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1. Introduction

This policy review brings together and summarizes a set of projects in the social sciences and humanities. Taken as a whole, they demonstrate the wide range of research activities concerned with the question of European identity that the European Commission is funding or has funded over the last years. The identification of citizens with Europe, the European Union and its integration project is an issue of perennial concern for the EU institutions. The earlier projects reviewed here were conceived and carried out at a time when the European Union was going through a constitutional crisis caused by the rejection of the European Constitutional Treaty, followed by the protracted ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. The most recent projects (including one that at the time of writing has just begun) exist in an environment of financial uncertainty in which the continued existence of the Euro zone has been called into question. The projects themselves range from large-scale Networks of Excellence in which diverse activities were funded for half a decade to smaller, shorter-term projects focussed on specific topics. While the projects presented here did not originate from a single coherent Call or research initiative but were identified after the fact by the Directorate General for Research and Innovation as being concerned in one way or another with 'identity', as a whole they constitute an impressive body of research on this topic.

The review has three purposes:

- 1) It brings together summary information about the complete range of projects, placing them into a standard format that allows readers to decide whether they wish to learn more and then provides links to the main sites of the projects themselves. This overview appears as an Appendix that covers all of the more than twenty projects, both those that are completed and those that are still ongoing;
- 2) The policy relevant findings and recommendations of those projects that are either completed or close to completion that have been able to place a significant portion of their results into a policy context are presented. This represents the core of the main body of the review and will cover the following projects: CRIC; ELDIA; ENRI-East; EuNaMus; EURO-FESTIVAL; EUROIDENTITIES; EuroBroadMap; LINEE; MEDIA& CITIZEN-SHIP; RECON. Because the range of topics and types of recommendations are vast, this review is structured by placing the projects and their implications into a framework of 'Dimensions of European identity'. Each of these dimensions speaks to specific policies (e.g. cultural or education policy);
- 3) The concluding section of the review steps back from the implications of specific policy findings/recommendations and attempts to provide a broad distinction that underlies the body of the research and identify some areas that could benefit from further funding.

The theorisation of European identity and related concepts

When attempting to discuss European identity a 'boundary problem' clearly exists, exacerbated by the fact that the projects reviewed each have employed their own (sometimes only implicit) conception of identity and, for many, the central core of the project was located elsewhere, for instance in some sphere of public activity, such as museums or the public sphere, or in a focus on a particular topic, such as the role of language or jazz or football. The topic of European identity has spawned a lively academic debate in recent decades that has generated hundreds of references ranging from abstract theoretical treatments to the dry presentations of 'facts' gleaned from

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attitudes surveys. The validity of a concept of European identity has itself been questioned.¹ It is beyond the scope of this policy review to present a comprehensive review of this vast literature.² What will be done here by way of orientation is provide a short summary overview of key concepts.

Personal identity, and by extension a person's European identity if they possess one, has both an individual and a collective component. The person orients herself/himself to one or more aggregate groups or collectivities (either real or imagined) through a process of identification. In terms of geographical entities, the body to which one refers may be local, regional, national, European or even global. Aside from some political, administrative and economic elites, few people have 'Europe' as their primary locus of identification. However, identification is also dependent upon context. Under the right conditions, such as travelling abroad and discovering oneself as being typed as 'a European' or discovering one's citizenship and/or right of residence being challenged by a border control body, one's identity as a 'European' can come to the fore. Hence, rather than to think of geographically-based identity as a set of categories nested within each other like a Russian doll, it is more accurate to conceive of geographically-based identity as a 'mosaic', where different levels of geographical orientation become relevant depending upon context.

Furthermore, the most significant collectivities for a person's identification need not be geographic at all, but can relate to a variety of other types of aggregate, such as gender or sexuality, ethnic or linguistic group, social class, affiliation with an organisation or political party etc. Again, depending upon context, any of these aggregates may be the most significant at any given time. Hence, as well as being a 'mosaic', identity can be seen as multiply-determined with the determination at least partially under the control of the individual as an active agent. Regardless of their view of identity, none of the projects reviewed here would assert that there is a 'zero-sum' relationship between a person's sense of European identity and their other potential sources of identity.

Europeanisation generally refers to a hypothesized trend towards national institutions and nationally-based fields of activity or perspectives being supplanted or shaped by institutions or fields at the European level. Here, the main debate is whether 'Europeanisation' in fact is *globalisation*, where the eclipse of national institutions, if it is taking place, is due to their being supplanted by global trends that break down borders and what is perceived as 'Europeanisation' in fact is just a provincial perspective on a larger trend. Several of the projects covered in this review have grappled with the question of whether there is a genuine European as opposed to global dimension; e.g., the 'European mental space' hypothesized by EUROIDENTITIES.

Transnationalism refers to a form of cross-border living that may have become more prevalent in recent decades due to technological changes such as the vastly increased ease and immediacy of communication and the availability of cheap travel over large distances and, of particular relevance to Europe, the relaxing of border controls within the Schengen zone and the extension of the borders of the European Union to central and eastern Europe. The core of transnationalism is the view that the transnational individual is able to live their life engaged in two or more

¹ E.g., R. Brubaker and F. Cooper (2000). 'Beyond "Identity".' *Theory and Society* 29(1): 1-47.

² An excellent state-of-the-art overview has been carried out recently by EUCROSS, one of the projects currently funded under FP7: A. Favell, E. Recchi, T. Kuhn, J.S. Jensen and J. Klein (2011). 'The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-border practices and transnational identifications among EU and third-country citizens'. EUCROSS Working Paper #1, available at:

http://www.eucross.eu/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=10&Itemid=117.

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societies simultaneously: the society of origin and the society/-ies of destination. Areas of debate include whether transnationalism is really replacing the more traditional view of migration as being a permanent life change and whether transnationalism in practice is in fact *bi-multilocalism*, where the dual orientation is not across two nations but across two or more smaller localities; i.e., rather than Poland/Britain, instead a district of Wroclaw/a district of Leicester.

