore, makes the choice of the research design crucial for the conduction of discourse analysis. In each specific research case, the suitable research strategy for the particular phenomenon investigated must be articulated by the researcher.[741] This differs depending on the disciplinary embeddedness, the subject matter, and the research question elaborated. It further implies the individual selection and adaptation of the available research tools and techniques.[742] It thus applies to the operationalization of theoretical concepts as well as to the choice and analysis of data.[743] The creation of a research design using discourse analysis is therefore akin to "applying a rule" in the Wittgensteinian sense,[744] whereby the exact shape of the rule is dependent on the instance to which it is applied.[745]

Poststructuralist discourse analysis therefore requires several decisions about the research design up front.[746] It is essential that the tools and techniques chosen resonate and are aligned with the ontological presuppositions of

---

[738] Glynos and Howarth (2007: 201).
[739] Torfing (2005: 25).
[740] Diverse approaches on how to operationalize poststructuralist discourse analysis have been developed by scholars such as Jason Glynos (2007), David Howarth (2005), Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002), Tomas Marttila (2015), Dirk Nabers (2015), Martin Nonhoff (2006), Aletta Norval and Yannis Stavrakakis (2000), or Jacob Torfing (2005). For further discussion, see also: Howarth (2013: 84); Hansen, L. (2006: 65, 73-78); Howarth, Glynos, and Griggs (2016).
[741] See Gasché (1986: 121-124); Laclau (1990: 208-209).
[742] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 98); Hildebrand and Seville (2019: 325); Marttila (2019b: 8f.).
[743] Taylor, C. (1971: 11-14); Howarth (2000: 128); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 98); Hansen, L. (2006); Angermüller et al. (2014); Maeße (2014).
[744] Wittgenstein (1958: 198-202).
[745] Wittgenstein (1958); Torfing (2005: 27); Howarth (2000: 127).
[746] Tully (1995: 105-111); Howarth (2000: 132ff.).

poststructuralist discourse theory.[747] It must further be "flexible" in analyzing the phenomenon at hand gaining a comprehensive understanding, but also "rigorous in deconstructing the discourse under investigation."[748] Furthermore, the chosen research design must be illustrated n a descriptive and comprehensible manner to make it inter-subjectively traceable and enable critical reflections.[749]

In order to address these concerns, the next section of this chapter elaborates on the particular research design of this study and the discourse analytical tools and techniques selected to generate and analyze data will be illustrated and established.

4.1 Selected text corpus

This section addresses the selection and generation of empirical data for the analysis of the present study. It lays out the process of identifying discursive data relevant for the further analysis.[750]

In general, discourse analysis data focuses on qualitative data compiled from the discourse under investigation. The analytical subject of concern in the present study is the discourse on EUI. The analysis generally aims to cover the development of the discourse on EUI over the three defined periods of integration, as illustrated above. The first period proceeds from the early stages of integration in the 1950s until the late-1980s, the second ranges from the early-1990s until the late 2000s and the third period lasts until the election of the EP

[747] Glynos et al. (2009: 9ff.).
[748] Nabers (2015: 130), see further: Laclau and Bhaskar (1998); Howarth (2000: 139); Marttila (2019c: 17ff.).
[749] Van Dyk (2014).
[750] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005).

in 2019.[751] Relevant empirical data from all three relevant time periods is thus selected.

Determining which texts belong to the particular discourse under investigation and the reasoned selection of the empirical material that is suitable for adequately depicting the discourse, is one of the main challenges of discourse analysis. The criteria governing this process are multiple and generally shaped by the purpose of the particular research.[752] The material for the corpus of data favors qualitative data[753] and comprises all relevant linguistic or non-linguistic data that may disclose discursive practices within the discourse under investigation.[754] There are further no limitations on the sources from which the data used for discourse analysis is obtained. It is however recommended that research designs include multiple different types of qualitative data, such as newspaper articles, official documents, scripted speeches and debates, as well as personal biographies or videos.[755] These sources can be accompanied by other secondary research such as studies and journal articles on historical and political accounts. The analysis of the historical accounts is particularly relevant for defining the discourse within the field of study. It further supports the critical investigation of the history meaning and identity construction within the discourse under investigation, tracing the emergence of the dominant representations.[756] These textual modes of investigation in poststructuralist discourse analysis can also be complemented by a wide range of non-linguistic data that comprise of information about institutions, such as the configuration of rooms, the setting of the buildings, and other places within which deliberation

[751] Vasilopoulou (2013).
[752] Hansen, L. (2006: 73-74).
[753] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 93ff.).
[754] Wrana (2014).
[755] Chouliaraki (2000, 2008); Andersen (2005: 140); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 93ff.); Hansen, L. (2006: 73-78); Nonhoff (2011); Angermüller (2014).
[756] Hansen, L. (2006).

takes place.[757] The study at hand, makes use of a multi-data approach and thus includes a variety of different kinds of data and a plurality of text.[758] It further gives priority to the study of linguistic data, such as official documents, speeches by politicians or media reporting, as well as newspaper articles.[759] The corpus of data is further supplemented by other secondary literature, such as studies and journal articles on historical or political accounts of EUI.[760] This enables to investigate how the particular discourse on EUI emerged historically and to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.[761] The corpus further excludes any type of in-depth interviews, ethnographic forms of investigation or observations, and non-linguistic data, as these forms of empirical material require a strong engagement and influence from the researcher and are thus at risk to being subjective and biased, as outlined above.[762]

Another central question related to data collection is the amount of existing literature that needs to be studied to obtain a comprehensive picture of the topic under study. In general, the decision whether to collect an extensive or even exhaustive corpus of data or include only representative samples depends on the phenomenon under investigation.[763] In the case of research analyzing a narrowly-defined scope, an extensive or even exhaustive corpus is possible. In the case of more open-ended research, the appropriate context of study needs to be precisely defined. The researcher herself needs to determine the precise scope of research and the suitable contextualization of the phenomenon within

---

[757] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 98); Howarth and Torfing (2005); Hansen, L. (2006: 73-74).
[758] Blatter, Langer, and Wagemann (2018: 123).
[759] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 102); Hansen, L. (2006: 73-74); de Wilde (2010: 6).
[760] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 102); de Wilde (2010: 6).
[761] Campbell (1992: Preface).
[762] Chouliaraki (2000; 2008); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 93ff.); Hansen, L. (2006: 73-78).
[763] Howarth and Torfing (2005: 316).

multiple and overlapping contexts.[764] The choices and principles underpinning these decisions must always be "explicit, consistent, and justified."[765] In the case of the present study, conducting a comprehensive analysis that investigates the development and change of the relevant discourse on EUI over several decades from 1950 to 2019 is too extensive and endeavoring to be covered reasonably in this thesis. Therefore, the analysis focuses on carefully selected key text and documents that are crucial to the discursive change under investigation within the discourse on EUI. The text corpus therefore represents a selection of relevant data, with a focus on text linked to specific historical and political events relevant to the development of the discourse under investigation.

The process and criteria of selecting key text and documents within the determined scope remains central to understanding the analysis conducted and is therefore elaborated in the following.[766] Lene Hansen, as a particular prominent poststructuralist discourse analyst, suggests two criteria when choosing the material, namely the time under study and the strong relevance to the discourse at hand.[767] In order to evaluate the particular relevance of the data, she further suggests that the material should comprise "key texts that are frequently quoted and function as nodes within the intertextual web of debate."[768] In order to evaluate whether a text can be considered a key text in the particular discourse, Hansen recommends taking into consideration the following four aspects. First, the material should be widely read and thus also easily available and accessible. Second, the text should take a relevant and central role for the definition of the discourse under investigation. Third, the text should incorporate a certain degree of formal authority for the definition of their political positions. Fourth, the selected text should depict a distinct

[764] Howarth and Torfing (2005: 336ff.).
[765] Howarth and Torfing (2005: 314).
[766] Howarth and Torfing (2005); Blatter, Langer, and Wagemann (2018: 123).
[767] Hansen, L. (2006).
[768] Hansen, L. (2006: 73-74).

articulation of identities and policies, which makes it easier applicable to discourse analysis.[769] In addition, Hansen suggests including different types of text to ensure that all criteria are met. Some text might explicitly articulate identities and policies, while other have a particularly high degree of formal authority. She further asserts that a particular text is relevant only as long as it provides new and helpful insights for the study.[770] This further implies the necessary contextualization of the chosen corpus of material, certain material might be only relevant in a particular context yet not in another.[771]

The present study generally follows Hansen's widely used approach and the distinctive criteria developed for the selection of empirical material for poststructuralist discourse analysis.[772] In this way, it is ensured that the selected material is relevant to the context of the analysis and that key texts have been appropriately identified and analyzed. Therefore, this process ensured that the selected corpus contains the most relevant key text and documents and thus represents the discursive development of EUI over the three defined time periods from the 1950s to 2019. Further, some variety of text was included in the corpus to ensure the comprehensive coverage. Therefore, part of the qualitative data comes from official papers such as constitutions, treatments, and agreements. These are coupled with more direct articulated text, such as parliamentary debates, statements or speeches by high political representatives in the discourse on EUI. Given that many of the earlier documents in the discourse on EUI are not available online, the selection of texts was further influences by their availability. The available texts and documents were further accessed through the relevant online archives, such as the EU websites, or several newspapers, but also through Google Scholar using various search quires. The collected linguistic data finally encompasses the following texts:

[769] Hansen, L. (2006: 73-74).
[770] Hansen, L. (2006).
[771] Hansen, L. (2006).
[772] Howarth (2005).

Period	Year	Text	Author / Institution
1950s-1980s	1946	The Tragedy of Europe	Winston Churchill
	1950	The Schuman Declaration	Robert Schuman
	1950	Speech “On the Birth of Europe”	Robert Schuman
	1952	Speech at Common Assembly	Jean Monnet
	1954	Speech “The United States of Europe”	Jean Monnet
	1951	Speech at the Council of Europe	Konrad Adenauer
	1952	Speech “On Schuman”	Konrad Adenauer
	1952	Interview by Friedländer	Konrad Adenauer
	1954	Speech at the German parliament	Konrad Adenauer
	1956	Press statement	Konrad Adenauer
	2016	Speech “State of the European Union”	Jean-Claude Juncker
	1986	The Single European Act	European Union
	1957	Treaty of Rome	European Union
	1988	Speech at Conference	Margaret Thatcher
	1988	Speech “The Monetary Union”	Jacques Delors
	1993	Speech about Margaret Thatcher	Charles Powell
1990s-2000s	1988	Speech “The Bruges Speech”	Margaret Thatcher
	1994	Speech “The Bournemouth Speech”	James Goldsmith
	1996	Speech “The Brighton Speech”	James Goldsmith
	1993	Report in “The Times”	James Goldsmith
2010s-2019	2010	Speech at the European Council	Van Rompuy
	2010	Speech “On the European Union”	Nigel Farage
	2014	Report in “The Telegraph”	Nigel Farage

	2014	Speech "Eurosceptic storm in Brussels"	The Financial Times

Table 1: Empirical data overview

After illustrating and establishing the selection criteria and the collected text corpus of this particular research design, the following section will elaborate on the discourse analytical tools and techniques used to analyze the selected empirical material.

4.2 Data analysis procedures

This section elaborates how the aforementioned selected corpus of data is analyzed. The analysis generally uses a defined set of poststructuralist discourse analytical tools and techniques to investigate the research question of the study. This set bases on the discourse-theoretical assumptions by Laclau and Mouffe, already illustrated in chapter 3.[773] Laclau's and Mouffe's theoretical elaborations however do not provide any detailed instructions on how to apply their theoretical categories and concepts to empirical material. Therefore, it is primarily necessary to elaborate on the practical question of how to convert and operationalize those theoretical concepts into a practicable analytical tool.[774] To solve this issue, several theorists in the field of poststructuralist discourse theory have elaborated on the operationalization, albeit without achieving any consensus.[775] The approach selected in the present study primarily follows

[773] As illustrated above, the application of these logics is only possible against the background of the ontological assumptions of discourse theory, such as the general "openness of the social," the notion of contingency, and the possible subversion or dislocation of any identity by its exterior (Laclau and Mouffe 2014: 105).
[774] See also: Nabers (2015).
[775] As mentioned above, several approaches have been developed by theorists such as Jason Glynos (2007), David Howarth (2005), Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002), Tomas Marttila (2015), Dirk Nabers (2015), Martin Nonhoff (2006), Yannis Stavrakakis (2000), or Jacob Torfing (2005). Here, different techniques are suggested such as analyzing the semantic aspects of language, producing sedimented meanings, further investigating

suggestions laid out by scholars such as David Howarth (2005), Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002), and Dirk Nabers (2015). The following section introduces the particular approach selected for this analysis, illustrating the analytical tools used and steps taken to execute the discourse analysis.

The present study incorporates a number of theoretical tools introduced by Laclau and Mouffe. These are logics and mechanisms such as the discourse theoretical notions of equivalence and difference or the production of floating and empty signifiers.[776] Many of these are employed to analyze the particularities of the way resistance is articulated by agents in the discourse of EUI. However, as illustrated in the previous section, the application of theoretical and social logics requires a certain degree of adaptation of these logics and concepts to the particular research.[777] Therefore, in the following, the tools and techniques used for this analysis are presented and further adapted to render them suitable for this particular analysis.

In general, when using discourse analysis, it is necessary to primarily differentiate between quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative approaches to discourse analysis, in the sense of body analysis or French lexicometry, generally relate to large collections of text. They enable for the systematic processing of a large amount of selected and annotated linguistic material using statistical, mathematical, or computational techniques. These techniques further aim at generating theories or hypotheses about the phenomenon or the overall discursive context by processing large amounts of text.[778] In contrast, qualitative approaches focus on smaller, more concentrated

---

the construction of expressions and rhetoric aspects to understand social meaning (Torfing 2005: 22-23).

[776] Howarth and Torfing (2005).

[777] Howarth (2005: 326); Nabers (2015).

[778] Nabers (2015: 139). The computer-supported method for quantitative text analysis is a "quasi-automated cataloguing of a high number of texts." In this way, the analysis of data might be reproducible, analyzing in a systematic fashion a set empirical data (Alker 1996; Waever 2009).

textual excerpts to do justice to case-specific logics and to elicit discursive practices hidden in the text.[779] The qualitative approach thus investigates specific material at a deeper analytical level with the aim of describing and exploring meaning through data. The present study aims to deconstruct and understand the discursive production of meaning and identities in the discourse under investigation. Quantitative approaches are therefore less suitable for this type of analysis, as they are limited in their potential to reveal discursive patterns.[780] Further, the discursive change under study spans several decades, from the 1950 to 2019. The choice of a quantitative approach aiming to cover all available material in the relevant time period is thus not reasonable within the scope of this study. The study therefore focuses on a selection of key text chosen using the Hansen-criteria presented above. The analysis further provides for an in-depth qualitative examination and close reading of singular selected key texts to gain a better understanding of discursive change in the process of EUI. The single analytical steps taken are further illustrated in the following.[781]

As demonstrated above, poststructuralist discourse analysis treats social reality ontologically as discursively constructed. In the more ontic sense,[782] different discourses establishing and representing social and political reality.[783] It is this understanding of discourse that forms the central subject of this study. The discourse on EUI is thus considered as one instance of such discourse. In order to gain a better understand of the change in the discourse of EUI, the production and reproduction of meaning and identify is explored. In the process of articulation meaning is produced by building temporal relations among pre-existing discursive elements.[784] The sum of articulatory practices is discourse

[779] Angermüller (2014).
[780] Glasze and Mattissek (2009).
[781] Howarth (2000: 140).
[782] The notion of "ontic" refers to the physical or factual existing, coming from the Greek expression "of that which is" (Howarth (2000: 114).
[783] Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis (2000: 3); Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 140).
[784] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 105).

that is contingent and has thus "no necessary correspondence."[785] In the process of understanding the production of meaning in a certain discourse, it is thus necessary to first analyze the qualitative data and identify relevant elements and their particular relations.[786]

The first step of the analysis is therefore "the deconstruction of the internal structure of a discourse."[787] Through the process of coding the text under investigation is examined and relevant elements are extracted from the corpus. Coding is a procedure to make qualitative empirical material accessible for analysis.[788] Codes are meaningful labels that are assigned to textual data in order to structure and categorize it. It thus enables to explore and organize the text corpus under investigation. In this way, the empirical data can be analyzed against the background of the theoretical concepts and it allows the research to develop propositions through the understanding of the particular data.[789] In the present study, the coding is conducted in small sections with a limited amount of data, using "AntConc" as a concordance program for corpus analysis. With the help of the program, the material under investigation can be accessed and organized in a coherent way. The extracted elements from the corpus are further analyzed using discourse theoretical logics and mechanisms to explore the discursive structures and interpret them against the background of the research question addressed thus providing new insights.[790]

The elements within a discursive structure hold differing importance in the process of meaning production. Laclau and Mouffe particularly emphasize the notion of nodal points as discursive center within a discursive system. Nodal

---

[785] Laclau (1990: 35), also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 105, 113-114).
[786] Howarth (2000: 118); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 112).
[787] Nabers (2015).
[788] Miles and Huberman (1994: 11); Linneberg (2019).
[789] Linneberg (2019).
[790] Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 48-49); Howarth (2005); Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2013); Mascha (2019: 259).

points function as "privileged discursive points that partially fix meaning within signifying chains."[791] They are central points of reference within the particular discourse, as elements articulated into moments achieve their meaning in relation to these discursive points.[792] As such, they are positioned at the center of a discourse and assemble numerous moments around them. In the articulation of hegemonic projects, they can further present themselves in the form of empty signifier in the context of articulating hegemonic projects. Empty signifier can therefore function as nodal points in the articulation of hegemonic projects and are signifiers without a signified.[793] Therefore, they have the potential to represent a totality by establishing a chain of equivalence between different demands and thus function as a nodal point. While at the same time demarcating this identity from the outside, because they do not have a fixed content.[794] Different hegemonic projects rival each other to present their objectives as universal by filling out the empty signifiers.[795] This filling function of an empty signifier is thus understood as the process of hegemonization.[796] In the process of meaning production and hegemonic practices, empty signifiers are further of central relevance.[797] This makes the identification of nodal points or empty signifiers of the essence in a discourse analysis investigating hegemonic practices and discursive change.[798] The identification of empty signifier holds therefore central relevance to the understanding of meaning production, fixation and subversion in discourse under investigation.

---

[791] Torfing (1999: 98).
[792] Howarth (2000: 118); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 112).
[793] Laclau (1996: 36).
[794] Laclau (1996); Mattissek and Schopper (2019: 251).
[795] Laclau (1996: 44).
[796] Laclau (1996: 44).
[797] Laclau (1996: 44).
[798] This is also in line with Nabers' operationalization of discourse analysis, who underlines the relevance of starting with the identification of empty signifiers when analyzing a particular discourse (Nabers 2015: 139, also Glynos and Howarth (2007: 26).

Further, the analysis looks at the notion of metonyms and metaphors. These two figures also play a central role in the production of meaning, following the poststructuralist approach.[799] While metaphors are based on the principle of comparison, replacing one signifier with another,[800] metonyms describe the combination of signifiers,[801] representing "the syntagmatic axis of language."[802] The concept of a hegemonic practice is, for instance, conceived as a metonymical operation in which a particular group or movement takes up demands articulated by contiguous groups or extends one set of demands into adjacent spheres. This makes poststructuralist discourse analysis available to more than the analysis of discursive structures. It is thus possible to investigates what is not present in a text, such contradictions or tension in the subject itself.[803] This is particularly helpful in the rhetorical analysis of politicians' speeches and presumes the basic categories of discourse theory.[804] Therefore, the notion of metonyms and metaphors also constitute an important set of tools for analyzing the construction and subversion of meaning.

Once these logics have been identified, the investigation further focuses on the identity-building processes and the related discourse theoretical logics. This holds crucial relevance in investigating meaning construction and discursive change, as these processes of identity-building are at the center of the constitution of any relatively stable system. Here, the focus lies on the employment and interplay of the discursive process of difference and equivalence within the particular discursive structures.[805] The notion of difference, on the one hand, is particularly relevant since identification always depends on the construction of an outside. This is what Laclau and Mouffe

[799] Lacan (1989: 156); Wenman (2003: 583–584); Nabers (2015).
[800] Barthes (1967: 60); Lacan (1989: 157).
[801] Lacan (1989: 156).
[802] Barthes (1967: 60); Wenman (2003: 583–584).
[803] Nabers (2015).
[804] Howarth and Torfing (2005: 327).
[805] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128-129); Torfing (2005: 14).

called the "constitutive outside" as the requirement for any kind of identification, which is further created in and through social antagonism.[806] The logic of equivalence, on the other hand, allows for the articulation of a diverse set of demands around a chains of equivalence.[807] It thus enables the constitution of identifications that are equivalent[808] and the differentiation of a collective identification from an antagonistic outside.[809] These logics are therefore at the heart of the constitution of any temporal stable order or hegemonic project. The logic of equivalence links together the different articulations of diverse social groups, interests or identities to create one hegemonic project. In contrast, the logic of difference comes into play when the social groups with their identities and interests are within their differential positions.[810] The identification of these articulatory practices therefore holds central relevance for understanding meaning and identity construction and change in the discourse of EUI.

Taken together, these theoretical logics and concepts allow analyzing the constitution of chains of equivalences through the establishing relations of similarity or difference within discourse, the selected research approach is particularly well suited to operationalize the discourse theoretical framework and apply it to the empirical research.[811] It therefore enables to gain a deeper understanding how social realities and hegemonic formations emerge, are contested, and transformed. These discourse-theoretical tools are further helpful to apply the developed analytical framework (see Figure 2) based on Mouffe's

[806] De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017: 5ff.).
[807] Mouffe (2005a: 53; 2013: 5; 2016a).
[808] Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 21).
[809] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91ff., 129-131); Mouffe (1993: 141; 2000c: 21; 2013: 5); Tormey and Townshend (2006: 94ff.).
[810] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xiii).
[811] Glasze (2007).

AMD to the selected corpus of data and gain more insights into the central research question.[812]

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter laid out the research strategy applied in the present study. Here, poststructuralist discourse analysis was introduced including its theoretical premises and its challenges associated with the application of the approach. Since it exists not one way to conduct poststructuralist discourse analysis, an individual research design suitable for the study at hand was elaborated. The chosen techniques and analytical tools for the selection and analysis of the empirical data resonating with the ontological assumptions of poststructuralist discourse theory by Laclau and Mouffe were presented. Here the analysis leans on suggestions made by scholars such as Lene Hansen (2006), David Howarth (2005), Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002), and Dirk Nabers (2015).

The developed research design is generally directed to the textual deconstruction and analysis of meaning production, fixation and change in the defined empirical text corpus to gain a better understanding of the discourse on EUI. It therefore suggests to first extract relevant elements from the text corpus, using qualitative techniques such as the process of coding. This is followed by a theoretical analysis of such elements, using the relevant discourse-theoretical logics and mechanisms, such as nodal points, empty signifiers, or equivalence and difference.[813] The general analytical procedure is illustrated in the following figure:

[812] Glynos et al. (2009: 9ff.).
[813] Mascha (2019: 259).

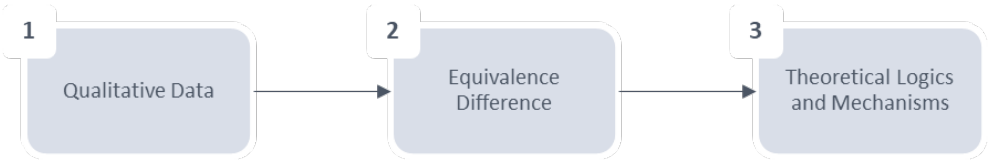

Figure 3: Focus of analysis

As the illustration shows, the analytical focus lies on the analysis of carefully selected qualitative linguistic data using the logics of equivalence and difference to determine meaning and identity-building processes within the discourse under investigation. Since the logics allow analyzing the constitution of chains of equivalences through the establishing relations of similarity or difference within discourse, the selected research approach is particularly well suited to operationalize the discourse theoretical logics and apply it to the empirical research. This further enables the application of the analytical framework developed in Figure 2 in the course of the analysis, using the research strategy introduced and the tools illustrated in Figure 3.[814]

The following analysis is structured according to the four categories illustrated in the analytical framework, such as excess of consensus, crisis of identification, hegemonic struggle and apathy and disaffection. In each section, the selected linguistic data is analyzed using the particularly well-suited discourse-theoretical procedures and tools introduced above to uncover discursive meaning production and change in the discourse on EUI. The theoretical assumptions of the analytical framework based on Mouffe's AMD are further applied and evaluated to facilitate the analysis. However, since the study choses a poststructuralist discursive approach, the general purpose of this analysis cannot be to find empirical evidence or seek verification and falsification of the central thesis of this study. This would be in stark contrast to the ontological assumptions made in this study, instead; the analysis aims to gain more insights

[814] This model is inspired by Nabers (2015: 147).

to the research question and a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of resistance within the discourse of EUI.

In the next chapter, the illustrated research design will be implemented using the selected empirical material and the established analytical tools introduced above.

5. The agonistic model of democracy and resistance

In this chapter, the actual analysis of this study is conducted using the analytical framework and research design introduced over the previous chapters.[815] The analysis focuses on the development of resistance in the discourse on EUI over the following three periods. The first period ranges from the early stages of integration in the 1950s until the late-1980s, the second period from the early-1990s until the late-2000s, and the third period until the election of the EP in 2019.[816] On the grounds of the carefully selected empirical data from those time periods, the analysis applies the analytical framework based on Mouffe's AMD to gain a better understanding of discursive change from consensus to resistance and thus provide more answers to the research question of this study. Therefore, the following figure shows the approach taken:

[815] Other studies adopt somehow similar approaches, see here for instance: see Bieling and Steinhilber (2000); Böhme (2003: 24); Bulmer and Joseph (2015: 10).
[816] Vasilopoulou (2013) assumes a similar division of the time periods of the process of EUI.

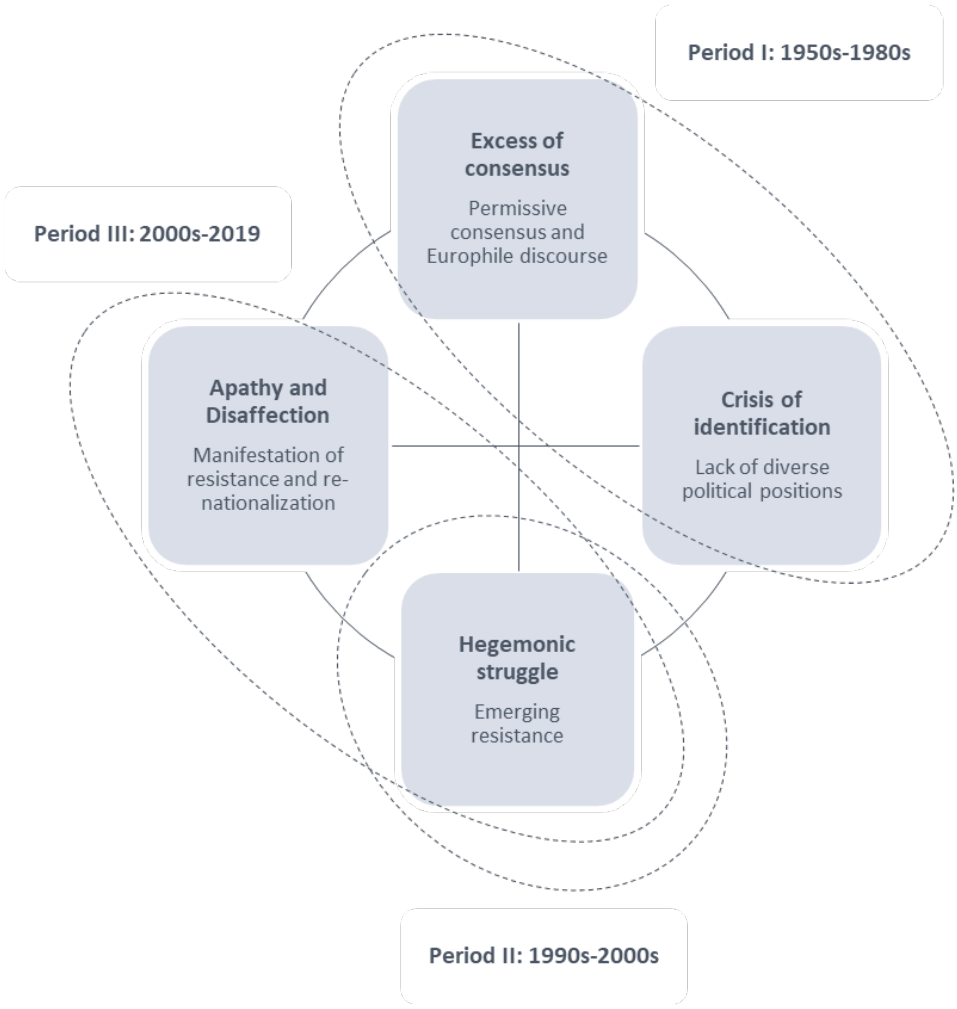

Figure 4: Resistance and European integration

The analysis therefore brings together the phenomenon of resistance in the discourse of EUI developed over three time periods and the analytical framework based of Mouffe's AMD, containing the categories excess of consensus, crisis of identification, hegemonic struggle, and apathy and disaffection. The selected text corpus is therefore analyzed using poststructuralist discourse analytical tools and techniques, as illustrated in the previous chapter.[817] In the following, each section of the analysis is focused on one of the illustrated categories of the analytical framework and re- and deconstruct the discursive material. Hereby, the discourse-theoretical

[817] See also: de Wilde (2010) on a similar approach.

background will first be illustrated and applied to the selected empirical material to uncover discursive structures and dynamics in the overall debate on EUI. In this way, the theoretical assumptions from Mouffe's AMD used in the established framework can be evaluated to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

It is important to stress that this analysis is not looking for the validation or falsification of a statement or thesis based on the empirical material used. Instead, the study refers to the discursive constitution of the social and political order and thus aims for a better understanding and the provision of more answers to the leading question of this study, as shown above.[818]

5.1 Excess of consensus

As its starting point, in this section, the analysis aims to gain a better understanding of the first period of EUI from the 1950s until the late-1980s. The analysis is conducted on the basis of the relevant discursive data identified in the previous chapter and against the background of the analytical category of "excess of consensus" of the framework introduced above.

In order to gain a better understanding on how the discourse on EUI was structured during its first period, the analysis first focuses on the deconstruction of the hegemonic formation prevalent. This way, it becomes possible to gain more insights on the existence of a presumed excess of consensus in the discourse on EUI. To this end, the internal structure of the discourse on EUI will be analyzed and deconstructed, primarily exploring mass media data, and speeches from political elites as well as official documents.[819]

[818] See also: Nabers (2015: 153).
[819] See also: Laclau (1996: 36); Nabers (2015: 139).

