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Another Theory is Possible:

Dissident Voices in Theorising Europe[*]

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Abstract

The article argues that dissident voices which attempt to theorise Europe differently and advocate another European trajectory have been largely excluded and left unheard in mainstream discussions over the past decade of scholarship and analysis. Dissident voices in European Union studies are those that seek to actively challenge the mainstream of the study of Europe. As all the contributors to the special issue make clear, there is a rich diversity of alternatives to mainstream thinking and theorising the EU on which to draw for different ways of theorising Europe. The introductory article briefly examines the discipline of mainstreaming, then surveys extent of polyphonic engagement in EU studies before setting out how the special issue contributors move beyond the mainstream. The article will argue the merits of more polyphonic engagement with dissident voices and differing disciplinary approach for the health and vitality of EU studies and the EU policy field itself. The article sets out the wide range of contributions which the special issue articles make to theorising the EU. It summarises the special issue argument that by allowing for dissident voices in theorising Europe another Europe, and another theory, is possible indeed probable.

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Dissident Voices in Theorising Europe[†]

Introduction: Dissident Voices

The past decade has witnessed a yawning chasm open between scholarly attempts to theorise European union and the political realities of the European Union (EU) in crisis. The decade that has witnessed the ascendency of political systems analysis, neo-liberal assumptions of efficiency, and Europeanisation studies within Europe has also seen the failure of intergovernmental attempts to reform the EU, economic crisis across Europe, and a collapse in popular support for the European project as seen in the European Parliament elections. Dissenting voices that attempt to theorise Europe differently and advocate another European trajectory have been largely excluded and left unheard in mainstream discussions over the past decade of scholarship and analysis. Mainstream EU scholarship broadly accepts the premise that the EU is a neo-liberal, state-like political system and that Europeanisation is a one-way process. As Mads Jensen and Peter Kristensen (2013) have demonstrated, a few core journals, in particular the Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS) and the Journal of European Public Policy (JEPP), constitute the key nodal points for EU communication practice where network analysis shows a clear Political Science hegemony.

Dissident voices in European Union studies are those that seek to actively challenge the mainstream of the study of Europe on these grounds. While the mainstream of EU studies may consider itself 'pluralist', this self-reading only makes sense within a narrow conception

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of ontology, epistemology and methodology, as the special issue discusses. Theorists working from a dissident perspective adopt a variety of ontological, epistemological and methodological standpoints. What they share is their starting point that the study of Europe has a dominant set of discursive, intellectual and academic practices which they seek to challenge. In this respect the contributors share the need to question what is taken for granted in the EU and EU studies. The dominant practices of study seek to privilege particular methodologies, approaches to analysis and have determined a dominant set of practices in the study of Europe. As indicative of the standpoint of theorists working from a dissident perspective are assertions that issues such as gender and socio-economic power structures have been pushed to the sidelines of the study of Europe in favour of a focus on institutions, policy-making processes and a normative agenda focusing on institutional and policy efficiency. The focus of the special issue is on EU studies, rather than European studies which is a much broader and richer field with an ongoing debate regarding the possibility of 'many Europes' (Rumford, 2009; Biebuyck and Rumford, 2012).What this special issue argues, and sets out in the contributing articles, is an array of dissident perspectives. These dissident voices in theorising Europe may not provide problem-solving theory for addressing the EU's many crises directly. What they do is to open up different possibilities and understandings of the EU. At the same time it is clear that notions of what problems need solving and how to solve them have been severely circumscribed. The special issue is polyphonic in seeking a broad range of dissident voices from different cultural settings. Hence contributors are to be found from different national arenas where the question of what constitutes mainstream theoretical work is varied. Similarly, contributors come from a wide variety of theoretical perspectives, with no preference given to any one approach, whether critical theory or not. Attempt is also made to include differing disciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary paradigms, including international political economy, anthropology, sociology, ecology,

gender studies, postcolonial and cultural studies. The appeal of the special issue to readers outside of the field of EU studies is important for sparking an engaging theoretical debate about Europe and the EU that is not confined to mainstream political science. Unfortunately, for reasons of space and time it was not possible to include as many dissident and disciplinary perspectives as would have been liked, for example historical scholarship (Loraux, 2008; Knudsen, 2009), critical legal studies (Ward, 2009), critical geopolitics (Böröcz, 2009), or critical realism (Bailey, 2010). The purpose of the special issue is not to definitively address one analytical problem in EU studies, neither is it to establish a new school or paradigm in EU studies. Instead the shared research question is to explain why the gap between theoretical scholarship and political realities has opened over the past decade, and how to address this mismatch. The special issue argues that another Europe is possible and one that challenges predominant ideas about both the EU and the field of EU studies.