Cosmopolitanism is a much-debated concept. Its core is that cosmopolitanism is the appreciation of cultures other than one's own and the active seeking out of contact with them. 'Europe' can be seen as being cosmopolitan due to: (i) traditional European values such as equality and tolerance, which are actively supported and practiced by European institutions; (ii) the close juxtaposition of a variety of different national and ethnic traditions within the European continent which promotes contact between them; (iii) the colonial legacy which means that present-day European cultures have incorporated many diverse features of societies located in other parts of the globe. The contrary argument to a cosmopolitan Europe are that Europe of course also has a 'dark history' of genocide that still recurs in some of its peripheral regions, its 'fortress Europe' barriers to migration and the potential resurgence of xenophobia and ultra-nationalism.

2. Dimensions of European Identity: Key research findings and their policy relevance

Even if this review is restricted to the projects that have generated substantial policy-relevant research results and policy recommendations to date, the range of topics and areas of focus of these projects remains substantial. To present such a varied set of findings, this review operates with conceptually-distant 'dimensions' in which European identity could be expressed in individuals' lives as a means of categorising the projects and highlighting the area(s) in which each project's findings have implications for policy. The dimensions for the expression of European identity are:

- *Multiple social identities and biographical identity;*
- *Transnational intimate relationships;*
- *Collective action;*
- *Standardization and regulation;*
- *Cultural production;*
- *Intercultural translation;*
- *Inclusion/Exclusion;*
- *Structural conditions and opportunity structures;*
- *The public sphere and state-regulated institutions.*

It is important to recognise that these dimensions are *conceptually distinct* phenomena and in themselves are a significant research result coming from a European Commission-funded Framework Programme project.³ Their presentation and discussion below can be seen as

³ The 'dimensions' have their origin in the Euroidentities project. Euroidentities employed an open-ended mode of in-depth qualitative interviewing that targeted aggregates of persons whose life experiences should have caused them to confront the question of their identification with 'Europe'. The open-ended nature of the interviewing gave maximum

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advancing the thinking about European identities and identity formation by clarifying the ways in which European identity can appear and the processes by which identification with Europe can take place.

While these dimensions for the expression of European identity have been used to structure this central part of the Review, it is very important to recognise that the concerns of the projects were uniformly wide-ranging and that it is almost always the case that a number of dimensions appear to some degree in any given project.⁴

The dimensions deliberately have not been numbered to avoid conveying any sense of progression or hierarchy, nor should the order of their presentation here be taken as implying a rank order. In each case, the dimension will be presented along with discussion of the mechanisms by which it might be expressed, followed by a presentation of policy-relevant research findings and/or recommendations from one or more projects.

2.1. Multiple social identities and biographical identity

As discussed above, identities can be expressed at many levels – the local, regional, national and international as well as the European. Life stories often include multiple frames of reference, a clear sign of transnational experience and biographical identities that are multiple, changing, and at times conflicting. Rather than layered or nested identities, it is more sensible to speak of a mosaic of situationally-relevant identities with the context determining identity. Especially in the narratives of migrants, people involved in transnational intimate relationships, and children from mixed marriages, feelings of diasporic and transnational belonging can be expressed frequently. Multiple attachments can be conceptualised as a dimension of ‘transnational belonging’, in which mobile individuals forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. Identity of oneself explicitly as ‘European’ is likely to be rare, except among those who have travelled and lived outside of Europe, becoming aliens in a strange society.

Experiences of transnational belonging are, of course, not necessarily experiences of belonging to ‘Europe’ (which in itself can be conceptualised in many different ways). As well as by geography, identity can be ascribed by religion, race or gender etc. or self-assigned through participation in an administrative body or institution with a distinctive culture or ethos.

The collectivities with which one identifies may be multiple, opening scope for the possibility of juggling different sources of identification. There can be multi-layered incorporations of expectations and obligations with several, perhaps competing, loyalties, impinging upon the same

scope for respondents to reveal their orientations to Europe, but also posed the analytical problem of how to identify when and how the interviewees were talking about their identification. The project developed a comprehensive as possible set of categories of phenomena that could be considered conceptually-distinct aspects of European identity and identification processes, ‘dimensions’ of European identity if you will. This set of categories underwent a continual refinement. The final system has been adapted here to form a structure for presenting the ‘identity’ projects. For a presentation of the categories around the time of the beginning of the project, see R.L. Miller and F. Schütze (2011), ‘The Evolution of European Identity: Using biographical methods to study European identity. *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 60(1): 9-40; for a discussion of the final version of the system at the close of the project, see R. Miller, M. Domecka, D. Schubotz and M. Svašek (2012), ‘Dimensions for the Expression of European Identity’, in R. Miller and G. Day (eds.), *The Evolution of European Identity: Biographical approaches*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pages 1-20.

⁴ See Appendix 2 for a table that shows all the dimensions that can apply to each of the projects surveyed, both completed projects and those still in the field.

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individual, which can lead to feelings of marginality from them all. One can become either engrossed or detached, either engaged or disengaged with any given collectivity. More positively, multiple sources of identity can provide opportunities for hybridity and the vigour of bringing together unusual or unprecedented cultural mixtures. The children of migrants may in such cases benefit from the same mobility that made their parents marginal. This dimension of European identity speaks particularly to issues of **immigration and integration policy**, but also to **human rights and language policies**.

A project in which competing identities were central was **ENRI-East**, 'The Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union'. The distinct ethno-national diversity in the eastern part of Europe, along with the problems resulting from it that were generated by dramatic shifts of borders, populations and political affiliations over the last century and which have continued to the present day formed the background to this project. Practically, the project centred upon national/ethnic minorities 'stranded' on the 'wrong sides' of national borders and addressed manifest and latent problems generated by politically-defined borders that cut across ethnic communities.