As illustrated in chapter 3 of the present study, following Laclau and Mouffe's poststructuralist discourse theory, within an anti-essential approach without a transcendental center, a hegemonic formation constitutes a temporarily stable order. A hegemonic project is based on a sedimented discourse and thus builds the requirement for any hegemonic politics to be successful. Sedimented hegemonic discourse or hegemonic formation are therefore prerequisites for an excess of political consensus to be possible.[820] The hegemonic formation builds the basis for the political stability and it temporarily forecloses the possibility of any other positions to dominate in the established order. In such a setting, the possibility arises for the establishment of an excess of consensus on policy priorities built between experts and the political elite.[821]

Hegemonic formations generally are created through the interplay of the discursive logics of difference and equivalence.[822] Here, empty signifiers, functioning as nodal points for the temporal determination of meaning, are instituted and identities are created relational around these discursive centers within an antagonistic terrain.[823] The construction of empty signifiers thus holds central relevance in the implementation of hegemonic formations. In the attempt to install a hegemonic formation, hegemonic projects aim to build chains of equivalence by means of empty signifiers.[824] Here, different political projects struggle to fill empty signifiers with their interests and make their individual objectives look like universal ones. The filling of an empty signifier thus describes the process of hegemonization.[825] Empty signifiers are therefore capable of including a diverse group of signifiers in a chain of equivalences and thus enabling the construction of identification.[826] In order to analyze the

---

[820] Mouffe (2018), see also: Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: Ch. 3); Laclau (1990: 28, 61ff., 193); Bellamy and Warleigh (1998); Marttila (2019a).
[821] Mouffe (2005a: 41).
[822] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 128-129).
[823] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122-123); Torfing (2005: 13).
[824] Laclau (1996: 44).
[825] Laclau (1996: 44).
[826] See also: Laclau (1996: 44); Nabers (2015: 194).

implementation of a hegemonic formation within the discourse of EUI, this analysis begins by identifying central nodal points and empty signifiers.

During the earlier times of integration, the hegemonic discourse of EUI matured around the empty signifier of "unity." Unity, as a pure example of what Laclau calls an empty signifier, allows unifying various struggles and demands in a chain of equivalences across Europe. It constitutes a commonality or a common ideal among a diverse group of signifiers around the empty signifier of European unity in a chain of equivalence and thus enabling the construction of a hegemonic formation. This becomes apparent in a series of places within the discourse on integration. The most central examples are for instance, shown in an important speech by Winston Churchill– Prime Minister of the UK until 1964 – in 1946. As part of the European political elite during the first period of EUI, he states in his speech *The Tragedy of Europe* – presented at the University of Zurich:

> "If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy. […] We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living […]."[827]

As shown in the statement above, the empty signifier of "unity" is surrounded with the following content. "once united" the people in Europe will "regain the simple joys and hopes." The unification will thus enable "unlimited happiness, prosperity and glory" across Europe. Churchill further elaborates that with the unification of Europe, there will be an end to "Germany's Thirty Years War for hegemony on the continent."[828] This facilitates building a chain of equivalence among various struggles and demands and further constitutes a common ideal with the unification of Europe. Similar discursive structures are also shown in

[827] Churchill (1946).
[828] Churchill (1946).

the following statement by Jean Monnet. Monnet – a French entrepreneur and post-war planner – was also part of the European political elite during the first period of EUI and became later president of the High Authority. He stated in a famous speech in the 1950s:

> "[…] a unified Europe has a meaning for civilization that is deeper even than security and peace […]. [W]e are not uniting states, we are uniting human beings. […] We are determined to act. We are determined to unify Europe and to unify it quickly. With the Schuman Pan and the European Army, we have laid the foundations on which we shall build the United States of Europe – free, strong, peaceful and prosperous."[829]

Despite the filling of the empty signifier of unity, constituting the possibility for identification among the European citizens, in this statement Monnet further refers to an assumed totality of the united Europe, as the United States of Europe. These discursive constructions can therefore be further identified as an empty signifier that functions as a "myth." According to Laclau's theoretical considerations introduced above, a myth describes the notion of an empty signifier referring to a totality.[830] For him, a myth symbolizes the ideal chain of equivalence, which can create a particular social order and at the same time produces processes of exclusion.[831] Laclau introduced the notion of myth in his post-*HSS* work *New Reflections on the Revolutions of Our Time*[832] in which he builds on Georges Sorel's conception of how myth is structured.[833] Sorel elaborates on the notion of myth in relation to "the general strike." According to Sorel, the general strike – like the proletarian class struggle – is not an actual event but rather a social myth. Separated from actual political strikes, it is a dimension that unifies a variety of struggles and actions over a whole historical period.[834] Through an ensemble of equivalent images, it is capable of weakening

[829] Monnet (1952: 58-60).
[830] Laclau (2014: 72-73).
[831] Nabers (2015: 153).
[832] See here: Laclau (1990).
[833] Laclau (2014: 71).
[834] Laclau (2014: 33-34).

particularistic meaning and galvanizing the masses' imaginations, thus launching them into collective action.[835] As Laclau puts it in the following:

> "[The general strike has lost] all the detailed descriptive features; it has no particular objectives; it is merely an empty image galvanizing the consciousness of the masses; it is exhausted in this last function without possibly corresponding to any actual historical event. It is a radical non-event that is, paradoxically, the condition of all events if there is going to be grandeur in society."[836]

From Sorel's perspective, the myth of the general strike therefore functions to endlessly recreate the workers' separate identity. For him, "the unity of the class is therefore a symbolic unity."[837] The Sorelian myth is thus the essence of what Laclau understands as an empty signifier.[838] It establishes through hegemonic practices of articulation a unified discursive space around a particular set of nodal points, which allows identification and further involves an element of ideological totalization.[839] Thus, for Laclau myth is an empty signifier referring to a totality, and thus another possibility to represent an absent fullness.[840] Myths can therefore establish a relation to "the pure origin" and thus function as the foundation of society.[841] According to Laclau, this kind of founding myth is therefore significant to any society, "[…] myth is constitutive of any possible society,"[842] and it represents the missing fullness of a society, a particular nation thus materializes in articulatory practices organized around a national myth.[843] However, myth also functions as an illusion that is never achievable.[844] Further, when myths successfully conceal social dislocation by inscribing a wide range

---

[835] Laclau (2014: 72, 131); Howarth (2005: 342).
[836] Laclau (2014: 92).
[837] Laclau (1996: 81); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 5).
[838] Laclau (2014: 72-73).
[839] Laclau (1996); Torfing (2005: 15).
[840] Laclau (1996: 50, 2014: 33).
[841] Laclau (1996, 2014).
[842] Laclau (1990: 67).
[843] Laclau (2014: 33), see also: Zizek (1993: 202), in: Stavrakakis (2005: 77).
[844] Nabers (2015: 153).

of social demands, they can be transformed into imaginaries.[845] This transformation further involves "the metaphorizing of the literal contents of particular social demands." The social imaginary functions as a platform or "horizon," which includes many different demands, as Laclau argues.[846] Sedimented practices therefore often mature around naturalizing and universalizing myths and imaginaries.[847] The construction of myths is therefore an important aspect for the constitution of hegemonic formation, involving the creation of "a new objectivity by means of the re-articulation of the dislocated elements."[848] Therefore, founding myths represented in political actions but also institutions and norms is a relevant object to poststructuralist discourse analysis.[849] The identification of myths in a discursive construction demands determining the hegemonic moves used to present a myth as universally true.[850] To this end, it is necessary to identify the initial moment when the signifier and signified were united.[851] Therefore, in the following, the analysis focuses on these discursive constructions of myth and imaginaries during the emergence of the discourse around EUI in its earlier periods.

In the case of the EUI, the ideal of EUI and its absolute unity and self-present identity functioned as a founding myth and an illusion that can never be fully reached.[852] This is shown in a number of empirical text data and documents. The most relevant being, for instance, the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU), as an official document by the European organization.[853] Here, EUI conceptually stands for an "ever closer union of the European people." It can

---

[845] Laclau (1996); Howarth (2000: 111; 2004: 261).
[846] Laclau (1996); Norval (1996: 9); Howarth (2000: 111); Glynos and Stavrakakis (2004: 261).
[847] Nabers (2015: 109).
[848] Laclau (1990: 61); Torfing (2005: 15).
[849] Jørgensen, M. and Phillips (2002: 39, 49); Nabers (2015: 153).
[850] Reyes (2004: 250); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96).
[851] Nabers (2015: 153).
[852] Nabers (2015).
[853] TFEU recital 1 of the preamble (European Union 2012; also Cantat 2015).

further be elicited from several other statements by Monnet, as he states, "[…] the form of the peaceful democratic revolution which Europe is undergoing, we believe, will end by the erection of the United States of Europe."[854] He further suggests: "The unification of Europe will bring them faith in the future, and prosperity and peace."[855] Further, he elaborates in the following statement on the uniting myth of unity, "Europe's people must unite if there is to be an end to the state of rivalries which have already precipitated the nationals into two world wars and almost ruined Europe itself."[856] Moreover, Konrad Adenauer – the first German Chancellor from 1949 to 1963 – stated in a speech at the German Bundestag in 1954 about the process of EUI:

> "European unity was a dream of a few people. It became a hope for many. Today it is a necessity for all of us. It is, ladies and gentlemen, necessary for our security, for our freedom, for our existence as a nation and as an intellectual and creative international community."[857]

In this way, as illustrated in these discursive examples above, the empty signifier of absolute unity functioned as a founding myth and was able to unify a great variation of demands and struggles in one image of unification connected to the aspiration of happiness, prosperity and glory. Accordingly, this lays the ground for the constitution of a hegemonic formation and a European society as it provides for its missing fullness and enables identification. The founding myth is therefore further translated into an imaginary horizon, functioning as an illusion that can never be fully reached.

Empty signifiers are further established around nodal points or discursive centers. In the case of EUI, the myth of unity was coupled with the imperative of providing peace from the very beginning. The concept of peace thus serves

[854] Monnet (1954a: 21).
[855] Monnet (1954b: 40, 50).
[856] Monnet (1954a: 13).
[857] Adenauer (1952).

as a discursive center, allowing for the temporal determination of meaning and relational identification around this discursive center within an antagonistic terrain.[858] The idea of EUI matured around the notion of peace, already long before the discourse on EUI materialized in the 20th century. At least from the 14th century, monarchs, popes, generals, and philosophers had debated EUI in relation to its ability of bringing peace to Europe by pacifying the region internally and externally. These ideas were laid out in the various works, the most central being, for example, the essay *Towards the Present Peace of Europe* written by the British writer William Penn in 1693. In the context of the War of the Grand Alliance between England and France, he elaborated his vision on the future of Europe as a community of peace.[859] A few years later, Abbe de Saint-Pierre – a French author and proponent of the Enlightenment – published a major project for *Settling an Everlasting Peace* (1717).[860] Here, he proposed establishing an international organization in Europe to establish peace. His novel ideas had major influence on later philosophers, as it inspired German poet Friedrich von Schiller, who wrote his *Ode to Joy* (1785), which was further adapted by Ludwig van Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony (1824). Here, Beethoven formulates, "[t]hy magic reunites those whom stem custom has parted, all men will become brothers under thy gentle wing,"[861] which later became the European anthem. Jean-Jacques Rousseau – as an important political theorist and pioneer of the French Revolution – further promoted the implementation of a European federation in his writings. Also following the remarks of the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, Immanuel Kant in his work *Thoughts on Perpetual Peace* (1795) famously describes a situation in which lasting peace between the European nations is established.[862] Therefore, a variety of authors,

[858] See also: Nabers (2015: 155).
[859] Penn (1912).
[860] See here Riley (1974).
[861] Ludwig van Beethoven, in: McCormick (2008: 28).
[862] McCormick (2008: 28).

poets and philosophers subsequently explored the theme of peace through unity regarding European integration over several centuries.

The emergence of hegemonic politics and the further manifestation of a hegemonic formation in the discourse around EUI was further rendered possible through the establishment of institutions as the sedimentation and materialization of the hegemonic discourse around the idea of EUI. The perception of the need to establish common European institutions in order for the idea of EUI to sustain became visible in a number of discursive constructions. The most relevant being, for instance, a statement by Robert Schuman – French foreign minister from 1886 until 1963 – who famously requested in a speech in 1950, "stop talking and act […] at least we are moving out of the realm of dreams!"[863] Monnet further emphasized a couple of years later that in order to settle an idea, the implementation of institutions is inevitable: "The life of institutions is longer than that of men, and thus institutions may, if they are set up in the right manner, accumulate and transmit the wisdom of succeeding generations."[864] The discourse on integration was therefore perceived by the majority of the European political elite in the first period of EUI.[865] It was not, however, until the foundation of the ECSC in 1952 that the hegemonic project on EUI finally sedimented and materialized into a political institution.[866] With the implementation of the High Authority, the first supranational institutions in Europe was established, "replacing national rivalries on our continent by the Union of people in freedom and in diversity."[867] Accordingly, these institutions gave "substance to the idea of a united Europe"[868] for the first time.

[863] Schuman in: McCormick (2008: 28).
[864] Monnet (1952: 29).
[865] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 2).
[866] Lipgens (1985); Craig and de Burca (2007: 4).
[867] Monnet (1952: 2).
[868] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 1-2).

In the process of sedimentation and materialization of the discourse on EUI, the identified discursive center of peace remains of central relevance. For the establishment of the High Authority in the ECSC, Schuman names peace as the central motivation in his declaration on the *Birth of Europe* (1950):

> "World peace cannot be safeguarded if constructive efforts are not made commensurate with the dangers that threaten it'; 'peaceful relation', 'cause of peace', 'United Europe'. […] Without distinction or exception, with the aim of raising living standards and promoting peace […] Setting up a new High Authority […] These proposals will bring to reality the first solid groundwork for a European Federation vital to the preservation of world peace."[869]

Moreover, Monnet stated at the opening session of the Common Assembly in 1952 that peace remains the central motivation, as he further elaborates:

> "[…] by bringing about their own unity, by giving Europe back its strength, by creating new and enduring conditions, the Europeans are making a contribution towards peace. In this way, they are avoiding the maelstrom into which, regardless of the treaties they may have concluded, they would be dragged with the other nations by their antagonistic actions and their weakness, if they were to remain divided. In building up Europe, the Europeans are laying the very foundation of peace."[870]

Two years after the founding of the ECSC, Monnet elaborates further in his speech *The United States of Europe has begun* (1954) and confirms the general ambition of the European project to bring peace, as shown in the following statements made by him: "[…]to make Europe is to make peace."[871] He goes on as follows: "[a] federated Europe is essential for the security and peace of the free world."[872] Monnet also argued that only a united Europe would have the potential to establish lasting peace: "In order to […] develop them into a lasting

---

[869] Schuman (1950). The plan was the basis for the implementation of the ECSC. It became known as the "Schuman Plan" and provided an important basis for the process of EUI.
[870] Monnet (1952: 62).
[871] Monnet (1954b: 62).
[872] Monnet (1954b: 58-59).

peace, we must change the European situation by uniting the Europeans. […] The kind of unity that will assist in the establishment of a lasting peace, is unity within a United Europe."[873] Sustained peace would further only be possible by establishing an institutional setting, as he formulated in the following:

> "Today, peace does not only depend on treaties and agreements. It depends essentially on the creation of conditions which, though they may not change the nature of men, will direct their conduct towards each other into peaceful channels."[874]

The identified discursive center of peace remains of central relevance throughout the history of EUI, as the official European documents introducing the European Union in 1990s claim to be "the most successful peace project in the world, bringing democracy, prosperity and security to the countries of the Union."[875] The central means for the peace project of European integration to manifest and expand is integration, calling it the process of "shared power for greater benefit."[876] In the TFEU, the union is further described as a post-national project, constraining past national rivalries and promoting a sphere of peace and stability in and around European states.[877] Moreover, Jean-Claude Juncker – President of the Commission from 2014 to 2019 – stated in a speech in the EP in 2016 that "Europe means peace."[878] The discourse on the process of EUI has therefore historically been structured around the discursive center of peace.

The articulation of chains of equivalence around the empty signifier unity and the discursive center peace further allow a relatively stable system of meaning

---

[873] Monnet (1954b: 61).
[874] Monnet (1954b: 62).
[875] European Union (2012).
[876] European Union (2012).
[877] TFEU recital 1 of the preamble (European Union 2012; see also: Cantat 2015).
[878] This is an extract from the *State of the European Union* speech by Jean-Claude Juncker (Juncker 2016). He gave the speech in the EP in Strasbourg on September 14, 2016.

and identification to emerge.[879] This allows the sedimentation and de-politicization of hegemonic practices within a relatively stable discursive system allowing for a hegemonic formation to emerge.[880] Thus, the EU as an institution is understood as the sedimentation of a hegemonic discourse on EUI that has been temporarily de-politicized. This hegemonic formation further defines what appears natural or pre-given in the particular social and political order of the European community. The ongoing hegemonic discursive practices further allow for the hegemonic formation within the discourse on EUI to prevail. The discourse on EUI thus functions as the ongoing enforcement of the existing and dominating hegemonic formation. In this way, the approximation of the myth of unity in the process of EUI is possible through further integration, thus becoming the means for the manifestation of the hegemonic project or formation. On the basis of the sedimented and materialized hegemonic formation, a consensus-focused policy of the European political elites on the supranational level becomes possible.

The sedimented hegemonic practices allow for a consensus policy to emerge. In the case of EUI, this becomes visible particularly during its first period from the 1950s. During this time, the prevailing hegemonic order was seen to be based on popular consent, as European political elites predominantly assumed that the ongoing process of integration and unification was expressing the "common will" in Europe. This becomes prevalent in a statement from Monnet in 1954, claiming that the European project "[..] merges a portion of their respective national sovereignties and submits it to the common interest."[881] Monnet further assumed the existence of a homogenous idea and also ideal of the European project, "[…] in addition to their concrete solidarity, they have their common ideal of peace, freedom, and social progress."[882] He therefore

[879] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xi); Hildebrand and Seville (2019: 325); Marttila (2019b: 8f.).
[880] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96).
[881] Monnet (1954a: 23).
[882] Monnet (1954b: 50).

concludes that the further integration of European project reflects the common ideal. This becomes further visible when considering the following statement, in which Monnet asserts a kind of homogenous benefit for the entire population in Europe: "Europe will bring about an improvement in the standard of living for the population as a whole."[883] He continues to elaborate on this aspect in the following statement, as he claims that "[t]he improvement of the prospects of peace and of conditions of human life, will be greatly enhanced."[884] Moreover, when Adenauer addressed the Council of Europe in 1951, he also claimed that "[speaking] before the group of persons that may claim, more than any other, to represent the public opinion of Europe."[885] Adenauer thus assumes a collective will of the European public, represented by the European political elite. He further elaborates that the Council – which comprises the political elites in the EU – best represents the assumed collective will of Europe, as the following statement shows:

> "In other words, here we find an expression of the European conscience. And it is also greatly significant that here, at any rate, there is a place where almost the whole of Europe gathers together, despite all the different shades of opinion that have shown themselves in our efforts to achieve closer organisational co-operation. European policy in every country will ultimately receive its impetus from the collective will of the European peoples. But nowhere is this so manifest as a collective will as it is in the Council of Europe."[886]

In this regard, Adenauer assumes a collectivity of the German nation for which he further claims to speak, as shown in the following: "[t]he whole German nation acknowledges the values of Europe and also is desirous that the unity of Europe should find its expression in some political form."[887] These European political elites, illustrated in these examples, therefore assumed the prevalence of a general consensus among the European public. This Europhile attitude was

---

[883] Monnet (1954a: 29).
[884] Monnet (1954a: 34).
[885] Adenauer (1951: 1).
[886] Adenauer (1951: 2).
[887] Adenauer (1951: 5).

widely labeled as "permissive consensus."[888] It describes that political elites seemed to be convinced that the European project was "an accepted part of the political landscape"[889] and that the general strategy of the European project was accepted and shared by the public, as formulated in the following by Lindberg and Scheingold (1970):

> "[the] goals of the community are widely shared and that normal operations of the community system will be accepted as authoritative and legitimate. And if these goals and these normal operations conduce to the progressive growth of the system, this too is likely to meet with general acceptance"[890].

The process of EUI can therefore be interpreted to have initially been driven as an elitist project led by its founders. The presumed consensus allowed European elites to accelerate the process of integration without much debate or opposition.[891] Against this backdrop, Jean Monnet and his colleagues were able to maneuver swiftly and effectively without much debate. In a similar way, they were further able to launch the Schuman Plan from 1950 in an almost conspiratorial fashion.[892] Although not generally reprehensible or very unusual,[893] the tactic of Monnet and his supporters was only possible due to the presumed consensus and the general lack of public involvement, reducing the possible public objections and debate to a minimum. The Treaties of Paris and Rome therefore left out possible objections that were likely to be raised by various national or local political movements and groups. Thus, the chosen

---

[888] As illustrated earlier, the term permissive consensus was coined by Lindberg and Scheingold in 1970 (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970). According to their study, in the 1950s and 1960s, after the Treaties of Paris and Rome were signed, a general consensus among the public was assumed in favor of the matter of EUI.
[889] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 62).
[890] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 121).
[891] Lahr (2002: 248); Crespy and Verschueren (2009); Leconte (2010); Ross (2011); Bickerton, Hodson, and Puetter (2014); Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2016).
[892] Inglehart (1970).
[893] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 21).

tactic in the process of EUI, ending in a supranational compromise, served not only to satisfy but also to quiet major political forces.[894]

The understanding of the European project as elite-driven based on the avoidance of public involvement becomes further apparent looking at an interview Adenauer gave in 1952 with März Friedländer, in which he claims that the political union among the European states was intended by the European elites from the very beginning. He further elaborates that no real alternative exists to the idea of a united Europe:

> "Both the Schuman Plan and the European defense community were always only intended as a preliminary stage for a political union, that is, a European state. […] Do you think there is a real alternative to your European policy at all? Dr. Adenauer: No, Mr. Friedländer, there is no alternative."[895]

In this way, Adenauer re-establishes the general myth of a United Europe. He further formulates his vision for the development of the EUI, which should end in the aspired "United States of Europe," as he puts it in the following:

> "[t]he Schuman Plan, the treaty about the European Defense Community are only the beginning according to the estimation of those playing an active part. […] I am sure: if it starts off with six countries, then one day all the other European states will join too."[896]

The consensus-focused approach in the process of EUI was further manifested by the aspirations of the European elites to build a system of governance at the European level that prevents such conflicts. Since they assumed that the wars and economic demolition of the 20th century emerged on the grounds of national political and ideological conflicts across Europe. The political system was therefore designed to ensure the ongoing control of policy-making by European

---

[894] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 21).
[895] Adenauer and Friedländer (1952: 2-5).
[896] Adenauer and Friedländer (1952: 2).

and national technocrats, instead of any elected government or parliament. The members in the common European institutions were therefore directly selected by their national governments. Representatives from dominate national parties favoring the EUI were thus over-represented.[897] Although, the necessity of political parties at the European level to form a political will was generally acknowledged, as stated in the Treaty of Rome: "[p]olitical parties at European level are important as a factor for integration within the Union. They contribute to forming a European awareness and to expressing the political will of the citizens of the Union."[898] Political parties remained without any significant influence during the first period of EUI. Moreover, any processes for decision-making at the European level were designed to avoid open conflict and secure a general consensus.[899] In this regard, it was ensured that the ECSC was carefully engineered to secure maximum public support and avoid any controversial debate among a broad political base to facilitate the growth of the community.

The European leaders and political elites therefore promoted supranational loyalty and further encouraged members of supranational institutions to support a pro-European discourse.[900] The first generations of European officials and civil servants openly acted in a Europhile sentiment. The combination of ideal and interest encouraged them to aspire the strengthening of the European supranational institutions and the deepening of the EUI.[901] It was also assumed that political leaders would "go off to Brussels" acting in their individual interests.[902] The institutionalization process was thus characterized by a general

[897] Hix (2007); Meny (2009: 35); Brack (2018: 53).
[898] Treaty of Rome (European Union 1957), see also EEC: Article 138a (later renumbered to Article 191) and section 41 of the Treaty of Maastricht.
[899] Bartolini and Hix (2007); Hix (2007).
[900] These were leaders such as Walter Hallstein and Jacques Delors for the Commission, A. Spinelli and S. Veil for the European Parliament, and Pierre Pescatore and Pierre-Henry Teitgen for the Court (Brack and Costa 2012).
[901] Brack and Costa (2012).
[902] Brack and Costa (2012); Hix (2007).

"supranational allegiances and a pro-integration bias."[903] These factors provide a better understanding of the pre-dominantly pro-European attitude of the actors within the European institutions.[904] These dynamics during the first period of EUI, were further accompanied by the dominance of the neo-functionalist approach. The neo-functionalist approach suggested a general spill-over effect, which accelerates an expansion of integration. It is further described as a process by which "a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which create a further condition and a need for more action."[905] In this way, neo-functionalist approach provided a strategy that allowed ignoring any conflict or division on topics such as nationality, authority and many others.[906]

Despite the strong support of the European project and its expansion during the first period of EUI, the activities at the inter- and supranational European level also provoked some negative reactions from its member states. The most powerful reaction during that time was the Empty Chair Crisis from 1965 to 1966. Charles De Gaulle – post-war president of France until 1969 - boycotted the European aspirations to extend supranationalism. He rejected any enhanced European influence beyond national borders and therefore any federalist tendencies of EUI.[907] Further criticism was also voiced with regard to the relatively high supranational power of the High Authority implemented in 1952. As an independent supranational executive controlled by a Common Assembly, the implementation of the High Authority was one of the core ideas in the ECSC. With Jean Monnet – who was also the architect of the ECSC – as its first President, the strong influence of the institution was challenged, which later led

[903] Hooghe (1999); Lewis (2000); Shore (2000); Egeberg, Schaefer, and Trondal (2003); Trondal (2004).
[904] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 21).
[905] Lindberg (1963: 10).
[906] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 21). On the spill over plan, see also McCormick (2008: 9).
[907] McCormick (2008: 28).

to the introduction of a council (of governments) and parliament (of deputies) as a counterweight.[908] However, resistance in such manner remained rather unheard during this time, being only peripheral and at the margin of the political system.

The first period of EUI was therefore characterized by a number of peculiarities. The sedimented hegemonic formation under the direct control of the European political elites matured around the myth of unity and the discursive center of peace. It enabled the design and installation of a new political settlement and an overall hegemonic project dominated by an elite-based consensus strategy. The elite bias was initially shown during the materialization of the supranational system, which further showed the continues enforcement of the hegemonic project. As the project progressed, the role of technocratic elites was further enhanced, and they were considerably free from parliamentary control. The process was therefore dominated by pro-integrationists supporting the European project and legitimized European politics with general narratives such as "securing peace in Europe."[909] This was also prevalent in the lack of different political positions, considering alternatives to supporting the EU and the process of integration in its existing form.[910] The public discourse on EUI remained therefore uncontested and uncontroversial, and interference, political rivalries, and ideological conflicts were mostly absent for much of the earlier history.[911] According to Mouffe's AMD, this describes a situation of post-politics or "post-democracy," in which the possibility of exercising popular sovereignty through the battle between different projects disappears, instead; the existing order is managed by political elites.[912] Here, she refers to Jacques Rancière, who argues that: "post-democracy is the government practice and conceptual legitimation of a democracy after the demos, a democracy that has eliminated the

[908] Brack (2018: 53).
[909] Mouffe (2005a: 28-29); Stavrakakis (2005: 88-89).
[910] Leconte (2010: 100–101).
[911] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970: 62).
[912] Mouffe (2000c: 17; 2016c; 2018: 13-18).

appearance, miscount, and dispute of the people."[913] The focus on elite-driven consensus politics therefore requires the disappearance of a viral core of democracy.

The analysis conducted in this section thus suggests that the immediate post-war period of EUI describes a post-democratic situation characterized by an ephemeral excess of consensus (also called permissive consensus) exercised by the European political elites. It reflects a lack of opportunity for the exercise of democratic sovereignty and the possibility for the public to decide between real alternatives.[914] Therefore, for much of the earlier history, EUI proceeded without much debate and conflict and the possibility for politics and legitimate dissent was absent. The general modi-operandi within European institutions instead favored compromise over conflict.[915] This consensus strategy was further based on a hegemonic formation under the direct control of European elites, which matured around the myth of unity and the discursive center of peace, further enabled designing and installing a new political settlement and an overall hegemonic project.[916] The discursive change from a relatively stable, sedimented discourse in a situation of consensus on EUI toward more resistance in the discourse on EUI is analyzed further in the next section.

5.2 Crisis of identification

This section analyzes the change in the discourse on EUI toward a deepening "crisis of identification" and increasing resistance in the context of an excess of consensus in the post-war period. As demonstrated in the previous section, for much of the post-war period, EUI was characterized by an excess of consensus,

---

[913] Rancière (1999: 102).
[914] Mouffe (2005a).
[915] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970); Bartolini and Hix (2007: 5); Leconte (2010); Brack (2015); Brack and Startin (2015).
[916] Inglehart (1970); Lindberg and Scheingold (1970).

in which a pro-integration bias prevailed among the majority of the European political elites supporting the European project.[917] In the late-1980s, however, this presumed permissive consensus started to weaken and a more controversial debate emerged.[918] In order to gain a better understanding of this change in the discourse on EUI and the weakening of the permissive consensus during these years, this sections begins with a further elaboration on the identification processes within the discourse on EUI.

In the process of identification, as illustrated earlier, for Mouffe, the logic of equivalence and difference are of central importance. The notion of difference, on the one hand, is particularly relevant since identification is generally created relational and through the differentiation from an outside, an antagonistic other.[919] This antagonistic other, according to Mouffe, is further determined as the "constitutive outside" to the particular identity. Identity is thus created in an antagonistic fashion by distinguishing itself from something else that lies outside itself. It has nothing in common and excludes everything outside of the particular discourse in question. This leads to the assumption that no identity is "self-present to itself" but rather purely contingent.[920] At the collective level, similar processes are in place. Here, identification is about the differentiation of an external "they."[921] The source of identification is thus the antagonism itself: "the joint opposition, a shared negation of the respectively challenged aspect of the social order, generates a basis for different or new identification."[922] The logic of difference comes therefore into play when a social group with its identities and interests is within its differential positions.

---

[917] Franklin, Marsh, and McLaren (1994); Hobolt and Tilley (2014).
[918] Niedermayer (1995); Taggart (1998); Hix (2005: 149); Schmitt, H. (2005); Hobolt and Brouard (2011); Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2016).
[919] Mouffe (2005a: 15; 2013: 5).
[920] Derrida (1982: 3, 6); Mouffe (1993: 141; 2000c: 21; 2013: 5); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 91ff.).
[921] Mouffe (2013: 5; 2016a).
[922] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 153), see also Westphal (2018a).