The special issue is written to appeal to the mainstream by raising broader theoretical and methodological questions for the entire field of EU studies. The contributors to the special issue represent some of the most well-known theorists of the EU and European integration - Ben Rosamond (2000), Thomas Diez (and Wiener, 2009), Sabine Saurugger (2010, 2013) and Hans-Jürgen Bieling (and Lerch, 2012) are responsible for four of the top selling books (in English, French and German) on European integration theory over the past decade. The fact that such theorists are adding their voices to this chorus of dissidence emphasises just how important is the need to make another theory possible. In this respect the concerns the contributors raise will interest scholars and students of the EU as they seek to understand the crises of the EU and EU studies over the past decade.

All of these contributors share the concern that both the EU and EU studies are in analytical and normative crisis. The contributions seek to identify the problems, and to suggest how to address them. The concern of all contributors is that the response of the EU

studies discipline has been distinctly underwhelming. There have been no larger and genuinely pluralistic debates over why the EU and EU studies is in such trouble – neither JCMS nor JEPP have had special issues addressing the bigger picture of the crises of the EU or the problems of EU studies. The special issue aims to address this problem head-on and in doing so appeal to the widest audience possible.

I. The Discipline of Mainstreaming

The growth of EU studies in the 1990s took place within the post-Cold War context of a wide-spread questioning of previously sacrosanct intellectual paradigms. The previous four-decade period of EC scholarship had been tremendously productive in terms of scholarship about European integration, the EEC as a political system, the domestic consequences of the ECs, transnational processes, the EC as a global actor, and multi-level governance (see Edler Baumann, 1959; Bodenheimer, 1967; Camps, 1971; Webb, 1977; Rosamond, 2000; Jachtenfuchs, 2001; Mahant, 2004). A few examples of this development of EU studies include, first, the identification of the field with the birth of the ECSC and EEC in the 1950s (Camps, 1956, 1957; Edler Baumann, 1959). Second, the application of systems theory to the EC 'political system' in the 1960s (Lindberg, 1967; Taylor, 1968); Third, the study of the domestic consequences of the ECs in the 1960s and 1970s, a sub-field now called 'Europeanisation' (Wallace, 1971, 1973). Fourth, the study of transnational processes and European integration in the 1970s (Strange, 1971; Camps, 1971; Webb, 1977). Fifth, the study of the EC as a global actor in the 1970s (Duchêne, 1972; Sjöstedt, 1977). Finally, the study of the interplay between the various levels of European governance in the 1970s and 1980s, a subfield now called 'multi-level governance' (Bulmer, 1983, Laffan, 1983, Webb, 1983).

Google Scholar references to the language of mainstreaming

[CHART 1 here]

The 1990s saw both an explosion of scholars, scholarship and pluralist approaches to studying the EU, but it also saw the seeds being sown of the disciplining of a 'mainstream'. For the purposes of this article, a discipline is 'a community of expertise which considers itself a comparatively self-contained, teachable and knowable domain' (Manners, 2009: 561), while the act of 'disciplining' is the enforcement of circumscribed, usually conservative, views of such a discipline (Manners, 2003: 72). As the chart on 'Google Scholar references to the language of mainstreaming' (above) illustrates, since 1995 (and particularly since 2002) there has been a gradual increase in the use of phrases such as 'mainstream', 'normal science', and 'pluralism' in European Union studies. Writing in 2006, Cini and Bourne set out the 'mainstream of contemporary EU studies' as 'differentiation and competition between alternative approaches': (i) neofunctionalists and intergovernmentalists; (ii) Comparative Politics and International Relations; (iii) rationalists and constructivists (Cini and Bourne, 2006, pgs. 3, 8-10). The disciplining of the mainstream over the past 15 years has had a series of significant consequences for EU studies in terms of reducing the pluralism of research, excluding critical voices, and diminishing the ability of scholarship to recognise and address the causes and symptoms of EU crises.