Such everyday practices as language use, information retrieval and communication, and the patterns of social contacts are enormously important for the reproduction and evolution of identities. The minorities in the ENRI region are well aware of their ethnic identity, but, generally speaking, ENRI found that the relative importance of this type of identity is decreasing and substituted by others, like profession or gender. ENRI data show clearly that, overall, minorities are loyal citizens of their host countries. Linguistic diversity is highest among the ENRI minorities, but its assets are not always honoured appropriately.

The EU/Europe was generally found to be popular as an ideal and a model to emulate with regard to a peaceful and respectful approach to resolving possible inter-cultural and social conflicts. However, this image of the EU was not shared by all minorities under study. While the EU as well as individual national and regional governments are seen as having the responsibility to moderate in complex ethno-political conflicts involving minorities, titular nations and sending nations, it was harshly criticized by minority members in the New Member States who feel that their interests are not heeded by Brussels (e.g., Russians in the Baltics). Also, the prospect of joining the EU can raise fears, especially among senior citizens who perceive neo-classical economic freedom and increased mobility as threats.

Policy implications:

Civil society organizations

- The comparative approach used by ENRI-East suggests that best practices should be taken into account. In particular, in politically volatile contexts the establishment and the presence of ethnically-mixed NGOs or political parties (such as HID-MOST in Slovakia) can make sense;
- Attempts at creating concerted ethno-national narratives have failed in the past or have not been undertaken. As interaction among the local ENRI teams themselves demonstrated, significant scientific consensus can be achieved despite the sometimes staggering differences in the official historical and political narratives. The elaboration of mutually agreed historiographical and political narratives by mixed teams of historians, sociologists and political scientists should be promoted and supported.

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Governmental bodies and officials at local, regional, national and supra-national levels

- Targeted support should be extended to inter-ethnic initiatives. This may range from public relations support for such action to support enabling EU Member States (or Eastern Partnership states) to grant tax breaks or to extend beneficial loan schemes to interethnic start-ups;
- The integration of the young generation (under 30 years of age) is rapidly progressing and their attitudes toward Europe are more favourable than those of the 30+ generations. Efforts should therefore concentrate on the young generation which is more receptive to European liberal values;
- An investment into student mobility at both high school and university levels can improve attitudes towards the EU;
- An attempt should be made to involve the governments in the kin countries, civil society organizations such as the World Union of Hungarians (Magyarok Világszövetsége) and the media to stimulate the “Europeanness” instead of the exclusive ethnic affiliation of young minority members.

2.2. Transnational intimate relationships

This dimension could be seen as a subset of ‘Multiple Social Identities and Biographical Identity’, except that what makes ‘intimate relationships’ a dimension in its own right is its affective intensity. The primary nature of transnational intimate relationships cannot be compartmentalised and will affect one’s identity to the core.

There is a generational component to this dimension in that it can be expressed either from:

1. Being in a close affective relationship with a person from a different culture;
2. Having parents (and hence two different families) who are from different cultures; or
3. Having children with a person from a different culture.

In nationally-mixed relationships, there can be a tension within the partnership between being similar and being different. *Language* can be an issue of central concern, especially for parents who need to decide which language(s) their children learn and will speak at home. Another issue is to what extent individuals who move to their partner’s country of origin feel accepted by their ‘foreign’ family-in-law. For those born into a multinational milieu, some individuals may feel the need to develop coping strategies to bridge their diverse backgrounds; in those cases ‘Europe’ could be a useful frame of reference.

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The intimate relations dimension speaks to issues of **citizenship policy**. Being in a transnational relationship or being the product of such a relationship can raise many instrumental concerns such as residency or citizenship problems or child custody if a partnership with children breaks down.

A project in which the significance of intimate relationships emerged as a core finding was **EUROIDENTITIES**, 'The Evolution of European Identity: Using Biographical Methods to Study the Development of European Identity'. The project used advanced methods of undirective qualitative interviewing to gain insights into the evolution and meanings of a European identity or identities from the 'bottom up' perspective of the individual. A data-driven grounded theory mode of analysis was employed and the importance of having experience of primary relationships with persons from other parts of Europe surfaced as being central for causing a person to think of themselves as 'European' or at least multi-national. EUROIDENTITIES found that these relationships often were the 'cement' that caused the otherwise transitory effects of physical mobility to become permanent; where it was often the case that it was the relationship with a person from another country, rather than an educational exchange such as Erasmus or transnational work-related mobility that caused a change in self-identity. The intimate relationship dimension highlights that mobility need not be physical, but can be virtual mobility, for example being born into a family of mixed parentage or forming a close primary relationship in one's own country with a person who has come there from elsewhere. These latter findings have clear implications for the need of uniform family law across Europe, particularly with regard to children and the dissolution of partnerships.

2.3. Collective action

Collective action refers to participation in groups, organisations or social movements that have shared goals. Through collective action, such groups may intend to generate social, economic, and/or political transformations, possibly leading to policy changes at local, national, transnational and/or EU levels. The original impetus that created the organisation may come from the existence of a collectivity that shares a common predicament, for example, being a minority suffering discrimination or prejudice.

What makes collective action relevant to identity formation is that it necessarily involves taking the perspective of others who are co-jointly involved in the project or movement and dwelling on features shared with them. The concept of collective action could also come up when people face problems of economic survival and identify their individual difficulties as a more general issue. Taking the perspective of those relevant others, and being involved in collective activities potentially strengthens notions of shared identity. The perspective-taking and passionate involvement in collective activity may thus change ones' understanding of self, as a new layer of group identity is added to previous experiences of subjectivity. It can have a cross-border or European aspect if one's colleagues include those from other nations or it can involve, as in the case of the environmental and reconciliation Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), orienting to common arenas of moral discourse that may have an extra-national or European ambit.

