

## **VII. Book Reviews**

# FRAMING THE EUROPEAN STUDIES IN THE ACADEMIC CURRICULA

*Cristina MATIUȚA*\*

*Teaching and Learning the European Union. Traditional and Innovative Methods*, edited by Stefania Baroncelli, Roberto Farneti, Ioan Horga, Sophie Vanhoonacker, Springer, 2014, ISBN 978-94-007-7042-3

The growing importance of the European Union in both national and international politics has led to an increased interest of researchers to study its institutions, their functioning mechanisms and the governance beyond the unitary state. The European Studies have become a part of the university curricula, being taught at Bachelor, Master and doctoral level programmes in various fields as Law, Economics, Political Science, International Relations, History, Sociology, Cultural Studies and others.

The book *Teaching and Learning the European Union. Traditional and Innovative Methods*, edited by Stefania Baroncelli, Roberto Farneti, Ioan Horga and Sophie Vanhoonacker examines the changes of the European educational system and the challenges facing it, looks into curricula where the EU is taught and analysis the needs in the field of the European Studies, the methodologies used and the innovative teaching methods. The volume is part of an ambitious project, *Network of European Studies (SENT)*, whose main goal was to achieve a comprehensive picture of the evolution of the European Studies over the last decades in different disciplines and countries. Coordinated by Prof. Federiga Bindi from the University of Rome "Tor Vergata" and generously supported by the European Commission, the results of the SENT network have materialized in a series of volumes among which this one.

The book is structured in three parts, that explore different aspects of teaching and learning in the field of European Studies, based on contributors own' experiences and academic research. The first part- *European Studies: Contexts and Challenges*- comprises five chapters, dealing with diverse issues as civic education or multilingual teaching and paying special attention to the issue of professional education.

Thus, the opening chapter, *Shaping the New Professional for the New Professions* (by Wim H. Gijssels, Amber Dailey-Hebert and Alexandra C. Niculescu), looks at the European Studies from the perspective of professional education. The key problems are examined here: how to assure adequate professional learning to prepare graduates for new professions, how to help them to internalize the importance of values and ethics in professional behavior, how to build strong connections between theory and professional practice. The examples provided by established professions such as business and medicine



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\* PhD, University of Oradea, Department of Political Science and Communication.  
E-mail: cristinamatiuta@yahoo.com

in preparing students for professional practice and guiding learners on how to deal with continuous change in practice can be useful for new professions like EU specialists.

The second chapter, by David Bearfield, director of the European Personnel Selection Office (EPSO), presents the European Union's Human Resources Selection System. A new competition model, differentiated and adapted, in terms of content and difficulty level, to the type of selection and profile, was put into practice, offering better service to both candidates and Institutional stakeholders.

In the next chapter, Gretchen J. Van Dyke focuses on education for EU citizenship and civic engagement through active learning. She reviews the EU strategies and programming to support active citizenship, finding similarities to those undertaken in American context to reengage citizens and encourage a greater sense of political efficacy through civic education. The statistical trends of disengagement and its negative effects for the health of democracy are comparable either in the European and American realm, so the educators at various levels, especially those in such disciplines as European Studies and Political Science, have the duty to structure classroom learning to support the goal of active citizenship and lifelong civic engagement. The active learning techniques (as in-class debates on current questions at the EU policy level, simulations for understanding the policy making process, traveling to EU institutions, inviting EU officials/experts/activists as guest speakers, looking for EU grant opportunities etc.) may be a key for developing civic skills, for fostering the European identity and a greater sense of European citizenship among European students.

The last two chapters of this first section explore two different topics: the role of linguistic diversity in shaping EU public sphere and the social and cultural implications of circulating human capital within the EU. Rita Franceschini and Daniela Veronesi analyze the multilingual policies and practices in higher education, meant to offer a space for communicating as Europeans. Given the establishment of a European higher education and research area, including students' mobility, the changes in job profile and the increasing mobility between jobs, the globalization process and the rampant developments in ICT, the universities are asked to promote the multilingual education. The case study presented here, on the trilingual Free University of Bozen-Bolzano in the northern Italy, is an example of good practice in preparing students for operating in a multilingual and multicultural Europe. In the chapter about the EU study tour and internship programme for Canadian students, Eduard M. Lavallo and Alexandre Berlin enter inside the EU institutions and analyze the opportunity for students to complement their academic courses with an integrated experience in the European organizations, working with the representatives of these organizations, exchanging point of views with practitioners, acquiring thus a better understanding of EU and initiating them into the new EU professions.

The second part of the book, *Mapping Innovations in Teaching and Learning*, comprising three chapters, presents the results of an extensive empirical research conducted through European Studies Network (SENT) and Jean Monnet Programme Network. The survey included more than 2000 EU courses on traditional EU studies disciplines (Economics, History, Legal Studies, Political and Administrative Sciences) and more recent ones (Intercultural Dialogue Studies, International Relations Studies) in 30 different European countries (the 27 EU member states, plus Iceland, Norway and Turkey). Based on this research, the first chapter, by Stefania Baroncelli, Fabio Fonti and Gordana Stevancevic, focuses on the extent to which the innovative pedagogical methods (as teamwork, field-work, special expert sessions, simulations, learning games, project-based learning, role-plays, distance learning, peer tutoring, internships, students'

volunteering, exchange programmes) and the innovative tools (as the use of Internet, educational software, movies, e-learning and social networks) are used in European Studies. The authors explore also the link between the use of new methodologies and demographic and personal background of the lecturers involved, concluding that teaching in European Studies relies mostly on tenured professors, who have lots of experience on the subject, but there is a long way to go especially in the terms of diversification the teaching tools. In the next chapter, Fabio Fonti and GordanaStevancevic goes forward examining which characteristics of European Studies lecturers and classes correlate with teaching innovation, focusing on three teaching methods: internships, distance learning and exchange programmes. They found that Jean Monnet lecturers who teach larger classes seem to be more inclined to implement more innovative teaching methods, but there are still barriers to their implementation, mostly associated with the stability of professors' academic position and the amount of their teaching experience. The last chapter of this section, by StefaniaBaroncelli, deals with linguistic pluralism in European Studies. According to the survey, only one third of EU Study courses included in the sample are taught in English, while two thirds are held in the domestic language of the country in question, despite the EU's commitment to linguistic pluralism. The author argues for a more proactive approach taken by the EU through its programmes as Jean Monnet to promote English and other EU languages in teaching, especially those which are more widespread within the EU.