The first mainstream claim is that 'the narrative of the neofunctionalist-intergovernmentalist dichotomy is well-worn' (Cini and Bourne, 2006: 8; also Pollack 2014: 14). As Rosamond carefully shows in his contribution, this claim is highly questionable as close examination demonstrates the extent to which this first dichotomy is a very particular

1990s construction of events used to strengthen idiomatic truth claims. Any reading of commonly used textbooks in the 1970s would illustrate the extent to which there was a wide diversity of theoretical approaches taken to studying European integration (for example see Edler Baumann 1967; Hodges 1972; Barber and Reed 1973; Wallace, Wallace and Webb 1977). In this respect this very particular move in the 1990s, and its reification in the 2000s, has left the historical representation of European integration theory 'trapped in the supranational-intergovernmental dichotomy' (Branch and Ohrgaard 1999). One effect of this mainstream claim is that other theories and explanations of past EU studies are excluded from systematic reflection, for example the Marxist approaches of Mandel 1970, Galtung 1973, and Holland 1980 (see discussion in Manners, 2007, pp. 78-9). The consequences of this first mainstream claim is to represent the past theorisation of EU studies as overly focused on a dichotomy between two process-orientated approaches, to the exclusion of alternative theories sharply focused on the politics of European integration.

The second mainstream claim is that 'the most important of these rivalries... comprised a new dichotomy separating International Relations scholars from those researching specific aspects of EU politics' (Cini and Bourne, 2006, p. 8; also Pollack, 2014, pp. 26-7). Again, as any survey of EU studies over the past four decades would reveal, this second claim is incorrect – not only were a large number of other disciplines making contributions to the study of European integration (see contributions by Saurugger and Adler-Nissen), but the representation of EU studies as 'largely empirical and less theoretically and conceptually defined' is inaccurate. The literature on the European Community as a 'political system' undermines this claim (Lindberg, 1967; Taylor, 1968; Wallace, 1983; Kelstrup, 1990). At the heart of this second claim was the insistence that the EU be considered a 'state-like' 'normal political system' (Kreppel, 2012, pp. 635-6). The assumptions of the EU as a state-like normal political system have pervaded the disciplined mainstream since Simon

Hix's 'dichotomous formulations' (Pollack, 2005, p. 369), at considerable cost. Tortola argues that there are costs to comparing the EU to the USA in this way, and that there is 'political value' to rejecting the 'most scientistic extremes [of positivism] in favour of a more realistic and socially conscious form of political science' (Tortola, 2014, pp. 1352-3). This mainstream disciplining claim leaves no space for alternative political systems, such as 'regional states', 'regional communes', 'asymmetrical overlapping', 'condominio', 'consortio', 'confederatio', or 'communion' (Haas, 1970, p. 635; Schmitter, 1996; Manners, 2013b). At the same time, all 28 member systems are dissolved as easily as the 50 states or 27 administrative regions in 'American or French politics' (Kreppel, 2012, p. 635). Similarly, in the rush to compare the executives of state-like political systems, the European Commission is given the status of 'executive' branch of government, while the European Parliament becomes the first chamber of bicameral 'legislative' branch of government, and the Council of Ministers is given the role of the 'senate' of the 'legislative' branch. In the same breath, the role of the European Council as a dual-executive, or of the importance of the enlargement process, are conveniently overlooked in state-like normal political system thinking.

The third mainstream claim is that 'by the mid-1990s, yet another dichotomy supplemented those discussed above – the rationalist-constructivist divide in EU studies' (Cini and Bourne 2006: 9). While it is true that the mid- to late 1990s saw the possibility of an opening to genuine pluralism, including constructivist and post-structuralist scholarship, this door was swiftly closed so that, by the mid-2000s ontological and epistemological assumptions taken from natural science had come to dominate the mainstream. Early constructivist work (Jørgensen, 1997; Christiansen, Jørgensen, and Wiener, 1999) included contributions by post-structuralists such as Holm (1997), Larsen (1997) and Diez (1999), but by the 2000s most constructivist scholarship had been subsumed until the norms of positivist epistemology and rationalist theories of science (Jupille, Caporaso, and Checkel 2003). The

move by 'American Political Science' (APS) scholars such as Hix, Pollack, Jupille, Caporaso and Checkel to define the EU's 'normal science' paradigm in the mould of APS norms was highly successful in terms of scholasticism, but equally disastrous in terms of disciplining the mainstream. As the contributions by Bieling, Jäger and Ryner, Borg and Diez, Kinnvall, and Kølvraa to this special issue illustrate, defining the EU mainstream as APS 'normal science' tends to exclude most of the challenging and insightful social science that is critically important in times of crisis.

