represents a welcome palliative to the marked tendency in the literature to focus analyses of CSDP on the EU level, recognising that the effectiveness of this policy will depend ultimately on the degree to which member states buy into it. This is the kind of book that all those interested in CSDP should read in order to really understand the potential, and constraints acting on, this EU policy.

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Civic Resources and the Future of the European Union
By Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski and Viktoria Kaina

The European Union’s ‘democratic deficit’ is no longer just an academic concern. That much has become clear in the public debates about the future of European integration that accompany the current EU crisis. The editors of the present volume identify at least five problem areas in the relationship between the EU and the European citizens: legitimacy in the eyes of the European publics, institutional capacity, societal integration, collective identity and democratic deficit (p. 4). The hypothesis underlying the book’s contributions is that more active involvement of the European public in transnational political processes is needed to make the EU a sustainable political project. However, how the EU is to increase its citizens’ consent and involvement remains unclear. What are the factors that shape public attitudes towards the EU as an idea, an institutional structure, and as a community of citizens? Should the EU mobilise support by tapping civic resources, such as individual trust, social capital, and the problem-solving capacity of ‘issue publics’ or should the institutional settings be changed to allow demands and expectations of the European citizens to come to the fore?

The first five chapters of the book address civic resources at the individual/aggregate level by analysing trust in institutions and in other Europeans, levels of social capital and acceptance of a European identity. All these issues query whether the diffuse support for the European project can compensate for citizens’ dissatisfaction with EU policy outputs. The five chapters come to the conclusion that the trust in EU institutions and identification with fellow Europeans can indeed fulfil this function. However, the overall potential of these resources is limited. These tentative results make valuable contributions to the debate on public opinion and support for the EU, yet they raise more questions than they are able to answer. When we take into account the many caveats brought forward by the authors in relation to measurement and concept operationalisation, it is hard to say if these chapters indeed assess the same set of issues. For example, the concept of trust remains surprisingly vague: ‘By asking people whether they [trust] EU institutions, we do not know at all what they have in mind when they give their answers’ (p. 98) and respondents appear not to know what to understand by the term either (p. 32). Matthew Loveless even claims that ‘individual’s support for the EU is conceptually simplistic such that the assumption is that EU institutions are democratic and perceived as [such]’ (p. 120, original emphasis). These issues should have been developed further, particularly as much of the volume’s contribution hinges on bringing insights into the relationship between trust in and support for the EU.

The remainder of the book focuses on citizens’ input into policy-making at the EU level, mobilisation of collective resources to make these inputs more effective, and the identity of the EU’s constituency. Simon Smith traces a case of interactive policy-making of an ‘issue public’, concluding that the potential for democratising EU
policy-making lies more in the fact, rather than the outcome of participation. John Erik Fossum and Marit Eldholm provide a framework for analysing the EU as a new ‘recognition order’, suggesting that as long as the EU favours domestic governments’ choices over supranational policy-making, provisions for an EU citizenship produce a ‘recognition gap, because the ... institutions [that were] set up to realize citizenship are not consistent with the expectations raised [in publics] by this term’ (p. 189, original emphasis). Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski’s contribution on the ‘anti-civic’ potential of the EU’s security regime shows how EU citizenship and immigration policies constrain civic liberties, foster social closure and polarise European society. Viktoria Kaina explores the potential of collective identity-building in the EU through the horizontal sense of Europeans’ ‘belonging together’ (p. 244). Here, Enno Rudolph’s chapter steps out of line when it concludes that the diverse recognition claims of the EU’s heterogeneous constituency run against the cultural and historical ‘core’ of the EU.

Kaina and Karolewski have assembled 10 chapters making an original contribution to the debate of the future of the EU; the value-added of the book lies in its composition. The focus on the EU’s civic resources and interaction between the EU and its emerging constituency, rather than on European publics as objects of policies, demonstrates that European integration has provided the European publics with a novel set of experiences and created the grounds for new expectations for the future.

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European Integration: From Nation-States to Member States
By Chris J. Bickerton

This ambitious work argues for a different way of conceptualising European integration. Rather than viewing the EU and policy-making within it as either intergovernmental or supranational in nature, Bickerton argues European integration should be viewed through the lens of state transformation. Central to this argument is the concept of ‘member statehood’.

Divided into two parts, the first part of the book develops the concept of member statehood. The first chapter begins with an overview of the different theories used to outline European integration. According to Bickerton, all get ‘stuck on the question of whether sovereignty in Europe is still national or is being transferred to the European level’ (p. 22). Through a brief discussion of the EU’s foreign policy, its economic policy, internal security policy, and the EU’s recent attempt at adopting a constitution, two paradoxes are exposed: (1) while the EU appears external to member states, national executives continue to be central to the process, and (2) though national governments are central to the process of integration, they do not behave as ‘traditional’ nation states. Bickerton argues that by theorising European integration as a process of state transformation undertaken by member states, we are better able to explain the ‘peculiar combination of supranational appearance and state-based reality that characterizes the EU’ (p. 50).

While Chapter 2 expands upon what the member state paradigm is, Chapter 3 provides a brief history of how it came to dominate. A feature that separates member states from traditional states is how they conceive of sovereignty. While in the more traditional nation state, limits were ‘understood as internal expressions of sovereignty’ (p. 52), the guiding principle of member statehood is the self-limitation of power based upon the ‘imposition of external constraints’ (p. 61). National governments agree to