CONTENTS

List of Figures xxiii
List of Tables xxiv
List of Abbreviations xxvi

1. A Theory of Exit Options, Boundary Building, and Political Structuring 1

Introduction 1
Exit 4
Boundary 12
Hierarchy and centre formation 24
Loyalty and system building 31
Voice and political structuring 36
Exit/entry, boundary building and political structuring 47
Conclusions: the micro–macro framework 53

2. Structuring Europe: the Experience of the 'Nation-State' 56

Introduction: large-scale territorial differentiation and retrenchment 56
State building (Force–coercion) 60
Capitalism development (Economy) 71
Nation building (Cultural retrenchment/expansion) 81
Democratization 89
Social sharing 104
Conclusions: the political structuring of the European nation-state 109

3. Centre Formation in the European Union 116

The historical constellation 116
Centre formation 122
Territorial expansion and weak territoriality 127
Competence accretion 132
Bureaucratic development 136
Centrally administered legal system 141
Competence distribution 148

Unusual 'constitutionalization' 160
Uncertain legitimation 165
Conclusions 175

4. The Political Production of EU: Boundary Building and Boundary Removing 177

Introduction: negative and positive integration versus boundary building and removing 177
The economic boundary 179
The coercion boundary 199
System building: cultural identity, political rights and social sharing 211
Conclusions: the boundary configuration of the EU 241

5. Political Structuring in Loosely Bounded Territories: Territorial and Corporate Structures 248

Introduction: three structures of political representation: territorial, corporate, and electoral 248
Centre–periphery structures 252
Corporate Structures 281

6. Electoral Representation in Loosely Bounded Territories: Mass Politics in the EU? 309

The background of electoral instability and the impact of European integration 310
National parties' attitudes toward the EU: 'geopolitical', 'partisan', 'genetic' and 'institutional' models 321
The multilevel party system 326
Europarties and the mass public 340
Conclusions: electoral representation between national and European arenas 354

7. Restructuring Europe 363

European integration in historical perspective: the sixth developmental process of the European nation-state 363

European integration in analytical perspective: the macro and micro consequences of boundary transcendence 376
The political destructuring of the nation-state 380
Political restructuring of the Union? 386
Conclusions: democratizing without political structuring? 405

Index 413