The European project, therefore, needed to be coupled with a discursively-articulated antagonistic other, a constitutive outside, to form a temporal stable hegemonic order. Here, the articulation of the Cold War as a substantial external threat posed to European countries functioned as an antagonistic other. The corresponding articulatory practices constituting the antagonistic outside are shown in speeches of European political elites. One of the most relevant contributions in this regard is Adenauer's at the German Bundestag in 1952, in which he elaborates:

> "[…] das Ziel der sowjetrussischen Politik in Bezug auf die Bundesrepublik geht darauf hin, die Bundesrepublik zu neutralisieren […] weil es weiß, daß dann ohne weiteres das übrige Westeuropa auch in seine Hand kommt, und weil es sich dann stark genug fühlt, den Krieg gegen die Vereinigten Staaten zu führen. […] Für uns würde ein Einbeziehen in die sowjetrussische Machtsphäre nichts anderes bedeuten als Sklaverei und Ausbeutung."[923]

Adenauer therefore claimed in his speech that it was the declared goal of the Soviet Union to neutralize the Federal Republic of Germany, which would be followed by neutralization of the rest of Western Europe. Therefore, he argues, it poses a serious threat to the existence of the European countries as such. He further elaborates that the external threat to Europe is so great because it "is for all practical purposes concentrated in one hand."[924] It can therefore be argued that the notion of an external threat posed by the Cold War and the Soviet Union after the Second World War can thus be seen as a differentially-constituted articulatory practice, allowing for the constitution of a unifying identification.[925] Moreover, the constitution of an excluded other that poses a substantial threat to the existence of a particular discursive system is significant to the constitution

---

[923] Adenauer (1952: 2-3). In his statement, Adenauer claims that the policy of the Soviet Union is to neutralize the "Federal Republic of Germany," followed by the rest of Western Europe, before fighting the war against the United States. Further, he elaborates that it is clear that the inclusion into the Soviet Union's sphere of power would mean nothing more than slavery and exploitation.
[924] Adenauer (1951: 6).
[925] See also: Nabers (2015: 159).

of a particular order. As Laclau formulates in *Emancipation and Difference* (1996): "Only if the beyond becomes the signifier of pure threat, of pure negativity, of the simply excluded, can there be limits and system (that is an objective order)."[926] The construction of a relatively stable particular order thus involves the creation of a threatening other that is incompatible with the particular discursive system. These processes of differentiation therefore enable the constitution of identification and the stabilization of a discursive system and thus for the sedimentation and materialization of the European hegemonic project.[927]

Besides the logic of difference, articulating an outside to a particular discursive system, collective identification demands the constitution of an inside or a "we." Here, the logic of equivalence becomes relevant, linking together the different articulations of diverse demands, interests or identities to create one hegemonic project.[928] In the case of the European project, as already elaborated above, the unity among the European states and the notion of peace functioned as empty signifier and discourse center around which the hegemonic project matured. The determination of a "common project" with mutual interest and goals is therefore necessary. The termination of the hostility between European states was of central relevance, as elaborated above. Mouffe further elaborates this in the following:

> "[…] remember the intentions of people like Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann, who after the Second World War advocated the European Project? Their aim was to create the institutions that would impede the emergence of another manifestation of antagonism between France and Germany. They understood that this could only be done by creating a 'we' that incorporated both countries, jointly with some others, in a common project […]"[929]

[926] Laclau (1996: 38).
[927] Torfing (2005: 16).
[928] Mouffe (2005a: 53; 2013: 5; 2016a).
[929] Mouffe (2013: 5).

The general intention and demand for the creation of such common project is therefore further reflected in a statement by Monnet at the Common Assembly 1954, as he claims about the European countries that "[d]uring these hundred years, each one followed his own destiny, or what he believed to be his destiny, by applying his own rules. […] the countries were tempted into crossing their frontiers in an effort to dominate the others."[930] He further states in another speech in 1954 that "[…] nationalist antagonism, misunderstandings and lack of understanding among the people, suspicion, continue to exist."[931] Other statements from European political elites show similar interests further emphasizing the central necessity to overcome the hostility between France and Germany. The most relevant being, for instance, Schuman's remarks in his speech on the *Schuman Declaration and the Birth of Europe*, where he emphasizes the need for a unifying bond between European states, as he claims that "[t]he gathering of the nations of Europe demands the elimination of the age-old antagonism of France and Germany." Churchill further formulates in 1946 in *The Tragedy of Europe* that: "[…]the first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral leadership of Europe."[932] Moreover, Adenauer supports this approach as he sees the process of EUI "as a decisive step to a close connection between Germany and France and thus to a new order in Europe that is based on peaceful cooperation." He continues that this connection is further necessary in order to "[…] prevent future military conflicts between Germany and France once and for all."[933] He further stated in a press conference in 1956 that "[t]he first period of European integration […] was to ensure that a war may never break out between the European people."[934] The prevention of any further hostility within Europe was only possible – according

[930] Monnet (1954a: 4-5).
[931] Monnet (1954b: 61).
[932] Churchill (1946).
[933] Adenauer (1952: 5-8).
[934] Adenauer (1956: 3); Taylor, R. (2015).

to Monnet – by creating a common institution that takes a part of the national sovereignty of each member. As Monnet stated in 1954:

> "[it] cannot eliminate our national antagonisms, as long as national sovereignty is not surmounted, such antagonisms can only be aggravated […] which merge a portion of their respective national sovereignties and submits it to the common interest."[935]

Thus, only the institutionalization of a common project would allow the creation of a sufficiently strong bond, further assuming that it would serve the "common interest." According to these statements and elaborations, the objective of the European project was to create a bond among its members through their participation that made it less likely that those involved would treat each other as enemies, which would further serve their "common interest."[936] Therefore, as already noted in the previous section, the notion of peace as an underlying principle of unity functions as a discursive center around which the articulation of chains of equivalence among diverse demands became possible. This enabled the constitution of a "we" or a common bond among European states aiming to create peace through unity further allowing for the sedimentation and materialization of the discursive system in common institutions.

According to Mouffe's AMD, however, in order to continuously reinforce identification and affection with a particular hegemonic formation and political system, the possibility for an agonistic confrontation between different political positions and legitimate ways to challenge the existing order need to be available. The democratic institutions are therefore responsible to enable such political participation and provide legitimate channels to engage in conflicts over the "common good," question the existing order and propose alternative ways to structure it.[937] If such agonistic confrontation within the political

[935] Monnet (1954a: 23).
[936] Brack (2018: 46).
[937] Mouffe (2005a: 23-24; 28-29).

institutions is missing, the system lacks means for identification, it shows a thus shows a system in which "the ineradicable character of existing antagonisms and pluralism of values" is suppressed.[938]

Given the emphasis on consensus during the post-war period of EUI and the absence of different political positions proposing alternative ways for the process of EUI, a situation of crisis of identification and further deepening dislocation became possible. The democratic institutions of the first period of EUI therefore failed to ensure affection, disregarding the diversity of political positions and interests, and therefore depriving any ground for identification within the political system. In a situation characterized by a lack of identification, dislocation emerges as the condition for social and political re-articulation and change.[939] The dislocation of the hegemonic formation in the post-war period was further reinforced by several political events in the discourse on EUI. Although discourses are generally able to integrate a diversity of events into their discursive system, every system has its disruptive limits, which it ultimately reaches. This is the moment, according to Mouffe and Laclau, when a discourse is unable to integrate a particular event and therefore weakens. As illustrated by Laclau, "a stable hegemonic discourse becomes dislocated when it is confronted by new events that it cannot explain, represent, or in other ways domesticate."[940]

In the case of the hegemonic formation in the post-war period, the discursive system confronted its limits with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late-1980s. As illustrated above, the threat of the Cold War functioned as the constitutive outside and antagonistic other for the identity construction of the hegemonic discourse on EUI during its first period. With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ideological and

[938] Mouffe (1993: 2), see also: Mouffe (2000c: 99-100; 2005a: 30, 38; 2018: 17).
[939] Laclau (1990: 222); Mascha (2019: 208).
[940] Laclau (1990: 222).

social division in Europe – which had been present over decades – disappeared.[941] The disappearance of the antagonistic other and the general division of the political space substantially dislocated and weakened the hegemonic formation. The assumed threat of the war was no longer present, and therefore the political identities were substantially dislocated during this time.[942] Thus, without the antagonistic other, the original constitutive outside was obsolete. In this way, a destabilization of the prevalent identification and a substantial crisis of identification emerged.

Moreover, the rapidly-changing political and economic conditions from the 1970s brought about a further crumbling of the post-war hegemonic formation.[943] Such events included the end of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, which occurred when Richard Nixon – President of the United States at the beginning of the 1970s – declared to take the United States off the Gold Standard. Instead, the Nixon administration implemented a tax on imports and further established domestic wage and price controls. These modifications provoked an international monetary turbulence, which was further accompanied by the Arab-Israeli war and the international oil crisis in 1973, followed by an international economic slowdown.[944]

With the illustrated economic and political events in the late-1970s and 1980s, Europe faced new challenges. The emerged crisis of identification and the structural gap within the discourse on EUI allowed discursive change to

[941] McCormick (2008: 31). After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, Western Europe was caught between hope and tension. Former Soviet countries soon declared their interest in joining the Community for economic support and assistance in the process of transition. Thus, Western Europe wanted to provide the means to proceed in their historic mission and open the area of peace and prosperity to these states (CVCE 2016).
[942] Mouffe (2009: 549).
[943] See also: Norval (1996: 51).
[944] McCormick (2007: 17); Mouffe (2018: 25ff.).

appear.[945] In a situation of dislocation and structural crisis, the reactivation or re-politicization of a relatively stable, sedimented system becomes possible again.[946] The existing discursive system becomes weekend a temporally fixed signifiers are floating or empty again. This allows for hegemonic activity and the re-articulation of the hegemonic formation.[947] Therefore, the crisis of identification and dislocation was accompanied by a discursive change in the discourse on EUI toward an increasingly critical debate and more resistance. These developments therefore further affected the presumed permissive consensus among the public and the excess of consensus among the European political elites.

The discursive change was most prominently shown in the debate around the organization and regulation of the internal market of the EC in the late-1980s. With the signature of the SEA in 1987, the first major step towards the single market was realized. The core element of the act was to complete all requirements for the single market within the EC by 1992. Especially Jacques Delors' – president of the European Commission from 1985 till 1995 – three-phase plan for the implementation of a single market and a monetary union. The plan aimed to eliminate existing trade barriers to create "an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital is ensured."[948] Further, several national levels of taxation and different quality, health and technical standards were affected. In the context of the SEA and Delors' ambitions for a stronger economic and political cooperation in Europe a intensified the debate over the institutional arrangement of the European system and a more controversial discourse could be recognized.[949]

---

[945] This makes the notion of antagonism and dislocations important in the process of discursive change, as they produce structural gaps (see also: Nabers 2015: 166).
[946] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122-123, 136); Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96).
[947] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 136, 149).
[948] European Union (2012).
[949] Hooghe and Marks (1997: 6); Flood and Usherwood (2007); Brack (2018).

The was particularly visible in in Margaret Thatcher's *Bruges Speech* (1988), as one of the most significant speeches in the history of EUI. She was the first European political leader openly challenging the direction in which the EUI was progressing and putting forward a competing vision of the European project.[950] According to Thatcher, Europe's attempt to develop from the originally-indented "charter for economic liberty" as proclaimed in the Treaty of Rome[951] toward the implementation of a common market and single currency presents a fundamental change in direction. For her, it showed the attempt to develop a "social Europe," implementing "collectivism and corporatism" by establishing "power at the center of a European conglomerate."[952] During a party conference, a few weeks after her speech in Bruges, Thatcher further argued that the idea of supranationalism in Europe would ultimately implement a socialist state. This claim was shared by other conservatives, arguing that a shared sovereignty was not acceptable, even regarding the creation of a common market.[953] Thatcher further elaborates that "any further integration was no longer compatible with our sovereign statehood."[954] Her rejection of any deepening of a political union is particularly shown in her "first presented guiding principle," as she formulates in the following:

> "[w]illing and active co-operation between independent sovereign states is the best way to build a successful European Community. To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the center of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardies the objectives we seek to achieve."[955]

Here, Thatcher contradicts the previously-illustrated construction of the European identity and the constitutive myth of a united Europe. Instead, she

---

[950] Flood (2002); Usherwood and Startin (2012). The Bruges speech was delivered in September 1988 to the College of Europe.
[951] European Union (2012).
[952] Thatcher (1988).
[953] McCormick (2008: 31); Brack (2018).
[954] Thatcher (1988).
[955] Thatcher (1988).

demands that individual states remain separated and maintain their national sovereignty rather than growing together to become the "United States of Europe". However, Thatcher did not consider herself as an anti-European, but rather as an anti-federalist, as she formulates in the following statement: "[l]et Europe be a family of nations, understanding each other better, appreciating each other more, doing more together but relishing our national identity no less than our common European endeavor."[956]

Thatcher's speeches can therefore be determined a discursive turning point in the discourse on EUI. Her argument created a new articulatory position within the discourse leaving behind the principle of unity as an empty signifier and myth the notion of peace as a discursive center around which the hegemonic project of EUI matured. The discursive center of peace appears much less in the context of EUI. In fact, the term appears only once, however, explicitly questioning the ability of the European community to ensure peace. As Thatcher claims that "[i]t is to the NATO that we owe the peace that has been maintained over 40 years."[957] In regard to the identified myth of unity, which is in constant need to reproduce itself to procreate the foundation of society, political unification is of much less concern. Thatcher uses unity primarily in the context of security toward the Soviet Union, as she elaborates, "[a]bove all, at a time of change and uncertainly in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, we must preserve Europe's unity and resolve so that whatever may happen, our defense is sure."[958] She therefore fills the empty signifier unity differently proclaiming the independence of the European states, which are linked only by cooperation security and economic matters, but not in a political sense. As Thatcher formulates in the following statement:

[956] Thatcher (1988).
[957] Thatcher (1998).
[958] Thatcher (1988).

> "Certainly, we want to see Europe more united and with a greater sense of common purpose. But it must be in a way which preserves the different traditions, parliamentary powers and sense of national pride in one's own country. […] The European Community is one manifestation of that European identity, but it is not the only one."[959]

Thatcher further stresses this point in the following statement, underlining the support for a cooperation in economic and security matters, albeit not in a political sense going along with a united identification among its members.

> "[…] The European Community belongs to all its members. It must reflect the traditions and aspirations of all its members. […] The European Community is a practical means by which Europe can ensure the future prosperity and security of its people in a world in which there are many other powerful nations and groups of nations. […]"[960]

Thatcher further emphasizes that despite her support cooperation in security and economic matters, she rejects any further political corporation, as she claims that it would not be necessary for "power to be centralized in Brussels or decisions to be taken by an appointed bureaucracy."[961] This is illustrated in one of the most significant sentences of the Bruges speech, as Thatcher says: "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at European level, with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels."[962] She further proposes: "Our aim should not be more and more detailed regulation from the center: it should be to deregulate and to remove the constraints on trade."[963]

Thatcher's contributions during this period were therefore seen as an attack to the European project and any attempt for further integration and an indication that Britain would not surrender national sovereignty and political power to the

[959] Thatcher (1988).
[960] Thatcher (1988).
[961] Thatcher (1988).
[962] Thatcher (1988).
[963] Thatcher (1988).

European institutions. It further marked a change in discourse towards a more critical and controversial public engagement. Following Thatcher's critical statements toward the project of EUI, more diverging views among the European political elites and public were increasingly recognized.[964] As Collins – one of her closest political advisors – formulates: "I think it is still true, as a historical fact, that this begins the trend towards a more Eurosceptical outcome. […] It was the beginning of that trend in Conservative thinking, it is a new turn in the road."[965] Politicians, such as James Goldsmith – a popular conservative British politician – who openly referred to Thatcher's statements when formulating his concerns about the EC and presented himself as a vehement opponent of further integration and the proposed monetary union in the late-1980s.[966]

The analysis conducted in this section therefore suggests that the hegemonic discourse on the European project experienced change from post-war consensus to a substantial crisis of identification at the end of the first period of EUI. Given the consensus-approach of the post-war period, the emergence of deepening dislocation and a crisis of identification is not surprising. In a post-political situation characterized by the absence of real choice given to citizens, the political system lacks passion and therefore the possibility for people to identity with the project.[967] As Mouffe suggests, no society is truly homogeneous, and thus necessarily needs the possibility for struggle and controversial debate. This allows the politicization and mobilization of passion within the political process.[968] However, the possibility for an agonistics confrontation was missing during the first period of EUI. The system did not reach the "emotional participation of the populace in the affairs of government."[969] Instead, people

[964] Hooghe and Marks (1997); Flood and Usherwood (2007); Brack and Startin (2015); Brack (2018: 53).
[965] McCormick (2008: 31).
[966] McCormick (2008: 28).
[967] Mouffe (2000c: 17).
[968] Mouffe (2005a: 23-24, 28-29); EUROPP and Mouffe (2013: 2).
[969] Mouffe (2005a: 28-29).

were excluded from the process of European governance. This lack of effective participation thus allowed for a crisis of identification to emerge.

The crisis of identification was further reinforced by several political and economic events in the 1970s and 1980s. With the end of the Cold War, dissolving the constitutive antagonistic other and further the disarticulation the founding myth of the common project in the context of the debate around the organization of the EC in the late-1980s, the discursive system of the hegemonic formation further weakened. In the situation of dislocated identification, the re-articulation of the discursive elements and empty signifiers such as unity and peace became possible, as presented in Thatcher's articulations, as the most crucial example. This situation therefore credited as a turning point toward the dislocation of the post-war hegemonic formation and the emergence of a more controversial debate.[970] This discursive change toward more resistance and hegemonic struggle following the crisis of identification within the discourse on EUI will be further analyzed in the following chapter.

5.3 Hegemonic struggle

This section analyzes the re-articulation of the existing hegemonic formation in the context of the crisis of identification and discursive dislocation. The discursive change has found expression in the emergence of various hegemonic movements striving to re-structuring the hegemonic formation and aiming for political leadership.

With the identified crisis of identification and discursive dislocation a new era in the discourse of EUI emerged. According to Mouffe's model, the dislocated discourse and lack of identification allow for a re-articulation of the existing hegemonic formation accompanied by a proliferation of antagonism, seeking to

[970] EUROPP and Mouffe (2013: 2).

radically negate the established order.[971] This symbolizes a structural crisis or "organic crisis" of the hegemonic formation during the post-war period.[972] In this structural crisis, assumptions and discursive constructions of the previous post-war consensus established around a hegemonic project are challenged, and the possibility for the construction of different collective projects emerges. Such new projects therefore have the potential to reconfigure the social order and thus better meet a diversity of demands. They aimed to rearticulate empty signifier in the context structural crisis and capture a variety of unsatisfied demands in chains of equivalence. Previously-established identities therefore dissolved and new political identities emerged in the context of the hegemonic struggles.[973] The proliferation of new hegemonic movements competing to hegemonize and suture the dislocated social order can therefore be recognized.

In the discourse on EUI, the proliferation of antagonism and the emergence of hegemonic projects becomes especially apparent since the early-1990s.[974] In particular, the negotiation and ratification debates around the Maastricht Treaty from 1992 to 1993 constituted a decisive point in the discourse of EUI. The Maastricht treaty aimed to transform the community from an economic to a political union, which was accompanied by the rearrangement of national and supranational responsibilities and therefore the affection of the national sovereignty and citizenship.[975] The treaty therefore marked a qualitative break

---

[971] Mouffe (2005a); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 122-123, 136).
[972] Mouffe (2018: 28).
[973] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 113, 128, 136, 152-153); Griggs (2005: 120); Westphal (2018a). Therefore, in a situation characterized by a lack of identification, dislocation emerges as the condition for social and political re-articulation and change. Thus, the moment of dislocation provides the ground for any new hegemonic practices to emerge (Laclau 1990: 222; Mascha 2019: 208) and it acts as "the foundation on which new identities are constituted" (Laclau 1990: 39).
[974] See also: Laclau and Mouffe (2014: 152).
[975] Verney (2011). As elaborated above, the national sovereignty of member states was further challenged by transferring the political areas of currency and foreign policy to the EU. Here, the pillar system was established, including foreign affairs, home affairs, and the EC.

in the process of EUI. During the process of negotiation and ratification, the discourse on EUI became therefore more diversified and dissent with the European project more visible.[976]

In this context, various counter-hegemonic projects around resistance attempting to disarticulate the hegemonic formation emerged in the beginning of the 1990s. The movements were of very different kind, ranging across the political spectrum from the extreme-left to the extreme-right from specific "anti-euro parties" in France, Germany and Denmark[977] to diverse neo-fascist parties or nationalist and agrarian movements.[978] The newly-emerged positions show similar demands regarding the process of integration, generally revealing a position of resistance towards EUI. The phenomenon of resistance in the discourse on EUI has further found expression in several referenda or amendments to the treaties of the EU.[979] The ratification of the Maastricht Treaty at the beginning of the 1990s, or the Danish and French referenda resulting in the rejection by the Danish population and a very marginal acceptance by the French population, are substantial events in this regard.[980]

In this manner, resistance became increasingly routinized in the hegemonic struggle using articulatory practice generally challenging the European project. These articulatory practices presented the European project and the process of integration as either an "external power that forces economic measures on national governments" or an "incompetent instance that is thus unable to come

[976] Taggart (1998: 365); Flood (2002); Lacroix and Coman (2007); Mudde (2012); Startin and Krouwel (2013); Down and Wilson (2008); Brack (2018: 54-55); de Vries (2018).
[977] Torfing (2005: 17).
[978] Taggart (1998: 365); Shore and Wright (2000: 67); Wright (2004: 84); Glynos and Howarth (2007: 173).
[979] FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin (2017).
[980] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a: 79); Katz (2008); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Serricchio, Tsakatika, and Quaglia (2013); Vasilopoulou (2013); FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin (2017).

up with useful solutions to economic challenges."[981] Further, these practices emerged around the claim about "the non-democratic nature of the EU".[982] This was further based on the widespread understanding that the European project led by "elites that lack any democratic legitimacy and transparency".[983] Moreover, it was argued that the project is "too expensive in terms of bureaucratic resources" and that it lacks the capacity to "serve its extensive areas of competences," further assuming that "national sovereignty and the national state are undermined" by the progressing integration.[984]

The growing resistance and share of votes for euro-critical movements within the discourse on EUI was further visible in the EP from 1994 onwards.[985] Previously, the political landscape in the EP was rather indifferent. However, from the 1990s, the Common Assembly started to be divided along the main dimensions of left- and right- wing, as well as on pro- and anti-integration and showed particular fertile ground for actors resisting EUI. Euro-critical positions were therefore increasingly strengthened further consolidating its ranks within the EP.[986] The first anti-Europe group in the EP was the European of Nations (EN), which was founded in 1994, uniting a diverse set of demands of resistance toward EUI.[987]

James Goldsmith, who represented and chaired the EN, was further one of the most popular and influential opponents of the European project during that time. He openly articulated his concerns with the EUI from the 1980s. With the entrance of the EP, he substantially expanded his political influence as a vehement opponent of any further process toward integration and the proposed

[981] Brack (2018: 57).
[982] Serricchio, Tsakatika, and Quaglia (2013); Emanuele, Maggini, and Marino (2016).
[983] Brack (2018: 57).
[984] Emanuele, Maggini, and Marino (2016).
[985] Hix (2007).
[986] Bartolini and Hix (2007); Hix, Noury, and Roland (2007).
[987] Brack (2018: 53).

monetary union.[988] Based on Thatcher's ideas in the 1980s, Goldsmith articulated a new hegemonic anti-establishment project within the discourse on EUI. His project emerged around the "resistance towards European integration" among the people who felt excluded by European political elites and their different allies. In his speech titled *Creating a Superstate is The Way to Destroy Europe* (1993), which was famously published in *The Times,* he initially declared his political goal to empower "the people" in the matter of European membership.[989] As he formulates in the following statement: "Our purpose is to fight to obtain that right to decide [whether Britain should remain] an independent nation or whether her future will better be served as part of […] the single European super-state."[990] His declared opposition to the European political elite, was further particularly apparent in his *Bournemouth-Speech* in 1994, where he asserts that his followers are the "real people" of Europe, as opposed to the political elite:

> "[…] It should be obvious that we, who are opposed to Maastricht, are the true Europeans. We are the ones who want a family of nations, a Europe built on its constituent nations. But the others keep saying that they are the pro-Europeans and that we are anti-European."[991]

The establishment of an opposition towards the European political elite was further emphasized in the following statement by Goldsmith, as he formulates that the European political elite's behavior demonstrates their ignorance towards the public: "[…] it demonstrates the belief that citizens are no more than an encumbrance and that only a tiny elite should be entitled to know what is going on."[992]

---

[988] Goldsmith (1996, 1997).
[989] Goldsmith (1993), This was shortly after Goldsmith founded the Referendum Party in the UK, see also Goldsmith (1996, 1997).
[990] Goldsmith (1996).
[991] Goldsmith (1994).
[992] Goldsmith (1994).

Goldsmith also questioned the motives of European member states, as he articulated suspicion that Germany was pursuing the goal of dominating Europe. According to him, this was particularly confirmed with the Maastricht Treaty and the change of the EC into the EU, which implied the centralization of governmental powers.[993] He further emphasized his opposition to any kind of political union, as he saw these developments as a threat to national sovereignty. This was further shown in the following statement:

> "[…] we reject the idea that this country's destiny as a proud and sovereign nation can be brought to an end through the backroom dealings of politicians. The sovereignty of this nation belongs to its people. The sovereignty of this nation belongs to its people and not to a group of career politicians."[994]

Goldsmith articulations throughout these statements thus illustrate the disarticulation and redefinition of key elements of the post-war hegemonic formation. He, for instance, reactivates internal antagonism not only between "the people" and the elite, but also between the members states, as he questions their real motives.[995] The identification is therefore constituted in difference to the European elite as the constitutive outside, but also to the threat of the loss of national sovereignty through the dominance of other European states. Therefore, new political frontiers against the "forces of the establishment" emerged within the discourse of EUI. Goldsmith further established his anti-establishment project around resistance toward the European project. In this way, he was able to include a diversity of demands political position toward the European integration among the people excluded by European political elites.

The EN was further able to manifest itself in the EP and persisted in different shapes and under different labels over decades.[996] The manifestation of the euro-

[993] Goldsmith (1996).
[994] Goldsmith (1996).
[995] Goldsmith (1996).
[996] EN further developed into the Group of Independents for a Europe of Nations from 1996, the Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities from 1999, and the

critical sentiments in the EP was widely seen to be one of the most significant developments in the process of EUI, which was mostly labeled as "Euroscepticism" in the media and politicians.[997] In particular from the 2009 elections of the EP onwards, euro-critical anti-establishment parties across the political spectrum from the extreme-left to extreme-right were able to achieve historical success.[998] The success was often declared as an "Eurosceptic storm in Brussels."[999] Euro-critical parties along the spectrum entered the parliament including neo-Nazi parties, extreme right groups and also extreme left groups.[1000] In particular the 2014 elections in the EP marked a shift in the political influence toward euro-critical positions in the EP. As illustrated earlier, in 2014, around twenty five percent of seats in the EP were taken by parties resisting the process of integration, compared with around sixteen percent in 2009.[1001] In the 2019 EP elections, anti-euro parties – both left and right – were able to further confirm their success and thus manifest themselves in the political landscape.[1002] Although the euro-critical parties do not represent a homogenous group, they were further able to form groups at the supranational level, thus putting Europe's capacity to defend itself and act politically at risk.[1003] In response to the historical success of euro-critical parties in the EP in 2014, Francois Hollande - French President from 2012 till 2017 – further

Independence/Democracy Group in 2004, which was led by Nigel Farage (UKIP) and Kathy Sinnott (Independent, Ireland). After a period of weakening, as many members joined the new Europe of Freedom and Democracy, it was re-founded as Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy in 2014 (Brack 2018).

[997] Hansen, L. and Waever (2001); Flood and Usherwood (2007); Usherwood and Startin (2012).

[998] Hobolt (2015).

[999] Fontanella-Khan and Carnegy (2014).

[1000] Brack and Startin (2015: 242-245).

[1001] Brack (2018: 57-58).

[1002] de Wilde, Trenz and Michailidou (2014); Hobolt (2015); Leruth, Startin, and Usherwood (2017b).

[1003] Dennison and Zerka (2019). See also: FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin (2017); Taggart (2019); Mudde (2019); Brack (2019); Erlanger and Specia (2019); Wisniewska (2019); Desilver (2019); Treib (2020).

interprets the results as "a vote of mistrust towards Europe."[1004] He requested for the "EU to change focus and reduce its role," claiming that the EU had become "remote and incomprehensible for many of its citizens."[1005]

The analysis conducted in this section therefore suggests that the situation characterized by a crisis of identification and discursive dislocation at the end of the first period of EUI allowed for emergence of new hegemonic movements in the discourse on EUI and the re-articulation of the existing hegemonic formation.[1006] In the context of the structural crisis or hegemonic struggle, the newly-approached movements were able to form their projects around the empty signifier of resistance and tie together a diverse set of demands through chains of equivalence towards the EUI. They further employed articulatory logics of difference by establishing new frontiers within the discourse of EUI against the European political elite. The aforementioned phenomena further show how the hegemonic struggle around resistance finds expression in a number of referenda and euro-critical parties across Europe and in the EP. They emerged across the political spectrum from extreme-left to the extreme-right, including neo-fascist parties, nationalist or agrarian movements, aiming to fill the void and therefore hegemonize the dislocated political arena.

From the second period of EUI onwards, the discourse on EUI was therefore characterized by widespread and openly-articulated resistance towards the sedimented hegemonic discourse. The emergence of diverse hegemonic projects in the situation of a crisis of identification was further accompanied by the de-sedimentation of the post-war consensus and the re-articulation of the existing hegemonic formation.[1007] The emergence of this moment of struggle therefore indicated the crisis of the post-war hegemonic formation gradually

[1004] John and Melander (2014).
[1005] John and Melander (2014).
[1006] Mouffe (2018). In a moment of crisis or discursive dislocation, sedimented practices are innovatively articulated and new political communities constructed (Nabers 2015: 194).
[1007] Mouffe (2018: 25-28); Tambakaki (2011).

implemented from the 1950s. In this way, a greater diversity and differentiation of positions and opinions became visible and the discourse on EUI was therefore increasingly characterized by political polarization, questioning the European project..[1008] It eventually split the post-war consensus into those in favor of the previous consensus and those associated with the newly-proposed projects.[1009] The discourse on EUI thus changed from a relatively stable system around the permissive consensus to a much stronger critical engagement and increased resistance toward the EUI.[1010] It followed that European political elites supportive of the project were no longer able to lean on the supportive climate and a general Europhile attitude, enabling them to make decisions without much public involvement.[1011] This development thus marks a new era in process of EUI characterized by resistance as an increasingly powerful phenomenon and the mainstreaming of anti-EU rhetoric.[1012]

The next section more closely explores the hegemonic struggles within the discourse on EUI, analyzing the ongoing political dynamics and structures allowing for apathy and disaffection within the discourse on EUI.

5.4 Apathy and disaffection

This section focuses on the analysis of the ongoing hegemonic struggle within the discourse EUI. In particular, it investigates the manifestation resistance evolving around more extreme forms of euro-critical movements, therefore, showing apathy and disaffection from the European project.

[1008] Cautrès (1998); Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Down and Wilson (2008).
[1009] Hall (1983); King (1987); Jessop et al. (1988); Gamble (1994); Smith, A.M. (1994).
[1010] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Down and Wilson (2008); Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002).
[1011] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Hobolt (2012).
[1012] Vasilopoulou (2013); Verney (2015); Brack (2018).