The last section of the book, *Innovative Teaching and Learning in European Studies*, includes five chapters which present several case studies on the use of innovative teaching methods and tools, exploring both their strengths and weakness. The first one, by Rebecca Jones and Peter Bursens, deals with the use of simulations as a learning tool, presenting the case study of EuroSim, a cross-national simulation of the decision-making processes of the EU, organized by the Trans-Atlantic Consortium for European Union Studies and Simulations on a yearly basis. By conducting pre and post-simulation surveys, the authors test the efficacy of this teaching tool, concluding that simulation develop the critical and analytical thinking skills, enhance knowledge and promote affective learning (involving the emotional sphere in the learning process) along with cognitive learning. In the second chapter, Natalia Timus, using a case study of a master course taught at Maastricht University, examines the distance learning as an alternative method of teaching European Studies, able to incorporate a variety of theoretical frameworks and practical experiences and to make the learning process more accessible. Heidi Maurer and Christine Neuhold explore the problem-based learning (PBL), a teaching approach used in the domain of medical studies, nursing and law and more recently in the field of social sciences. The method is structured around students' activity in terms of formulating the learning objectives and organizing their learning process, the role of the academic staff being not to teach but to facilitate the learning process and to support students in their knowledge construction. Using a case-study from the Maastricht University, a pioneer in applying PBL, the authors consider this approach as a very intensive instruction model, asking for well-equipped administrative support and assignments regularly reviewed. Another approach, blended learning, examined by Alexandra Mihai in the next chapter, involves the idea of various teaching methods and learning styles, combining the e-learning tool of E-modules with face-to-face training sessions and webinars. This mix of methods implies a departure from traditional learning and needs a clear organisation for ensuring that the various educational activities are pursued coherently. Blended learning could be a suitable approach for the European Studies, being the multifaceted nature and the multidisciplinary character of this field. The last chapter, by Roberto Farneti, Irene

Bianchi, TanjaMayrgündter and Johannes Niederhauser, deals with social networks as teaching tools, using a pilot project of an electronic forum in a political science class. The advantages of this tool are in building the social relationships, improving learning abilities, developing language and „teaming” skills and enhancing communication between students and educators. Social networks represent a way to develop new patterns of literacy in our daily democratic exchange, to reduce the gap between people and institutions, reasons for which became a very important tool in higher education.

As appears from this brief description of its content, the book represents undoubtedly a valuable contribution to improving the teaching methods and tools in the area of European Studies or connected areas facing similar challenges. By exploring various dimensions of teaching and learning processes and the challenges involved and bringing together the educational experiences in the field, the volume broadens our understanding on European Union Studies. It offers a platform for knowledge exchange and a foundation for designing programs for European Studies.

# EUROPEAN UNION BETWEEN MODERNISATION AND STAGNATION

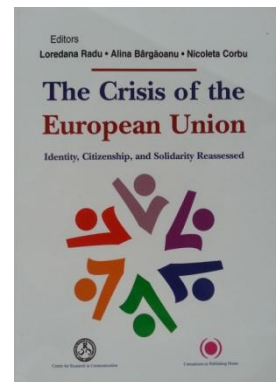
*Anca OLTEAN*

**Review of:** *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, edited by Loredana Radu, Alina Bârgăoanu, and Nicoleta Corbu. București, Comunicare.ro, 2013. ISBN 978-973-711-479-2.

The volume edited by Loredana Radu, Alina Bârgăoanu and Nicoleta Corbu and entitled *The Crisis of the European Union* is divided in four sections: the crisis of the European Union, Perspectives on European identity, Perspectives on European citizenship, Perspectives on European Solidarity. The first section, focused on the economic crisis in the European Union, contains the papers of Gabriela Drăgan on EU economic governance and the paper of Loredana Radu, Mădălina Boțan, and Nicoleta Corbu on “core vs. periphery” of European Union. Gabriela Drăgan in the paper *EU Economic Governance between the Need for Reform and the Inertia of Status quo* points out that intergovernmentalism is at the basis of structure of European Union in times of crisis<sup>1</sup>.

The macroeconomics of the European Union, suggests the authors, imply the monetary policy and fiscal policy. The author raises the question “whether supranational or national policies dominate the policy – making process within the EU economic governance?”<sup>2</sup>, and underlines that in the evolution of EU, different policies were adopted. EU’s macroeconomic policies evolved asymmetrically because fiscal policies, shows Drăgan, are in the hands of national politics while monetary policy is supranational<sup>3</sup>. The second part of the paper focuses on EU economic governance and the monetary policy in EMU, the author starts the story of monetary policy of European Union with Bretton Woods System (1960) that was based on the dollar etalon and on fixed exchange rates. In 1971, the system from Bretton Woods failed and it is replaced after the Hague negotiations with EMS (European Monetary System).

This new system has ECU as etalon and was based on exchange rate mechanism of + - 2,2%, and was maintained until the foundation of EURO – AREA in 1999. The plans of Jacques Delors for European Monetary System lead to the Treaty of Maastricht, entered into force in 1993. Now there are established integration criteria: budget deficit – not higher than 3%, and public debt no higher than 60% of GDP. Concerning the fiscal governance in the EU/ EMU that ensures price stability and economic growth, in the opinion of the author, fiscal regulations operate both at national and supranational levels. The author focuses later on the reform of EU economic governance and starts by



<sup>1</sup> Gabriela Drăgan, “EU Economic Governance between the Need for Reform and the Inertia of Status Quo,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: comunicare.ro, 2013), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 17.

describing the current state of EU, that is a state of economic crisis. EU elaborated mechanisms able to solve the existent crisis.