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The common experience of social networks, organisations or institutional regulations (even unplanned common experience such as being part of a common wave of migration) may lead through action in concert with others to shared frames of reference or arenas of moral discourse at the collective level. In recent times, new flexible diasporic groups have formed, for example, eastern European migrants to Western Europe. These relations of collective action can include stories of consciousness raising – seeing one's life in terms of history, both externally defined and personally experienced. History, personally experienced, is concerned with the merging of individual biographical experience with the major events that society goes through during one's own life span. At times of social change, there can be a merging of historical time with biographical time. Experiencing a common history leads to collective identity processes as the common experiences are talked and written about – a 'projection of the recent past' into a shared frame of meaning. The experience of these events and accounts of events can be processed or distilled into an 'imagined' history or a collective social world of archetypical stories, 'myths' and legends. This is in contrast to externally defined history; the history one is told either through 'official' historical accounts such as the history taught in the formal education system or history related as 'fact' through the media in the form of documentaries or mainstream daily news media.

Working together can lead to shared symbolisms and shared frames of reference. As one makes sense of the experienced life, there can be a crossover to the collective social world. The reaction to a common historical experience leads on to the production of a common cultural heritage through mechanisms such as belletrist literature and sharing symbolisms such as using a common language or style of communication, common identity markers or the presence of myths or collective memories held in common.

At a more practical level, participation in collective action means sharing frames of reference with one's colleagues in an organisation. Acting in concert with others at a collective level of social movements, organisations, common projects or social networks requires developing or drawing up collective rules or institutional regulations for working together and then by and large abiding by them. To put it another way, organisations require bureaucratic regulation. The members of a social movement will be under pressure to conform to 'common causes'. Common 'languages' or words and modes of expression, common styles of working and communicating, common identity markers and shared collective memories and myths will with time develop within an established civil society organisation.

This dimension of European identity cuts **across all policies** - and the ways - **in which the EU deals with civil society actors.**

Work package 8, 'Identity Formation and Enlargement' of the **RECON** project, 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', employed a collective identity perspective. The aim of RECON in this research field was to understand and explain interrelations between collective identities, European integration and democracy. The project investigated how collective identity is expressed and reshaped in the enlarged Europe and analysed the formation of collective identities with regard to enlargement processes, with an emphasis on comparing the 'old' and the 'new' Member States, directly addressing the question of how much trust and commonality is needed to establish democracy as a means of collective will formation at the various levels of governance of the compound EU polity.

RECON found that European integration has transformed the old Europe of independent nation states and the European Union has formally embraced democratic principles and procedures. However, it has not yet consolidated a democratic practice bringing forth citizens' trust and solidarity.

Selected findings:

- Collective identity should be understood as evolving through democratic processes, rather than based on historically and culturally rooted identities, such as national identities. A European collective identity is achievable despite the lack of a "European people". Collective identity should be understood as arising through conversations and narratives about identification and belonging to a political community, undertaken in a European public sphere. Change in identity and belonging – identity transformation – may be seen as an open-ended process, where the outcome depends on the process. In a European public sphere, identities may be reshaped, and the degree of attachment may be strengthened or weakened through democratic processes;
- European identification supplements and reshapes national identification;
- Young Europeans exhibit a broad and inclusive identity which goes beyond national identity, indicating a move towards a European collective identity;
- Structural and cultural changes in Central and Eastern Europe and in Turkey are closely related to values identified as 'European';
- In common with EUROIDENTITIES, RECON found that civil society organisations (CSOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) contribute to reshaping collective identities and building a more inclusive and equal society. CSOs and NGOs find it easier to challenge national policies when they are supported by common European initiatives such as non-discrimination policies.

2.4. Standardisation and regulation

‘Standardisation and Regulation’ refers to a widely-defined set of procedures and practices, many of which are formal, administrative or organisationally-based or institutionalised, for promoting a central or model cultural norm.

The effects of formal education can be seen as fulfilling these functions, where educational institutions and their practices can work as means of promoting accepted or received ‘high’ or central cultural values, practices and bodies of knowledge. The promotion of a standard or purified use of language (e.g., *Hochdeutsch*, the protection of the French language against the incursions of English, standard English language usage and ‘received pronunciation’, etc.) is a good example. The promotion of the understanding of all forms of ‘high culture’ generally could be seen as means for clarifying and reinforcing identity at both the national and the European levels.

The legal system and the law as an institution can be regarded as formal mechanisms for expressing and enforcing with sanctions a society’s values. The workings of the legal system and the interpretation of laws and regulations that take place at both the judicial level and at the level of enforcement can be seen as ways in which a society’s values are confirmed in practice.

Hence, the areas of **education policy, language policy and legal policy**, plus **cultural policy** generally, are all relevant to this dimension.

EUNAMUS, ‘European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen’, centred on a significant social institution – the national museum – as a creator and regulator of culture. EUNAMUS explored the creation of European national museums, their role in actively creating national heritage in both the past and the present day and suggests that these institutions should be encouraged to activate transnational connections in their collections and increase awareness of European and global values - not least for the purpose of countering the danger of aggressive nationalism currently resurgent in several European countries.