According to Laclau's and Mouffe's theoretical elaborations, in a situation of structural crisis and hegemonic struggle, the different hegemonic projects strive for political leadership by using articulatory practices. They aim to fill empty signifier with their particular content and tie together a diverse number of demands through chains of equivalence. They further constituted relational identification by determining a discursively-articulated antagonistic other.[1013] They differ in their articulation of new hegemonic projects and continue until a hegemonic formation has sedimented in the never-ending discursive processes.[1014] The discursive struggle between different hegemonic projects competing to suture a dislocated social order is, according to Mouffe, the actual modus of politics under the condition of modern democracy.[1015] In the context of a modern democracy, different political projects struggle to implement their interpretations of the shared ethic-political principles. The political system thus needs to provide legitimate channels for the expression of those political positions and for an ongoing agonistic confrontation to take place within the system. According to Mouffe's theoretical model, the struggle between different hegemonic projects can result in the crystallization of passion outside of the particular discursive system when these agonistic dynamics are hindered in a political system. These forms of collective identification can further appear around non-negotiable moral values such as nationalist, ethic, or religious, which are non-manageable within the particular democratic political process.[1016] The newly-emerging projects and movements can therefore take the form of extremist parties bringing about political polarization.[1017] This way, they further show disaffection with the processes of political participation and

[1013] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii).
[1014] Hansen, A.D. and Sørensen, E. (2005: 96).
[1015] Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xii-xiii); Laclau and Zac (1994: 36-37); Laclau (1996: 35) Mouffe (2013: 2-3).
[1016] Mouffe (2000c: 103; 2005a: 21, 30, 104; 2013: 8).
[1017] Mouffe (2005a: 51, 82; 2013: 58-59).

even apathy from the system, thus destabilizing and threating the existence of particular political system.[1018]

Given the consensus-focused approach in the first period of EUI, the political system was unable to provide the political structures and processes for those agonistic dynamics of pluralism to unfold. It therefore failed to secure the diverse demands of the people and lacked legal political channels for confrontation of different political positions and disagreement with the existing system.[1019] The possibility for legitimate dissent was thus eliminated and any resistance towards the hegemonic project of EUI was only possible outside the discursive system and thus declared in negative terms.[1020] This laid the ground for political polarization and extreme political movements to emerge in the political landscape that take up the unoccupied political space and question the existence of the political institution.[1021] Therefore, with the lack of the political system to allow identification with a diverse set of political positions and agonistic confrontation to take place, the ground was laid for extreme forms of antagonism to emerge.[1022]

As illustrated in the previous section, the diverse demands in the structural crisis of the hegemonic formation emerged around resistance toward the ongoing integration of the European project. Under the umbrella of resistance towards EUI, the projects were able to subsume a wide range of diverse demands at the national or supranational level. However, the projects increasingly showed articulatory practices around empty signifier such as re-nationalization, demanding not only the reduction or stagnation of the competences of the EU, but even the dissolution of the community.

[1018] Mouffe (2005a: 30, 62-69).
[1019] Mouffe (2000c: 99-100); Hansen, A.D. and Sonnichsen (2014b: 6).
[1020] Mouffe (2005a: 30; 2013: 20); Hansen, A.D. and Sonnichsen (2014b: 6).
[1021] Mouffe (2005a: 62-69).
[1022] Mouffe (2005a: 62-69).

As part of the earlier movements, Goldsmith established his anti-establishment project around the empty signifier of re-nationalization of the European project. In this way, he was able to include a diversity of political position and demands opposed to any further vertical or horizontal deepening of the European project, affecting centralization of political power, sovereignty. He openly proclaimed his ambition to build an alternative anti-establishment movement aiming for re-nationalization and the protecting of the national identity in the European project, as he states in the following statement:

> "How can one possibly expect that there will not be a reaction, a nationalist reaction, by people who want to protect the identity, and the culture, of their nations? […] a project which will be an alternative to that of the centre right / centre left establishment."[1023]

Goldsmith further articulates his efforts to strive for the strengthening of the national state and national sovereignty, as he further states in the following:

> "According to our plan Europe will be built on the strengths, cultures and heritage of its nations, based on true subsidiarity and that means that everything that can be done by the family, the locality, the region and the nation should be done accordingly, and only those things that cannot be decentralised, should be re-grouped at the European level."[1024]

These articulations therefore underline Goldsmith resistance towards any further decentralization of the European states and his rejection of the European project. Similar efforts, however, become further apparent examining articulatory practices from European politicians in the third period of EUI. Here, Nigel Farage – leader of the UKIP, which also supported Britain's exit from the EU – proclaims in 2010 his resistance and re-nationalization efforts against the European project in *The Guardian*. He further asserts about van Rompuy – president of the European Council 2009-2014 – that:

[1023] Goldsmith (1994).
[1024] Goldsmith (1994).

> "This man is an overpaid catastrophe who wants to abolish our nation. Nation states will not disappear because they are the expression of peoples' will. The EU is swimming against the tide of history. The number of nation states in the world is increasing all the time, therefore establishing the project of resistance and re-nationalization."[1025]

Farage goes on to state his ambition to bring an end to the European project, as he further claims: "I will do anything to overthrow this empire. […] Rather than bring peace and harmony, the EU will cause insurgency and violence."[1026] Here, he also de-articulates the post-war hegemonic formation and the historical signifier of European unity. He instead proposes that the EU is in thrall to the myth of European unity, and thus speaks out against the vision of "inevitable" unification. As demonstrated above, for many years there has been a Europhile tenor and a concerted effort to justify the need for an "ever closer union."[1027] The hegemonic project of unification prevailed in the historical debate and was used to explain the "inevitability" of the EU.[1028] However, Farage de-articulates this post-war consensus and builds a new collective identification around re-nationalization as the need of "the people," as he continues to elaborate on van Rompuy:

> "You appear to have a loathing for the very concept of the existence of nation states - perhaps that's because you come from Belgium, which of course is pretty much a non-country. […] Sir, you have no legitimacy in this job at all, and I can say with confidence that I speak on behalf of the majority of British people in saying: We don't know you, we don't want you, and the sooner you're put out to grass, the better."[1029]

Farage therefore emphasizes his objections against the European institutions and its leaders, and also stresses his re-nationalization efforts, as he further elaborates: "[w]e seek an amicable divorce from the European Union and its

[1025] Guardian (2010).
[1026] Farage (2010).
[1027] Brack (2018: 27).
[1028] Brack (2018: 27).
[1029] Guardian (2010).

replacement with a genuine free-trade agreement."[1030] Farage's articulations show therefore a more extreme form of the already elaborated hegemonic struggles during the second period of EUI. Van Rompuy, as a representative of the European political elite supportive of the European project responds to Farage's elaborations and the strong euro-critical positions and growing re-nationalization efforts in in the EU in his speech in 2010, stating that:

> "Euroscepticism leads to war and a rising tide of nationalism is the European Union's 'biggest enemy.' […] We have together to fight the danger of a new Euroscepticism. […] This is no longer the monopoly of a few countries. In every member state, there are people who believe their country can survive alone in the globalized world. It is more than an illusion: it is a lie."[1031]

Van Rompuy therefore confronts the euro-critical positions and further sees the re-nationalization efforts and the associated new nationalism in Europe based on fear:

> "The biggest enemy of Europe today is fear. Fear leads to egoism, egoism leads to nationalism, and nationalism leads to war. […] Today's nationalism is often not a positive feeling of pride of one's own identity, but a negative feeling of apprehension of the others. Our Union is born out of a will to co-operate, to reconcile and to act in solidarity"[1032]

As illustrated in van Rompuy's speech, it is argued that opposing the path of integration means being on the "wrong side" of history. However, following Farage, these "historical determinisms" needed to be challenged since they were used as a justification for bypassing the democratic wishes of "the people."[1033]

Following Laclau and Mouffe's discourse-theoretical ideas, this shows that the previous hegemonic formation and historical determinism in relation to the process of EUI is substantially challenged by different projects such as the re-

[1030] Farage (2010).
[1031] Van Rompuy (2010).
[1032] See van Rompuy (2010).
[1033] Abulafia (2015).

nationalization efforts formulated in Farage's speeches. With these efforts, the political movement around Farage questions the existence of the particular democratic institution itself, which appears – following Mouffe – particularly often when there is a crisis of identification and a lack of agonistic pluralism in a modern democratic society. With the statements from van Rompuy it becomes further prevalent that movements opposing the dominant hegemonic project is constituted in negative terms.

Resistance toward the European projects therefore showed increasingly extreme forms and questioning the very existence of the institutions. Even among European political leaders similar statements can be found, such as David Cameron –British Prime Minister from 2010 till 2016– who declared himself to be "Eurosceptic" after he fought to holt up an increase in the EU budget during a time of national austerity.[1034] Also, Viktor Orbán – Hungarian Prime Minister – openly articulated his mistrust in the European Union, as he states in 2015 talking about the "migration crisis" that "[w]e must acknowledge that the European Union's misguided immigration policy is responsible for this situation."[1035] However, the increased disaffection and apathy from the European institution further peaked with the UK's decision to leave the Union. After a long history of resistance towards its EU membership and re-nationalization efforts, Prime Minister David Cameron declared to hold a referendum on the UK's further remaining the EU in case his party won the majority in the general election in 2015. The referendum resulted 2016 in the decision to withdraw from the EU. It was the first referendum in the history of EUI on whether a member state wants to remain within the EU. The UK leaving the EU – often called "Brexit" – eventually took place in 2020.[1036]

The analysis conducted in this section therefore suggests that the third period of EUI showed an increasing manifestation and more extreme forms of resistance

[1034] Brack (2018: 51).
[1035] Traynor (2015); see also: FitzGibbon, Leruth, and Startin (2017).
[1036] Brack and Startin (2015); Brack (2018: 57).

evolving around re-nationalization efforts. The emerged movements in the context of a structural crisis and a crisis of identification successfully divided the previously-existing consensus in the post-war period. They moved into a vacuum created by technocratic post-politics that were particularly prevalent during the early period of EUI. The created void was occupied by diverse projects on resistance, increasingly showing strong disaffection and apathy across Europe. The disaffection and apathy became commonplace with the UK's decision to leave the Union in 2016,[1037] ultimately threatening the existence of the European institution.[1038] The process of EUI has therefore arrived in a new era determined by the manifestation of the resistance in euro-critical and anti-establishment parties across Europe and the increased disaffection and apathy from the European institution.[1039] Therefore, Mouffe' theoretical elaborations allow to gain an enhanced understanding of the manifestation of resistance accompanied by strong apathy and disaffection with European project as such.[1040]

5.5 Conclusion

As illustrated in the previous analysis, for much of the earlier history of EUI, the project was understood as a hegemonic, elite-driven project in which political rivalries and ideological conflicts were mostly absent. The general modus operandi in the European institutions was in favor of compromise over conflict and the chosen decision-making process was consensus-focused.[1041] The immediate post-war period was thus characterized by an excess of consensus, the also called permissive consensus, allowing European elites to

[1037] Abbarno and Zapryanova (2013); Brack and Startin (2015); Brack (2018).
[1038] Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008); Mair (2011); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Serricchio, Tsakatika, and Quaglia (2013); Brack and Startin (2015: 241-242); Leconte (2015).
[1039] Vasilopoulou (2013); Verney (2015).
[1040] Mouffe (2013: 20).
[1041] Lindberg and Scheingold (1970); Bartolini and Hix (2007: 5); Leconte (2010).

design and implement the European institution without much public debate. In this manner, resistance against the EUI was only peripheral during this time and persisted at the margin of the political system.

The elite focus and the consensus-focused strategy lacked, however, the possibility for political identification within the discourse on EUI. It did not offer different political positions with which people could identify. The period was thus characterized by the exclusion of the people from the process of European governance and the possibility of effective participation. The "emotional participation of the populace in the affairs of government"[1042] was therefore not possible. This situation further created a void that allowed for a weakening of the hegemonic formation and a crisis of identification to emerge. The dislocated identification enabled for the proliferation of antagonism and a hegemonic struggle to prosper. This was followed by the de-articulation of the sedimented hegemonic formation and the weakening of the presumed consensus in the post-war period, fostering the discursive shift from the post-war consensus towards more resistance within the discourse on EUI.[1043] The discourse of EUI therefore showed a greater differentiation of positions and opinions and a greater visibility of resistance.[1044] In this way, European political elites supportive of the project were no longer able to lean on the supportive climate for EUI and a general Europhile attitude.[1045] The manifestation of resistance in the discourse of EUI therefore marked the emergence of a new era for the process of EUI, as it showed increasing disaffection and apathy with the institution itself.

In the next chapter the findings of this analysis are illustrated and discussed against the backdrop of Mouffe's model of agonistic pluralism.

[1042] Mouffe (2005a: 28).
[1043] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a).
[1044] Cautrès (1998); Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002); Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Down and Wilson (2008).
[1045] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Hobolt (2012).

6. Theory and results

In this chapter, the findings of the analysis at hand, seeking to elaborate on the research questions "How can resistance towards European integration be best understood from the perspective of Chantal Mouffe's AMD?", are illustrated and discussed against the theoretical backdrop of Mouffe's model of agonistic pluralism. The general purpose of this analysis cannot be to find empirical evidence or seek verification and falsification of a thesis. This would be in stark contrast to the poststructuralist approach adopted in the study at hand. Instead, the analysis aimed to elaborate on and provide more answers to the research question, which will be further discussed in this section. The research question was analyzed in the previous chapter by deconstructing and reconstructing the discourse on EUI. Here, discourse-theoretical concepts such as hegemonic formation, antagonism, empty signifiers or hegemonic struggle were used. Hereby, the change from a presumed post-war permissive consensus in the first period of EUI towards resistance and disaffection with the European institutions was theoretically substantiated. The discourse on EUI was further analyzed along the four determined categories of the analytical framework based on Mouffe's AMD, namely excess of consensus, crisis of identification, hegemonic struggle, and apathy and disaffection. These were further elaborated along the three time periods of the EUI, first from the early 1950s until the late-1980s, second from the early-1990s until the late-2000s, and third from 2010s until the election of the EP in 2019. Therefore, in the following, the discussion will take place against the background of Mouffe's theory based on the analysis conducted along the categories of "excess of consensus," "crisis of identification," "hegemonic struggle" as well as "apathy and disaffection." The section concludes on the general relevance and substantiation of Mouffe's democratic model of agonistic pluralism for the phenomenon of resistance.

Excess of consensus and the agonistic model of democracy

As the analysis in the previous chapter illustrates, the major argument of section 5.1 is that the first period of EUI from the 1950s onwards was characterized by the existence of an excess of consensus and a presumed post-war permissive consensus. The sedimented hegemonic formation under direct control of the European elites, allowed for a consensus-focused policy approach to emerge. During this time, the European elites were able to implement the hegemonic project and design political structures without much conflict and public debate. Following Mouffe's theoretical elaborations, this situation of consensual politics during the first period of EUI demonstrates a post-political system.[1046] It blurs the political frontiers between different positions and eliminates the political and pluralist space. Mouffe further suggests that such consensual practices presuppose the very disappearance of what constitutes the viral core of democracy.[1047] It thus manifests the evolution towards post-democracy, in which the agonistic dimension providing democratic politics with its inherent dynamics are erasure.[1048] Politics instead become a mere issue of managing the order dominated by the ideas of European political elites and carried out by the policy-making of European and national technocrats. In this situation of consensus, the European citizens are deprived of the possibility to exercise popular sovereignty and their democratic rights. The system thus lacks a real agonistic confrontation and political alternatives to identify with.

Crisis of identification and the agonistic model of democracy

As shown in analysis conducted, the major argument of section 5.2 is that towards the end of the first period of EUI, the sedimented hegemonic formation of the post-war period was dislocated and a general crisis of identification appeared. The consensus-focused approach installed, and several political and economic events stressed the limits of the established discursive system. In the context of a deepening crisis of identification from the late-1980s, the discourse

[1046] Mouffe (2018: 13-18).
[1047] Mouffe (2005b: 28-29).
[1048] Mouffe (2005a).

on EUI shifted from a general consensus towards increasing resistance. Following Mouffe's theoretical elaborations, the emerged situation of deepening discursive dislocation and crisis of identification is not surprising. Given the emphasis on consensus in a post-political system, it lacks real alternatives and real choice given to citizens. The possibility to channel passion in productive democratic ways towards the political system and for people to identify with the project is further absent. This in turn allows for the dislocation of identities in the discourse of EUI followed by a discursive shift away from the presumed consensus. As Mouffe's theory suggests, no society is truly homogeneous, and people need the possibility to constantly struggle with internal deficiencies of real debate.[1049] Thus, politics requires the availability of a conflictual representation of the world, and the possibility for passion to be mobilized politically to enable identification and affection with the particular system.[1050] This is precisely what was missing during the first period of EUI. With the elite focus and the consensus-focused policy strategy in place, the European project was unable to reach the emotional participation of the citizens in the affairs of government. The exclusion of citizens from European governance and the lack of effective civic competence is thus at the expense of popular fragmentation and the end of the permissive consensus.

Hegemonic struggle and the agonistic model of democracy

As suggested in the analysis conducted, the major argument of section 5.3 a crisis of identification and a dislocation of the hegemonic formation emerged in the second period of EUI. In the context of the structural crisis, various hegemonic movements in the discourse of EUI strove to fill the emerged void and hegemonize the existing order. The hegemonic struggle was therefore accompanied by the de-sedimentation of the post-war consensus and the re-articulation of the existing hegemonic formation.[1051] The emergence of this

[1049] Mouffe (2013: 2).
[1050] Mouffe (2005a: 23-24, 28-29).
[1051] Mouffe (2018: 25-28); Tambakaki (2011).

moment of struggle therefore indicated the crisis of the post-war hegemonic formation gradually implemented from the 1950s. In this way, a greater diversity and differentiation of positions and opinions became visible and the discourse on EUI was therefore increasingly characterized by political polarization, questioning of the European project and resistance.[1052] The movements especially criticized the direction that EUI had taken in the context of the 1988 Single Act and the 1992 Maastricht Treaty.[1053] Further mobilized the logics of equivalence and difference to articulate their particular projects around resistance and re-nationalization an in difference to the European elite and its proceeding. The discourse on EUI was therefore characterized by widespread and openly-articulated resistance towards the sedimented hegemonic discourse. Following Mouffe's theoretical elaborations, these movements were able to move into the void created by the consensus-focused approach over the first period of EUI. Here, the system failed to provide legitimate ways for political contestation and opposition to the existing order. In a situation of lack of agonistic debate, the emergence of a crisis of identification is therefore not surprising. The hegemonic struggle eventually split the post-war consensus in the discourse on EUI into those in favor of the previous consensus and those associated with the newly-proposed projects.[1054] The discourse therefore changed from a relatively stable discursive system around the permissive consensus towards increased resistance. It followed that European political elites were no longer able to lean on the supportive climate and a general Europhile attitude.[1055]

Apathy and disaffection and the agonistic model of democracy

[1052] Cautrès (1998); Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Down and Wilson (2008).
[1053] Kopecký and Mudde (2002); Szczerbiak and Taggart (2002); Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Down and Wilson (2008).
[1054] Hall (1983); King (1987); Jessop et al. (1988); Gamble (1994); Smith, A.M. (1994).
[1055] Harmsen and Spiering (2004a); Mouffe (2005a: 51, 82; 2013: 58-59); Hobolt (2012).

The analysis conducted in section 5.4 of the analysis further suggests that resistance, as an expression of disaffection and apathy towards the process of EUI, increasingly manifested itself in the third period of EUI. The emerged movements in the context of a structural crisis and a crisis of identification successfully divided the previously-existing consensus in the post-war period. Following Mouffe's theoretical elaborations, these struggles moved into the vacuum created by technocratic post-politics. When political frontiers become blurred disaffection with the political system and the formation of collective passions outside the discursive system can appear.[1056] These trends therefore opened the door to extremist and anti-establishment parties. The post-political situation in the earlier periods of EUI left a void that diverse hegemonic projects strove to fill, followed by the manifestation of resistance in the increasing success of euro-critical anti-establishment parties, aiming for the re-nationalization of the EU. Disaffection from the institutions of the EU therefore became increasingly visible, climaxing with the ultimate decision by the UK to leave the Union in 2016,[1057] which substantially endangered the existence of European institutions. The process of EUI has therefore arrived in a new era determined by the manifestation of the resistance in euro-critical and anti-establishment parties across Europe and the increased disaffection and apathy from the European institution.[1058]

Mouffe' model therefore suggest that the described manifestation of resistance followed by a "crisis of Europe"[1059] in the discourse on EUI indicates for a lack of agonistic struggle in the European institutions. The post-political system is not responsive to the normative challenges posed by the movement of resistance. Without the possibility for legitimate criticisms about the existing shape of the hegemonic project and the process of EUI, the strengthening of

[1056] Mouffe (2005a: 21, 30, 104).
[1057] Abbarno and Zapryanova (2013); Brack and Startin (2015); Brack (2018).
[1058] Vasilopoulou (2013); Verney (2015).
[1059] Macron (2019).

resistance and general disaffection is not surprising.[1060] The persistence of such a situation could eventually lead to the collapse of the European project. Therefore, it appears as an urgent matter to think about "how to create the conditions for democratic contestation within the EU."[1061]

Recommendations from the perspective of the agonistic model

The research approach used in this study provides a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation and delivers more answers to the research question. Against this elaborated background and on the basis of Mouffe's AMD, the demonstrated analysis further provides some recommendations on how to proceed in the identified post-political situation and in order to encounter the phenomenon of resistance in the discourse on EUI.

The present study suggests that the liberal European institutions in place may undergo an agonistic reform. This agonistic reform would imply the application of the "conflictual consensus" to the institutional design. On the one hand, the democratic structures in the EU must be composed of a multiplicity of diverse *demoi* providing different spaces for the exercise of democratic sovereignty and clear and appealing identity positions.[1062] This way, the system can foster affection with the democratic institution. The possibility of an agonistic confrontation over the direction of integration process within the European institution thus seems vital. On the other hand, it is necessary to link together the different *demoi* to provide a common bond between the citizens under the shared ethico-political principles and still allowing an agonistic conflict between adversaries to take place. This way, it becomes possible to take the eradicated antagonistic dimension of the political serious and established democratic institutions that are able to mobilize passion and affection towards

[1060] Morgan (2005); Usherwood and Startin (2012); Nivet (2016); Brack (2018).
[1061] Mouffe (2012).
[1062] Mouffe (2013: xvi).

the democratic design, preventing the strengthening of disaffection and apathy.[1063] Derived from this insight, the analysis therefore suggests for a politization of the European institutions and the decision-making process. It stresses the urgency to allow for a real debate about the process of integration and the contestation of different political project.

The aspect of conflictual consensus has however also been criticized. Here, the central argument is that Mouffe's model is inconsistent by privileging a necessary consensus over the ethical-political principles of freedom and equality as a prerequisite for agonistic pluralism. The premise of this necessary consensus within the democratic community is seen to be a strong contradiction to the plea for a comprehensive recognition of pluralism, dissent and antagonisms. Since Mouffe accuses the representatives of the liberal currents of adhering to the ideals of a consensus and thus giving insufficient room to pluralism, it is unclear how the conflictual consensus presuppose agreement on equality and freedom without even assuming a basic normative unity among citizens.[1064] The primary importance of unity and consensus has prompted commentators to conclude that Mouffe's critique of deliberative democracy is inconsistent. As Matthew Jones questions: "How is it that Mouffe believes that a rational consensus is impossible, yet argues that the same parties are able to pledge allegiance to the ethico-political principles of liberal democracy, namely liberty and equality?"[1065]

[1063] Mouffe (2013: 48); Laclau and Mouffe (2014: xiii, 112, 117).
[1064] Crowder (2006: 10ff.); Knops (2007: 116ff.); Erman (2009: 1049); Rummens (2009: 383f.); Westphal (2013).
[1065] Jones, M. (2014). William Conolly – as an agonistic writer himself – also criticizes Mouffe for her emphasis on consensus as a prior condition of agonism. He appreciates that her theory is distinct from deliberative approaches and that she does not imagine the possibility of a rational consensus without exclusion (Connolly 1995: 133; Westphal 2018b: 264).

The aspect of institutionalization of the agonistic approach has also encountered critical objections.[1066] Here, critiques claim that the consequences of the agonistic model for the design of democratic politics remain unclear. It suggests that the institutions of current liberal democracies need to undergo an agonistic reform, making dissent more visible in the political process,[1067] and enabling passionate identification with differing positions. However, the theoretical elaborations lack any precise guideline for the institutional reform process[1068] and therefore "the consequences of the deep dissent to the organization of political institutions and procedures."[1069] Therefore, the model leaves open the concrete implications for the design of political institutions.[1070] As David Howarth articulates: "[T]here is still something of an 'institutional deficit' in their respective theories, both in terms of their critique of existing arrangements and in terms of their more positive alternatives."[1071]

The reformist approach of the agonistic model

However, other academic scholars in the wider academic literature around the agonistic approaches have presented ideas to close this gap.[1072] Among others, Manon Westphal presents an alternative concept for the institutionalization of the agonistic approach, claiming that it is possible to overcome the identified

---

[1066] See researcher such as: Schaap (2007: 69; 2009); Howarth (2008: 189); Kalyvas (2009: 34); Wingenbach (2011: 85); Fossen (2012: 331); Westphal (2013; 2014); Wallaschek (2017). For a general overview of agonistic approaches, see for instance: Wenman (2013).
[1067] As Mouffe claims: "what we understand by "liberal democracy" is constituted by sedimented forms of power relations resulting from an ensemble of contingent hegemonic interventions. The fact that their contingent character is not recognized today is due to the absence of counter-hegemonic projects" (Mouffe 2005a: 33; Westphal 2013: 32).
[1068] Westphal (2013: 32).
[1069] Westphal (2014: 1). See also: Kapoor (2002: 473f.); Critchley (2004: 116); March and Olsen (2005: 6); Schaap (2007: 72); Fritsch (2008); Kalyvas (2009: 34); Nonhoff (2010: 53); Beckstein (2011: 41ff.); Westphal (2013; 2019).
[1070] Westphal (2013: 24).
[1071] Howarth (2008: 189).
[1072] For further critique, see also: Knops (2007); Tally (2007); Erman (2009); Rummens (2009); Beckstein (2011); Jones, M. (2014); Ince (2016); Henderson, L. (2017); Siemens (2017); Michelsen (2018).

institutional deficit without violating its claim of contingency.[1073] Her "comparison and reform-oriented approach" generally suggests that the ideas of agonistic democracy should be used as a benchmark for a critical evaluation of existing formal democratic institutions.[1074] The comparative element of her approach, on the one hand, examines whether the characteristics of the institutions prove to be conducive and useful for conflict promotion and regulation from an agonistic perspective.[1075] The reform element of her approach, on the other hand, examines whether there may be forms of political institutions that are better suitable from an agonistic perspective. If this is the case, Westphal recommends outlining a program of institutional innovation, which shows precisely how the institution under investigation can be formed more agonistic.[1076]

Following the analysis provided in this study, the agonistic model has the potential to stimulate new ways of thinking and provide political guidelines to simultaneously promote the contingency and controversy aspects in the European institutions and process of EUI.[1077] In this way, the agonistic reform of the formal European institutions enables the effective handling of pluralism and opens new spaces for participation with its focus on hegemony and antagonism. It further allows the visibility of emerging disagreement and conflict and the direct shaping of the integration process. Instead of reconciling particular interests, the system therefore allows the incorporation of a wider range of particular interests and actors that may otherwise be left behind. Therefore, an agonistic reform can provide for a lively confrontation of political position and participation, making contestation and power possible in

[1073] Owen (2008: 222ff.); Wingenbach (2011: xi); Fossen (2012: 331); Westphal (2018a: 89).
[1074] Westphal (2018a: 104).
[1075] Westphal (2018a: 104).
[1076] Westphal (2018a: 104-105; 2019: 2).
[1077] Westphal (2019: 6).

democratic terms and erasing traces of exclusion.[1078] In this way, identification and affection and identification with the European institutions can be fostered, therefore, entailing the potential to encounter the current challenges of resistance in the discourse on EUI. The model of agonistic democracy is thus able to provide practical implications and impulses in dealing with the challenges of pluralism in modern democracies. This study therefore presents the perspective of the agonistic theory of democracy on resistance in the discourse on EUI, suggesting for an agonistic reform of the European project since the possibility for an agonistic confrontation within the institutions of the European Union seems absolutely beneficial to its further existence.

[1078] Jones, M. (2014). Although agonistic struggle has been criticized by Žižek (Žižek and Daly, 2004) for its inability to challenge the present-day, neo-liberal status quo, Mouffe (2005: 33) believes that it can and should "bring about new meanings and fields of application for the idea of democracy to be radicalized" (Mouffe 2005: 33).

7. Bibliography

Abbarno, Aaron J., and Galina M. Zapryanova. 2013. “Indirect Effects of Eurosceptic Messages on Citizen Attitudes toward Domestic Politics.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (4): 581–597.

Abulafia, David. 2015. “The EU is in Thrall to a Historical Myth of European Unity.” *The Telegraph,* Feburay 25, 2015, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/11435270/The-EU-is-in-thrall-to-a-historical-myth-of-European-unity.html (December 9, 2019).

Adenauer, Konrad. 1951. “Speech by Konrad Adenauer to the Council of Europe (Strasbourg, 10 December 1951).” *Council of Europe - Consultative Assembly Reports* Sittings 37-41: 1005-1010.

———. 1952. “Rede von Konrad Adenauer vor dem Bundestag ‘Deutschland und die Europäische Verteidigungsgemeinschaft’ (Bonn, 7. Februar 1952).” *Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*. Vol. 17: 159-163.

———. 1956. “Press Statement (Bonn, 8. November 1956).” *Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*. Vol. 211: 2017-2020.

Adenauer, Konrad, and März Friedländer. 1952. “Zwiegespräch zwischen Konrad Adenauer und März Friedländer (5. März 1952).” *Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*. Vol. 17: 261-263.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. 2016. “Towards a Practice Turn in EU Studies. The Everyday of European Integration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (1): 87–103.

Albertazzi, Daniele, and Duncan McDonnell, eds. 2008. *Twenty-First Century Populism*. *The spectre of Western European democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Alker, Hayward R. 1996. *Rediscoveries and Refonnulations: Humanistic Methodologies for International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Andersen, Niels Akerstrøm. 2005. “Political Administration.” In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David R. Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 139–169. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Anderson, Christopher J. 1998. “When in Doubt, Use Proxies: Attitudes toward Domestic Politics and Support for European Integration.” *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5): 569–601.

Anderson, Christopher J., and Karl C. Kaltenthaler. 1996. “The Dynamics of Public Opinion toward European integration, 1973-93.” *European Journal of International Relations* 2 (2): 175–199.

Anderson, Christopher J., and Shawn M. Reichert. 1995. “Economic benefits and support for membership in the EU: A cross-national analysis.” *Journal of Public Policy* 15 (3): 231–249.

Angermüller, Johannes. 2014. *Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis: Subjectivity in Enunciative Pragmatics*. Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2015. *Why there is no poststructuralism in France. The making of an intellectual generation*. London and New York: Bloomsbury.