A major consequence of this third mainstream claim 'has meant a submission of selected constructivist research themes under a rationalist research paradigm' of APS normal science (Lynggaard, Löfgren and Manners, 2015: 8). This has contributed to constructivist scholarship being 'reified and depoliticised' as it is stripped of its critical potential (Barder and Levine, 2012). While the claiming of a paradigm of normal science was not new to EU studies (Pentland, 1973, pp. 14-15; Hill, 1988, pp. 211-12), as the chart on 'Google Scholar references to the language of mainstreaming' (above) illustrates there has been a significant growth in references to APS normal science since the mid-1990s. In terms of academic outlets for APS normal science, a Google Scholar search on "European Union" plus "normal science" shows, that the Journal of European Integration (JEI) has published no articles, the JCMS has published 1 article, the JEPP has published 3 articles, while European Union Politics (EUP) has published 5 articles, suggesting the growth in references to APS normal science has occurred outside the 'core' EU journals discussed in the next section. The editors of EUP (Gabel, Hix and Schneider, 2002, p. 5; 2002, p. 482), together with Dowding (2000, p. 139) have defined EU normal science as 'institutional rational choice', 'formal techniques', 'explanatory mechanisms', 'public systematic data', and the 'normal standard in the natural sciences'. It is worth noting that during the same overall time period there were over 1300 references to "European Union" plus "post-normal science" (see chart above), although none

were for publications in the 'core' EU journals but were largely published in science and environmental politics journals. Karin Bäckstrand, drawing on Funtowicz and Ravetz, argues the necessity of civic science in global politics characterised by a transition from normal to post-normal science which 'captures issues defined by high decision stakes, large system uncertainties and intense value disputes' (Bäckstrand, 2003, p. 32). Undoubtedly, in an era of persistent crisis EU studies is already experiencing post-normal science.

Beyond these three mainstream claims, Pollack (2014: 35) makes a fourth mainstream claim based on 'the governance approach which ... considers the EU ... as a new and emerging system of 'governance without government''. This fourth claim regarding the legitimate mainstream of EU studies includes a wide range of scholarship including the study of multilevel governance, policy networks, Europeanisation, the 'democratic deficit', the 'deliberative turn', and questions of legitimate governance. In their sociology of knowledge approach to European Integration Alder-Nissen and Kropp suggest that the mainstreaming of European Union studies may be due to its increased entanglement with its own research object (the EU) in terms of data, concepts and interests (Adler-Nissen and Kropp, 2015, pp. 162-3). Unlike the three previous claims, it is clear this fourth approach is a 'catch-all' for EU studies, but it is not without problems of teleology, institutionalisation, and politics. The teleological assumptions of Europeanisation have tended to follow those of 'engrenage', 'Europeanification', and adjustment or policy convergence in EU member states that proceeded the construction of this sub-field (Andersen and Eliassen, 1993; Ladrech, 1994; Meny, Muller and Quermonne, 1996). More recent work on policy convergence raises many questions regarding this teleology (Falkner, 2000; Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004; Heichel, Pape and Sommerer, 2005). Similarly, the growth of new institutionalism to include rational institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and historical institutionalism, rarely allowed space for discursive institutionalism (Schmidt 2010). But the new institutionalisms brought

with them an assumption that all important EU politics is institutionalised, leaving little space for the discussion of politics and policies that are not institutionalised. As Manners and Murray discuss in this special issue, narrative approaches to EU studies use critical theories to argue that institutionalisation requires a contextualised narrative to understand what is included and excluded from EU politics.

Ultimately, the wider problems of the governance approach, and the other three claims of mainstream EU studies, are in the way in which problem-solving approaches to understanding EU integration, institutions and policies tend to overlook the underlying question of broader politics. Glyn Morgan's distinctions between project, process and product of European integration can be used as a kind of manifesto for addressing the question of politics in order to improve EU studies (Morgan, 2005; Manners 2013b). Firstly, EU studies needs approaches which are able to make sense of the political contestation of the integration project, in particular through understanding the symbolic power (Bourdieu) of domination and the symbolic order (Kristeva) that the project represents (Manners 2011). Secondly, EU studies needs approaches that sustain the critique of critical theory through repoliticising the processes of EU politics (Barder and Levine, 2012; Manners, 2013a). Finally, EU studies needs approaches which bring the politics of contestation and critique to the political products of the EU, and the crises these have led to, through understanding the EU in its wider, global context where global ethics meet local politics in 'cosmopolitics' (Manners, 2013b). As the next section seeks to explore, the search for such approaches requires opening up the mainstream discipline of EU studies to more polyphonic engagement.