National museums provide a powerful stage to negotiate between cultural, social and political spheres in society. EUNAMUS’ recommendations to policy-makers are to:

- Recognize that national museums can serve as agents of social change. Carefully managed, they can perform many parallel functions and should not be regarded only as sanctuaries of historical relics;
- Recognize that national museums provide citizens with a connective tissue. This “cultural glue” is vital for social cohesion. It can also help solidify support for state actions and foster confidence in representative democracy at national and European levels;
- Invest in re-interpretations of existing collections and the development of temporary exhibitions to inject dynamics into existing museums;
- Prevent aggressive nationalism by stimulating national museums to bring to the fore transnational connections in their collections and increase the awareness of European and global values and processes;

- Be aware that national museums may not be automatically sensitive to societal change due to their complex heritage of buildings, collections and professional knowledge;
- Activate citizen's interest in museums and stimulate interactions between citizens and museum professionals;

2.5. Cultural production

The creation of art or cultural artefacts (broadly defined), as well as generating the artefacts themselves can 'feed back' into the person's own sense of self. The creation of 'high' or low/popular cultural outputs, the production of propaganda, nationalistic or Eurocentric (or even Eurosceptic) literature or involvement in nationalistic or Eurocentric political activity could have similar effects upon one's identity.

Here, the area of **cultural policy** generally is relevant.

The aim of **EURO-FESTIVAL**, 'Art Festivals and the European Public Culture', was to examine the role of festivals as sites of transnational identifications and international debate. European arts festivals are important expressions of cosmopolitan dispositions, bringing together artists and audiences who are interested in diversity as knowledge, experience and exchange. It is this openness and intrinsic international spirit pervading arts festivals that makes them effective as carriers of cultural policy and attractive to both public and private sponsors. In addition, several arts festivals are used as platforms for conveying political messages or for discussing contested issues. More and more festivals will today use the display of art, the reading of a text, the screening of a film or the performance of music as an opportunity for raising awareness about or discussing specific topics. The heightened interest in discussions in the framework of artistic events is also symptomatic of the growing importance of social and political issues within the contemporary arts world - a social fact that is in line with the changing profile and role of the artist as a public intellectual.

The absence of the European Union as sponsor, other than occasionally and on a low level, means that the EU does not benefit from arts festivals in terms of 'branding' in the way that regions or cities are doing by providing support to festivals.

Policy recommendations:

EURO-FESTIVAL recommends an increased 'presence' of the EU at contemporary arts festivals across Europe, through active participation, practical support, including funding and sponsorship. The cultural leverage of the EU as representing something distinct and beyond national cultural policy would benefit by being present in arts festivals through the sponsoring of specific debates or events or by supporting specific activities such as mobility and exchange programmes of specific groups of artists.

This would provide visibility to the EU's educational and cultural role and complement the educative function of several arts festivals. For example, the European Union could provide support to festivals for featuring women, young artists or artists of specific ethnic or trans-national backgrounds, or for promoting activities which target children. Or it could sponsor discussions about the role of the EU with reference to topical subjects as addressed by specific artistic productions. However, this presence should not extend to the creative impetus that gives rise to festivals, so that their creation and development is allowed to come from 'the ground up'. The most important policy-relevant finding of the EURO-FESTIVAL research is that, as fertile soils for the creativity and the exchange of ideas among artists, but also among audiences, arts festivals have emerged bottom-up, and it is this which makes them important as public sphere arenas. Ultimately a public sphere as an arena for bringing together citizens for discussing issues of common (public) interest only functions if it has emerged spontaneously rather than top-down through state intervention. Arts festivals are in many respects driven by their intermediaries -- the many artists and cultural managers who are personally and professionally committed to democratic values and the role of arts in society. But once established they acquire a dynamic of their own. It is this that is valued by their audiences and the reason why they can be genuinely said to represent public spheres.

In this context, the role of policy should primarily be to help sustain the external or institutional conditions that make the emergence of such public spheres possible. This can be achieved by providing infrastructure and financial support to cultural intermediary institutions and their workers; or by helping establish legal and regulatory frameworks that facilitate the establishment and operation of such organisations.

2.6. Intercultural translation

The development of European identity requires the construction and refinement of communication between the constituent groups within the European Union – processes that can be seen broadly as having the effect of cultural design and mediation. Mediation and inter-cultural liaison work in areas such as peace and reconciliation or working to help immigrants become a part of their host society are analogous in that, to be authentic and effective, these require appreciating and taking on the perspective of the other. Recent conflicts in Europe, as well as abroad, have brought to the fore the deliberate destruction of the heritage of others, as a means of inflicting pain. With this has come the realisation that the processes involved and thus the long-term consequences are poorly understood.

Translation is always to some extent interpretation, and genuine translation from one language to another requires a real appreciation and understanding of the culture that is mirrored by the other language. Hence, the processes of language translation and interpretation and the promotion of the appreciation of languages other than one's own native tongue can be seen as processes that weaken exclusionary divisions through acting as means of mediation and liaison between cultures.

The areas of **education and language policy** are particularly relevant in this context.

Two quite diverse projects fall under the heading of this European identity dimension: **CRIC** and **LINEE**.

The **CRIC** project, 'Identity and Conflict. Cultural Heritage and the Re-construction of Identities after Conflict', investigated the ways the destruction and subsequent selective reconstruction of cultural heritage impact identity formation. The data and analyses from CRIC provide an important basis for theorising the relationship between heritage and identity in post-conflict situations and for critical and forward thinking decisions about how to design and manage reconstruction efforts after conflict. The project has identified a number of key issues in cultural heritage reconstruction after conflict that are relevant as policy recommendations, indicating important fields that need to be developed in partnership with specific heritage policy making bodies. The recommendations address perceived shortcomings in current legislation and guidance on the reconstruction of cultural heritage following conflict.

The main areas of concern are:

- The need for means of counter-acting competitive reconstructions and the need to avoid practices which allow the reconstruction of cultural heritage to become the focus for the continuation of conflict by other means;
- Maintaining an emphasis on authenticity along with local consultation and inclusion in order to avoid marginalising local populations and communities during the reconstruction process;
- The need to exhibit financial scrutiny of donors and external funding sources in order to avoid the alienation of groups, the development of undesirable symbolic attachments or creating a sense of exclusive ownership by one party to a former conflict;
- Ensuring that cultural heritage is disassociated from issues of establishing truth and claims following conflict;
- The need to commit to the long term engagement and monitoring of cultural heritage reconstruction projects to ensure greater integration of reconstructed sites with locales and communities;
- Avoiding the lack of clarity and making transparent the political and social aims of reconstruction projects and the meanings that are being promoted through the sites.