The second paper of Loredana Radu, Mădălina Boțan, and Nicoleta Corbu, entitled *The “Core vs. Periphery” Dichotomy Feeds Euroscepticism*<sup>4</sup>, starts with a brief introduction regarding the current situation in Europe, showing that the end of communism created new premises for countries from Central and Western Europe to integrate into the European Union. After several years of integration, point out the authors, Central and Eastern Europe is still less developed than the Western Europe regions. The solution of multispeed Europe should not be abandoned but approached with more responsibility. In the chapter “core” vs. “periphery”, the authors present the current crisis that started in 2008 and that is reflected in the financial and social struggle of Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain and also in the weakness of the European Monetary System<sup>5</sup>. Great expectations and unclear European goals are the grounds for Euroscepticism. The authors quote Taggard and Szczerbiak that distinguish between hard Euroscepticism that is opposed to European integration and soft Euroscepticism that is based on negative costs of European integration<sup>6</sup>, and approach too the problem of *Media and Euroscepticism*<sup>7</sup>. In the opinion of the three authors media are a generator of Euroscepticism that represents resistance to European integration. In the chapter *Euroscepticism and the Identity Question* the authors underline that the population from Eastern Europe would support EU if they will be rewarded with benefits and establish the methodology of the chosen subject and its research objectives. Pointing out that young people are usually less likely to involve in politics, the authors underline that among the young generation international issues, not the European ones, come first on the priority list. In Romania, there is a public formed by young generation with appetite for European issues which consider themselves both European and Romanians, underline the authors. In the end of their study, the authors conclude that it is an ideal love story between Romania and the European Union<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Loredana Radu et al., “The “Core vs. Periphery” Dichotomy Feeds Euroscepticism,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>5</sup> See the article of Luminița Șoproni and Ioan Horga, „The Economic Frontiers of Europe – Introduction,” in *Eurolimes 8, Europe and Economic Frontiers* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, Autumn 2009), 5-6, when in times of the last European crisis, the authors are confident in future progress of European continent and progress of European governance: “Nowadays regions have become bridges between local and global models of economic progress, offering new opportunities for development strategies. The globalisation phenomenon turns frontiers more permeable and confirms the “vision” of Thomas Friedman, who argues that “the world is flat.” At least in the economic world, uniformity represents one of the aims of development” (Ibid., 5) (n.n. – uniformity read quality).

<sup>6</sup> See the article of Ioan Horga, „European Union between the Constraint of Borders and Global Competition,” in *European Union between the Constraint of the Borders and Global Competition* ed. Ioan Horga, Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu (Supplement of *Eurolimes*) (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea [Oradea University Press], 2011), 5, that takes into discussion different attitudes towards European Union existent in the context of European crisis: “The disfunctionalities between the EU member states within the crisis have fueled a lot of positions, from euro-skepticism, federalism to intergovernmentalism, but also severe critics addressed to the supranationalists, the constructivists and to the people supporting the integration theories, such as governance and policy networks”.

<sup>7</sup> Radu et al., 50.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 61.

The second section of the volume has the title *Perspectives on European Identity* and contains paper signed by Matej Makarovič, Tea Golob, Oana Ștefăniță, Denisa Oprea and Georgiana Udrea, Alaadin F. Paksoy, Corina Daba-Buzoianu, Gülgün Erdogan Tosun and Huriye Toker. The presented papers refer to the appeal and identification of European Union in time of crisis, the perception of EU by media and citizens, the absence of EU – related topics on the agenda of recent Romanian and Turkish protests. In the paper of Matej Makarovič and Tea Golob, *Identifying with the European Union in Times of Crisis*<sup>9</sup>, it is asserted that the crisis is actual and omnipresent. One of the reasons of the actual EU's crisis is considered the fact that EU is not based on a democratic system or in other words on "people's will"<sup>10</sup>. The authors contest the concept of European collective identity. The concept of "European people" to the European project would be important<sup>11</sup>. Another chapter is *The EU and Transnational Identification*, where European Union appears to be, in opinion of the authors, as an institutional construct. From the European project, several identities emerged<sup>12</sup>, but the concept of identification is preferred by the authors to the concept of identity: "Identifications with the EU should also be considered as resulting from dynamics on transnational and supranational level"<sup>13</sup>. Last but not least, the authors talk about identifications with the EU in times of crisis. So, in their opinion, when economic development is low, identification with EU is missing: "Our analysis also indicates a certain impact of the crisis on European citizenship. The crisis does not only limit the opportunities of the individuals to participate in the transnational social sphere (as people need certain resources to participate there) but also affects the general image of the EU and thus one's willingness to identify with it. The European layers of identifications in a marble cake are thus less intensive and leave space for other layers, which are more bounded into local or national environments. As demonstrated by our empirical analysis, the economic prosperity alone is not a sufficient factor for identifications with the EU to emerge but it is one of the most important conditions. On the other hand, the perceived lack of economic prosperity is a sufficient condition for the lack of European identifications"<sup>14</sup>. Another article for this section belongs to Oana Ștefăniță, Denisa Oprea, and Georgiana Udrea, and has the title *EU from Media to*

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<sup>9</sup> Matej Makarovič and Tea Golob, "Identifying with the European Union in Times of Crisis," in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>11</sup> Dana Pantea in the book review *Building the European Identity* (book review of the work of Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein, *European Identity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, ISBN 978-0-521-70953) published in *Eurolimes* 10, *The Geopolitics of the European Frontiers*, ed. Dorin I. Dolghi et al. (Oradea: University of Oradea Press, Autumn 2010), 195, talks about the concept of European identity that was the subject of a continuous change since the creation of the European Union structures: "We live in an epoch when globalisation deepens every day; communication brings people together helping to construct new political, economical and social structures. European Union has been expanding since its birth and there are candidate countries waiting for a positive answer to their request to accession. Under these circumstances the question of a European identity arises. But inside the European Union there are many cultures which we should also into consideration when talking about European identity. So who is the European today? Who feels to be European? It is a difficult question to answer because in the old Europe identity was in strong connection with territory, but starting with the European Steel and Coal Community the perspective upon identity has changed".