II. Polyphonic Engagement

The post-1990s disciplining of an EU studies 'mainstream' must be discussed within the context of the understanding the merits of more polyphonic engagement with dissident voices

and differing disciplinary approach, and the extent to which these are necessary for the health and vitality of EU studies and the EU policy field itself. As discussed above, , the natural science ontology of objectivism and epistemology of positivism dominates the APS normal science of EU studies, rather than mainstream claim three regarding the rationalist-constructivist divide in EU studies theory Drawing on previous work in Manners (2003, 2007), dissident scholarship has been identified with research that embraces both a natural science ontology of objectivism and a social science ontology of constructionism, but is also sympathetic to a social science epistemology of interpretivism. Thus as a starting point, historical materialist, critical theory, post-structural, post-colonial and feminist dissident scholarship is identified as important. Secondly, scholarship other than political science is also considered dissident to mainstream EU studies. For the purpose of the review below, this initially included heterodox economics, sociology, anthropology, ecology, history, and critical legal studies.

In order to get a sense of how little polyphonic engagement there currently is in EU studies, the following chart illustrates the number of dissident article publications found in the four 'core', self-identifying EU journals of the JCMS (est. 1962), JEPP (est. 1994), JEI (est. 1977), and EUP (est. 2000).

Dissident publications in 'core' EU journals

[CHART 2 here]

The chart surveys 9 broad areas of dissident scholarship for articles which provide dissident voices. Clearly there are far more fields of dissidence than these, but they are

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broadly indicative of an almost complete absence of polyphonic engagement – a total of 85 articles in journals with 120 volumes of collective publications is very small (approx. 1% of publications). The survey suggests that some 'core' EU journals are slightly more polyphonic than others, but that in general these journals carry very little dissidence. In general JEPP is a little more open to dissident approaches within heterodox economics, critical theory, and gender theory compared to the other journals. In comparison JCMS is fairly closed to most dissident approaches, with the possible exception of historiographical approaches. EUP is closed to all areas of plural, polyphonic scholarship, having published only one dissident article in this survey (Favell and Guiraudon 2009). It is important to recognise that there is a growing dissident literature on the EU that remains largely excluded from the core EU journals and discussions of the EU crises (Rosamond 2007a,b). But as Ryner (2012: 2015) points out in the case of the Euro area crises little, if any of this dissident scholarship is heard in the mainstream journals and debates of the EU. This lack of mainstream engagement with dissident voices and differing disciplinary approaches raises six arguments for why greater polyphonic engagement would help address the gap between theoretical scholarship and political realities in the EU and its study.

As these discussions of the mainstream and dissident publication make clear, there is a **reduced pluralism** and scientific choices of scholars in the field of EU studies by claiming particular rationalities and methodologies to be 'scientifically' superior to others. Even the construction of a dichotomy between 'rationalism' and 'constructivism', whilst first appearing to represent a type of pluralistic debate, is in fact a disciplining manoeuvre to eliminate constructionism as a social science ontology. As discussed extensively in the first book on Research Methods in EU Studies (Lynggaard, Manners and Löfgren, 2015), there is a world of choice beyond such strategic dichotomisation of EU studies. The increasing familiarity and

use of mixed methods by EU researchers demonstrates the extent to which a normative and ideological faith in quantitative methods as 'normal science' is intentionally misleading.

The past tendency in the EU mainstream has been to view every dissenting voice as a Eurosceptic threat. Clearly, this is inaccurate and has left the EU and its study vulnerable to exactly the repeated crises of governance, economics, popular support and confidence which the mainstream seeks to protect. A more **productive dissent**, in line with the scholarly advocates of inter- and trans-disciplinary (Manners, 2009) and political advocates of deliberation and agnostic pluralism, would ensure a more robust engagement between theories and realities of the EU. If EU studies is to become a more **inclusive academic field** then not only must it embrace and welcome dissident scholarship, and step out of the false dichotomies which characterise mediatised rather than scholarly debates, but it needs to open itself up to critical self-reflection that is almost completely absent from the field (for rare exceptions see Rosamond 2007a, b, 2008).

