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Sociology of the European Union

Sabine Saurugger ^a

^a Institut d'études politiques de Grenoble

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likely. A careful reading of the book under review will alert us to the dangers – and opportunities – ahead. The book is well written and edited; it is balanced and comprehensive, original and sophisticated. It should therefore become a standard reference point for students of democracy and representation.

Jan Zielonka

University of Oxford

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Sociology of the European Union

Edited by Adrian Favell and Virginie Guiraudon

Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2011, 280 pp., £65.00, ISBN 9780230207110 (hbk)

Theories in international relations have shown the path, and European studies followed suit. Albeit considered to be ‘latecomers to the ball’ by George Ross’ thought-provoking conclusion in the volume under review, sociological approaches are increasingly numerous in the study of European integration since the end of the 1990s. Based on the observation that the EU is less and less a purely economic and political affair, but that the single European market and EU law have influenced the European society as a whole, sociological approaches occupy an important niche of European integration studies. Virginie Guiraudon’s and Adrian Favell’s most recent publication in this field presents a wide range of these sociological analyses of the European Union. While constructivists, historians, critical theorists and anthropologists have imported sociological ideas into the study of European integration, the editors’ objective here is more specific. They aim to make explicit the ontology, methodology as well as the epistemology that *empirical sociological approaches* to European integration have in common. In a very convincing introduction, the editors present precise elements that distinguish an empirical sociology of the European Union from mainstream political science approaches. They argue that three characteristics unite the contributions: taking sociological classics such as Weber, Marx, Durkheim or Gellner seriously, studying a specific social dimension of the European Union and finally combining qualitative and quantitative research designs in their studies. Among these three elements, however, the contributions make clear that it is particularly the second one – the change in the object of study in European studies – that is central.

In the two parts of the book – *social foundations* and *politics and policies* – the authors illustrate these differences through empirical studies of social class, social and spacial mobility, cities and elites as well as markets and firms. It is particularly in the first part that the enormous potential for sociological approaches to EU studies can be found. All contributors show how European integration over the last 60 years has influenced the social and economic stratification of society. Based on both qualitative and quantitative research designs, the authors produce convincing and balanced empirical results, arguing that while European integration certainly had a tremendous impact, there are no such generalised phenomena as European social classes or European firms or a uniform European market. Yet, at the same time, this research result is sometimes similar to more sophisticated Europeanisation studies which stress that legal and social underpinnings, or cultural frames account for variance in the way European integration affects the national as well as the European level.

The second part of the collected volume is extremely ambitious. It is here that the added value of empirical sociology aims to be illustrated, not applied to new objects but to classical or, as the authors call it, ‘mainstream’ political science objects: European institutions, European policies, social movements, the media and social

theory. The contributions here are more heterogeneous than in the first part: different case studies and specific conceptual frames based on classic sociologists such as Weber, Durkheim and Bourdieu aim at developing a new interpretation of classical research objects. The authors show the black holes and the questions that remain to be analysed by sociological approaches to European integration: studies of European policies should be more historically grounded whilst taking existing power structures extremely seriously. This part gives the impression that mainstream political science already did a great job in explaining European integration, but that there are still other interpretations out there that need to be taken into account. This endeavour is particularly convincing when the authors insist on the influence of the specific forms of actor networks in Brussels and Strasbourg, or that of cognitive fields or frames on actors' rationality and interests.

Although it is not entirely clear in all chapters what precisely sociological approaches add to existing political science approaches, the excellent introduction and a number of extremely well framed chapters are convincing when pleading the cause for a distinct approach in the study of the emerging European society. The volume is an inspiring read and should be compulsory for everyone interested in European integration.

Sabine Saurugger

Institut d'études politiques de Grenoble

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National and European Foreign Policies: Towards Europeanization

Edited by Reuben Wong and Christopher Hill

Routledge, London, 2011, 304 pp., £85.00, ISBN 9780415610841 (hbk)

European Union foreign policy – the existence of it – is mystifying. How can a group of states have common foreign policies when such policies are the preserve of states? How do states and their collective bodies influence each other? What are the causes and effects of – what drives and brakes – EU foreign policy-making? Hill and Wong – professor and student, now colleagues – offer responses with an impressive assemblage of analysts to evaluate 10 member states' foreign policies in relation to the EU foreign policy system. Their core conceptual concern is 'foreign policy Europeanization' – a nonlinear process by which national foreign policies influence and are influenced by EU foreign policy.

The editors find that all national foreign policies have been Europeanised to varying degrees. None is resistant to the influences of common processes/procedures. None discards the influence of shared values. At times, national foreign policies are 'uploaded' to the EU where national interests affect collective policy choices; at other times, EU foreign policies are 'downloaded' to the national level where EU interests affect national policy choices. 'Crossloading' occurs as domestic and international phenomena/actors influence foreign policy decisions in ways more horizontal than vertical.

The volume demonstrates more convergence and coordination of national foreign policies than is generally recognised, but the range of Europeanisation varies by state. For some, foreign policy Europeanisation is primarily about process and instrument; for others, it is about joint action. The authors conclude that, in a circular relationship between national and EU foreign policy preferences, states react individually to propositions discussed collectively. Mutations in national positions occur that – in the absence of the EU context – would not likely have occurred. The volume focuses on overall patterns of convergence using counterfactual reasoning.