LINEE, 'Languages in a Network of European Excellence', investigated linguistic diversity in Europe and has produced a wide range of findings with implications for policy.

English does not threaten linguistic diversity

English has emerged from the LINEE case studies as a neutral common language with only a marginal national connotation. It is also perceived as a facilitator for further language learning, intercultural understanding and contact, and as an asset on the job market.

English is not necessarily a threat to linguistic diversity, quite the contrary: many non-native speakers of English perceive it as a facilitator for further language learning, intercultural understanding and contact.

For example, Erasmus students who were interviewed and observed by researchers use English to gain access to a multilingual environment at schools in Hungary or the Czech Republic, where they also learn some Hungarian or Czech and other languages from their peers. Because English gives them access to environments which would be otherwise more difficult to enter, it facilitates cultural exchange and increases the motivation for language learning. In situations where English is being used as a lingua franca, it is not the native speakers of English who are necessarily seen as the most successful, but those people who are multicompetent and have a wide linguistic repertoire to bring into communicative situations.

Policy implications/recommendations:

- Encourage the recognition and promotion of the authenticity of non-native speaker English (English as lingua franca), including situations where English is taught as a foreign language. It is important to see non native English as authentic and legitimate English which is used as a vibrant and complex lingua franca by temporary and also permanent communities in Europe. As accompanying measures, LINEE suggested two types of measures: (i) promoting the acquisition of English as lingua franca by non-native speakers of English; (ii) promoting the acquisition of other European languages by native speakers of English in order for them to become multicompetent and be able to interact successfully with non native speakers of English.

Embrace multilingualism

National states tend to promote a normative view of their official language(s), founding their educational system on linguistic purism. In the European classrooms studied by LINEE, multilingualism is not seen as an asset and most teachers embraced the ideology of “using only one language in the classroom” and “one language only at a time”. This is especially true when it comes to teaching immigrants as many teachers believe that using and learning several languages simultaneously confuses learners and slows down acquisition of the host community’s language. In foreign language classrooms, teachers also try to use the target language only, and do not integrate other languages into their teaching. These approaches ignore or neglect many students’ multilingual resources, their creative potential and effective everyday multilingualism. What is needed however is functional multilingualism, which fosters the use of linguistic multicompetence in multilingual communicative situations becoming more common due to the free movement of European citizens.

Policy implications/recommendations:

- Clearly state: (i) how “multilingualism” is understood and used in a particular context; e.g., as a means of protecting minority languages; (ii) the right of citizens to use their native language as a means for economic success and growth or as an asset to be used in language education;
- Whilst providing opportunities for all students to develop English as a lingua franca (ELF) proficiency in school, national language policies should in addition actively promote the learning of a second or foreign language and foreground its distinctive necessity and role in relation to intercultural understanding and European citizenship.

The promotion of intercultural understanding should be central to the content of this second/foreign language education, and engage students in processes of cross-cultural critical reflection and imaginative activity;

- Assessment schemes should be developed which reward multicompetence, intercultural understanding, critical reflection and language awareness along with conventional target language skills.

Linguistic policy of Member States concerning migrants

- Develop more efficient motivations to acquire the national language(s) of the state. National governments tend to measure integration in terms of national language skills. Such extrinsic motivation does not normally succeed in promoting good language skills. Governments should be expected to develop more efficient motivations in terms of valorisation of multilingual persons and their social and cultural capital.

Recommendations at the European level

- Strengthen coherent vertical policy collaboration in cultural and linguistic matters between the players on the supranational, national and regional levels. Rights and duties of the players on the supranational, national and regional level differ and create inconsistencies and contradictions. For example, while the question of cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe as a whole is largely focused on differences between various Member States and their regions, and is regulated by European supra-national policies, the question of cultural and linguistic diversity in relation to non-European immigrants is regulated at national levels. The collaboration should be established on dialogue that engages all levels in order to pay attention to areas where policies on cultural and linguistic diversity complement or contradict each other.

- All European countries should sign and ratify both the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in order that: (i) minorities enjoy protection in all countries according to the same standards; and (ii) double standards differentiating between “old” and “new” Member States be avoided (under which old Member States are exempt from signing these while new states are required to do so). The EU principle of subsidiarity is at times experienced as a hindrance to the protection and promotion of minorities and minoritarian languages in the regions researched.

- Foreign language acquisition and multilingualism are conditioned by successful communicative management, i.e., the establishment of social networks that create opportunities to use foreign language/s. This, in turn, is conditioned by successful socio-economic management (providing jobs which could lead to the establishment of networks among the users of those languages). European institutions are responsible for ensuring that labour market discrimination in the Member States and economic protectionism does not arise due to the abuse of language as a pretext for primarily economic reasons. Thus, the real implementation of the general principles of European integration (e.g. the free movement of employees/employers) can be deepened.

2.7. Inclusion/Exclusion

It is an irony that, while barriers between national cultures and to mobility are eroding within Europe, barriers to mobility from other parts of the world into Europe are perceived to be strengthened. The Janus face of inclusion/exclusion, by focussing on the evaluation of one's own community in contrast to some 'other', has the effect of strengthening identity. The contrast between one's own culture, community or nationality and the 'other' can be either positive or negative and either more or less benevolent.