The cumulative effects of greater pluralism, productive dissent, and inclusivity will undoubtedly contribute to more **robust scholarship** on the EU. More robust scholarship would take as its starting point a questioning of the ceteris paribus assumptions (Manners, 2007, p. 77) that take far too much for granted in the EU and its study. This in turn would ensure far greater engagement of EU scholarship with the EU **political field** which it co-constitutes. For example, it would no longer be good enough to argue that the solution to the EU's 'democratic deficit' is more 'left-right' contestation, when there is no questioning of the absence and assumptions of democracy and contestation both within member states and the field of EU studies. Finally, more pluralism, productive dissent, inclusivity, robust scholarship, and engagement with the EU political field would help address the yawning chasm between scholarly theories and the political realities of the EU and its study. A healthy field of study that is more diverse, productive, inclusive, robust and engaged would be far

more able to contribute to a debate regarding a **healthier European union**, than is currently so.

III. Beyond the Mainstream

The contributions to this special issue provide answers to three sets of questions regarding: (i) the merits of polyphonic engagement with dissident voices beyond the mainstream; (ii) the question of what do other theories bring to EU studies; and (iii) what possibilities do they bring to the challenges of European crises? Having examined existing definitions of the mainstream of EU studies above, it is first necessary to examine what the contributions have to say about the merits of polyphonic engagement. Rosamond's article on 'Field of Dreams' sets out how and why dissident approaches to the EU have been and continue to be policed out of the field as a necessary part of performing scholarly 'progress'. In his discussion of 'Teaching Theory' Parker argues that students must be encouraged to go beyond the mainstream to ask normative and critical questions such as 'whose interests does the particular course of integration serve in a particular policy area and whose interests are challenged or undermined?'. Bieling, Jäger and Ryner demonstrate how mainstream neoclassical economic theories have struggled to analyse and understand the recent, crisis-ridden period of European integration. Approaching mainstream EU political science in times of turmoil, Saurugger suggests that sociological insights into actors' strategies and cognitive frames is crucial for understanding windows of opportunity. In contrast to traditional approaches to the EU, Adler-Nissen contends that a practice turn provides a deeper understanding of the everyday aspects of European integration. From a feminist perspective Kronsell takes issue with the mainstream equation of gender with women and points out how mainstream integration theories work from a simplistic view of power. Brianson argues the need to green regional integration studies in order to avoid the anthropocentric ecological

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crisis which has not traditionally been part of the EU studies problematique. In their contribution on the 'Postmodern Promise' of the EU Borg and Diez maintain that their critique, in particular 'integral federalism', is of value for dissident voices in European integration studies. Kinnvall's study of bordering, security and ethno-cultural belonging as the postcolonial moves into Europe demands a questioning of the dominant narratives of Europe and European space. In his discussion of 'European fantasies' Kølvraa advocates the need to go against the conventional wisdom of EU studies to dare to formulate 'fantastic' utopian horizons which might animate the ideological desires of the European peoples. Lastly, Manners and Murray argue that EU studies needs to use narrative analysis in order to understand European integration after the Nobel peace prize. What all 11 contributions make clear is that mainstream EU studies has been too focussed on looking inwards at the problem, when it should be thinking outside its boundaries in order to critically question its own ceteris paribus assumptions (Manners, 2007, p. 77). Only through opening the doors beyond the mainstream and participating in a more polyphonic engagement with dissident voices can EU studies begin to think about whether and how a less crisis-riven EU is possible.

The contributions also apply considerable thought to the second question of what do other, dissident voices have to say about theories implicated in EU studies. Using the case of the first mainstream claim of the 'neofunctionalist-intergovernmentalist dichotomy', Rosamond demonstrates how EU studies continues to silence non-mainstream or dissident theoretical work. Parker's discussion of teaching theory shows how students might be exposed to a range of critical and normative questions posed by dissident scholars beyond the mainstream of EU studies considering theories on a continuum from positivist to post-positivist approaches. In advocating the case for regulation theory, Bieling, Jäger and Ryner set out how the synthesis of the reformist ethos of Europe's post-war statist tradition and Marxism help to understand ensuring patterns of capitalist accumulation and power relations