<sup>12</sup> Makarovič and Golob, 70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.



*Citizens. Building the European Identity*<sup>15</sup>. In a brief introduction, the authors state that, in times of crisis, people are more sensitive to the information provided by media, including in the field of European issues<sup>16</sup>. They define Europe's identity as a never-ending contested phenomenon. The Romanian citizens, when asked about their European identity, do not know what to say: their attachment to the European continent or to European Union. The authors introduce the concepts of "identity" and "collective identity". Identity appears in consequence "a multi-layered construction that defines who I am in relation to who are they". Collective identity represents the identity of certain groups towards an individual can declare his affinity. Referring to relations between different collective identities, the author talk about different level of loyalties stronger than others where national identity has somehow a primacy on other identities<sup>17</sup>. Referring to European identity today, a civic, cultural concept or rather instrumental, the author consider that civic identity is the identity of EU citizens of European Union, while Cultural identity applies to Europe as a whole, a continent of shared civilisations. European instrumental identity is a pragmatic identity, a calculation based on the benefits that attachment to EU could bring<sup>18</sup>. In what concerns the problem of media implications in the Europeanisation process, media can both support or obstruct European integration process. The authors analyse the European integration process reflected in 6626 articles from Romanian press. From the published articles, the European issues represents only 12.9%. According to the authors the European topics were more debated by the readers than other topics. Among the European actors present in the press, we remark Jose-Manuel Barosso, president of European Commission and present Europarlamentarians. There are three categories of actors: national actors, European actors and non-EU European actors. The frames utilised by the press in order to define European issues were: „economic consequences frame”, „responsibility frame”, „conflict frame”, „human interest frame”, „civic European identity frame”, „instrumental European identity frame”, „cultural European identity frame”<sup>19</sup>. In what concerns qualitative analysis of the press, the authors want to show the transition of EU subjects from media to citizens and the forging of a European identity, by taking 20 interviews with Romanian students. According to the interviews, it seems that students are interested in European issues and are concerned with Romania's evolution as a member state, they use Internet as a source of Information for the European issues and only 2 students rely on TV<sup>20</sup>. The majority of students considered that the subject of European identity as media topic is not approached almost at all. The support for Europeanisation and for the European identity is poor among the students. The students seems pessimist to the idea of existence of a European identity of Romanians, but that the concept can be developed in the future considered most of the students. Thus „The majority of the interviewed students (16 out of 20) seem to rather experience a feeling of Europeanness than to really assume a common European identity”<sup>21</sup>. In the opinion of the authors there is no such thing as common European identity. In the part of conclusions, the authors sum up that their paper is based on quantitative and qualitative research. European issues,

<sup>15</sup> Oana Ștefăniță et al., „EU – from Media to Citizens. Building the European Identity,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

conclude the authors, seem to have a low visibility, below the European average that can be explained by the fact that mass media miss a crucial aspect that is „to make the citizens aware of the way the European decisions influence their lives and also of the fact that they themselves can influence these decisions”<sup>22</sup>.

Also, in the same section two, it is published the paper of Alaaddin F. Paksoy entitled *Turkey and the Issue of European Identity: An Analysis on the Media Representation of Turkey’s EU Bid within the Borders of Religion and Culture*<sup>23</sup>. Turkey has an interesting position on the globe that was not always on its favour. For more than 50 years, Turkey tries to become a EU member<sup>24</sup>. Negotiations for full membership were started in 2005. The author refers to the Copenhagen criteria that contain no reference to Christianity but still the door to EU was not opened for Turkey. The author quotes Gerard Delanty that says that the door of EU can be opened for Turkey and that „modern Turkey is a combination of the Ottoman heritage and westernization”<sup>25</sup>. The author also focuses, in the chapter *The Studies on Media, Culture and Religion in the Context of Turkey – EU Relations*, on the fact that in Turkey national media is more important than European media, and UK has a strong influence on Turkish media. In Paksoy’s opinion it can be claimed that religious and cultural difference is the reason of Turkey’s rejection from the concert of European powers, and this situation is reflected by European Media. According to Paksoy, in British media Turkey is labelled as a country of „Muslims” according to the dominant religion in Turkey (77.6%). In the part of conclusions Paksoy states that the character of „Muslim” seems to separate Turkey from European culture, and considers that historical disputes and battles that opposed and Turkish and European Civilisation in its times of building the unity of Europe as a continent in medieval and European epoch could not be deleted from European memory and this negative remembrance hardened the Turkey’s accession negotiations<sup>26</sup>.

In the article “*This Is Not about Europe!*” *The Absence of EU – Related Topics on the Agendas of Recent Romanian and Turkish Protests*, elaborated by Corina Daba-Buzoianu, Gülgün Erdogan Tosun, and Huriye Toker<sup>27</sup>, the authors consider that the European crisis imposed the stringent problem of European identity, putting under question mark the idea of European integration. In 2012 in Romania and in 2013 in Turkey took place protests and demonstrations generating a public sphere where the critical problems of their lives were debated<sup>28</sup>. These street protest, show the authors, had the role of deliberations in the public sphere. After trying to define what means the concept of public debate in the public sphere, considering it as the only one that gives legitimacy to the power, the authors put the problem of identity as they consider it a

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>23</sup> Alaaddin F. Paksoy, „Turkey and the Issue of European Identity: An Analysis on the Media Representation of Turkey’s EU Bid within the Borders of Religion and Culture,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>27</sup> Corina Daba-Buzoianu et al., „“This Is Not about Europe!” The Absence of EU – Related Topics on the Agendas of Recent Romanian and Turkish Protests,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 155.