Angermüller, Johannes, et al., eds. 2014. *Diskursforschung: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Angermüller, Johannes, Dominique Maingueneau, and Ruth Wodak, eds. 2014. *The Discourse Studies Reader. Main Currents in Theory and Analysis*. John Benjamins Publisher Company.

Armingeon, Klaus, and Besir Ceka. 2014. “The Loss of Trust in the European Union during the Great Recession since 2007: The Role of Heuristics from the National Political System.” *European Union Politics* 15 (1): 82–107.

Ashley, Richard, K. 1981. "Political Realism and Human Interest." *International Studies Quarterly* 25 (2): 204-236.

———. 1984. "The poverty of neorealism". *International Organization* 38 (2): 225-286.

Aydın-Düzgit, Senem. 2014. “Critical Discourse Analysis in Analysing European Union Foreign Policy: Prospects and Challenges.” *Cooperation and Conflict* 49 (3): 354–367.

Balme, Richard, and Didier Chabanet. 2008. *European Governance and Democracy. Power and Protest in the EU*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Banchoff, Thomas, and Mitchell P. Smith, eds. 1999. *Legitimacy and the*

European Union: The Contested Polity. London and New York: Routledge.

Barthes, Roland. 1967. *Elements of Semiology*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Bartolini, Stefano, ed. 2012. *Europeanisation and Party Politics: How the EU Affects Domestic Actors, Patterns and Systems.* Colchester: ECPR Press.

Bartolini, Stefano, and Simon Hix. 2007. "Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?" *Notre Europe, Policy Papers* 19 (1): 61-94.

Batory, Agnes. 2001. "Hungarian Party Identities and the Question of European Integration." *Sussex European Institute, Working Paper no. 4*.

———. 2002. "Attitudes to Europe." *Party Politics* 8 (5): 525–539.

Batory, Agnes, and Nick Sitter. 2008. "Protectionism, Populism, or Participation? Agrarian Parties and the European Questions in Western and East Central Europe." In *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism*, edited by Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, 2nd ed., 52–74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beckstein, Martin. 2011. "The Dissociative and Polemical Political: Chantal Mouffe and the Intellectual Heritage of Carl Schmitt." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 16 (1): 33–51.

Beetham, David, and Christopher Lord. 1998. *Legitimacy and the European Union*. London: Longman.

Behr, Hartmut. 2014. *Politics of Difference: Epistemologies of Peace*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bellamy, Richard, and Alex Warleigh. 1998. "From an Ethics of Integration to an Ethics of Participation: Citizenship and the Future of the European Union." *Millenium* 27 (3): 447–467.

Belsey, Catharine. 2002. *Poststructuralism. A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bennington, Geoffrey. 2004. "Saussure and Derrida." In *The Cambridge Companion to Saussure*, edited by Carol Sanders, 186–204. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benoit, Bertrand. 1998. *Social-Nationalism: An Anatomy of French*

Euroscepticism. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Bevir, Mark, and Asaf Kedar. 2008. “Concept Formation in Political Science: An Anti-Naturalist Critique of Qualitative Methodology.” *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (3): 503–517.

Bickerton, Christopher J., Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. 2014. “The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4): 1–20.

Bieling, Hans-Jürgen, and Jochen Steinhilber. 2000. "Hegenomic Projects in the Process Integration." In *Dimensions of a Critical Theory of European Integration*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Bieling and Jochen Steinhilber, 33-59. Studien der Forschungsgruppe Europäische Gemeinschaft (FEG).

Bijsmans, Patrick. 2015. “Media and Euroscepticism: exploring unchartered territory.” *UACES Conference Bilbao* no. September 2015.

Blackburn, Simon. 2011. “Transcendental Signified.” In *Oxford Dictonary of Media and Communication,* edited by Daniel Chandler and Rod Munday, 94-95. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blaikie, Norman. 1993. *Approaches to Social Enquiry*. Cambridge: Polity.

Blatter, Joachim, Markus Haverland, and Merlijn van Hulst, eds. 2016. “Qualitative Research in Political Science.” London: SAGE Publications.

Blatter, Joachim, Phil C. Langer, and Claudius Wagemann. 2018. *Qualitative Methoden in der Politikwissenschaft*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Bleiker, Roland. 2000. *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics*. *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2005. *Divided Korea: Towards a Culture of Reconciliation*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Böhme, Kai. 2003. “Discursive European Integration: The Case of Nordic Spatial Planning.” *Town Planning Review* 74 (1): 11–30.

Boron, Atilio A. 2000. “Embattled Legacy. Post-Marxism and the Social and Political Theory of Karl Marx.” *Latin American Perspectives* 27 (4): 49–79.

Borzel, Tanja A. 1997. “Zur (Ir-) Relevanz der ‘Postmoderne’ für die Integrationsforschung: Eine Replik auf Thomas Diez’ Beitrag ‘Postmoderne und europäische Integration.’” *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 4 (1): 125–137.

Brack, Nathalie. 2015. “The Roles of Eurosceptic Members of the European Parliament and their Implications for the EU.” *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 337–350.

———. 2018. *Opposing Europe in the European Parliament: Rebels and Radicals in the Chamber*. Washington: Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics.

———. 2019. “Eurosceptic Parties at the 2019 Elections: A Relative Success.” In *Euroflections: Leading academics on the European elections 2019*, edited by Niklas Bolin, et al., 64-65. Demicom report no. 40. Sundsvai: Mittuniversitetet.

Brack, Nathalie, and Olivier Costa. 2012. “Beyond the Pro/Anti-Europe Divide: Diverging Views of Europe within EU Institutions.” *Journal of European Integration* 34 (2): 101–111.

Brack, Nathalie, and Nicholas Startin. 2015. “Introduction: Euroscepticism, from the Margins to the Mainstream.” *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 239–249.

Bradley, Arthur. 2008. *Derrida’s Of Grammatology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Breen, Keith. 2009. “Agonism, Antagonism and the Necessity of Care.” In *Law and Agonistic Politics*, edited by Andrew Schaap, 133–146. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Brinegar, Adam P., Seth K. Jolly, and Herbert Kitschelt. 2004. “Varieties of Capitalism and Political Divides over European Integration.” *European Integration and Political Conflict*, 62–90.

Bruter, Michael. 2003. “Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe: The Impact of News and Symbols on Civic and Cultural European Identity.” *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (10): 1148–1179.

———. 2005. *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*. London: Palgrave.

Bryman, Alan. 2012. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University

Press.

Bulley, Dan. 2009. *Ethics as Foreign Policy: Britain, the EU and the Other*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bulmer, Simon, and Jonathan Joseph. 2015. "European Integration in Crisis? Supranational Integration, Hegemonic Projects and Domestic Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 22 (4): 725–748.

Burgess, Peter J. 2000. "The Securitization of Economic Identity: Reason and Culture in the European Monetary Union." In *European Security Identities: Contested Understandings of EU and NATO*, edited by Peter J. Burgess and Ola Tunander, 57–80. Oslo: PRIO Report.

Butler, Judith, Ernesto Laclau, and Slavoj Zizek. 2000. *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality. Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*. London and New York: Verso.

Calhoun, Craig. 2003. "European Studies: Always Already There and Still in Formation." *Comparative European Politics* 1 (1): 5–20.

Çalkıvik, Aslı. 2017. "Poststructuralism and Postmodernism in International Relations." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 1–28.

Callionicos, Alex. 1985. "Postmodernism, Post-Structuralism, Post-Marxism?" Theory, Culture & Society 2 (3): 85-101.

Campbell, David. 1992. *Writing Security. United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 1993. *Politics Without Principle: Sovereignty, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

———. 1998. *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2005. "The Biopolitics of Security: Oil, Empire, and the Sports Utility Vehicle." *American Quarterly* 57 (3): 943–972.

———. 2013. "Poststructuralism." In *International Relations Theories*, edited by Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, 3rd ed., 223–246. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, David, and Michael Shapiro. 2007. "Guest Editors' Introduction."

Security Dialogue 38 (2): 131–137.

Cantat, Céline. 2015. "Narratives and Counter-Narratives of Europe. Constructing and Contesting Europeanity." *Cahiers, Mémoire et Politique* no. October 2015.

Caporaso, James, and Sidney Tarrow. 2008. "Polanyi in Brussels. European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society." *RECON Online Working Papers* 1.

Capuzzi, Francesco. 2016. "Understanding Popular Euroscepticism." *PSA 66th Annual International Conference*, 1–37.

Carey, Sean. 2002. "Undivided Loyalties: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration?" *European Union Politics* 3 (4): 387–413.

Carey, Sean, and Jonathan Burton. 2004. "Research Note: The Influence of the Press in Shaping Public Opinion towards the European Union in Britain." *Political Studies* 52 (3): 623–640.

Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons. 2013. *Handbook of International Relations,* 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publication.

Carpentier, Nico. 2019. "About Dislocation and Invitations: Deepening the Conceptualization of the Discursive-Material Knot." In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 155–178. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carrubba, Clifford J. 1997. "Net Financial Transfers in the European Union: who gets what and why?" *The Journal of Politics* 59 (2): 469–496.

Carta, Caterina. 2019. "'A Rose by Any Other Name': On Ways of Approaching Discourse Analysis." *International Studies Review* 21 (1): 81–106.

Carta, Caterina, and Jean Frédéric Morin. 2014. "Struggling over Meanings: Discourses on the EU's International Presence." *Cooperation and Conflict* 49 (3): 295–314.

Carta, Caterina, and Ruth Wodak. 2015. "Discourse Analysis, Policy Analysis, and the Borders of EU Identity." *Journal of Language and Politics* 14 (1): 1–17.

Cartwright, Richard L. 1968. "Some Remarks on Essentialism." *The Journal of*

Philosophy 65 (20): 615–626.

Cautrès, Bruno. 1998. "Les Attitudes Vis-À-Vis de l'Europe." In *Les Enquêtes Eurobaromètres: Analyse Comparée Des Données Socio-Politiques*, edited by Pierre Bréchon and Bruno Cautrès, 91–114. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Cautrès, Bruno, and Gérard Grunberg. 2007. "Position Sociale, Identite´ Nationale et Attitudes à légard de l'Europe. La Construction Europeénne Souffre-telle d'un Biais élististe?" In *Une Europe Des Élites?*, edited by Olivier Costa and Paul Magnette, 11–36. Brussels: Presses de l'ULB.

Cederström, Carl, and André Spicer. 2014. "Discourse of the Real Kind: A Post-Foundational Approach to Organizational Discourse Analysis." *Organization* 21 (2): 178–205.

Ceretta, Manuela, and Barbara Curli, eds. 2017. *Discourses and Counter-Discourses on Europe: From the Enlightenment to the EU*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chamlian, Lucie. 2016. "The Colonisation of the Future: Power, Knowledge and Preparedness in CSDP." *Global Society* 30 (3): 391–411.

Chamlian, Lucie, and Dirk Nabers. 2016. "Introduction: Foucault Meets EU Studies." *Global Society* 30 (3): 387–390.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 2007. "Constructivism and EU Politics." In *Handbook of European Union*, edited by Knud Erik Jørgensen, Mark Pollack, and Ben Rosamond, 57–74. London: Sage Publication.

Chouliaraki, Lilie. 2000. "Refleksivitet Og Senmoderne Identitet: Et Studie i Mediediskurs." In *Diskursteorien På Arbejde*, edited by Torben Bech Dyrberg, Allen Dreyer Hansen, and Jacob Torfing. Frederiksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

———. 2008. "Discourse Analysis." In *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, edited by Tony Bennett and John Frow, 674–698. London: SAGE Publications.

Christiansen, Thomas, Knud Erik Jørgensen, and Antje Wiener. 1999. "The Social Construction of Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4): 528–544.

Churchill, Winston. 1946. "The Tragedy of Europe." In *His Complete Speeches 1897-1963*, edited by Robert Rhodes, 7th ed. Chelsea House Publishers.

Cleen, Benjamin de, and Yannis Stavrakakis. 2017. “Distinctions and Articulations: A Discourse Theoretical Framework for the Study of Populism and Nationalism.” *Javnost* 24 (4): 301–319.

Clemens, Gabriele. 2017. *The Quest for Europeanization: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Multiple Process*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.

Connolly, William E. 1991. *Identity. Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 1995. *Ethos of Pluralization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Constantinou, Costas M. 1995. “NATO’s Caps: European Security and the Future of the North Atlantic Alliance.” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 20 (2): 147–164.

———. 1996. *On the Way to Diplomacy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Conti, Nicolò. 2003. “Party Attitudes to European Integration: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Italian Case,” no. 70: 4–36.

———. 2018. “National Political Elites, the EU, and the Populist Challenge.” *Politics* 38 (3): 361–377.

Costa, Olivier, and Paul Magnette. 2007. *Une Europe Des Élites?* Brussels: Editions de l’ULB.

Costa, Olivier, Antoine Roger, and Sabine Saurugger. 2008. “Les Remises En Cause de l’integŕation Européenne Introduction.” *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparee* 15 (4): 533–539.

Cox, Robert W. 1981. “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10 (128): 425–430.

———. 1983. “Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12 (2): 162–175.

Craig, Paul, and Grainne de Burca. 2007. *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Material*. 7th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crespy, Amandine, and Nicolas Verschueren. 2009. “From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration: An Interdisciplinary Perspective.” *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 10 (3): 377–393.

Critchley, Simon. 1998. “Dekonstruktion, Marxismus, Hegemonie. Zu Derrida und Laclau.” In *Das undarstellbare der Politik. Zur Hegemonietheorie Ernesto Laclaus*, edited by Oliver Marchart, 193–208. Wien: Turia & Kant.

———. 2001. *Continental Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2004. “Is There a Normative Deficit in the Theory of Hegemony?” In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart. London and New York: Routledge.

Critchley, Simon, and Oliver Marchart. 2004. “Introduction.” In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and David Howarth, 1–14. London and New York: Routledge.

Crowder, George. 2006. “Chantal Mouffe’s Agonistic Democracy.” *APSA 2006 Conference Proceedings* no. September 2006: 1–29.

Currie, Mark. 2004. *Difference*. London and New York: Routledge.

Cusset, Francois. 2008. *French Theory: How Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, & Co. Transformed the Intellectual Life of the United States*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

CVCE. 2016. “The Post-War European Idea and the First European Movements (1945-1949).” *CVCE,* www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/7b137b71-6010-4621-83b4-b0ca06a6b2cb (March 2, 2019).

Daddow, Oliver. 2012. “The UK Media and ‘Europe’: From Permissive Consensus to Destructive Dissent.” *International Affairs* 88 (6): 1219–1236.

Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven and London: Yale University.

———. 1982. *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University.

Dauphinée, Elizabeth. 2007. *The Ethics of Researching War: Looking for Bosnia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Davidson, Scott. 2016. “Public Relations Theory: An Agonistic Critique of the Turns to Dialogue and Symmetry.” *Public Relations Inquiry* 5 (2): 145–167.

Debrix, François. 1999. *Re-envisioning Peacekeeping : The United Nations and the Mobilization of Ideology*. *Borderlines*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Delmotte, Florence. 2007. “Les Résistances à l’Europe au Prisme de la Sociologie Historique de Norbert Elias.” In *Les Résistances à l’Europe. Cultures Nationales, Idéologies et Stratégies d’acteurs*, edited by Justine Lacroix and Ramona Coman, 17–29. Bruxelles: Editions de l’Université de Bruxelles.

———. 2008. “La Légitimité de l’Union Européenne, Une Affaire de Bons Sentiments? Réflexions Sur l’appartenance à La Communauté Politique.” *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée* 15 (4): 541–554.

Delmotte, Florence, Heidi Mercenier, and Virginie van Ingelgom. 2017. “Belonging and Indifference to Europe: A Study of Young People in Brussels.” *Historical Social Research* 42 (4): 227–249.

Dennison, Susi, and Pawel Zerka. 2019. “The 2019 European Election : How Anti-Europeans Plan to Wreck Europe and What Can Be Done to Stop It.” *European Council on Foreign Relations* no. February 2019.

Derian, James Der. 1987. *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement*. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 1992. *Antidiplomacy: Spies, Terror, Speed and War*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

———. 2009. *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment-Network*. New York and London: Routledge.

Derian, James Der, and Michael Shapiro, eds. 1989. *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics.* Lexington Books.

Derrida, Jacques. 1972. *Dissemination*. Edited by Barbara Johnson. London: The Athlone Press.

———. 1976. *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1978a. “Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourses of the Human Sciences.” In *Writing and Difference*, edited by Jacques Derrida, 351–370. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 1978b. *Writing and Difference*. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 1982. *Margins of Philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Desilver, Drew. 2019. “Euroskepticism is Growing in the European Parliament.” *Pew Research Center* no. May 2019.

Diez, Thomas. 1996. “Postmoderne und Europäische Integration: Die Dominanz des Staatsmodells, die Verantwortung gegenüber dem Anderen und die Konstruktion eines alternativen Horizonts.” *Zeitschrift Für Internationale Beziehungen* 3 (2): 255–281.

———. 1997. “International Ethics and European Integration: Federal State or Network Horizon?” *Alternatives* 22 (3): 287–312.

———. 1998. “Perspektivenwechsel. Warum ein ‘postmoderner’ Ansatz für die Integrationsforschung doch relevant ist.” *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 5 (1): 139–148.

———. 1999a. “Riding the AM-Track through Europe; or, the pitfalls of a rationalist journey through European integration.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 28 (2): 355–369.

———. 1999b. “Speaking ‘Europe’: The Politics of Integration Discourse.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4): 598–613.

———. 2001. “Europe as a Discursive Battleground: Discourse Analysis and European Integration Studies.” *Cooperation and Conflict* 36 (1): 5-38.

———. 2004. “Europe’s Others and the Return of Geopolitics.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 17 (2): 319–335.

———. 2010. “Postmoderne Ansätze.” In *Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen*, edited by Siegfried Schieder and Manuela Spindler, 3rd ed. Opladen: Budrich.

———. 2014. “Speaking Europe, Drawing Boundaries: Reflections on the Role of Discourse in EU Foreign Policy and Identity.” In *EU Foreign Policy through the Lens of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Caterina Carta and Jean Frédéric Morin. Routledge.

Dillet, Benoît. 2017. “What Is Poststructuralism?” *Political Studies Review* 15 (4): 516–527.

Dillet, Benoît, Iain MacKenzie, and Robert Porter, eds. 2013. *The Edinburgh Companion to Poststructuralism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Dillon, Michael. 1996. *Biopolitics of Security: Towards a Political Philosophy of Continental Thought*. *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Donaldson, Mike. 2008. “Gramsci, Class and Post-Marxism,” *International Gramsci Journal* 1 (1).

Dosse, Francois. 1997a. *The History of Structuralism: The Rising Sign, 1945-1966*. Vol. 1. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 1997b. *The History of Structuralism: The Sign Sets, 1967-Present*. Vol. 2. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Doty, Lynn Roxanne. 1993. “Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines.” *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (3): 297–320.

———. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Dowley, Kathleen M., and Brian D. Silver. 2000. “Subnational and National Loyalty: Cross-National Comparisons.” *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 12 (4): 357–371.

Down, Ian, and Carole J. Wilson. 2008. “From ‘Permissive Consensus’ to ‘Constraining Dissensus’: A Polarizing Union?” *Acta Politica* 43 (1): 26–49.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.

Duch, Raymond, and Michaell Taylor. 1997. “Economics and the Vulnerability of the Pan-European Institutions.” *Political Behavior* 19 (1): 65–80.

Duchesne, Sophie, et al., eds. 2013. *Citizens’ Reactions to European Integration Compared: Overlooking Europe.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Duchesne, Sophie, and André-Paul Frognier. 2002. “Sur les dynamiques sociologiques et politiques de l'identification à l'Europe.” *Revue Française de Science Politique* 52 (4): 355–373.

Duchesne, Sophie, and Virginie van Ingelgom. 2008. “L’indifférence Des Français et Des Belges (Francophones) Pour Leurs Voisins Européens: Une Pièce de plus Au Dossier de l’absence de Communauté Politique Européenne?” *Politique Européenne* 26 (3): 143-164.

Dyk, Silke van. 2014. “Zur Methodologischen Systematisierung der Sozialwissenschaftlichen Diskursforschung.” In *Diskursforschung: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, edited by Johannes Angermüller, et al., 482–506. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Dyrberg, Torben Bech. 1995. “Discourse Analysis as Systems Theory.” *Roskilde University*.

———. 2004. “The Political and Politics in Discourse Analysis.” In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart, 241–255. London and New York: Routledge.

Dyson, Kenneth. 2000. “EMU as Europeanization: Convergence, Diversity and Contingency.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (4): 645–666.

Easton, David. 1953. *The Political System*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

———. 1965. *A Framework for Political Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice- Hall.

Edkins, Jenny. 1999. *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.

———. 2000. *Whose Hunger? Concepts of Famine, Practices of Aid*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2007. “Poststructuralism.” In *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction*, edited by Martin Griffiths, 88–98. London: Routledge.

Edkins, Jenny, and Nick Vaughan-Williams, eds. 2009. *Critical Theorists and International Relations*. London: Routledge.

Egeberg, Morten, Günther F. Schaefer, and Jarle Trondal. 2003. “The Many Faces of EU Committee Governance.” *West European Politics* 26 (3): 19–

40.

Eichenberg, Richard C., and Russell J. Dalton. 1993. “Europeans and the European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for European Integration.” *International Organization* 47 (4): 507-534.

———. 2007. “Post-Maastricht Blues: The Transformation of Citizen Support for European Integration, 1973-2004.” *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 128–152.

Eijk, Cees van der, and Mark N. Franklin, eds. 1996. *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

Elbe, Stefan. 2009. *Virus Alert: Security, Governmentality and the AIDS Pandemic*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2010. *Security and Global Health: Towards the Medicalization of Security*. Cambridge: Polity.

Emanuele, Vincenzo, Nicola Maggini, and Bruno Marino. 2016. “Gaining Votes in Europe against Europe? How National Contexts Shaped the Results of Eurosceptic Parties in the 2014 European Parliament Elections.” *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 12 (3): 697–715.

Engels, Fredrick. 1880. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

Erlanger, Steven, and Megan Specia. 2019. “European Parliament Elections: 5 Biggest Takeaways.” *The New York Times*, May 27, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/27/world/europe/eu-election-takeaways.html (Juni 2, 2018).

Erman, Eva. 2009. “What Is Wrong with Agonistic Pluralism?: Reflections on Conflict in Democratic Theory.” *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 35 (9): 1039–1062.

European Council. 2002. “Laeken Declaration on the Future of the European Union,” no. December 2002: 19–23.

European Union. 1957. *Vertrag Zur Gründung der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (Rom, den 25. März 1957)*. Köln: Bundesanzeiger Verlag.

———. 2012. “Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Funtioning of the

European Union." *Official Journal of the European Union* 47 (6): 47–326.

———. 2014. "Results of the 2014 European Elections - Results by Country." *European Parliament*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/country-introduction-2014.html (June 13, 2018).

———. 2016. "Ratification of Treaties by Member States." *The European Union*, https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en (March 1, 2021).

———. 2019. "2019 European Election Results." *European Parliament*, https://europarl.europa.eu/election-results-2019/en/european-results/2019-2024/ (October 3, 2020).

EUROPP, and Chantal Mouffe. 2013. "Five Minutes with Chantal Mouffe: 'Most Countries in Europe are in a Post-Political Situation.'" *EUROPP*, 16–18.

Evans, Geoffrey. 1998. "Euroscepticism and Conservative Electoral Support: How an Asset Became a Liability." *British Journal of Political Science* 28 (4): 573–590.

Farage, Nigel. 2010. "Spring Conference Speech." *You Tube*, March 24, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ByTPlO6Ji18 (Feburary 1, 2021).

FitzGibbon, John, Benjamin Leruth, and Nicholas Startin, eds. 2017. *Euroscepticism as a Transnational and Pan-European Phenomenon*. Vol. 1. London and New York: Routledge.

Flood, Christopher. 2002. "Euroscepticism a Problematic Conept." *UACES 32nd Annual Conference*.

———. 2009. "Dimensions of Euroscepticism." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 47 (4): 911–917.

Flood, Christopher, and Simon Usherwood. 2005. "Positions, Dispositions, Transitions: A Model of Group Alignment on EU Integration." *55th Annual Conference of the Political* no. April 2005: 1–18.

———. 2007. "Ideological Factors in Party Alignments on the EU : A Comparison of Three Cases." Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.

Flügel, Oliver, et al., eds. 2004. *Die Rückkehr Des Politischen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon Hix. 2006. “Why There Is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (3): 533–562.

Fontanella-Khan, James, and Hugh Carnegy. 2014. “Eurosceptics Storm Brussels.” *Financial Times*, May 26, 2014, https://www.ft.com/content/fd3975ce-e424-11e3-8565-00144feabdc0 (December 12, 2021).

Fossen, Thomas. 2012. “Agonism and the Law.” *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 38 (3): 327–331.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *Dispositive der Macht. Michel Foucault über Sexualität, Wissen und Wahrheit*. Berlin: Merve.

Franklin, Mark, Cees van der Eijk, and Michael Marsh. 1995. “Referendum Outcomes and Trust in Government: Public Support For Europe in The Wake of Maastricht.” *West European Politics* 18 (3): 101–117.

Franklin, Mark, Michael Marsh, and Lauren McLaren. 1994. “Uncorking the Bottle: Popular Opposition to European Unification in the Wake of Maastricht.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 32 (4): 455–472.

Fritsch, Matthias. 2008. “Antagonism and Democratic Citizenship (Schmitt, Mouffe, Derrida).” *Research in Phenomenology* 38 (2): 174–197.

Gabel, Matthew. 1998. “Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories.” *The Journal of Politics* 60 (2): 333–354.

Gabel, Matthew, and Christopher Anderson. 2004. “The Structure of Citizen Attitudes and the European Political Space" In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen, 13–31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gabel, Matthew, and Harvey Palmer. 1995. “Understanding Variation in Public Support for European Integration.” *European Journal of Political Research* 27 (1): 3–19.

Gabel, Matthew, and Guy D. Whitten. 1997. “Economic Conditions, Economic Perceptions, and Public Support for European Integration.” *Political Behavior* 19 (1): 81–96.

Gaffney, John, ed. 1996. *Political Parties and the European Union*. *Choice Reviews Online*. Vol. 34. London and New York: Routledge.

Gamble, Andrew. 1994. *The Free Economy and the Strong State*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Garry, John, and James Tilley. 2009. "Attitudes to European Integration: Investigating East–West Heterogeneity." *Journal of European Integration* 31 (5): 537–549.

Gasché, Rodolphe. 1986. *The Tain of the Mirror: Derrida and the Philosophy of Reflection*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

———. 1994. "Yes Absolutely: Unlike Any Writing Pen'." In *The Making of Political Identities*, edited by Ernesto Laclau, 76–102. London: Verso.

Gattermann, Katjana, and Sofia Vasilopoulou. 2017. "Eurosceptic Candidate MEPs in the News: a Transnational Perspective." In *Euroscepticism as a Transnational and Pan- European Phenomenon: The Emergence of a New Sphere of Opposition*, edited by John FitzGibbon, Benjamin Leruth, and Nicholas Startin, 130–146. London: Routledge.

George, Jim. 1994. *Discourses of Global Politics. A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Geras, Norman. 1987. "Post-Marxism?" *New Left Review* 163 (1): 40–82.

Glasze, Georg. 2007. "Vorschläge zur Operationalisierung der Diskurstheorie von Laclau und Mouffe in einer Triangulation von Lexikometrischen und Interpretativen Methoden." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* 8 (2).

Glasze, Georg, and Annika Mattissek. 2009. "Die Hegemonie- und Diskurstheorie von Laclau und Mouffe." In *Handbuch Diskurs und Raum, edited by Georg Glasze and Annika Mattissek*, 153–179. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Glynos, Jason, et al. 2009. *Discourse Analysis: Varieties and Methods*. National Center of Research Methods 14 (4).

Glynos, Jason, and David Howarth. 2007. *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political Theory*. London: Routledge.

———. 2019. "The Retroductive Cycle: The Research Process in Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis." In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 105–126. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Glynos, Jason, and Yannis Stavrakakis. 2004. “Encounters of the Real Kind: Sussing out the Limits of Laclau’s Embrace of Lacan.” In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart, 201–216. London and New York: Routledge.

Goede, Marieke de. 2005. *Virtue, Fortune, and Faith*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Goldsmith, Sir James. 1993. “Opinions: Britain 1993.” *Channel 4 Television*, March 15, 1993, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-uRup67_C4 (March 1, 2021).

———. 1994. “The Bournemouth Speech.” *Speech to the European Foundation meeting at the Conservative Party Conference*, October 11, 1994, http://www.sirjamesgoldsmith.com/the-bournmouth-speech/ (August 7, 2020).

———. 1996. “Referendum Party Conference in Brighton.” *You Tube*, October 19, 1996, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3wdaav0ut8 (August 10, 2020).

———. 1997. “Sir James Goldsmith.” *The Telegraph,* July 21, 1997, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/7720479/Sir-James-Goldsmith.html (January 10, 2020).

Goldstone, Jack. 1998. “Social Movements or Revolutions? On the Revolution and Outcomes of Collective Action.” In *From Contention to Democracy*, edited by Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly, 126–152. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Gomez, Raul. 2015. “The Economy Strikes Back: Support for the EU during the Great Recession.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (3): 577–592.

Goodin, Robert E. 2008. *Innovating Democracy: Democratic Theory and Practice After the Deliberative Turn*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goodin, Robert, Philip Pettit, and Thomas Pogge, eds. 2007. *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*. 2nd ed. Malden, Oxdord, Carlton: Blackwell Publisher.

Grabbe, Heather, and Kirsty Hughes. 1999. “Central and East European Views on EU Enlargement: Political Debates and Public Opinion.” In *Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the European Union*, edited by Karen Henderson, 185–202. London: UCL Press.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Prison Notebooks*. Edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith. New York: International Publishers.

———. 1977. *Selections from Political Writings (1910-1920)*. Edited by Quintin Hoare. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

———. 1988. "Prison Writings: 1929-1935." In *A Gramsi Reader*, edited by David Forgacs. New York: New York University Press.

———. 2005. "The Modern Prince." In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited by Antonio Gramsci. London: Lawrence and Whishart.

Griggs, Steven. 2005. "Problematizing the Mobilization of Hospital Directors." In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 117–136. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. 1996. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Guardian, The. 2010. "Ukip's Nigel Farage Tells Van Rompuy: You Have the Charisma of a Damp Rag." *The Guardian*, Feburary 25, 2010, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/feb/25/nigel-farage-herman-van-rompuy-damp-rag (March 1, 2021).

Guieu, Jean-Michel, et al. 2006. *Penser et Construire l'Europe Au XXe siécle*. Paris: Belin.

Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. 2004. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1981. *Die Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns*. Vol. 2. Frankfurt, a.M.: Suhrkamp.

———. 1992. *Faktizität und Geltung.* Frankfurt, a. M.: Suhrkamp.

———. 1999. *Die Einbeziehung des Anderen*. Frankfurt, a. M.: Suhrkamp.