The focus in the Inclusion/Exclusion dimension is on identity formation, where 'we' communities are defined in opposition to 'them', particularly positively-evaluated communities and includes the 'imagined communities' of national identity. It is crucial here to create an analytical distinction between physical borders and cultural boundaries. Sometimes borders and boundaries overlap, sometimes they do not. Rather the key is that the boundary is constructed by contrast with the 'Other' who has a culture or way of life that is different from one's own. On the one hand, nationally-based division between one's own and other nations still persists in Europe; but on the other hand, Europe can be a geographical, cultural and mental space for experiencing 'the new' and 'the other' (both the fascinating and the difficult other). This can be perceived, experienced and narrated as a cosmopolitan space for affective possibilities, developing and expanding one's 'self'.

The comparison with 'the cultural other' can be relatively benign; while the 'Other' has a culture different to one's own, there are areas of contact and overlap on common core values. In such cases, 'opposites can attract' and there is scope for mutual regard and appreciation. In contrast, the comparison with 'the Alien', where there is no understanding due to there being no overlap of core values and moral obligations, is more exclusionary and qualitatively different. The 'Alien' is non-understandable and, rather than communication, there can be incomprehension and stereotypes that can bleed over into xenophobic prejudice. The development of xenophobia can be seen as a process in which the perception of 'the Other' is warped into a perception of 'the incomprehensible Alien'. As well as between different cultures, inclusion/exclusion can operate within the boundaries of a single culture. Social class remains a significant barrier. Two people from similar social strata with similar cultural capital but from different nations within Europe may well have more in common than two persons from the same nation who are of different social classes. Similarly, gender divisions remain a central divide across all of Europe.

Otherness can arise from the contrast between a centre and a peripheral fringe or between urban versus rural and from migration from (and to) the fringe. In this way, migration will impact upon the construction of individual and collective identity.

'The centre' versus 'the periphery' can form inclusion and exclusion within a single culture or national entity. The centre/periphery distinction may be phrased in terms of claims to cultural authenticity, morality or creativity, with the centre laying claim to 'high culture' and being prejudiced against the 'country bumpkin' on the one hand, while on the other hand the periphery can be valued as the locus of true traditional values.

In cases where there are contested border regions, the centre can present itself as geographically most removed from the contamination of other cultures. At the same time, however, a 'periphery' in turn may contrast itself to a centre that has become contaminated by influences from outside,

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depicting itself as the genuine location of the wellspring of a culture. The centre/periphery contrast can be overlaid with a rural/urban contrast between country and city.

In all these instances, the mutual relationship is one of 'figuration', and need not necessarily be antagonistic – the contrast with 'the other' can be one of the features that determines oneself. To the extent that these parameters of inclusion/exclusion are being actively constructed rather than being inherited or reproduced, their production can be considered a process of identity formation.

Many aspects of **social policy**, but also migration and human rights policies are relevant to this dimension. Several of the projects reviewed either took the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion as an orienting principle from their beginning or discovered the existence of mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion in their analyses.

A key component of the rights of many ethnic minorities and migrant communities is securing and maintaining recognition of the legitimate status of their language. **ELDIA**, 'European Language Diversity for All: Reconceptualising, Promoting and Re-evaluating Individual and Societal Multilingualism', focused on minority languages, particularly those in Eastern Europe, and the dynamics of their interactions with majority languages.

Findings:

The absence of legal redress mechanisms in cases of violation of language legislation concerning smaller languages is a finding recurring in all case studies of the project, in particular as regards legislation at the regional and local levels. This applies both to states with a long legal tradition in regulating languages, such as Finland and Austria, as well as to countries where language legislation is a relatively new phenomenon.

Another disconcerting finding is that even when such redress mechanisms exist, court decisions are not always respected and implemented, thus indicating the low efficiency of such legislation as well as a lack of the rule of law in this sphere.

Another major finding in the ELDIA project is that multilingualism itself is legally established only to a very limited extent. What is usually entrenched is a particular language, which can be used by a particular aggregate of people in a particular territorially-defined region. While such an approach may at best support individual multilingualism within minority areas or regions where languages are spoken locally, it does not necessarily encourage a wider societal multilingualism under conditions of mobility and globalisation.

Until today, views of European multilingualism and linguistic diversity have been largely characterised by a fatal dualism. On the one hand, acquired multilingualism (i.e., learning and teaching of major vehicular languages such as English) is seen as an asset for the individual and a necessary educational investment for the society. From this viewpoint, becoming multilingual is a positive action which can be supported and promoted. On the other hand, minority languages often have been seen, not in terms of "doing", but in terms of "being", as an integral part of belonging to an ethnic group. This implicitly "ethnifying" perspective, combined with socio-political issues of identity and (in)equality can lead to interpreting minority languages as a problem and a potential cause of inequality in society. In this perspective, minority languages are a burden both for the individual (who has to invest more effort in learning additional languages) and the society (in terms of extra investments, both in language teaching and in supporting minorities).

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This has led to a general skewedness in research and data assessment with statistics and institutions creating a false picture of "parallel monolingualisms", instead of highlighting the highly diverse forms of everyday multilingualism in which today's Europeans live.

Policy recommendations:

Smaller, or migrant and regional languages form part of the language diversity in Europe today and should be preserved. *Legislation needs to be adopted in cooperation with those concerned and implemented in practice both nationally and locally.* While legislation alone is not sufficient in order to encourage and guarantee the value of language diversity and multilingualism at an individual and at a societal level, it is an important starting point and precondition for such affirmation. Due to the variety of situations and needs across Europe, legislation needs to be adapted and cannot follow a single model for all cases.

Support further comparative research. There is a need for new connections and cooperation in research. There is very little generalisable and generally accessible data on the acquisition and use of "minor" European languages, and - despite networks such as Mercator - also little networking between researchers of different regional minorities. The available data often give a skewed picture of the situation of languages and identities. In particular, there is still little pan-European comparable knowledge, despite the fact that some minority groups have been very thoroughly researched at the local and regional levels. Any comparative research into European linguistic diversity on the basis of population statistics must therefore be evaluated with utmost care.