precondition for the emergence of a public sphere<sup>29</sup>. In the next chapter of their work authors offer a few general considerations of the protests in Romania and Turkey, and describe Romania a country where street protests often take place, taking often the form of civil disobedience. By opposition, in Turkey, in 2013 over 2.5 million Turks have demonstrated in over 79 Turkish cities<sup>30</sup>. The authors try to establish a research methodology in order to examine the particularities of Romanian and Turkish protests by analysing the most important newspapers in Romania and Turkey. Thus, the protesters enjoyed a large visibility in the press both in Romania and in Turkey, and authors reveal themes in the 2012 Romanian protests and themes in the 2013 Turkish protests. Issues like political corruption, state of economy, Romanians seemed to have a large visibility in the Romanian press. In Turkey predominant were the issues of human rights/freedom of expression, economy and environment<sup>31</sup>. The authors conclude that these protests constituted themselves in voluntary civilian resistance movements and were a success in terms of social solidarity. Both social protests from Romania and Turkey show that the authors abandoned the initial themes of debate and addressed new ones. EU issues were not so addressed as the national ones.

Section three of the volume edited by Loredana Radu, Alina Bârgăoanu, and Nicoleta Corbu has the title *Perspectives on European Citizenship* and begins with the article of Hendrik-Jan Rebel with the title *European Citizenship. Whence and Whither?*<sup>32</sup>. The author start with an introduction to the meaning of European citizenship: “Citizenship will be understood as comprising both individual citizens as well as the so – called ‘corporate citizens’, meaning interest groups from profit and non - profit origin”. Then Rebel allocates a chapter to society at large connected through communication, and starts by using two approaches, one of the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, and the second belonging to the Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells. In the end of his study, in the chapter *European Citizenship. Whence and Whither?*, the author asserts that European Union is regarded by EU citizens as a “black box” and they don’t know how the European Union functions<sup>33</sup>. In the article of Józef Niżnik, *European Citizenship and the Cultural*

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 164-165.

<sup>32</sup> Hendrik-Jan Rebel, „European Citizenship. Whence and Whither?,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>33</sup> Apart from the skepticism of Hendrik-Jan Rebel, Cristina-Maria Dogot, in the article *How Permeable or Impermeable Could Be the Borders? – Introduction*, in *Eurolimes 13, Permeability and Impermeability of Socio-Economic Frontiers within European Union*, ed. Violaine Delteil et al. (Oradea: Oradea University Press, Spring 2012), 5, shows her confidence that European borders are permeable and in the success of European project of the European Union: „The continuous evolution of the European unity process allowed one of the most important results of this unique economic, social and political experience that is now the European Union, a result that consists in the more and more increasing permeability of the national frontiers. Year after year the process of the opening of the national borders represented the basis of an increasing movement of economic goods, capital and, in the end, of different European citizens. Hence, the Europe of the post-communist period, especially the last decade Europe, was a more opened and a more dynamic one, both from the economic and social perspective. The economic and the social side of the European dynamism influence each other, and together they exert a fluctuating influence on national decision-making processes”. Also referring to the permeability of borders between Romania and Hungary, both countries belonging to European Union, Constantin Țoca, in the book review *Cross-border Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe*, in *Eurolimes 14, Enlargement, Borders and the Changes of EU Political Priorities*, ed. Ariane Landuyt et al.

*Policy of the EU*<sup>34</sup> in the first chapter it is shown the unstable attitudes of citizens towards the EU. The recent crises of EU generated Euro-scepticism. In the opinion of Nižnik there is a complexity of citizens' identity the authors considering that "identity is a personal experience which answers the questions "who am I" and "who are we"? ". When talking about "European identity" the author distinguish between "Europeans" and "identity of Europe". Talking about identity, Nižnik considers that "Various studies on European identity point out that a majority of EU citizens perceive themselves above all as member of their own ethnic group, nation, or nation-state"<sup>35</sup>. In the chapter *Towards the Axiological Dimension of Post-national Citizenship?*, the author shows that European citizenship is an identity-building instrument. The author concludes the necessity that the European culture has yet to be put to work in favour of European citizenship, and author quotes the work of Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations* that did not distinct a culture such as European culture. Europeans, concludes the author, are more aware of their cultural affinities than their differences. Nižnik tries too to answer to the question why national sentiments cannot be overcome and replaced by unity<sup>36</sup>, but in the last chapter of his paper, he raises the question on how to understand EU's cultural policy. Hence, in the opinion of Nižnik, culture creates the very basis of group identity, and national ingredients can add value to European culture.

Section four of the present book is entitled *Perspectives on European Solidarity*. Alina Bârgăoanu and Flavia Durach present the paper *Nothing Bad Could Come Out from the EU? An Analysis of Euroenthusiasm among Young Romanian Students*<sup>37</sup> while Alina-Daniela Mihalcea, Rodica Maria Săvulescu, and Alexandra Vițelar present the paper *Y So Pessimistic? How Generation Y Sees the European Project*<sup>38</sup> and Loredana Radu and Elena Negrea-Busuioac present the paper *Solidarity as a Shared Value in the European Union*<sup>39</sup>. In the first paper Alina Bârgăoanu și Flavia Durach start their presentation by talking about European crisis that started in Greece and soon spread in Eurozone. The crisis had at least two consequences show the authors. Firstly it represents a test for EU. Secondly it is a crisis that divided the public opinion. The crisis, thirdly, divided European nations into creditor and debtor nations, nationalism and individualism continuing to rise. The authors show that the euro crisis is no an ordinary crisis, and it put in question the

(Oradea: Oradea University Press, Autumn 2012), 192, talks about the Hungarian-Romanian project entitled „Cross-border Agglomeration Debrecen-Oradea” that started in 2007 and that presupposed sociological research in the field of cross-border cooperation between the Romanian city of Oradea and Hungarian city of Debrecen that presupposed even the creation of a Euro metropolis in this zone.