Habermas, Jürgen, and Seyla Benhabib. 1994. *Three Normative Models of Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Halikiopoulou, Daphne, Kyriaki Nanou, and Sofia Vasilopoulou. 2012. "The Paradox of Nationalism: The Common Denominator of Radical Right and

Radical Left Euroscepticism." *European Journal of Political Research* 51 (4): 504–539.

Hall, Stuart. 1983. "The Great Moving Right Show." In *The Politics of Thatcherism*, edited by Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, 19-39. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Hansen, Allan Dreyer, and André Sonnichsen. 2014a. "Discourse, the Political and the Ontological Dimension: An Interview with Ernesto Laclau." *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 15 (3): 255–262.

———. 2014b. "Radical Democracy, Agonism and the Limits of Pluralism: An Interview with Chantal Mouffe." *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 15 (3): 263–270.

Hansen, Allan Dreyer, and Eva Sørensen. 2005. "Polity as Politics: Studying the Shaping and Effects of Discursive Polities." In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 93–116. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hansen, Hans Lauge. 2020. "On Agonistic Narratives of Migration." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 23 (4): 547-563.

Hansen, Lene. 2006. *Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2014. "Poststructuralism." In *The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*, edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, 6th ed., 177-192. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hansen, Lene, and Ole Waever, eds. 2001. *European Integration and National Identity : The Challenge of the Nordic States*. London: Routledge.

Harmsen, Robert. 2010. "Concluding Comment: On Understanding the Relationship between Populism and Euroscepticism." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 11 (3): 333–341.

Harmsen, Robert, and Menno Spiering, eds. 2004a. *Euroscepticism. Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

———. 2004b. "Introduction: Euroscepticism and the Evolution of European Political Debate." In *Euroscepticism. Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*, edited by Robert Harmsen and Menno Spiering, 13–36. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Hay, Colin, and Ben Rosamond. 2002. “Globalization, European Integration and the Discursive Construction of Economic Imperatives.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9 (2): 147–167.

Hay, David. 2013. “Further Evidence from Meta-Analysis of Audit Fee Research.” *International Journal of Auditing* 17 (2): 162–176.

Hedetoft, Ulf, ed. 1998. *Political Symbols, Symbolic Politics: European Identities in Transformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Heidegger, Martin. 1962. *Being and Tim*. Southampton: Basil Blackwell.

———. 1967. *Sein und Zeit*. 11th ed. Vol. 3. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Held, David. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order. From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

———. 2006. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Henderson, Karen. 2001. “Euroscepticism or Europhobia: Opposition Attitudes to the EU in the Slovak Republic.” *Opposing Europe Research Network Working* no. 50: 10–12.

Henderson, Laura. 2017. “Speaking Crisis in the Eurozone Debt Crisis: Exploring the Potential and Limits of Transformational Agonistic Conflict.” *International Journal of Political Theory* 2 (1): 1–24.

Hildebrand, Marius, and Astrid Seville. 2019. “Post-Foundationalism and the Possibility of Critique: Comparing Laclau and Mouffe.” In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 323–342. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hix, Simon. 2003. “The End of Democracy in Europe ? How the European Union Restricts Political Competition,” *CiteSeer* no. April 2003.

———. 2005. *The Political System of the European Union*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2007. “The EU as a New Political System.” In *Comparative Politics*, edited by Danielle Caramani, 1st ed., 574–600. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2008. *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It*. Cambridge: Polity-Press.

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérad Roland. 2007. *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobolt, Sara B. 2012. "Public Opinion and Integration." *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* no. August 2012: 716–733.

———. 2015. "The 2014 European Parliament Elections: Divided in Unity?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (Annual Review): 6–21.

———. 2016. "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, A Divided Continent." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (9): 1259–1277.

Hobolt, Sara B., and Sylvain Brouard. 2011. "Contesting the European Union? Why the Dutch and the French Rejected the European Constitution." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (2): 309–322.

Hobolt, Sara B., et al. 2011. "Religious Intolerance and Euroscepticism." *European Union Politics* 12 (3): 359–379.

Hobolt, Sara B., Jae Jae Spoon, and James Tilley. 2009. "A Vote against Europe? Explaining Defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 93–115.

Hobolt, Sara B., and James Tilley. 2014. *Blaming Europe? Responsibility Without Accountability in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hobolt, Sara B., and Catherine E. de Vries. 2016a. "Turning against the Union? The Impact of the Crisis on the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2014 European Parliament Elections." *Electoral Studies* 44 (1): 504–514.

———. 2016b. "Public Support for European Integration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (1): 413-432.

Hobolt, Sara B., and Christopher Wratil. 2015. "Public Opinion and the Crisis: The Dynamics of Support for the Euro." *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (2): 238–256.

Holmes, Martin, ed. 1996. *The Eurosceptic Reader*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Honig, Bonnie. 2001. *Democracy and the Foreigner*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Hooghe, Liesbet. 1999. “Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents?” *Comparative Political Studies* 32 (4): 435–463.

———. 2007. “What Drives Euroskepticism?: Party-Public Cueing, Ideology and Strategic Opportunity.” *European Union Politics* 8 (1): 5–12.

Hooghe, Liesbet, Jing Jing Huo, and Gary Marks. 2007. “Does Occupation Shape Attitudes on Europe? Benchmarking Validity and Parsimony.” *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 329–351.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 1997. “The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration.” *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* no. 35.

———. 2005. “Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration.” *European Union Politics* 6 (4): 419–443.

———. 2007. “Sources of Euroscepticism.” *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 119–127.

———. 2009. “A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus.” *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 1–23.

Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, and Carole J. Wilson. 2002. “Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2): 965–989.

Höpner, Martin, and Armin Schäfer. 2007. “A New Phase of European Integration: Organized Capitalisms in Post-Ricardian Europe.” *MPIfG Discussion Paper* 7 (4): 4–28.

Höpner, Martin and and Bojan Jurczyk. 2015. “How the Eurobarometer Blurs the Line between Research and Propaganda.” *MPIfG Discussion Paper* 15 (6).

Howarth, David. 1995. “Discourse Theory.” In *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, edited by David Marsh and Gerry Stoker, 115–133. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

———. 2000. *Discourse*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

———. 2004. “Hegemony, Political Subjectivity, and Radical Democracy.” In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart,

256–276. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2005. “Applying Discourse Theory: The Method of Articulation.” In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 316–350. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2008. “Ethos, Agonism and Populism: William Connolly and the Case for Radical Democracy.” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10 (2): 171–193.

———. 2013. *Poststructuralism and After. Structure, Subjectivity and Power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. , ed. 2015. *Ernesto Laclau. Post-Marxism, Populism and Critique*. London and New York: Routledge.

Howarth, David, and Jacob Torfing, eds. 2005. *Discourse Theory in European Politics. Identity, Policy and Governance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Howarth, David, and Steven Griggs. 2012. “Poststructuralist Policy Analysis: Discourse, Hegemony and Critical Explanation.” In *The Argumentative Turn*, edited by Frank Fischer and Herbert Gottweis, 305–342. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Howarth, David, Jason Glynos, and Steven Griggs. 2016. “Discourse, Explanation and Critique.” *Critical Policy Studies* 10 (1): 99–104.

Howarth, David, Aletta J. Norval, and Yannis Stavrakakis, eds. 2000. *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, Hegemonies and Social Change*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Howarth, David, and Yannis Stavrakakis. 2000. “Introducing Discourse Theory and Political Analysis.” In *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis*, edited by David Howarth, Aletta J. Norval, and Yannis Stavrakakis, 1–23. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Hurrelmann, Achim. 2007. “European Democracy, the ‘Permissive Consensus’ and the Collapse of the EU Constitution.” *European Law Journal* 13 (3): 343–359.

Inayatullah, Naeem, and David L. Blaney. 2004. *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. New York and London: Routledge.

Ince, Murat. 2016. “A Critique of Agonistic Politics.” *International Journal of Zizek Studies* 10 (1).

Ingelgom, Virginie van. 2014. *Integrating Indifference: A Comparative, Qualitative and Quantitative Approach to the Legitimacy of European Integration*. ECPR Press.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1970. "Public Opinion and Regional Integration." *International Organization* 24 (4): 764-795.

———. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jabri, Vivienne. 2007. *War and the Transformation of Global Politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jessop, Bob, et al. 1988. *Thatcherism*. Cambridge: Polity.

Joenniemi, Pertti. 2007. “Towards a European Union of Post-Security?” *Cooperation and Conflict* 42 (1): 127–148.

John, Mark, and Ingrid Melander. 2014. “France’s Hollande Wants to Change EU Focus after Far-Right Win.” *Reuters,* May 26, 2014, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-election-france/frances-hollande-wants-to-change-eu-focus-after-far-right-win-idUSBREA4P0H420140526 (October 14, 2020).

Johnson, Barbara. 1972. “Translators Preface.” In *Dissemination*. London: The Athlone Press.

Jones, Briony. 2014. “Ensuring a Political Space for Conflict by Applying Chantal Mouffe to Post-War Reconstruction and Development.” *Progress in Development Studies* 14 (3): 249–259.

Jones, Matthew. 2014. “Chantal Mouffe’s Agonistic Project: Passions and Participation.” *Parallax* 20 (2): 14–30.

Jørgensen, Knud Erik, ed. 1997. *Reflective Approaches to European Governance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jørgensen, Knud Erik, et al. 2015. *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. London: SAGE Publications.

Jørgensen, Knud Erik, and Ramses Wessel. 2011. “The Position of the

European Union in (Other) International Organizations: Confronting Legal and Political Approaches European Foreign Policy." In *European Foreign Policy: Legal and Political Perspectives*, edited by Panos Koutrakos, 261–286. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Jørgensen, Marianne, and Louise Phillips. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications.

Juncker, Jean-Claude. 2016. "State of the Union Address 2016: Towards a Better Europe - a Europe That Protects, Empowers and Defends." *European Commission*, September, 14 2016, https://ec.europa.eu/commission /presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_16_3043 (November 2, 2019).

Kalyvas, Andreas. 2009. "The Democratic Narcissus: The Agonism of the Ancients Compared to That of the (Post)Moderns." In *Law and Agonistic Politics*, edited by Andrew Schaap, 15–41. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Kamenka, Eugene, ed. 1983. *The Portable Karl Marx*. New York: Penguin Books.

Kaniok, Petr. 2009. "Europeanists, Eurogovernmentalists and Eurosceptics: A Constructivist Criticism of Previous Research." In *Euroscepticsm and European Integration*, edited by Arató K. Krisztina and Petr Kaniok, 159–179. Zagreb: Literary Forum.

———. 2012. "Eurosceptics – Enemies or a Necessary Part of European Integration?" *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 12 (2): 29–53.

Kant, Immanuel. 1915. *Perpetual Peace, a philosophical essay by Immanuel Kant, 1795,* edited by Mary Campell Smith. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Kapoor, Ilan. 2002. "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism ? The Relevance of the Habermas-Mouffe Debate for Third World." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27 (4): 459–487.

Katz, Richard S. 2008. "Euroscepticism in Parliament: A Comparative Analysis of the European and National Parliaments." In *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism. Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, edited by Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart, 2nd ed., 149–163. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keeler, John 2005. "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to

Boom Field 1960-2001." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 43 (3): 551–582.

Keller, Reiner. 2013. *Doing Discourse Analysis: An Introduction for Social Scientists*. London: SAGE Publications.

Kelstrup, Morten, and Michael C. Williams, eds. 2000. *International Relations Theory and The Politics of European Integration: Power, Security and Community*. London: Routledge.

Kentmen-Cin, Cigdem, and Cengiz Erisen. 2017. "Anti-Immigration Attitudes and the Opposition to European Integration: A Critical Assessment." *European Union Politics* 18 (1): 3–25.

Key, V. O. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf.

Khan, Gulshan. 2017. "Beyond the Ontological Turn: Affirming the Relative Autonomy of Politics." *Political Studies Review* 15 (4): 551–563.

Khan, Gulshan, and Mark Wenman. 2017. "The Politics of Poststructuralism Today." *Political Studies Review* 15 (4): 513–515.

King, Desmond. 1987. *The New Right*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Kirchner, Corinne, and John W. Mohr. 2010. "Meanings and Relations: An Introduction to the Study of Language, Discourse and Networks." *Poetics* 38 (6): 555–566.

Klinke, Ian. 2015. "European Integration Studies and the European Union's Eastern Gaze." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43 (2): 567–583.

Knops, Andrew. 2007. "Debate: Agonism as Deliberation - On Mouffe's Theory of Democracy." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 15 (1): 115–126.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Paul Statham, eds. 2010. *The Making of a European Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kopecký, Petr, and Cas Mudde. 2001. "Empty Words or Irreducible Core? Euroscepticism in East Central Europe." *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.* Vol. 30, San Francisco.

———. 2002. "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe." *European Union Politics* 3 (3): 297–

326.

Kosterman, Rick, and Seymour Feshbach. 1989. “Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes.” *Political Psychology* 10 (2): 257–274.

Kraushaar, Wolfgang. 2012. *Der Aufruhr Der Ausgebildeten: Vom Arabischen Frühling Zur Occupy-Bewegung*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2008. “Postface.” In *L’Europe contestée : Espaces et enjeux des positionnements contre l’intégration européenne*, edited by Laure Neumayer, Antoine Roger, and Frederic Zalewski, 261–262. Paris: Michel Houdiard Editeur.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Klaus Armingeon, and Hannes Siegrist, eds. 1999. *Nation and National Identity: The European Experience in Perspective.* Zurich: Rüegger.

Krouwel, André, and Koen Abts. 2007. “Varieties of Euroscepticism and Populist Mobilization: Transforming Attitudes from Mild Euroscepticism to Harsh Eurocynicism.” *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 252–270.

Krzyżanowski, Michal. 2010. *The Discursive Construction of European Identities: A Multi-Level Approach to Discourse and Identity in the Transforming European Union*. Frankfurt, a.M.: P.I.E.-Peter Lang.

Krzyżanowski, Michal, and Florian Oberhuber. 2007. *(Un)Doing Europe: Discourses and Practices of Negotiating the EU Constitution*. Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang.

Kuehls, Thom. 1996. *Beyond Sovereign Territory: The Space of Ecopolitics*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Kuhn, Theresa. 2012. “Europa Ante Portas: Border Residence, Transnational Interaction and Euroscepticism in Germany and France.” *European Union Politics* 13 (1): 94–117.

Lacan, Jacques. 1989. *Écrits: A Selection*. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*. Vol. 28. London: Routledge.

Laclau, Ernesto. 1977. *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*. London: Verso.

———. 1988. “Metaphor and Social Antagonisms.” In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg,

249–257. Urbana: University of Illinois.

———. 1990. *New Reflections on The Revolution of Our Time*. London and New York: Verso.

———. 1993. "Power and Representation." In *Politics, Theory and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Mark Poster, 277-297. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. , ed. 1994. *The Making of Political Identities*. London and New York: Verso.

———. 1996. *Emancipation(s)*. London and New York: Verso.

———. 1999. "Hegemony and the Future of Democracy: Ernesto Laclau's Political Philosophy." In *Race, Rhetoric, and the Postcolonial*, edited by Lynn Woshma and Gary A. Olson, 129–164. Albany: New York Press.

———. 2004. "Reply: Glimpsing the Future." In *Laclau: A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart, 279–328. London: Routledge.

———. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. London and New York: Verso.

———. 2014. *The Rhetorical Foundations of Society*. London and New York: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto, and Roy Bhaskar. 1998. "Discourse Theory vs Critical Realism." *Journal of Critical Realism* 1 (2): 9–14.

Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe. 1981. "Socialist Strategy: Where Next?" *Marxism Today* 25 (1): 17–22.

———. 1987. "Post-Marxism Without Apologies." *New Left Review* 166 (1): 79–106.

———. 2014. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto, and Lilian Zac. 1994. "Minding the Gap: The Subject of Politics." In *Making of Political Identities*, edited by Ernesto Laclau, 11–39. London and New York: Verso.

Lacroix, Justine, and Ramona Coman. 2007. *Les Résistances á l'Europe.*

Cultures Nationales, Idéologies et Stratégies d'acteurs. Brussels: Editions de l'Universite´ de Bruxelles.

Lacroix, Justine, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2011. *European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laffan, Brigid. 1996. "The Politics of Identity and Political Order in Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 81–102.

Lahr, John, ed. 2002. *The Diaries of Kenneth Tynan*. London: Bloomsbury.

Larsen, Henrik. 1997. *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain and Europe*. London: Routledge.

———. 2005. *Analysing the Foreign Policy of Small States in the EU: The Case of Denmark*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Law, John. 2004. *After Method. Mess in Social Sciece Research*. *Social Movement Studies*. Vol. 16. London and New York: Routledge.

Leconte, Cécile. 2010. *Understanding Euroscepticism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2015. "From Pathology to Mainstream Phenomenon: Reviewing the Euroscepticism Debate in Research and Theory." *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 250–263.

Lederman, Shmuel. 2014. "Agonism and Deliberation in Arendt." *Constellations* 21 (3): 327–337.

Lees, Charles. 2002. "'Dark Matter': Institutional Constraints and the Failure of Party-Based Euroscepticism in Germany." *Political Studies* 50 (2): 244–267.

Lemke, Thomas. 2015. "New Materialisms: Foucault and the 'Government of Things.'" *Theory, Culture & Society* 32 (4): 3–25.

Lenin, Vladimi I. 1978. *What Is to Be Done?* Peking: Foreign Languages Press.

Leonard, Mark. 1998. *Europe, the Search for European Identity*. London: Demos.

Leruth, Benjamin. 2017. "Party-Based Euroscepticism in the Nordic Region: Ever More 'Reluctant Europeans'?" In *The Routledge Handbook of*

Euroscepticism, edited by Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood, 127–138. London and New York: Routledge.

Leruth, Benjamin, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood. 2017a. "Defining Euroscepticism: From a Broad Concept to a Field of Study." In *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, edited by Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood, 3–10. London and New York: Routledge.

———. , eds. 2017b. *The Handbook of Euroscepticism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lewis, Jeffrey. 2000. "The Methods of Community in EU Decision-Making and Administrative Rivalry in the Council's Infrastructure." *Journal of European Public* 7 (2): 261–289.

Lilli, Waldemar, and Michael Diehl. 1999. "Measuring National Identity." *Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung - Arbeitspapiere* no. 10: 1–11.

Lindberg, Leon N. 1963. *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lindberg, Leon N., and Stuart A. Scheingold. 1970. *Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Linneberg, Mai Skjøtt. 2019. "Coding Qualitative Data: A Synthesis to Guide the Novice." *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 53 (9): 1–27.

Lipgens, Walter, ed. 1985. *Documents on European Integration*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments*. New York: Free Press.

Loveless, Matthew, and Robert Rohrschneider. 2011. "Public Perceptions of the EU as a System of Governance." *Living Reviews in European Governance* 6 (1): 1–37.

Lowndes, Vivien, and Marie Paxton. 2018. "Can Agonism be Institutionalised? Can Institutions be Agonised? Prospects for Democratic Design." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20 (3): 693–710.

Löwy, Michael. 1981. *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development: The Theory of Permanent Revolution*. London: Verso.

Lubbers, Marcel. 2008. "Regarding the Dutch 'nee' to the European Constitution: A Test of the Identity, Utilitarian and Political Approaches to Voting 'No.'" *European Union Politics* 9 (1): 59–86.

Lubbers, Marcel, and Peer Scheepers. 2005. "Political versus Instrumental Euro-scepticism : Mapping Scepticism in European Countries and Regions." *European Union Politics* 6 (2): 223–242.

———. 2010. "Divergent Trends of Euroscepticism in Countries and Regions of the European Union." *European Journal of Political Research* 49 (6): 787–817.

Macron, Emmanuel. 2019. "For European Renewal." *Élysée*, March 4, 2019, https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2019/03/04/for-european-renewal.en (December 10, 2020).

Maeße, Jens. 2014. "Macht und Hegemonie im Diskurs." In *Diskursforschung: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, edited by Johannes Angermüller, et al., 386–410. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Maier, Jürgen, and Berthold Rittberger. 2008. "Shifting Europe's Boundaries: Mass Media, Public Opinion and the Enlargement of the EU." *European Union Politics* 9 (2): 243–267.

Mair, Peter. 2011. "Gouvernement Représentatif v. Gouvernement Responsable." *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparee* 18 (2): 149–164.

Mair, Peter, and Jacques Thomassen. 2010. "Political Representation and Government in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (1): 20–35.

Manners, Ian. 2003. "Europaian Studies 1." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 11 (1): 67–83.

———. 2006. "Another Europe is Possible: Critical Perspectives on European Union Politics." In *Handbook of European Union Politics*, edited by Knud Erik Jørgensen, Mark A. Pollack, Ben Rosamond, 77–96. London: SAGE Publications.

March, James G, and Johan P. Olsen. 2005. "Elaborating the New Institutionalsim." *Working Paper Series* no. 11: 1–28.

Marchart, Oliver. 2004. “Politics and the Ontological Difference: On the ‘strictly Philosophical’ in Laclau’s Work.” In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and David Howarth, 54–72. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2007. *Post-Foundational Political Thought: Political Difference in Nancy, Lefort, Badiou and Laclau*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

———. 2010. *Die Politische Differenz*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Marks, Gary, et al. 2006. “Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West.” *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (2): 155–175.

Marks, Gary, and Marco R. Steenbergen. 2002. “Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 879–892.

———. , eds. 2004a. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University.

———. 2004b. “Marks/Steenbergen Party Dataset.” *University of North Carolina Chapel Hill*, www.unc.edu/~gwmarks/data.htm (May 14, 2019).

Marks, Gary, Carole J. Wilson, and Leonard Ray. 2002. “National Political Parties and the European Integration.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3): 585–594.

Marks, Gary, and Carole J Wilson. 2000. “The Past in the Present : A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration.” *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (1): 433–459.

Marttila, Tomas. 2015a. “Post-Foundational Discourse Analysis: A Suggestion for a Research Program.” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* 16 (3).

———. 2015b. *Post-Foundational Discourse Analysis: From Political Difference to Empirical Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2018. “Neoliberalism, the Knowledge-Based Economy and Entrepreneur as Metaphor.” In *SAGE Handbook of Neoliberalism*, edited by Damien Cahill, Melinda Cooper, Martijn Konings, and David Primrose, 565–579. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

———. , ed. 2019a. *Discourse, Culture and Organization*. London: Palgrave

Macmillan.

———. 2019b. “Introduction to the Volume.” In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 1–14. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2019c. “Post-Foundational Discourse Analysis: Theoretical Premises and Methodological Options.” In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 17–42. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marx, Karl. 1844. “Estranged Labour (Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts).” *Marxists Internet Archive* Vol. 1844.

———. 1859. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Moscow: Progress Publisher.

Mascha, Efharis. 2019. “Solidarity in Europe and the Role of Immigration Policies: A Discourse Theoretical Perspective.” In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 199–222. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mattissek, Annika, and Tobias Schopper. 2019. “‘Culture’ in German Media Discourse on Refugees: A Political Geography Perspective.” In *Discourse, Culture and Organization*, edited by Tomas Marttila, 245–266. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Maxwell, Lida, et al. 2019. “The ‘Agonistic Turn’: Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics in New Contexts.” *Contemporary Political Theory* 18 (4): 640–672.

McCormick, John. 2007. *The European Superpower*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

———. 2008. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*. 4th ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

McDonald, Maryon. 2000. “Identities in the European Commission.” In *At the Heart of the Union: Studies of the European Commission*, edited by Neill Nugent, 49–70. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

McLaren, Lauren M. 2002. “Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?” *The Journal of Politics* 64 (2): 551–566.

———. 2004. “Opposition to European Integration and Fear of Loss of National Identity: Debunking a Basic Assumption Regarding Hostility to the Integration Project.” *European Journal of Political Research* 43 (6): 895–912.

———. 2006. *Identity, Interests and Attitudes to European Integration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

McLean, Iain, and Alistair McMillan. 2003. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Medrano, Juan Díez, and Paula Gutiérrez. 2001. “Nested Identities: National and European Identity in Spain.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (5): 753–778.

Meny, Yves. 2009. “La Construction d’un Parlement: 50 Ans d’histoire Du Parlement Européen. 1958–2008.” *Office des publications officielles des Communautes europeennes*. Luxembourg.

Michelsen, Danny. 2018. “Agonale Demokratie und Menschenrechte im Zeitalter des Populismus,” no. 13: 1–21.

Miles, Matthew, and Michael Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Miles, Matthew, Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana. 2013. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Millar, Sharon, and John Wilson, eds. 2007. *The Discourse of Europe: Talk and Text in Everyday Life*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publisher Company.

Miller, Jacques-Alain, and Alan Sheridan, eds. 1998 *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan*. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company.

Milner, Susan. 2000. “Introduction: A Healthy Scepticism?” *Journal of European Integration* 22 (1): 1–13.

———. 2004. “For an Alternative Europe: Euroscepticism and the French Left Since the Maastricht Treaty.” In *Euroscepticism. Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*, edited by Robert Harmsen and Menno Spiering, 59–82. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Monnet, Jean. 1952. “Speech at the Opening Session of the Common Assembly,” European Historical Archives, September 11, 1952, http://ec.europa.eu/historical_archives/archisplus/files/MONNET_1952_09_11_EN.pdf (March 4, 2020).

———. 1954a. “European Coal and Steel Community.” *Common Assembly* Ordinary Session, May 12, 1954, http://aei.pitt.edu/14367/ (January 10, 2021).

———. 1954b. “The United States of Europe Has Begun.” *The European Coal and Steel Community*, September 11, 1954, http://aei.pitt.edu/14365/ (January 10, 2021).

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1999a. “Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark?’ Constructivism and European Integration.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4): 669–681.

———. 1999b. “The Future of European Integration Studies: Social Science or Social Theory?” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 28 (2): 371–391.

Morgan, Glyn. 2005. *The Idea of a European Superstate*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mouffe, Chantal. 1979. *Gramci and Marxist Theory*. London: Routledge.

———. 1981. “Hegemony and the Integral State in Gramsci: Towards a New Concept of Politics.” In *Silver Linings: Some Strategies for the Eighties*, edited by Stuart Hall, George Bridges, and Rosalind Brunt. London: Lawrence and Whishart.

———. 1983. “Working-Class Hegemony and the Struggle for Socialism.” *Studies in Political Economy* 12 (1): 7–26.

———. 1993. *The Return of the Political*. London: Verso.

———. 1994a. “Democracy and Pluralism: A Critique of the Rationalist Approach.” *Cardozo Law Review* 16 (1): 1533.

———. 1994b. “For a Politics of Nomadic Identity.” In *Travellers’ Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, edited by George Robertson, et al., 105–113. London: Routledge.

———. 1995a. “Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community.” In

Dimensions of Radical Democracy. Pluralism, Citizenship, Community, edited by Chantal Mouffe, 225–239. London and New York: Verso.

———. 1995b. *Dimensions of Radical Democracy. Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Verso.

———. , ed. 1996a. *Deconstruction and Pragmatism. Simon Critchley, Jacques Derrida, Ernesto Laclau & Richard Rorty*. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 1996b. "Democracy, Power, and the 'Political.'" In *Democracy and Difference. Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, edited by Seyla Benhabib, 245–256. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

———. 1997. "Carl Schmitt and the Paradox of Liberal Democracy." *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence* 10 (1): 21–33.

———. 1999a. "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?" *Social Research* 66 (3): 745–758.

———. , ed. 1999b. *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*. London and New York: Verso.

———. 2000a. "Pluralism, Dissensus and Democratic Citizenship." In *Education and the Good Society*, edited by Fred Inglis, 42-53. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2000b. "Politics and Passions: The Stakes of Democracy." *Ethical Perspectives* 7 (2–3): 146–150.

———. 2000c. *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso.

———. 2005a. *On the Political*. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2005b. "The Limits of John Rawls's Pluralism." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 4 (2): 221–231.

———. 2007. *Über das Politische. Wider die Kosmopolitische Illusion*. Frankfurt, a. M.: Suhrkamp.

———. 2008. *Das Demokratische Paradox*. Edited by Oliver Marchart. Wien, Berlin: Turia and Kant.

———. 2009. "Democracy in a Multipolar World." *Millennium: Journal of*

International Studies 37 (3): 549–561.

———. 2013. *Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically*. London: Verso.

———. 2014. "Populism is a necessity." *The European*, May 1, 2014, https://www.theeuropean.de/en/chantal-mouffe--4/8420-why-the-eu-needs-populism (January 10, 2021).

———. 2016a. "America in Populist Times." *The Nation*, December 15, 2016, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/america-in-populist-times-an-interview-with-chantal-mouffe/ (December 4, 2020).

———. 2016b. "Democratic Politics and Conflict: An Agonistic Approach." *Política Común* 9 (1): 1–8.

———. 2016c. "The Populist Challenge." *Open Democracy,* December 5, 2016, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/populist-challenge/ (November 30, 2020).

———. 2018. *For a Left Populism*. London and New York: Verso.

Mouzelis, Nicos P. 1988. "Marxism or Post-Marxism?" *New Left Review* 167 (1): 107–123.

———. 1990. *Post-Marxist Alternative. The Construction of Social Orders*. London: Macmillan Press.

Mudde, Cas. 2011. "Sussex v. North Carolina. The Comparative Study of Party-Based Euroscepticism." *SEI Working Paper* 121 (23).

———. 2012. "The Comparative Study of Party-Based Euroscepticism: The Sussex versus the North Carolina School." *East European Politics* 28 (2): 193–202.

———. 2019. "Populism Is Dead! Long Live the Far Right." In *Euroflections*: Leading academics on the European elections 2019, edited by Niklas Bolin, et al., 23-24. Demicom report no. 40. Sundsvai: Mittuniversitetet.

Musolff, Andreas. 2004. *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mutigl, Peter, Gilbert Weiss, and Ruth Wodak, eds. 2000. *European Union Discourse on Un-employment*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publisher Company.

Nabers, Dirk. 2015. *A Poststructuralist Discourse Theory of Global Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2018. "Towards International Relations beyond the Mind." *Journal of International Political Theory* 16 (1): 1–17.

———. 2019. "Discursive Dislocation: Toward a Poststructuralist Theory of Crisis in Global Politics." *New Political Science* 41 (2): 263–278.

Neal, Andrew W. 2009. "Michel Foucault." In *Critical Theorists and International Relations*, edited by Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams, 161–170. Abingdon: Routledge.

Neumann-Stanivukovic, Senka. 2014. *Europeanization: A Poststructuralist Approach*. University of Groningen.

Neumayer, Laure. 2008. "Euroscepticism as a Political Label: The Use of European Union Issues in Political Competition in the New Member States." *European Journal of Political Research* 47 (2): 135–160.

Nicolaïdis, Kalypso, and Susanne K. Schmidt. 2007. "Mutual Recognition 'on Trial': The Long Road to Services Liberalization." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (5): 717–734.

Niedermayer, Oskar. 1995. "Trends and Contrasts." In *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance*, edited by Oskar Niedermayer and Richard Sinnott, 53–72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1976. "On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense." In *The Portable Nietzsche*, edited by Walter Kaufmann, 42–46. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Nivet, Bastien. 2016. "Union Européenne: Une Dépolitisation Propice Au Populisme." *La Revue Internationale et Stratégique* no. 4: 16–27.