in Europe. Saurugger's article spells out how sociological insights 'insert' the European integration process into broader social issues through, for example, the use of Bourdieu's field theory or by 'sociologising' constructivism. In setting out practice theory, Adler-Nissen explores the potential for EU studies by offering theoretically and methodologically alternative accounts of European phenomena, and for what drives the EU more broadly. Kronsell sketches a feminist contribution to integration theory by providing analytical tools that address the masculine underpinnings of power, in particular through studying the EU as gender regimes at multiple levels. Starting from green political theory, Brianson draws on the ecology of the mind, deep ecology, ecofeminism and Gaia theory in order to green EU studies and regional integration theory. Working within the critical ethos of poststructuralist theory, Borg and Diez examine how the constant questioning of sovereign claims is crucial to understanding the EU between alternative horizons and territorial angst. Kinnvall uses postcolonial theory to: examine the way in which liberal theory universalises the particularity of the European experience; challenge much work on globalisation; and provides a postcolonial reading of how the self and other change our understandings of international relations. Kølvraa develops a Lacanian psychoanalytical theoretical framework through which both the narrative and utopian dimensions of European political identity can be approached and evaluated. Lastly, the narrative theory analytical framework used by Manners and Murray provide a means of theorising, analysing, explaining and understanding the role of narratives in European integration. In a rich variety of ways, from a wealth of different perspectives, the 11 contributions attempt to both identify weaknesses in existing theories and provide theoretical insights using their dissident voices. These voices are rarely heard, and their insights rarely used in mainstream EU studies, but they open the analytical door to the possibility that a post-crises EU is only possible to see clearly from a differing multiverse of perspectives.

The third and final question which the contributors provide answers to involves the possibilities that their dissident voices bring to the challenges of European crises. Rosamond concludes that the stories the field of EU studies tells about itself matter – that the disciplinary politics of the field provide pathologies of integration which have given rise to and accentuated the Eurozone crisis. Parker widens this focus in making the point that the multifaceted economic, political, social and institutional crisis has placed the EU at the forefront of public discussion, and that the posing of critical questions might allow for a more comprehensive insight into the causes and consequences of contemporary 'crisis' EU. Bieling, Jäger and Ryner conclude that the regulation-theoretical perspective is particularly sensitive to such crisis dynamics and potential alternative routes of social and political development, demonstrating that the regulationist approach provides a sound basis for the analysis of the crisis and its management. Saurugger emphasises that sociological approaches can be used to analyse crises by focusing on the interaction and power games between actors embedded in a specific cognitive framework, as well as the link between the domestic level political game with public opinion and European politics. Adler-Nissen focusses on everyday practices as a means of understanding euroscepticism, Europeanisation and inter-institutional power games through multi-sited ethnography that brings EU scholars closer to the people who construct, perform, and resist the EU on a daily basis. Kronsell points to how problems of masculinity and risky behaviour contribute to the global financial crises and climate crisis, and shows how a specific EU gender regime is relevant for understanding EU global political relations. Brianson examines the way in which current forms of capitalism have decreased social justice and led to the ecological crisis of climate change and biodiversity loss. Borg and Diez conclude that in the current financial crisis it is problematic to return to the logic of territorially-bound economies rather than looking for alternatives to organising transnational market spaces in a just way. Kinnvall's postcolonial lens provides a means of conceptualising

the current economic crisis as being as much about contesting national narratives of economic transformations as of contrasting material developments and processes. Kølvraa's psychoanalytical perspective considers that the financial crisis has accompanied the 'disenchantment' with Europe, expressed in an unprecedented support of far-right anti-EU political actors, as well as a number of hostile contextual international changes. Lastly, Manners and Murray argue that the economic, political and social crises of the EU have contributed to a collapse in public support contributing to the end of the grand, or meta-narrative of the EU as a peace project, but raising the possibility of other narratives, such as social or green Europe becoming revitalised. Thus, from 11 different perspectives the contributors all address the question of the European crises and how these are intimately linked to the relative absence of non-mainstream theories, as well as the problems of closing the doors in the mainstream 'normal science' of EU studies. These dissident voices open the doors to new thinking about the mainstream, about theory and about the crises.

Conclusion: Another Theory: Another Europe

The editors and contributors to this special issue share a concern for the absence of reflective and critical thinking on the EU's crises of confidence over the past decade. All the articles brought together here represent original contributions to theorising the EU outside of the mainstream of EU studies. As the previous section summarised, these dissident voices share three aspects in their approach to the EU, theory and crisis. First, they insist on the importance of power relations or power as relations to understanding the EU, rather than power as a general resource or capability. But for the contributors, it is analysing the asymmetrical or unequal nature of these relations of power that is key to their approaches. This primacy given to power relations is explicit in work of Parker; Bieling, Jäger and Ryner; Saurugger; Adler-Nissen; Kronsell and Kinnvall where social, cultural or gender power relations are