<sup>34</sup> Józef Nižnik, "European Citizenship and the Cultural Policy of the EU," in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 215.

<sup>37</sup> Alina Bârgăoanu and Flavia Durach, „Nothing Bad Could Come Out from the EU? An Analysis of Euroenthusiasm among Young Romanian Students,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Alina-Daniela Mihalcea et al., „Y So Pessimistic? How Generation Y Sees the European Project,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Loredana Radu and Elena Negrea-Busuioac, „Solidarity as a Shared Value in the European Union,” in *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship, and Solidarity Reassessed*, ed. Loredana Radu et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro), 2013.

very existence of EU, by imposing questions such as why EU exists, which is EU *raison d'être*?<sup>40</sup>. In the chapter *Solidarity – On the Road to Extinction?* authors consider that the crisis brought forward differences and discrepancies that were not revealed before. In the time when solidarity is needed for the purpose to have a monetary union show the authors, the concept of solidarity is shaken by the current crisis. In the opinion of the authors solidarity is impossible to achieve because of the confrontation between liberal vision and socialist one<sup>41</sup>. When values are shaken, show the authors, it comes up the problem of leadership, which belongs today to Germany for demographic and economic reasons, even with the risk of critics for imposing austerity model in all Europe. The authors quote Ulrich Beck that called Germany an “accidental empire”<sup>42</sup>, becoming a very important state on the map of Europe. Then the authors define their research project they had in mind for this paper:” Our research project aims to investigate the existence of Eurosceptic feelings at the level of the public opinion in Romania, in the particular context of the economic crisis”<sup>43</sup>. For achieving their project the authors focus on four research questions: 1. „*What is the level of Euroscepticism among young people in Romania, in the context of the economic crisis?*” 2. “*What is the influence of the economic and financial crisis on the attitudes and perceptions of the young people in what the EU is concerned?*” 3. „*What is the influence of the political and economic situation in Romania on the attitudes and perceptions of the young people towards the EU?*” 4. „*How do young people imagine the future of the EU on the short term and on the long term?*”<sup>44</sup>. The target group is formed from students that live and study in Bucharest. Another objective of the research was “to identify Romanian young students’ attitudes towards the EU, with three main possibilities: radical opposition to the EU and European integration; disappointment with the current design of the EU; and, mild, passive, Euroenthusiasm”<sup>45</sup>. In the part of conclusions, the authors conclude that the crisis evolved from Greece, labelled as “the sick man of Europe” to European Union that became also “the sick man of Europe”. Alina-Daniela Mihalcea, Rodica Maria Săvulescu, and Alexandra Vițelar in the work *Y So Pessimistic? How Generation Y Sees the European Project*, the authors start with a brief introduction saying that the crisis of 2008 put under question mark the entire “European project”<sup>46</sup>. The attitudes towards EU can be optimistic and pessimistic, assert the authors that try to define generation Y attitude when it comes to European project. In the opinion of the authors, young people are the most important capital of the European Union<sup>47</sup>. In this chapter, the authors want to present the European Youth and his attitude as he is presented in the existing literature. There is a sort of similarity encountered at young people (“generation Y”), reflected in attitudes, norms and behaviours given by globalisation and digitalisation. In the chapter, *We Love Europe as Long As It Gives Us What We Need*, the authors consider that this is the attitude of young generation towards Europe. In their opinion the relation of generation Y is a relation of type cost-benefits. In the chapter *We Share a Common European Culture/Identity if It Suits Us*, the authors underline that the cultural and identity-based is of special interest for researchers. European cultural identity can be based on the concept of unity, diversity and unity in

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<sup>40</sup> Bârgăoanu and Durach, 227.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>46</sup> Mihalcea et al.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

diversity<sup>48</sup>. In the part of conclusion, the authors consider that the attitude of young generation towards Europe is decisive in what concerns the European project<sup>49</sup>. European Union' peoples, in the same time, must act like *as a nation*. Last but not least, the last section of this book, presents one more paper written by Loredana Radu and Elena Negrea-Busuioc, *Solidarity as a Shared Value in the European Union*<sup>50</sup>. The authors raise the question *What Solidarity Means?* A term that finds its origins in the difference between “mechanical solidarity” and “organic solidarity” that is reflected by the vision of sociologist Emile Durkheim. Then, the authors try to define what is solidarity in the EU<sup>51</sup>, trying to see if there is a clear-cut distinction between Eastern and Southern Regions and the rest of the continent. Hence, authors considering that EU is an artificial construction built as a result of the geopolitics in Europe after the Second World War, it become necessary to create *de facto* solidarity in Europe. The authors brought forward the question of *Values shared by Europeans: people and official's assessment of solidarity in the EU*. Some respondents have to answer to the question which values are more characteristic for Europe. They mention peace, democracy and human rights. In the part of conclusion, the authors think that the last crisis had shown the limits of the European states' solidarity.

The present volume reveals interesting points of views and European issues in the context of European crisis showing the limits of European integration process, but also suggests solutions for the future.

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<sup>48</sup> Mihalcea et al., 268.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 282.

<sup>50</sup> Radu and Negrea-Busuioc.

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# DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*Dana BLAGA*

**Review of:** Mircea Brie, *Diplomacy and International Relations in Europe (17<sup>th</sup> –18<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, Lambert Academic Publishing, Saarbrücken, 2014, ISBN: 978-8484-8999-2, 244 p.

Methodology, contents, varied documentation sources, and stylistic / language component are at least four reasons that make this book remarkable. History plays its role in the formation/education of students; this book makes an easy read because of the way it is constructed. The explanations are comprehensive, everything is put in context, the arguments are round. The author's merit is with the idea and the subject of interest for students and researchers in the area of International Relations and/or History and Humanities-related fields, and with his knowledge to use historical and sociological data and theories in order to explain the particular event or concept.