Nonhoff, Martin. 2010. "Chantal Mouffe und Ernesto Laclau: Konfliktivität und Dynamik des Politischen." In *Das Politische Denken. Zeitgenössische Positionen*, edited by Ulrich Bröckling and Robert Feustel, 33–57. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

———. 2011. "Konstruktivistisch-Pragmatische Methodik." *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 18 (2): 91–107.

———. 2017. "Antagonismus und Antagonismen – hegemonietheoretische

Aufklärung." In *Ordnungen des Politischen, Staat – Souveränität – Nation*, edited by Oliver Marchart, 81-96. Springer VS, Wiesbaden.

Norris, Andrew. 2006. "Ernesto Laclau and the Logic of 'the Political.'" *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 32 (1): 111–134.

Norris, Pippa. 1997. "Representation and the Democratic Deficit." *European Journal of Political Research* 32 (2): 273–282.

Norval, Aletta J. 1996. *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse*. London: Verso.

———. 1997. "Frontiers in Question." *Acta Philosophica* 2 (1): 51–67.

———. 2000. "Trajectories of Future Research in Discourse Theory." In *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis. Identities, Hegemonies and Social Change*, edited by David Howarth, Aletta J. Norval, and Yannis Stavrakakis. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

———. 2004. "Democratic Decisions and the Question of Universality: Rethinking Recent Approaches." In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart, 140–166. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2007. *Aversive Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Offe, Claus. 2006. "Political Disaffection as an Outcome of Institutional Practices? Some Post-Tocquevillean Speculations." In *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies: Social Capital, Institutions and Politics*, edited by Mariano Torcal and Jose Ramon Montero, 23–45. London and New York: Routledge.

Oppermann, Kai. 2013. "The Politics of Avoiding Referendums on the Treaty of Lisbon." *Journal of European Integration* 35 (1): 73–89.

Owen, David. 2008. "Pluralism and the Pathos of Distance: Connolly, Agonistic Respect and the Limits of Political Theory." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10 (2): 210–226.

Palmer, Michael. 1968. *European Unity: A Survey of European Organizations*. London: George Alien & Unwin.

Paul, Katharina T. 2009. "Discourse Analysis: An Exploration of Methodological Issues and a Call for Methodological Courage in the Field of Policy Analysis." *Critical Policy Studies* 3 (2): 240–253.

Penn, William. 1912. *An Essay Towards The Present and Future Peace of Europe*. Washington: Georg Olms Verlag.

Percheron, Annick. 1991. "Les Français et l'Europe : Acquiescement de Façade Ou Adhésion Véritable ? Note de Recherche." *Revue Française de Science Politique* 41 (3): 382–406.

Perote-Penã, Juan, and Ashley Piggins. 2015. "A Model of Deliberative and Aggregative Democracy." *Economics and Philosophy* 31 (1): 93–121.

Potter, Jonathan. 1996. *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. London: SAGE Publications.

———. 2001. "Diskursive Psychologie und Diskursanalyse." In *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse.* Vol. 2, edited by Reiner Keller, et al., 313–334. Wiesbaden: Springer-Verlag.

Puchala, Donald J. 1999. "Institutionalism, Intergovernmentalism and European Integration: A Review Article." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37 (2): 317–331.

Rancière, Jacques. 1999. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Vol. 91. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Raunio, Tapio. 1999. "Facing the European Challenge: Finnish Parties Adjust to the Integration Process." *West European Politics* 22 (1): 138–159.

———. 2007. "Softening but Persistent: Euroscepticism in the Nordic EU Countries." *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 191–210.

Rawls, John. 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 1993. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ray, Leonard. 1999. "Measuring Party Positions on European Integration: Results from an Expert Survey." *European Journal of Political Research* 36 (2): 283–306.

———. 2003a. "Reconsidering the Link between Incumbent Support and Pro-EU Opinion." *European Union Politics* 4 (3): 259–279.

———. 2003b. "When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration." *Journal of Politics* 65 (4): 978–994.

Reif, Karlheinz, and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. “Nine Second-Order National Elections – a Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results.” *European Journal of Political Research* 8 (1): 3–44.

Rengger, Nicholas, and Ben Thirkell-White. 2007. “Still Critical after All These Years? The Past, Present and Future of Critical Theory in International Relations.” *Review of International Studies* 33 (1): 3–24.

Reungoat, Emmanuelle. 2010. “Des Appropriations Ordinaires de l’Europe.” In *L’Europe Soue Tensions. Appropriation et Contestation de l’integration Europeenne*, edited by Amandine Crespy and Mathieu Petithomme, 97–113. Paris: L’Harmattan.

Reyes, Oscar. 2004. “New Labour’s Politics of the Hard-Working Family.” In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 231–254. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Riishøj, Søren. 2007. “Europeanization and Euroscepticism: Experiences from Poland and the Czech Republic.” *Nationalities Papers* 35 (3): 503–535.

Riley, Patrick. 1974. “Abbe de Saint-Pierre and Voltaire on Perpetual Peace in Europe.” *World Affairs* 137 (3): 186-194.

Risse, Thomas. 2003. “The Euro between National and European Identity.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 10 (4): 487–505.

———. 2017. *Domestic Politics and Norm Diffusion in International Relations*. London and New York: Routledge.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1996. "Exploring the Nature of the Beast. International Relaitons Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 53-80.

Robinson, Andrew, and Simon Tormey. 2006. “Zizek’s Marx: ‘Sublime Object’ or a ‘Plague of Fantasies’?” *Historical Materialism* 14 (3): 145–175.

Roger, Antoine. 2007. “Les Résistances Partisanes À l’intégration Européenne. Un Objet de Comparaison À Consolider.” In *Les Résistances À l’Europe. Cultures Régionales, Idéologies et Stratégies d’acteurs*, edited by Justine Lacroix and Ramona Coman, 31–48. Brussels: Editions de l’Université de Bruxelles.

Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. “The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2):

463–475.

Rohrschneider, Robert, and Stephen Whitefield. 2016. “Responding to Growing European Union-Skepticism?” *European Union Politics* 17 (1): 138–161.

Rompuy, Herman van. 2010. “Euroscepticism Leads to War.” *The Telegraph*, November 10, 2010, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/8124189/Herman-Van-Rompuy-Euroscepticism-leads-to-war.html (Feburary 28, 2021).

Rosamond, Ben. 1999. “Discourses of Globalization and the Social Construction of European Identities.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4): 652–668.

———. 2007. “European Integration and the Social Science of EU Studies: The Disciplinary Politics of a Subfield.” *International Affairs* 83 (2): 231–252.

Ross, George. 2011. *The European Union and Its Crises: Through the Eyes of the Brussels Elite*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rovny, Jan. 2004. “Conceptualising Party-Based Euroscepticism: Magnitude and Motivations.” *Collegium* 29 (1): 31–47.

Rumford, Chris, and Philomena Murray. 2003. “Globalization and the Limitations of European Integration Studies: Interdisciplinary Considerations.” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 11 (1): 85–93.

Rummens, Stefan. 2009. “Democracy as a Non-Hegemonic Struggle? Disambiguating Chantal Mouffe’s Agonistic Model of Politics.” *Constellations* 16 (3): 377–391.

Ryner, Magnus. 2012. “Financial Crisis, Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in the Production of Knowledge about the EU.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 40 (3): 647–673.

Sánchez-Cuenca. 2000. “The Political Basis of Support for European Integration.” *European Union Politics* 1 (2): 141–171.

Sanders, David, et al., eds. 2012. *The Europeanization of National Polities?: Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sanders, David, Pedro Magalhaes, and Gábor Tóka. 2012. *Citizens and the European Polity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1974. *Course in General Linguistics*. Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye. New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Schaap, Andrew. 2007. "Political Theory and the Agony of Politics." *Political Studies Review* 5 (1): 56–74.

———, ed. 2009. *Law and Agonistic Politics*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Schäfer, Andreas. 2017. *Zwischen Repräsentation und Diskurs: Zur Rolle von Deliberation im Parlamentarischen Entscheidungsprozess*. Wiesbaden: Springer-Verlag.

Schild, Joachim, and Philipp Hessen. 2009. "Bulwark, Trojan Horse or What? Citizen's Attitudes towards the EU's Role in the Process of Globalisation." *Paper Presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions,* March, 2009 in Lisbon.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2001. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union." *International Organization* 55 (1): 47-80.

Schmitt, Carl. 1976. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicage Press.

———. 1999. "Ethic of State and Pluralistic State." In *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*, edited by Chantal Mouffe, 195–208. London and New York: Verso.

Schmitt, Hermann. 2005. "The European Parliament Elections of June 2004: Still Second-Order?" *West European Politics* 28 (3): 650-679.

Schmitt, Hermann, and Jacques Thomassen. 1999. *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schmitter, Philippe C. 2009. "On the Way to a Post-Functionalist Theory of European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 211–215.

Schuck, Andreas R.T., and Claes H. de Vreese. 2006. "Between Risk and Opportunity: News Framing and Its Effects on Public Support for EU

Enlargement." *European Journal of Communication* 21 (1): 5–32.

Schuman, Robert. 1950. "Schuman Declaration." *CVCE*, May 9, 1950, https://www.cvce.eu/de/obj/erklarung_von_robert_schuman_paris_9_mai_1950-de-7b392212-e1b7-4fba-a450-5e208a577f4d.html (March 23, 2020).

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 2003. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. *Modern Economic Classics-Evaluations Through Time*. London and New York: Routledge.

Serricchio, Fabio, Myrto Tsakatika, and Lucia Quaglia. 2013. "Euroscepticism and the Global Financial Crisis." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 51–64.

Shapiro, Michael. 1988. *The Politics of Representation: Writing Practices in Biography, and Policy Analysis*. Madison: University of Winsconsin Press.

———. 1997. *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Sharpe, Matthew, Rory Jeffs, and Jack Reynolds, eds. 2017. *100 Years of European Philosophy since the Great War: Crisis and Reconfigurations*. Basel: Springer International Publishing AG.

Shore, Cris. 2000. *Building Europe, The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London: Routledge.

Shore, Cris, and Susan Wright. 2000. "Coercive Accountability." In *Audit Cultures: Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics, and the Academy*, edited by Marilyn Strathern, 57-90. London: Routledge.

Siemens, Herman W. 2017. "The Rise of Political Agonism and Its Relation to Deconstruction: The Case of Chantal Mouffe." *In Beyond Deconstruction: From Hermeneutics to Reconstruction,* edited by Alberto Martinengo, 213-224. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Sitter, Nick. 2001. "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euro-Scepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?" *West European Politics* 24 (4): 22–39.

Skinner, Marianne S. 2010. "Political Culture, Values and Economic Utility : A Different Perspective on Norwegian Party- Based Euroscepticism." *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 6 (3): 299–315.

Smith, Anna Marie. 1994. *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1998. *Laclau and Mouffe the Radical Democratic Imaginary*. London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, Anthony D. 1991. *National Idenitiy.* Vol. 11. Reno: University of Nevada.

———. 1992. "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity." *International Affairs* 68 (1): 55–76.

Soguk, Nevzat. 1999. *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sørensen, Catharina. 2008. "Love Me, Love Me Not… A Typology of Public Euroscepticism." *DIIS Working Paper* no. 101: 1–29.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1976. "Translator's Preface." In *Of Grammatology*, edited by Jacques Derrida, ix–lxxxvii. Baltimore, MD and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Stähli, Urs. 2004. "Competing Figures of the Limit: Dispersion, Transgression, Antagonism, and Indifference." In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and David Howarth, 226–240. London and New York: Routledge.

Startin, Nicholas. 2005. "Maastricht, Amsterdam and Beyond: The Troubled Evolution of the French Right." In *French Relations with the European Union*, edited by Helen Drake, 64–85. London: Routledge.

Startin, Nicholas. 2015. "Have We Reached a Tipping Point? The Mainstreaming of Euroscepticism in the UK." *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 311–323.

Startin, Nicholas, and André Krouwel. 2013. "Euroscepticism Re-Galvanized: The Consequences of the 2005 French and Dutch Rejections of the EU Constitution." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 65–84.

Staten, Henry. 1985. *Wittgenstein und Derrida*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Stavrakakis, Yannis. 2005. "Passions of Identification: Discourse, Enjoyment, and European Identity." In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob

Torfing, 68–92. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Steans, Jill, et al. 2001. *An Introduction to Iternational Relations Theory*. London: Routledge.

Steenbergen, Marco R., Erica E. Edwards, and Catherine E. de Vries. 2007. "Who's Cueing Whom?" *European Union Politics* 8 (1): 13–35.

Stojic, Marko. 2011. "The Changing Nature of Serbian Political Parties' Attitudes towards Serbian EU Membership." *SEI Working Paper* 122 (24).

Strath, Bo. 2000. "Multiple Europes: Integration, Identity and Demarcation to the Other." In *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, edited by Bo Strath, 385–420. Brussels: P.I.E.-Peter Lang.

Sturrock, John, ed. 1979. *Structuralism and since: From Levi-Strauss to Derrida*. Vol. 71. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sumic, Jelica. 2004. "Anachronism of Emancipation or Fidelity to Politics." In *Laclau. A Critical Reader*, edited by Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart, 182–198. London and New York.

Surel, Yves. 2000. "L'intégration Européenne Vue Par l'approche Cognitive et Normative Des Politiques Publiques." *Revue Française de Science Politique* 50 (2): 235–254.

Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2002. "After the Election, Nearing the Endgame: The Polish Euro-Debate in the Run-up to the 2003 EU Accession Referendum." *SEI Working Paper* 53 (7).

Szczerbiak, Aleks, and Paul Taggart. 2001. "Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the EU Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe." *SEI Working Paper* 46 (2).

———. 2002. "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States." *SEI Working Paper* 51 (6).

———. 2003. "Theorising Party-Based Euroscepticism: Problems of Definition, Measurement and Causality." *SEI Working Paper* 69 (12).

———. 2004. "Contemporary Euroscepticism in the Party Systems of the European Union Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 43 (1): 1–27.

———. , eds. 2008. *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2017. "Contemporary Research on Euroscepticism." In *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, edited by Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood, 11-21. London and New York: Routledge.

Taggart, Paul. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33 (3): 363–388.

———. 2019. "Party-Based Hard Euroscepticism in the 2019 European Parliament Elections." In *Euroflections: Leading academics on the European elections 2019*, edited by Niklas Bolin, et al., 26-27. Demicom report no. 40. Sundsvai: Mittuniversitetet.

Tally, Robert. 2007. *The Agony of the Political. A Review of Chantal Mouffe, On the Political*. London: Routledge.

Tambakaki, Paulina. 2011. "Agonism and the Reconception of European Citizenship." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (13 (4): 567-585.

———. 2017. "Agonism Reloaded: Potentia, Renewal and Radical Democracy." *Political Studies Review* 15 (4): 577–588.

Tassin, Etienne. 1995. "Europe: A Political Community?" In *Dimensions of Radical Democracy. Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, edited by Chantal Mouffe, 169-192. London and New York: Verso.

Taylor, Charles. 1971. "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man." *The Review of Metaphysics* 25 (1): 3–51.

Taylor, Robert. 2015. "Konrad Adenauer and the European Integration." *Konrad Adenauer Foundation* 11 (2): 155–162.

Thatcher, Margaret. 1988. "The Bruges Speech." *The Telegraph*, September 20, 1988, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3562258/Full-text-of-Margaret-Thatchers-speech-to-the-College-of-Europe-The-Bruges-Speech.html (November 7, 2020).

———. 1998. "Obituary: Margaret Thatcher." *BBC News*, April 8, 2013, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-10364876 (November 7, 2020).

Therborn, Goran. 2008. *From Marxism to Post-Marxism*. London New York: Verso.

Tilley, James, and Christopher Wlezien. 2008. "Does Political Information Matter? An Experimental Test Relating to Party Positions on Europe." *Political Studies* 56 (1): 192–214.

Tillman, Erik R. 2004. "The European Union at the Ballot Box? European Integration and Voting Behavior in the New Member States." *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (5): 590–610.

Tonra, Ben, and Thomas Christiansen, eds. 2004. *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Torfing, Jacob. 1999. *New Theories of Discourse. Laclau, Mouffe and Zizek*. Malden, Oxdord, Carlton: Blackwell Publisher.

———. 2005. "Discourse Theory: Achievements, Arguments, and Challenges." In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 1–32. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tormey, Simon. 2001. "Post-Marxism, Democracy and the Future of Radical Politics." *Democracy & Nature* 7 (1): 119–134.

———. 2010. "Ernesto Laclau (1935-) and Chantal Mouffe (1936-)." In *From Agamben to Zizek*, edited by Jon Simons, 144-160. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Tormey, Simon, and Jules Townshend. 2006. *Key Thinkers from Critical Theory to Post-Marxism*. London: SAGE Publications.

Townshend, Jules. 2004. "Laclau and Mouffe's Hegemonic Project: The Story so Far." *Political Studies* 52 (2): 269–288.

Traynor, Ian. 2015. "Migration Crisis: Hungary PM Says Europe in Grip of Madness." *The Guardian*, September 3, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com /world/2015/sep/03/migration-crisis-hungary-pm-victor-orban-europe-response-madness (November 2, 2020).

Treib, Oliver. 2020. "Euroscepticism Is Here to Stay: What Cleavage Theory Can Teach Us about the 2019 European Parliament Elections." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (2): 174-189.

Trondal, Jarle. 2004. “Political Dynamics of the Parallel Administration of the European Commission.” In *Politics and the European Commission. Actors, Ideas and Legitimacy*, edited by Andy Smith, 67–82. London: Routledge.

Tully, James. 1995. *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Usherwood, Simon. 2005. “Realists, Sceptics and Opponents: Opposition to the EU´s Constitutional Treaty.” *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 1 (2): 4–12.

Usherwood, Simon, and Nicholas Startin. 2012. “Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 1–16.

Vasilopoulou, Sofia. 2011. “European Integration and the Radical Right: Three Patterns of Opposition.” *Government and Opposition* 46 (2): 223–244.

———. 2013. “Continuity and Change in the Study of Euroscepticism: Plus Ça Change?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 153–168.

———. 2016. “UK Euroscepticism and the Brexit Referendum.” *Political Quarterly* 87 (2): 219–227.

———. 2017. “Theory, Concepts and Research Design in the Study of Euroscepticism.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, edited by Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, and Simon Usherwood, 22-35. London and New York: Routledge.

Vaughan-Williams, Nick. 2009. *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Verney, Susannah. 2011. “Euroscepticism in Southern Europe: A Diachronic Perspective.” *South European Society and Politics* 16 (1): 1–29.

———. 2015. “Waking the ‘Sleeping Giant’ or Expressing Domestic Dissent? Mainstreaming Euroscepticism in Crisis-Stricken Greece.” *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 279–295.

Vliegenthart, Rens, et al. 2008. “News Coverage and Support for European Integration, 1990-2006.” *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 20 (4): 415–436.

Vössing, Konstantin. 2015. “Transforming Public Opinion about European

Integration: Elite Influence and Its Limits." *European Union Politics* 16 (2): 157–175.

Vreese, Claes H. de, and Hajo G. Boomgaarden. 2005. "Projecting EU Referendums: Fear of Immigration and Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6 (1): 59–82.

Vries, Catherine E. de. 2007. "Sleeping Giant: Fact or Fairytale?: How European Integration Affects National Elections." *European Union Politics* 8 (3): 363–385.

———. 2010. "EU Issue Voting: Asset or Liability?: How European Integration Affects Parties' Electoral Fortunes." *European Union Politics* 11 (1): 89–117.

———. 2018. *Euroscepticism and the Future of European Integration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vries, Catherine E. de, and Erica E. Edwards. 2009. "Taking Europe to Its Extremes: Extremist Parties and Public Euroscepticism." *Party Politics* 15 (1): 5–28.

Vries, Catherine E. de, and Kees van Kersbergen. 2007. "Interests, Identity and Political Allegiance in the European Union." *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 307–328.

Waever, Ole. 1990. "Three Competing Europes: German, French, Russian." *International Affairs* 66 (3): 477–493.

———. 1996. "European Security Identities." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 103–133.

———. 2004. "European Integration and Security: Analysing French and German Discourses on State, Nation, and Europe." In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, edited by David Howarth and Jacob Torfing, 33–67. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2009. "Discursive Approaches." In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiender and Thomas Diez, 163–180. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walker, Rob BJ. 1987. Realism, Change and International Political Theory. *International Studies Quarterly* 31 (1): 65-86.

———.1993. *Inside/ Outside: International Relations as Political Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallaschek, Stefan. 2017. "Chantal Mouffe und die Institutionenfrage." *Zeitschrift für Politische Theorie* 8 (1): 3–22.

Ward, Ian. 1996a. "Identifying the Eurosceptic." *Res Publica* 2 (1): 87–100.

———. 1996b. *The Margins of European Law*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weber, Cynthia. 1995. *Simulating Sovereignty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1999. *Faking It: US Hegemony in a Post-Phallic Era*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wenman, Mark. 2003. "Laclau or Mouffe ? Splitting the Difference." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 29 (5): 581–606.

———. 2013. *Agonistic Democracy. Constituent Power in the Era of Globalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2017. "Much Ado about 'Nothing': Evaluating Three Immanent Critiques of Poststructuralism." *Political Studies Review* 15 (4): 564–576.

Wessels, Bernhard. 1995. "Evaluations of the EC: Elite or Mass-Driven?" In *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance*, edited by Oskar Niedermayer and Richard Sinnott, 137–162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Westphal, Manon. 2013. "Pluralismus und A(nta)gonismus : Chantal Mouffes Agonale Demokratietheorie." *Preprints of the Centre for Advanced Study in Bioethics* 56 (1).

———. 2014. "Applying Principles of Agonistic Politics to Institutional Design." *Paper Presented at the ECPR General Conference*, 1–24.

———. 2018a. *Die Normativität Agonaler Politik: Konfliktregulierung und Institutionengestaltung in der pluralistischen Demokratie*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.

———. 2018b. "What Bonds Citizens in a Pluralistic Democracy? Probing Mouffe's Notion of a Conflictual Consensus." *De Gruyter,* June 2018: 259–274.

———. 2019. “Overcoming the Institutional Deficit of Agonistic Democracy.” *Res Publica* 25 (2): 187–210.

Wiener, Antje, and Thomas Diez, eds. 2009. *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wight, Colin. 2006. *Agents, Structures and International Relations. Politics as Ontology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilde, Pieter de. 2010. “Under What Conditions Does Euroscepticism Flourish ? An Evaluation of Different Approaches and Empirical Findings.” *Trial Lecture, Oslo.*

Wilde, Pieter de, and Hans-Jörg Trenz. 2012. “Denouncing European Integration: Euroscepticism as Polity Contestation.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 15 (4): 537–554.

Wilde, Pieter de, Hans-Jörg Trenz, and Asimina Michailidou. 2010. “Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism during 2009 EP Election Campaigns.” *ARENA Working Paper* no. 14.

———. 2013. “Contesting Europe. Exploring Euroscepticism in Online Media Coverage.” *ECPR Press* 11 (1): 195–204.

———. 2014. “Converging on Euroscepticism: Online Polity Contestation during European Parliament Elections.” *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (4): 766–783.

Williams, James. 2005. *Understanding Poststructuralism*. Chesham: Acumen.

Wingenbach, Ed. 2011. *Institutionalizing Agonistic Democracy: Post-Foundationalism and Political Liberalism.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Wisniewska, Aleksandra. 2019. “The European Elections 2019 in Five Charts.” *Financial Times*, May 27, 2019, https://www.ft.com/content/a745f2be-805f-11e9-b592-5fe435b57a3b (March 2, 2021).

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wodak, Ruth. 2011a. “Complex Texts: Analysing, Understanding, Explaining and Interpreting Meanings.” *Discourse Studies* 13 (5): 623–633.

———. 2011b. *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2015. *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*. Los Angeles and London: SAGE Publications.

———. 2016. *Politik mit der Angst. Zur Wirkung Rechtspopulistischer Diskurse*. Hamburg: Konturen.

Wodak, Ruth, and Gilbert Weiss. 2000. "The Globalization Rhetoric in Discourses of the European Union." In *Globalisierung: Ein Wissenschafilicher Diskurs?*, edited by Alexandra Suess, 209–239. Vienna: Passagen.

Wrana, Daniel. 2014. "Zum Analysieren Als Discursive Praxis." In *Diskursforschung: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, edited by Johannes Angermüller, et al., 634–644. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Wright, Susan. 2004. "Markets, Corporations, Consumers? New Landscapes in Higher Education." *Learning and Teaching in the Social Sciences* 1 (2): 71–93.

Young, Iris Marion. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Zappettini, Franco. 2015. *The Discursive Construction of Europeanness: A Transnational Perspective.* Birkbeck, University of London.

Zavarzadeh, Mas'ud, Teresa L. Ebert, and Donald E. Morton, eds. 1995. *Post-ality: Marxism and Postmodernism*. Paris: Maisonneuve.

Zehfuss, Maja. 2004. *Constructivism in International Relations*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2007. *Wounds of Memory: The Politics of War in Germany*. *Wounds of Memory: The Politics of War in Germany*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2009. "Jacques Derrida." In *Critical Theorists and International Relations*, edited by Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams, 137–149. Abingdon: Routledge.

———. 2013. "Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, and Postcolonialism." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Beth

Simmons, and Thomas Risse, 145–169. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Zizek, Slavoj. 1993. *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Zurcher, Arnold J. 1958. *The Struggle to Unite Europe, 1940-58*. New York: New York University Press.

8. Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Der Prozess der europäischen Integration (EUI) wurde lange Zeit in der Öffentlichkeit nur in begrenztem Umfang diskutiert und galt als hauptsächlich von den europäischen politischen Eliten dominiert. Das Projekt EUI stellt sich im Allgemeinen als ein kontinental ausgerichtetes, postnationales politisches Projekt dar, welches darauf abzielt, bestimmte exekutive, legislative und judikative Zuständigkeiten auf supra- oder internationaler Ebene zu bündeln.[1080] Es verfolgt das Ziel, eine „immer engere Union der europäischen Völker" zu schaffen, um vergangene nationale Rivalitäten zu beschränken und eine Sphäre des Friedens und der Stabilität, zu fördern.[1081] Dieser Prozess kann grob in drei Hauptperioden unterteilt werden: die erste Periode, die die frühen Phasen des Integrationsprozesses in den 1950er Jahren bis in die späten 1980er Jahre umfasst, eine zweite Periode von der Gründung einer Union in den frühen 1990er Jahren bis in die späten 2000er Jahre und die dritte Periode, die bis zur Wahl des Europäischen Parlaments (EP) im Jahr 2019 andauert.[1082]

In der ersten Periode der EUI waren politische Rivalitäten und ideologische Konflikte in dem Prozess weitgehend abwesend. Die modi-operandi innerhalb der europäischen Institutionen bevorzugte den Kompromiss gegenüber dem Konflikt.[1083] Der Prozess wurde von Integrationsbefürwortern, die das europäische Projekt unterstützten, und einer wohlwollenden Haltung in der Öffentlichkeit dominiert. Diese wohlwollende Haltung in der europäischen Öffentlichkeit wird allgemein als „Permissiver Konsens" bezeichnet.[1084] Der angenommene Konsens ermöglichte es den europäischen Eliten, den Prozess

[1080] Hix (2007); Europäische Union (2012a).
[1081] Präambel in "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union" (TFEU). Siehe: Europäische Union (2012a); Cantat (2015).
[1082] Vasilopoulou (2013), nimmt ähnliche Einteilung der Zeiträume des Prozesses der EUI an.
[1083] Siehe Cantat (2015).
[1084] Lindberg und Scheingold (1970).

der Integration ohne große Einmischung der breiten Öffentlichkeit voranzutreiben und zu beschleunigen. So scheint es, dass der Schuman-Plan von 1950, als politisches Grundkonzept zur Zusammenlegung der deutschen und französischen Kohle- und Stahlproduktion nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, von einer kleinen, nahezu konspirativ arbeitenden politischen Elite lanciert wurde. Sie konnten schnell und effektiv manövrieren, auch weil die Öffentlichkeit nicht eingebunden war.[1085]

In der zweiten Periode der EUI schien, dieser angenommene Permissive Konsens der Öffentlichkeit jedoch zu erodieren.[1086] Dies wird insbesondere in Margaret Thatchers – Premierministerin des Vereinigten Königreichs von 1979 bis 1990 – berühmten Brüssel-Rede im Jahr 1988 deutlich, in der sie das europäische Projekt und dessen eingeschlagenen Richtung grundlegend in Frage stellt und eine konkurrierende Vision aufzeigt.[1087] Ihre Rede wurde oft als Wendepunkt in der öffentlichen Debatte um den Prozess der EUI gesehen, die divergierende Positionen gegenüber dem europäischen Projekt anregte.[1088] EUI war somit zunehmend Gegenstand bedeutender und kontroverser Debatten in den Medien und der Öffentlichkeit. Die kritischeren Beiträge zur EUI waren gekennzeichnet durch Widerstand gegen den Prozess und die zunehmende Unterstützung von Renationalisierungsbestrebungen, die eine Unzufriedenheit mit den europäischen Institutionen erkennen ließen.[1089]

Während der dritten Periode der EUI wurden diese Bewegungen zunehmend in den europäischen Institutionen sichtbar, wobei eurokritische und Anti-Establishment-Parteien die wachsende Unzufriedenheit mit den traditionellen

---

[1085] Inglehart (1970). Wissenschaftler gehen davon aus, dass diese Art von Konsens bis in die 1970er Jahre vorherrschte (Down und Wilson 2008: 46).
[1086] Hooghe und Marks (2009); Risse (2017).
[1087] Usherwood und Startin (2012: 2); Flood (2002).
[1088] Thatcher (1988). Siehe ebenfalls hierzu: Hooghe und Marks (1997); Flood und Usherwood (2007); Brack und Startin (2015).
[1089] Diese Bewegungen wurden oft mit dem Label "Euroskeptizismus" versehen (Usherwood und Startin 2012).

Parteien und Eliten repräsentierten.[1090] Die Manifestation des Widerstands gegenüber dem Prozess der EUI wurde bei den Wahlen zum EP 2014 und 2019 besonders deutlich. So wurden 2014 über fünfundzwanzig Prozent der Sitze von eurokritischen Parteien eingenommen, verglichen mit etwa sechzehn Prozent im Jahr 2009.[1091] Parteien wie der Front National (FN) in Frankreich, die United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), die Alternative für Deutschland (AFD) in Deutschland, das Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S) in Italien und Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (SYRIZA) in Griechenland erzielten beispiellose Wahlerfolge und gewannen bedeutende Anteile.[1092] Forderungen nach größeren Reformen oder gar einer Renationalisierung der Europäischen Union (EU) wurden zur Selbstverständlichkeit, quer durch das Parteienspektrum und selbst bei den Mainstream-Parteien.[1093] Einen weiteren Höhepunkt erlebte diese Entwicklung mit dem „Brexit"-Referendum im Juni 2016, das schließlich zum Austritt des Vereinigten Königreichs (UK) aus der EU führte.