omnipresent. Second, the dissident voices always read the EU within a particular historical-institutional context, rather than neglecting the particular setting and situation of the project, process and products of European integration. All of the contributions demonstrate an acute historical awareness of the situatedness of the EU and its current crises. The particularities of this context are expressed in terms of postcolonial temporality (Kinnvalll), crises context (Saurugger), global context (Kronsell), and ecological context (Brianson). Third, the contributors are very sensitive to the importance of narratives to the understanding of the EU, theorisation of the EU and the representation of the crises. Whether or not accurate, the establishment of narratives of truth can be very difficult to overcome once they are firmly socially constructed. As Rosamond's discussion of narratives of disciplinary politics; Borg and Diez's ordering narratives; Kinnvall's postcolonial narratives; Kølvraa's political narratives; and Manners and Murray's integration narratives all demonstrate, the narrativisation of the EU and EU studies is a central analytical concern. The shared focus of power relations, historical context, and narrative make clear that these dissident voices understand the study of the EU to be as politicised as the EU itself, where the growing hegemony of pseudo-depoliticisation, ahistorical analysis, and individualist atomisation are key features of contemporary European politics.

This article and special issue are clearly situated within the context of the ongoing challenges of European crises, including the post-2005 failures of intergovernmental attempts to reform the EU, economic crises across Europe (whether Eurozone or not), the collapse in popular support for the European project, and the crisis of confidence in the EU. Contributors such as Parker; Bieling, Jäger and Ryner; Saurugger; Brianson; and Manners and Murray show how the study of the EU is deeply implicated in these crises in analytical terms of needing to ask deeper questions, and provide broader answers. Within this context, the special issue is committed to making another theory possible in EU studies as 'theory is always for

someone and for some purpose' since 'theory constitutes as well as explains the questions it asks (and those it does not ask)' (Cox, 1981, p. 128; Hoskyns, 2004, p. 224; Manners, 2007, p. 78, 2014, p. 878). As set out in the introduction, there is no one theoretical solution, no explicit theory 'turn' to be found in these dissident voices other than a commitment to pluralism and polyphonic engagement. If a form of critical theory is to be found within the special issue it is one which, as a whole, takes a broader step beyond neo-Marxism towards an understanding of critical theory as being the scientific assumption that everything we know is wrong, and treating all subsequent ontological, epistemological and methodological claims with due scientific scepticism. Finally, the special issue draws together the crises context with the need for different questions and answers to argue that another Europe is possible – one that challenges predominant ideas about both the field of EU studies and the EU itself. The dissident voices speaking here do more than simply critique the existing discourses and practices of EU studies, they raise the possibility of speaking a different language of Europe, one that is critically aware that socio-economic power structures, systems of difference, and narratives of exclusion are potentially embodied in all politics. And most important of all, they make another Europe possible.

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CHART 1 - Google Scholar references to the language of mainstreaming
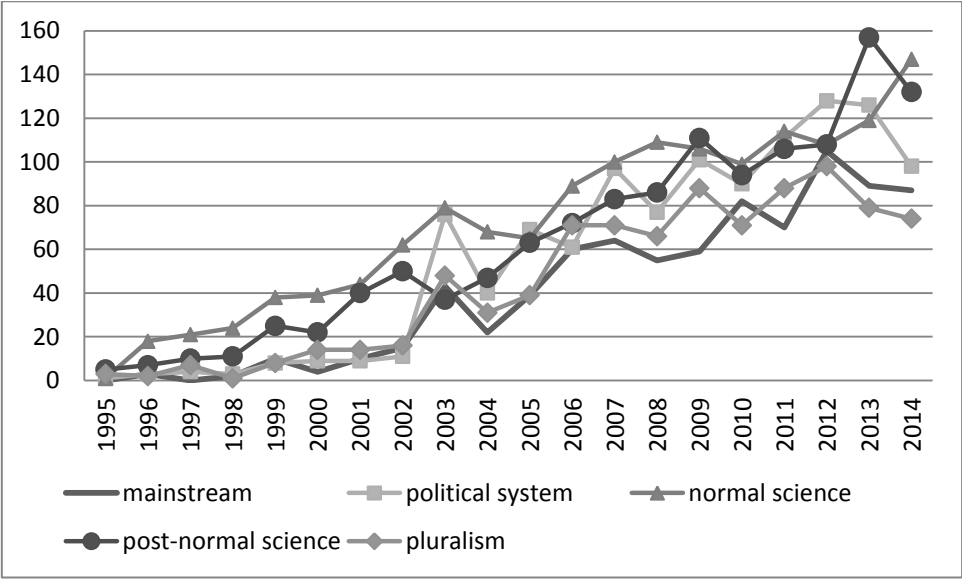
CHART 2 - Dissident publications in 'core' EU journals