Diplomatic relations between states and the shape of the states themselves did not embody the same existence, the same substance or the same structure. They are the result of historical evolution.

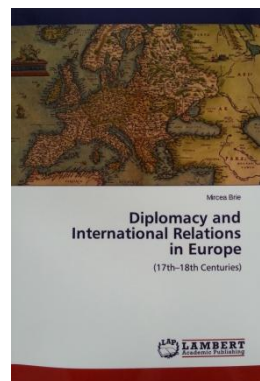
International relations, European diplomacy, the evolution of negotiation practices, the diplomatic, political or economic-military preponderance, the emergence or the balance of power, abuse of power or the control exerted by the *European Concert* are just some of the topics addressed in this work. The way the author approaches all these issues has a focus on diplomacy and the period of time is structured around the idea of the French Revolution, colonial conflicts and the great conflagrations that happened in Europe due to the ambitions of kings and emperors, in a nutshell an old continent with new ideas and old monarchies.

Mircea Brie structures his work in three main parts and one concluding argument:

## **European Diplomacy - Concepts, Structures and Trends in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

This first part could always be read as a very generous introduction that places the subject matter in the wider context. Concepts are defined, the backdrop of the century is explained, readers discover what we call nowadays *trivia* about negotiations, diplomatic networks, rulers, ambassadors of the time.

Most 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries rulers paid attention to war actions. They invested a lot of resources in challenging, maintaining and ending armed conflicts. In order to manage avoiding such conflicts and particularly avoiding missing "any detail" of the conflict, European rulers granted an ever increasing importance to diplomacy. At the beginning of the epoch, diplomatic attempts were still modest, as they were based on other practices rather than modern diplomacy. Yet in time, we can notice that negotiations, good relations with partners – whoever they were – became more specialised and diverse. We could undoubtedly say that modern diplomacy was in tight connection with economic





development and bourgeois revolution. When economic interests came to the foreground, politicians began to be more careful with “the others”. (Bély, 2000: 55) More often than not, the State was “compelled” from the inside to revise its attitude towards the European partners. From that moment on, a small step had to be taken for the establishment of modern and specialised diplomacy. We have to admit that the step was smaller or bigger depending on the abilities and interests of each European state. (Brie, 2014: 48)

### **Diplomacy and International Relations the 17<sup>th</sup> Century**

In all European states, the ruler and their council appointed for this mission were in charge with external policy. They had a regular administrative body subordinated to either a minister or a state secretary to put into practice their political will (Balard, Bercé, Molinier, Péronnet, 1984: 33). Besides this structure, each European state had its own manner of organising the “diplomatic” system. Obviously, we cannot yet speak of a clearvoyance in the field at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Naturally, the diplomatic system had its origins in the need for communication and collaboration, as well as the need to get to know one another. (Béranger, 1991: 57)

The author shed light on negotiation practices used at the time. Brie demonstrates that although the 17<sup>th</sup> century is known as a century of war in the history of Europe, we can say that it was a time of intense negotiations. Since most European states were ruled by dynasties, they were dominated by the ruler in point of diplomatic decisions. Monarchic alliances were often the best diplomatic “practices”. International decisions were made based on the principle that the royal family had the capacity and will to settle the political-diplomatic international position of the state with the support of a low number of ministries and counsellors. Practically, in most cases the ministries and counsellors were engaged in diplomatic actions beyond the understanding or will of the ruler. (Maubert de Gouvest, 1968: 427)

### **The Domination of the English Diplomacy**

In early 18<sup>th</sup> century, an indisputable reality was the restructuring of the European diplomacy. It is true that such “restructuring” was actually a first outline of a coherent structure in the system of relations between European states (Thompson, Padover, 1937 : 112). Ministries and state secretariats meant to supervise the relations with other states were established first in most Western European states. People involved in this activity enriched their experience in time and specialised in different fields of diplomacy. More and more often, the idea of “European balance” could be heard in European embassies. The idea of such a balance became more obvious once new powers came to the foreground in Europe. They also spoke of a need for “balance” to be respected by all states in their relations with both new and old powers, as the latter still expressed hegemonic trends.

England became a more and more pragmatic state. Led by a bourgeoisie aware of its interests, England was the European solution in the 18th century. Interested in continental peace and the balance between the great powers, the English were concerned with conquests on the sea and world markets. (Brie, 2014: 150)

### **Final Considerations**

This part is read as a *sum it up* chapter, as Brie summarizes the 2 centuries in terms of policies, main ideas and directions, explaining who’s who and why. From the Peace of Westphalia all the way to Bismarck, the historical and diplomatic events are related in such a manner that we can speak about a narration and not merely a presentation.

The author uses an impressive variety of sources with precision to work details into a rendition of a long-time gone society that still impregnates into the nowadays international society and diplomacy. There is a wide range of perspectives which is not often found in historical works.

The book is highly recommended to anyone at all interested in the subject. Because of the round approach and presentation of arguments this book could help students at undergraduate and graduate levels as main or supplementary reading as well as any scholar or researcher interested in the history of international relations. Because of the multiple perspectives, this book will be a gratifying read for specialists and non-specialists alike.

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# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE SOCIETAL APPROACH

*Daniela BLAGA\**

**Review of:** *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations: The Societal Approach*, Barry BUZAN, Cambridge Polity Press, 2014, ISBN-13: 978-0-7456-5314-3

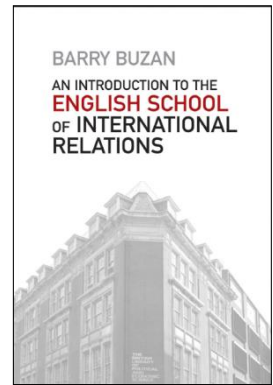
Barry Buzan is widely recognized as being one of the most prominent figures in international relations nowadays. Buzan emerged from the the contemporary English School and his contribution to the international society tradition ranges from the study of the evolution of the international system (Buzan, 2015) to the study of the contemporary international society (Buzan, 2004) to the study of international society at the regional level (Buzan and Gonzalez-Pelaez, 2014) to the linking of the English School theory of international relations to the study of international security. (Buzan, 2010)

Buzan's *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations* could be used as a teaching text for both the beginners in the study of international relations theory, and the more advanced theorist or practitioner who would need a detailed listing of distinctive key concepts and ideas, broken down and explained to the tee. The book does not introduce new concepts and arguments; it presents specific main trends, identifies places where further work is deemed necessary. As Buzan himself has put it in the introductory part, the aim of the book is to make sense of the existing literature rather than to try to extend it.