Der Diskurs zur EUI durchlebt somit eine deutliche Veränderung. Er wandelt sich von der Existenz eines angenommenen Permissiven Konsens hin zu einer wachsenden Unzufriedenheit und einem Widerstand in der Öffentlichkeit, der schließlich die Existenz der europäischen Institution in Frage stellt.[1094]

[1090] Albertazzi und McDonnell (2008); Mair (2011).

[1091] Siehe hier die Wahlergebnisse des Europäischen Parlaments in 2014/19: Europäische Union (2014, 2019). Siehe auch: Brack und Startin (2015).

[1092] Brack und Startin (2015); Hobolt (2015), Hobolt und de Vries (2016).

[1093] Abbarno und Zapryanova (2013); Brack (2018). Siehe auch: Dahl (1961, 1982); Held (1995); Offe (2006: 34-35). Für „agonistische Ansätze" in Internationalen Beziehungen (IB), siehe auch: Mouffe (2013: xv, Kap. 2); Norval (2007: 4-5).

[1094] Wissenschaftler haben Herausforderungen innerhalb der EU identifiziert. Dies gilt insbesondere für die Entscheidungsfindung und die Legitimation der EU unter ihren Mitgliedern (Hix 2007). Diese Herausforderungen wurden auch als Zeichen dafür gewertet, dass die Präferenzen der Eliten und der Öffentlichkeit in Bezug auf die EUI nicht synchron sind. Selbst der Europäische Rat hat Bedenken geäußert, dass die Bürger die EU als eine Bedrohung ihrer Identität sehen und das Gefühl haben, dass Beschlüsse ihre Bedürfnisse nicht berücksichtigen (Europäischer Rat 2002; siehe auch: Hobolt 2012). Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es wichtig, den Prozess der EUI zu analysieren und zu verstehen, wie der Diskurs innerhalb der EU geprägt ist (Hobolt und Wratil 2015; Loveless und Rohrschneider 2011).

Infolgedessen sieht sich die EU mit einer erheblichen Krise konfrontiert, wie Emmanuel Macron – französischer Präsident seit 2017 – 2019 formuliert:

> "[Europe is a] historic success: the reconciliation of a devastated continent in an unprecedented project of peace, prosperity and (democratic) freedom (and pluralism). […] Never, since World War II, has Europe been as essential. Yet never has Europe been in so much danger. Brexit stands as the symbol of that. It symbolizes the crisis of Europe."[1095]

Diese Entwicklungen werden von der Entstehung einer umfangreichen und wachsenden akademischen Literatur begleitet.[1096] Frühere Studien, insbesondere während der ersten Periode der EUI, zeigen meist einen europhilen Tenor und konzentrieren sich hauptsächlich auf die Unterstützung und Legitimation der Prozesse der EUI.[1097] Im Gegensatz dazu hat sich die wissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit in den letzten Jahrzehnten mehr auf die Untersuchung des Widerstands sowie der eurokritischen Parteien verlagert. Das Phänomen des Widerstands und der zunehmenden Infragestellung des Prozesses der EUI wird sowohl in den Medien als auch in der akademischen Debatte weithin als Euroskeptizismus (EUS) etikettiert. Der allgemeine akademische Diskurs geht davon aus, dass sich EUS von einem politischen Randphänomen zu einer weit verbreiteten Position entwickelt hat, die sogar von Mainstream-Parteien und Parteien in der Regierung vertreten wird. Das Phänomen des EUS hat somit das Potenzial, dem Streben der EU nach Legitimität und Stabilität langfristig zu schaden.[1098] Infolge dieser Ereignisse

---

[1095] Macron (2019).
[1096] Für eine Übersicht, siehe Flood (2002); de Vries und Hobolt (2016).
[1097] Siehe hier Inglehart (1970); Gabel (1998).
[1098] Siehe hier: Kopecký und Mudde (2002); Szczerbiak und Taggart (2002, 2017: 11); Harmsen und Spiering (2004a); Marks und Steenbergen (2004a, 2002, 2004b); Hix (2005); Hooghe (2007); Hooghe und Marks (2007); Krouwel und Abts (2007); Usherwood und Startin (2012); Serricchio, Tsakatika, und Quaglia (2013); Leconte (2015); Rohrschneider und Whitefield (2016).

entwickelten sich die Untersuchungen zum EUS zu einem gut etablierten Teilbereich der europäischen Integrationsstudien (kurz: European Studies, manchmal auch EU-Studien).[1099] Die meisten Forschungen, die innerhalb des Feldes der EUS durchgeführt werden, konzentrieren sich auf rationale Ansätze.[1100] Anfang der 2000er Jahre erlebte das Forschungsfeld jedoch eine sogenannte „kritische Wende". Seitdem haben ebenfalls kritische Theoretiker das akademische Feld eingenommen und stellen die wichtigste theoretische Alternative zu rationalen Ansätzen innerhalb der Disziplin dar.[1101] Die kritische Theorie als Wissenschaftsdisziplin stellt den Mainstream des theoretischen Denkens und der Wissensproduktion grundsätzlich in Frage. Sie basiert auf den Ideen von Theoretikern, die zum Beispiel der Frankfurter Schule, des Poststrukturalismus und des Feminismus zugeordnet werden. In Bezug auf den Poststrukturalismus wird sie oft als „eine kritische Haltung"[1102] oder „ein Ethos der Kritik"[1103] beschrieben, die allgemeinen Behauptungen und grundlegende Mainstream-Annahmen innerhalb des Fachgebiets problematisiert. Beeinflusst von Theoretikern wie Michel Foucault und Jacques Derrida, wird darüber

[1099] Siehe hier Schmitt und Thomassen (1999); Flood (2002); Kopecký und Mudde (2002); Leconte (2010); Mair und Thomassen (2010); Capuzzi (2016).

[1100] Diese Studien konzentrieren sich hauptsächlich auf die Analyse der „Natur" des Begriffs sowie der ihm zugrunde liegenden „Ursachen". Siehe hier zum Beispiel: Brack und Startin (2015); Leruth, Startin, und Usherwood (2017b); Brack (2018). Für die zweite Debatte werden mehrere Erklärungen angeboten (Leruth, Startin, und Usherwood 2017a: 3). Diese konzentrieren sich entweder auf die Parteipolitik oder die öffentliche Meinung (Marks und Wilson 2000; Hooghe, Marks und Wilson 2002; Marks, Wilson und Ray 2002; Szczerbiak und Taggart 2008; Usherwood und Startin 2012). Die vorliegende Studie nimmt jedoch eine poststrukturalistische Perspektive ein und lehnt daher diese theoretischen Annahmen explizit ab. Aus einer poststrukturalistischen Perspektive gibt es keine allgemeine Natur oder Ursachen für ein bestimmtes Phänomen, stattdessen ist das Soziale generell diskursiv konstruiert.

[1101] Siehe hier Rengger und Thirkell-White (2007). Robert Cox ist zudem einer der frühen Theoretiker in der kritischen Tradition der IB (Cox 1983, 1981).

[1102] Campbell und Shapiro (2007); Campbell (2013).

[1103] Jabri (2007).

hinaus die Möglichkeiten erforscht, die soziale und politische Sphäre jenseits rationaler, auf Essentialismus basierender Ansätze zu verstehen.[1104]

Die vorliegende Studie wählt einen kritischen Ansatz, um das Phänomen der wachsenden Unzufriedenheit und des Widerstands in Bezug auf den Prozess der EUI zu untersuchen und ein besseres Verständnis der bestehenden Debatte zu gewinnen. Mouffes „Agonistisches Modell der Demokratie" (AMD) bietet eine gut erforschte, diskursbasierte und poststrukturalistische Theorie der Demokratie. Mouffes AMD schlägt vor, dass die Abwesenheit einer agonistischen Konfrontation zwischen unterschiedlichen Parteien und Meinungen eine wachsende Apathie und Unzufriedenheit in demokratischen Systemen erlaubt.[1105] In Abgrenzung zum populären deliberativ-demokratischen Ansatz, der auf der Möglichkeit eines rationalen Konsenses beruht, argumentiert Mouffe, dass die Art und Weise, wie demokratische Identifikation entsteht, weder von ausgefeilten rationalen Argumenten noch von kontexttranszendenten Wahrheitsansprüchen abhängt. Stattdessen findet die Identifikation innerhalb demokratischer Systeme durch komplexe artikulatorische Praktiken und Diskurse statt.[1106] Die Identifikation mit demokratischen Prinzipien erfordert ein demokratisches Ethos, das durch die Mobilisierung von Leidenschaft innerhalb des demokratischen Designs geschaffen wird, da die demokratischen Subjekte die Möglichkeit haben, sich mit verschiedenen politischen Positionen zu identifizieren.[1107] Demokratische Politik impliziert also immer Konflikt und die Dimension des Antagonismus und das Ziel der Politik ist die „Herstellung von Einheit in einem Kontext von Konflikt und Vielfalt."[1108] Nach Mouffe neigen demokratische Systeme, die einen übermäßigen Schwerpunkt auf den politischen Konsens legen, dazu,

[1104] Edkins (2007: 89); Çalkıvik (2017). Zur Kritik am Poststrukturalismus siehe ferner: Khan und Wenman (2017); Rengger und Thirkell-White (2007).
[1105] Mouffe (2000: 85, 105).
[1106] Mouffe (1995: 5).
[1107] Mouffe (1995: 6).
[1108] Mouffe (1995: 9).

Gelegenheiten zur lebhaften Auseinandersetzung mit legitimen und unterschiedlichen Positionen auszuschließen, und schaffen somit Raum für Apathie und Entfremdung vom demokratischen System.[1109]

Chantal Mouffes agonistischer Pluralismus kombiniert die Elemente Konflikt, Konsens, Demokratie und Politik somit in einer Weise, die eine substanzielle Kritik an der gegenwärtigen Form der europäischen Institutionen und den Prozessen der Entscheidungsfindung erlaubt. Aus der Perspektive der AMD lässt sich vermuten, dass die Entwicklung der EUI – insbesondere in der früheren Periode – auf einen Mangel kontroverser Debatte über die Richtung des Integrationsprozesses innerhalb der Institutionen hinweist. Dementsprechend spiegelte dies eine Situation dislozierter Identifikation wider, die Apathie und letztlich Renationalisierungsbestrebungen erlauben.[1110] Auf diese Weise bietet Mouffe's Modell einen potenziell fruchtbaren Weg, um neue Einsichten und ein tieferes Verständnis des Prozesses der EUI und des Phänomens des Widerstands zu gewinnen. Es bietet zudem die Möglichkeiten, die Verfassung und Praxis der Europäischen Institutionen neu zu überdenken und zeigt schließlich Reformmöglichkeiten auf, um eine stärkere Bindung an die Institution zu ermöglichen und marginalisierte Gruppen und Minderheiten stärker in den demokratischen Prozess einzubeziehen.[1111] In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird daher das Argument vorgebracht, dass Mouffes AMD – insbesondere ihre Betonung des Konflikts – sinnvoll auf den Diskurs zur EUI angewendet werden kann und die Möglichkeit bietet, ein besseres Verständnis des untersuchten Phänomens zu erlangen und die Strukturen des politischen Systems der EU zu überdenken.[1112]

Das zu untersuchende Phänomen wurde allerdings bisher noch nicht aus der Perspektive der AMD untersucht und erfährt kaum wissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit auf diesem Gebiet. Dementsprechend zielt die vorliegende

[1109] Mouffe (2000: 105).
[1110] Mouffe (2013).
[1111] Jones (2014: 250).
[1112] Down und Wilson (2008: 46); Jones (2014: 253).

Arbeit darauf ab, diese Forschungslücke zu schließen, indem sie den aufkommenden Widerstand und die Renationalisierungsbemühungen, die von eurokritischen Parteien vorangetrieben werden, aus der Perspektive der AMD betrachtet. Die Forschungsfrage, die im Mittelpunkt dieser Arbeit steht, lautet daher: „Wie kann der Widerstand gegen den Prozess der europäischen Integration aus der Perspektive von Chantal Mouffes AMD verstanden werden?“

In dem Bestreben, dieser Frage nachzugehen und Mouffes theoretische Überlegungen, wie in ihrem Modell des „agonistischen Pluralismus“ vorgeschlagen, anzuwenden, entwickelt die vorliegende Studie ein analytisches Framework mit vier Kategorien („excess of consensus,“ „crisis of identification,“ „hegemonic struggle,“ and „apathy and disaffection“). Zur Anwendung dieses Modells bedient die Arbeit sich der poststrukturalistischen Diskursanalyse, basierend auf Mouffes und Laclaus theoretischer Arbeit. Mouffe und Laclau formulieren ihre diskurstheoretischen Überlegungen ursprünglich in ihrem gemeinsamen Werk Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (HSS). Laclau führt diese in New Reflections on Revolution of our Time (1990), Emancipation(s) (1996) und The Rhetorical Foundations of Society (2014) weiter aus und Mouffe ebenso in Die Rückkehr des Politischen (1993) und Das Demokratische Paradox (2000) und anderen Werken.[1113] Mouffes und Laclaus allgemeiner Ansatz beruht auf der ontologischen Annahme, dass alle Bedeutung diskursiv konstruiert ist und von kontingenten Artikulationsbeziehungen abhängt.[1114] Das Diskursive konstituiert in diesem Sinne die soziale und politische Welt.[1115] Sie lehnt damit die auf dem Empirismus aufbauende positivistische Tradition ab und bestreitet die Möglichkeit, objektiv Wissen für den wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt zu produzieren.[1116] Erkenntnistheoretisch

[1113] Siehe hier Glynos und Howarth (2007); Howarth, Norval, und Stavrakakis (2000).
[1114] Siehe hier Glynos und Howarth (2007); Howarth (2000: 8-9, 2005a: 336); Howarth und Stavrakakis (2000: 2-3); Laclau und Mouffe (2014: 107); Torfing (2005: 3-4).
[1115] Howarth (2000: 9).
[1116] Howarth (2000: 1-3).

folgt sie somit dem sozialkonstruktivistischen Paradigma[1117] und verwirft die Idee, nach kausalen Erklärungen zu suchen und so die Welt mit objektiven universellen Begriffen zu erklären.[1118] Da die soziale und politische Ordnung diskursiv konstruiert ist, zielt die poststrukturalistische Diskursanalyse vielmehr darauf ab, gesellschaftlich produzierte Bedeutungen zu verstehen.[1119] Diesem Verständnis folgend bildet die Analyse des Diskurses der EUI den zentralen Gegenstand der vorliegenden Studie. Die Arbeit analysiert, inwiefern die hegemoniale Formation um den Prozess der EUI von den Widerstandsbewegungen angefochten und neu artikuliert wird. Um diesen diskursiven Wandel zu analysieren, wird der etablierte Diskurs um „Euroskeptizismus“ mit dem Begriff des Widerstands als gegenhegemoniale Bewegung ersetzt. Der Fokus der Analyse kann somit auf der Produktion und dem Wandel von Identifikationen innerhalb des Diskurses liegen.[1120] Der poststrukturalistischen Tradition folgend, basiert die Analyse auf der qualitativen Auswertung verfügbarer Textdaten wie Reden von Politikern, Medienberichterstattung oder Debatten rund um den untersuchten Diskurs. Bei der vorliegenden Studie handelt es sich damit um eine theoretische Studie komplementiert durch Bezug zu empirischen Daten, die den diskursiven Wandel vom vermeintlich Permissiven Konsens zum Widerstand analysiert. Auf der Grundlage des ausgewählten Textkorpus werden darüber hinaus die theoretischen Logiken erforscht und die theoretischen Annahmen von Mouffe kritisch diskutiert.

Die durchgeführte Analyse zeigt, dass die Anwendung des entwickelten Frameworks basierend auf Mouffe‘s AMD auf das Phänomens des Widerstands mit Hilfe der poststrukturalistischen Diskursanalyse in der Lage ist, nützliche Einsichten und ein besseres Verständnis der gestellten Forschungsfrage zu gewinnen. Die Analyse legt nahe, dass der Prozess der EUI in den früheren

[1117] Howarth, Norval, und Stavrakakis (2000: 3).
[1118] Howarth (2000: 126).
[1119] Howarth (2000: 113); Howarth (1995: 115); Paul (2009: 242); Carta (2019).
[1120] Crespy und Verschueren (2009).

Perioden seines Bestehens einen erheblichen Mangel an kontroverser Debatte und damit an Identifikation erfahren hat. Auf diese Weise wurden der Widerstand und die zunehmende Unterstützung von eurokritischen Anti-Establishment-Parteien, die die Renationalisierung vorantreiben, gestärkt. Diese Prozesse zeigten zudem eine wachsende Unzufriedenheit mit der Institution, die in der Entscheidung Großbritanniens, die EU zu verlassen, gipfelte. Die Analyse stellt darüber hinaus Alternativen bereit, die Funktionsweise der demokratischen Institution zu verstehen und so dem wachsenden Widerstand gegenüber der EUI zu begegnen. Sie empfiehlt, dass in der gegenwärtigen Konstellation der europäischen Institutionen die Möglichkeit einer agonistischen Konfrontation hilfreich scheint, um eine stärkere Identifikation innerhalb der Institution der EU zu ermöglichen. Da Mouffe's Model kein präzises agonistisches Reformprogramm vorschlägt, bezieht sich die vorliegende Arbeit auf den vielversprechenden Vorschlag eines umfassenden Reform- und Vergleichsansatz zur Implementierung des agonistischen Pluralismus von Manon Westphal.[1121] Auf diese Weise wären die demokratischen Institutionen der EU in der Lage, Leidenschaft auf produktive Weise zu mobilisieren und gleichzeitig Kontingenz und Kontroversen zu stimulieren. Die durchgeführte Analyse besitzt daher starke Relevanz für die politischen Institutionen der EU indem es neue Räume für partizipative Politik eröffnet und somit die Einbeziehung von Akteuren ermöglicht, die sonst möglicherweise ausgeschlossen wären.[1122]

Die vorliegende Studie ist somit wie folgt aufgebaut. Nach der Einleitung wird im zweiten Kapitel der Stand des Untersuchungsgegenstandes dargelegt. Zunächst wird anhand der Geschichte und der Entwicklung des Diskurses zur EUI die Entwicklung vom Permissiven Konsens zu zunehmendem Widerstand und dem Aufkommen eurokritischer Parteien dargestellt. Dann wird das

[1121] Westphal (2019: 6). Manon Westphal stellt einen vergleichenden und reformorientierten Ansatz für die Implementierung des AMD vor. Ihr Ansatz wird später in dieser Studie weiter illustriert.
[1122] Jones (2014: 14-15, 20).

bestehende Forschungsfeld zum Widerstand oder „Euroskeptizismus“ vorgestellt. Hier werden die beiden Hauptfelder zur „Natur“ des Phänomens und das Verständnis seiner „Ursachen“ illustriert. Daraufhin wird die Forschungslücke der vorliegenden Analyse vorgestellt, um die Relevanz der Arbeit darzulegen und den Mehrwert für das Forschungsfeld zu verdeutlichen. Das dritte Kapitel führt den theoretischen Hintergrund des Mouffe'schen Modells des agonistischen Pluralismus ein. Zum besseren Verständnis ihrer agonistischen Schriften wird zunächst Mouffes theoretische Entwicklung vom Marxismus zum Poststrukturalismus dargestellt. Dann werden die diskurstheoretischen Grundlagen, die sie gemeinsam mit Ernesto Laclau entwickelt, dargestellt, bevor das AMD von Mouffe vorgestellt wird. Schließlich wird ein analytischer Rahmen für die vorliegende Analyse entwickelt. Das vierte Kapitel geht auf die Forschungsstrategie der Analyse ein. Zunächst werden in diesem Kapitel die ontologischen und erkenntnistheoretischen Annahmen erläutert, die für die Auswahl der Daten und der Analysewerkzeuge maßgeblich sind. Dann wird eine deskriptive Darstellung der gesammelten Daten und des Materials für die Analyse eingeführt, bevor das Kapitel ausführt, wie die ausgewählten Daten und das Material mit Hilfe der poststrukturalistischen Diskursanalyse analysiert werden. Das fünfte Kapitel veranschaulicht die für die vorliegende Studie durchgeführte Analyse. Hier wird der entwickelte analytische Rahmen mit Hilfe der poststrukturalistischen Diskursanalyse auf die vorgestellten empirischen Daten angewendet. Das sechste Kapitel der Studie unternimmt eine Diskussion der Analyse und zieht Schlussfolgerungen sowohl für den theoretischen als auch für den praktischen Bereich der EUI. Darüber hinaus werden eine kritische Diskussion und Substantiierung des Mouffe-Modells geliefert.

Bibliographie

Abbarno, Aaron J., und Galina M. Zapryanova. 2013. “Indirect Effects of Eurosceptic Messages on Citizen Attitudes toward Domestic Politics.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (4): 581–597.

Albertazzi, Daniele, und Duncan McDonnell, Hg. 2008. *Twenty-First Century Populism. The spectre of Western European democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Brack, Nathalie. 2018. *Opposing Europe in the European Parliament: Rebels and Radicals in the Chamber. Washington*: Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics.

Brack, Nathalie, und Nicholas Startin. 2015. "Introduction: Euroscepticism, from the Margins to the Mainstream." *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 239–249.

Çalkıvik, Aslı. 2017. "Poststructuralism and Postmodernism in International Relations." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 1–28.

Campbell, David. 2013. "Poststructuralism." In *International Relations Theories,* Hg. von Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, und Steve Smith, 3. Ed., 223-246. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, David, und Michael Shapiro. 2007. "Guest Editors' Introduction." *Security Dialogue* 38 (2): 131–137.

Cantat, Céline. 2015. "Narratives and Counter-Narratives of Europe. Constructing and Contesting Europeanity." *Cahiers, Mémoire et Politique*, Oktober Ausgabe.

Capuzzi, Francesco. 2016. "Understanding Popular Euroscepticism." *PSA 66th Annual International Conference*, 1–37.

Carta, Caterina. 2019. "'A Rose by Any Other Name': On Ways of Approaching Discourse Analysis." *International Studies Review* 21 (1): 81–106.

Cox, Robert W. 1981. “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10 (128): 425–430.

———. 1983. “Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12 (2): 162–175.

Crespy, Amandine, und Nicolas Verschueren. 2009. “From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration: An Interdisciplinary Perspective.” *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 10 (3): 377–393.

Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven und London: Yale University.

———. 1982. *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University.

Down, Ian, und Carole J. Wilson. 2008. “From Permissive Consensus’ to ‘Constraining Dissensus’: A Polarizing Union?” *Acta Politica* 43 (1): 26–49.

Edkins, Jenny. 2007. “Poststructuralism.” In *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction*, hg. von Martin Griffiths, 88–98. London: Routledge.

Europäische Union. 2012a. “Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Funtioning of the European Union.” *Official Journal of the European Union* 47 (6): 47– 326.

———. 2014. “Results of the 2014 European Elections - Results by Country.” *European Parliament*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/country-introduction-2014.html (June 13, 2018).

———. 2019. “2019 European Election Results.” *European Parliament*,

https://europarl.europa.eu/election-results-2019/en/european-results/2019-2024/ (October 3, 2020).

Europäischer Rat. 2002. “Laeken Declaration on the Future of the European Union,” *Dezember Ausgabe*: 19–23.

Flood, Christopher. 2002. “Euroscepticism: A Problematic Concept.” *UACES 32nd Annual Conference.*

Gabel, Matthew. 1998. “Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories.” *The Journal of Politics* 60 (2): 333–354.

Glynos, Jason, und David Howarth. 2007. *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political Theory*. London: Routledge.

Harmsen, Robert, und Menno Spiering, Hg. 2004a. *Euroscepticism. Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Held, David. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order. From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hix, Simon. 2005. *The Political System of the European Union*. 2. Ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2007. “The EU as a New Political System.” In *Comparative Politics*, hg. von Danielle Caramani, 1. Ed., 574–600. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hobolt, Sara B. 2012. “Public Opinion and Integration.” *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, August Ausgabe: 716–733.

———. 2015. “The 2014 European Parliament Elections: Divided in Unity?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (Annual Review): 6–21.

Hobolt, Sara B., und Catherine E. de Vries. 2016. “Turning against the Union? The Impact of the Crisis on the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2014 European Parliament Elections.” *Electoral Studies* 44 (1): 504–514.

Hobolt, Sara B., und Christopher Wratil. 2015. “Public Opinion and the Crisis: The Dynamics of Support for the Euro.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (2): 238–256.

Hooghe, Lisbet. 2007. “What Drives Euroskepticism?: Party-Public Cueing, Ideology and Strategic Opportunity.” *European Union Politics* 8 (1): 5–12.

Hooghe, Liesbet, und Gary Marks. 2007. “Sources of Euroscepticism.” *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 119–127.

———. 2009. “A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus.” *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 1–23.

Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, und Carole J. Wilson. 2002. “Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2): 965–989.

Howarth, David. 1995. “Discourse Theory.” In *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, hg. von David Marsh und Gerry Stoker, 115–133. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

———. 2000. *Discourse*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

———. 2005a. “Applying Discourse Theory: The Method of Articulation.” In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, hg. von David Howarth und Jacob Torfing, 316–349. London: Palgrave

Macmillan.

Howarth, David, Aletta J. Norval, und Yannis Stavrakakis, Hg. 2000. *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, Hegemonies and Social Change*. Manchester und New York: Manchester University Press.

Howarth, David, und Yannis Stavrakakis. 2000. "Introducing Discourse Theory and Political Analysis." In *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis*, hg. von David Howarth, Aletta J. Norval, und Yannis Stavrakakis, 1–23. Manchester und New York: Manchester University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1970. "Public Opinion and Regional Integration." *International Organization* 24 (4): 764-795.

Jabri, Vivienne. 2007. *War and the Transformation of Global Politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jones, Briony. 2014. "Ensuring a Political Space for Conflict by Applying Chantal Mouffe to Post-War Reconstruction and Development." *Progress in Development Studies* 14 (3): 249–259.

Khan, Gulshan, und Mark Wenman. 2017. "The Politics of Poststructuralism Today." *Political Studies Review* 15 (4): 513–515.

Kopecký, Petr, und Cas Mudde. 2002. "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe." *European Union Politics* 3 (3): 297–326.

Krouwel, André, und Koen Abts. 2007. "Varieties of Euroscepticism and Populist Mobilization: Transforming Attitudes from Mild Euroscepticism to Harsh Eurocynicism." *Acta Politica* 42 (2–3): 252–270.

Laclau, Ernesto, und Chantal Mouffe. 2014. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy.*

Towards a Radical Democratic Politics. 2. Ed. London und New York: Verso.

Leconte, Cécile. 2010. *Understanding Euroscepticism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2015. "From Pathology to Mainstream Phenomenon: Reviewing the Euroscepticism Debate in Research and Theory." *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 250–263.

Leruth, Benjamin, Nicholas Startin, und Simon Usherwood. 2017a. "Defining Euroscepticism: From a Broad Concept to a Field of Study." In *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, hg. von Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, und Simon Usherwood, 3–10. London und New York: Routledge.

———. , Hg. 2017b. *The Handbook of Euroscepticism*. London und New York: Routledge.

Lindberg, Leon N., und Stuart A. Scheingold. 1970. *Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Loveless, Matthew, und Robert Rohrschneider. 2011. "Public Perceptions of the EU as a System of Governance." *Living Reviews in European Governance* 6 (1): 1–37.

Macron, Emmanuel. 2019. "For European Renewal." *Élysée*, March 4, 2019, https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2019/03/04/for-european-renewal.en (December 10, 2020).

Mair, Peter. 2011. "Gouvernement Représentatif v. Gouvernement Responsable." *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparee* 18 (2): 149–

164.

Mair, Peter, und Jacques Thomassen. 2010. “Political Representation and Government in the European Union.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (1): 20–35.

Marks, Gary, und Marco Steenbergen. 2002. “Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 879–892.

Marks, Gary, und Marco R. Steenbergen, Hg. 2004a. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University.

———. 2004b. “Marks/Steenbergen Party Dataset.” *University of North Carolina Chapel Hill*, http://www.unc.edu/~gwmarks/data.htm (January 3, 2021).

Marks, Gary, und Carole J Wilson. 2000. “The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration.” *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (1): 433–459.

Marks, Gary, Carole J. Wilson, und Leonard Ray. 2002. “National Political Parties and the European Integration” 46 (3): 585–594.

Mouffe, Chantal. 1995. *Dimensions of Radical Democracy. Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*. 2. Ed. London und New York: Verso.

———. 2000. *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso.

———. 2013. *Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically*. London: Verso.

———. 2014. “Populism is a necessity.” *The European*, May 1, 2014, https://www.theeuropean.de/en/chantal-mouffe--4/8420-why-the-eu-

needs-populism (January 10, 2021).

Norval, Aletta. 2007. *Aversive Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Offe, Claus. 2006. "Political Disaffection as an Outcome of Institutional Practices? Some Post-Tocquevillean Speculations." In *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies: Social Capital, Institutions and Politics*, hg. von Mariano Torcal und Jose Ramon Montero, 23–45. London und New York: Routledge.

Paul, Katharina T. 2009. "Discourse Analysis: An Exploration of Methodological Issues and a Call for Methodological Courage in the Field of Policy Analysis." *Critical Policy Studies* 3 (2): 240–253.

Rengger, Nicholas, und Ben Thirkell-White. 2007. "Still Critical after All These Years? The Past, Present and Future of Critical Theory in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 33 (1): 3–24.

Risse, Thomas. 2017. *Domestic Politics and Norm Diffusion in International Relations*. London und New York: Routledge.

Rohrschneider, Robert, und Stephen Whitefield. 2016. "Responding to Growing European Union-Skepticism?" *European Union Politics* 17 (1): 138–161.

Schmitt, Hermann, und Jacques Thomassen. 1999. *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Serricchio, Fabio, Myrto Tsakatika, und Lucia Quaglia. 2013. "Euroscepticism and the Global Financial Crisis." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 51– 64.

Szczerbiak, Aleks, und Paul Taggart. 2002. "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States." *SEI Working Paper*

51 (6).

———. , Hg. 2008. *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2017. “Contemporary Research on Euroscepticism.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, hg. von Benjamin Leruth, Nicholas Startin, und Simon Usherwood, 11-21. London und New York: Routledge.

Torfing, Jacob. 2005. “Discourse Theory: Achievements, Arguments, and Challenges.” In *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, hg. von David Howarth und Jacob Torfing, 1–32. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tormey, Simon. 2010. “Ernesto Laclau (1935-) and Chantal Mouffe (1936-).” In *From Agamben to Zizek*, hg. von Jon Simons, 144-160. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Usherwood, Simon, und Nicholas Startin. 2012. “Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 1–16.

Vasilopoulou, Sofia. 2013. “Continuity and Change in the Study of Euroscepticism: Plus Ça Change?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1): 153–168.

Westphal, Manon. 2019. “Overcoming the Institutional Deficit of Agonistic Democracy.” *Res Publica* 25 (2): 187–210.

9. Curriculum vitae

Caroline M. Kalkreuth
Nationality: German

Ph.D. in Political Science / International Relations **2017-2021**
University of Kiel (Germany) & Yale University (USA)

Master of Science in International Business and Politics **2013-2015**
Queen Mary University of London (UK) & Copenhagen Business School (Denmark)

Bachelor of Arts in Political Science and Oriental Studies **2008-2013**
Hamburg University & Kiel University (Germany)