As we have stated above, the book addresses more than one audience. The book is divided into three parts so that readers with different degrees of familiarity with the subject would be able to comprehend the subject matter. The first part provides a comprehensive guide to the English School's approach to international society and it provides context. This is particularly useful for the undergraduate and graduate students, or, in general, to those with none or some information about the theory of international relations. More context is offered in the second part and finally, the third part, for those already very familiar with the English School (junior research), will provide new vantage points and pondering questions.

## Concepts and Methods

The three chapters in Part I provide a general overview of the English School's history (Chapter 1), its main ideas, concepts and distinctions (Chapter 2), its methodology and place within the field of International Relations theory (Chapter 3). A special attention is paid to the three fundamental concepts of the English School, i.e. international system,



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\* MA student International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of History International Relations, Political Sciences and Science of Communication, University of Oradea, Romania. E-mail: msdanielablaga@gmail.com

international society and world society, together with the distinctions and relations among them. Two main points are evident in these chapters: first, the English School is a well-established approach to the study of international relations, and second, that unlike theories such as realism, liberalism and constructivism (theories that claim an angle of analysis of the subject), the English School provides a way of approaching the subject as a whole.

### **A diachronic approach of the English School of International Relations**

Part II gives a bird's eye view on the work of the English school taking into account its development and structure over the epochs. Buzan demonstrates how the English School's societal approach gives the backdrop for the study of international relations and world history in terms of the social structures of international orders. Not to steer away from scholars like Martin Wight or Hedley Bull, Barry Buzan aligns with the general guidelines of the English School which, although uses history to give foundation to theories, does not see history as a means of prediction or explanation. History is used only to speculate about present and mostly future events. We are provided with explanations regarding the past from the traditional diplomatic approaches.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the place of international society in world history. The focus is on the two major English School fronts of ideas: Martin Wight (Wight, 1977) and Adam Watson (Watson, 1992) on the one hand, and Hedley Bull and Adam Watson (Bull, and Watson, 1984) on the other hand. The first front provides a comparison between different international societies evolving in in different times and places. With forms other than the Westphalian one. The second front agrees that the European society of states has expanded almost like an empire.

Institutions give a view of the international society as a form of social structure, that is any given international society can be defined in terms of the set of primary institutions that compose it, says Buzan. Moreover, the rise, the evolution and sometimes the obsolescence of primary institutions can be used to frame a historical account of how international societies evolve. This approach can also be applied to differentiate regional international societies both from each other and from the global level. Moreover, a typology of international societies can be established. Buzan argues that such a social structural approach dissolves the necessity for a concept of international system by folding all into types of international societies.

### **The normative side of the English School of International Relations**

In Part III, Buzan explores the normative side of the English School through an in-depth account and analysis of orientations towards order and justice and their evolutionary role played in the contemporary international society. As Buzan notes, English School's normative structure is a key feature distinguishing it from realism and constructivism.

The four chapters in this part address both theoretical and historical perspectives of pluralism and solidarism. Buzan makes an in-depth literature review. Chapter 6 examines the pluralist position (Jackson, 2002), while Chapter 7 interrogates the pluralist position in terms of a "distinctive set of primary institutions" (Bull, 1977). The international society is highly dynamic; this means that old institutions die, new ones arise, and many if not all are transformed by the ever changing international practices.

The discussion the presence of the international law in the larger realm of international relations. Should the international law include natural law as well, or is it redundant to mention it nowadays because of its intricacy? There is great talk about human rights (Vincent, 1986) and humanitarian intervention. (Wheeler, 2000) According to Buzan, the states or the people issue can be regarded two-fold, either as the rights of

states versus the rights of people or as shared (common) norms, rules, practices and institutions within interstate societies.

Institutions have taken over from war and the balance of power. It is now the institution which dictates and regulates the international society. As Buzan notes, different from before, people are connected through mass media and the internet and get emotionally involved in international matters relating to human rights matters. People are equal, they have equal chances and yet, the global economy dictates terms that eventually drive a dent in societies. Nationalism, free market, oligopolies are shared practices and this is precisely how we moved from an international society to a world society.

### **Ongoing Debates and Emergent Agendas**

The final chapter addresses, as it is obvious from the title, the ongoing debates and how the English School's research program tackles them. Traditional debates regarding the distinction between system and society, the ever going expansion of international society, the English School's methods, these are subjects that will continue to attract the attention of English School scholars. Buzan argues that it is high time the English School paid more attention to the link between international society and international security. He even offers three pondering issues: first, what are the security consequences for insiders of being included within the particular set of primary institutions that defines any international society? Second, what are the security consequences for outsiders of being excluded from international society? Third, can international society itself become a referent object of security?

### **To sum it up**

Barry Buzan provides us with another piece of food for thought. The range that this book addresses is extensive, from familiarizing students with the ideas, concepts, methods and debates of the English School all the way to offering pondering ground for scholars of various degrees of involvement in the subject. The English School has a different stand than the American School and Buzan, with his writing talent and clarity of ideas delivers a book that is as enjoyable to read as it is current and well-documented.

Because of the round approach and presentation of arguments this book could help students at undergraduate and graduate levels as main or supplementary reading as well as any scholar or researcher interested in the theory of international relations (with current, emerging agendas) viewed through the lens of the English School.

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