There is a need to improve networking at regional, national and European levels. Despite great differences in the history and the eco-socio-political conditions, *diversity and minority/majority issues across Europe show many more similarities than the communities themselves as well as national and European policy-makers seem to realise.* Minorities tend to regard themselves, their situation and their problems as something unique and generally display little knowledge of or interest in other multilingual speaker communities in other countries or regions. Multilingual communities and minority groups could make better use of the opportunities for transnational cooperation offered by, for instance, the EU, and policy-makers at various levels would profit from information exchanges on issues of maintaining language diversity.

Promote a local/regional consciousness of diversity. There is an obvious tendency in public discourse to portray minorities as "others", forgetting their historical presence or the shared historical roots of majority and minority groups. Policy-makers and stakeholders should not only make the linguistic and ethnic diversity better known but also portray it as characteristic of the region and as something that belongs to the cultural heritage of all groups.

Promote consciousness of media freedom and participation as essential for democracy and human rights. It is important that journalists are made aware of the linguistic human rights of minorities – that they have constitutional and human rights to use their mother tongue effectively in every sphere of their life, and that portraying minority-friendly policies in negative light means violating these rights.

Crucial steps should be taken locally. Regions around Europe are shaping their own approaches

to multilingualism and language diversity. National legislation offers a general framework for the use of languages and needs to be implemented regionally and locally, in particular within the sphere of basic education. While regional legislation should not fall below the basic guarantees provided in such legislation, it can certainly promote wider acceptance of and support for regionally used languages.

2.8. Structural conditions and opportunity structures

This dimension was a central concern or a fundamental background to many, if not most, of the projects. Structural changes and opportunities feed into the decisions to embark on new life trajectories or action schemes. Identification with Europe clearly can be affected by the structural realities of EU politics and policies. Changing market conditions and the relative wealth of different regions of Europe affect the self-perceptions and patterns of mobility of transnationally mobile workers. The enlargement of the EU has clear structural implications. The effects of these historical changes are important, particularly changes in security measures and border controls after the entry of the new Accession States into the European Union. Due to these legal changes and spurred by economic inequality within the EU, large groups of citizens from the new accession countries moved to the more affluent countries to find jobs.

Many structural factors can affect the generation of collective identity. The structures of opportunity open to individuals may affect their choice of the collectivities with which they identify. This identification with a group that offers better chances of success in life can be either an unconscious identification with 'the winners' or conscious and strategic (for example, networks of communication, including social networks, open avenues to knowledge of opportunities such as jobs and access to sources of funding).

Opportunity structures can be sited in geography. For example, at a regional level, location in a backward peripheral region with reduced resources and opportunities leads to a different type of regionally-based collective identity than location in a centre with privileged access to opportunities, the latest scientific and technological advantages, and other facilities and amenities. Location in a 'centre', whether regionally or organisationally, can confer advantages of access simply through being 'central', being located at the point where knowledge crosses and access to communication and networks is easy. One might also find a 'paralysis of discouragement' for those on the periphery. There can be other structurally-determined adverse effects of 'peripherality' upon regions. More developed, prosperous central cores, sometimes abetted by government policies, can drain off the resources of the periphery (such as the exploitation of natural resources or the 'brain drain' of young, gifted persons to 'the centre').

All types of **policies that affect European infrastructures**, broadly conceived, are relevant to this dimension. Supportive funding from the EU can significantly affect structures of opportunity, but often in widely contrasting ways; Erasmus funding promotes, e.g., the mobility of students, whereas the subsidies of the Common Agricultural Policy can in effect promote the 'staying put' of farmers.

While many of the 'identity' projects covered in this review have partners from countries where the rural sector is a significant part of both the national culture and the economy, **EUROIDENTITIES** is the only project under review that has concerned itself directly with Farmers as a category for research. Farmers are subject to the regulations of European markets, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and many, if not most, require subsidies to survive.

Farmers are also an interesting comparator group since, in contrast to much EU policy which can be seen as promoting or easing mobility, the policies affecting farmers are largely designed to keep them on the land.

With regard to Farmers, Euroidentities' research findings produced a number of key messages for policy makers:

- There is a predominant perception of centralization of European policies, which are created far from farmers and without their influence on them. Mechanisms of influencing the CAP do exist and participation in policy formulation and implementation could be facilitated by providing wider access to information, as well as encouraging civic representation on all levels, in order to utilize those mechanisms. On the whole, those farmers who associate with farmers' unions, cooperatives and other structures, and actively participate in grass-roots initiatives, have stronger feelings of empowerment in influencing EU and national policies;

- Burdening and time wasting administrative order: While efforts are being made to minimize 'EU bureaucracy' and complicated procedures for working with and through the multiple national and European agencies, departments, ministries and other bodies, the very structure of the CAP and its implementation mechanisms makes the complicated administrative order unavoidable.

A possible alleviation of this problem could be achieved by the local and national implementation of comprehensive communicative strategies and the organization of better coordinated consultancy networks and assistance programmes for farmers;

- Farmers being drained from the profession: The number of jobs in the agricultural sector is falling and the average age of those working in it has been steadily rising. To reverse the ageing trend, people need to be stimulated to stay in farming or to take it up. Care needs to be taken that such stimulating programmes are attractive and easily accessible to potential young farmers. A way to secure people's income from farming is the promotion of environmentally friendly methods of production, which are more labour-intensive and thus generate employment. This requires the creation of wider markets for ecological produce, as well as sustaining the credibility of this type of production;

- Opening European agriculture markets: Farmers are aware of world competition. Some of them (especially those from the old Member States), who are experienced within the European market and have travelled a lot, are curious how a fully liberalized market can function and whether opening European national agricultural markets could be a good option. Such reasoning has implications for the discussion within the EU about the future of quotas and also shows the necessity to start exchanging views between the EU member states about possible future market liberalization;

- Equal distribution of EU financial support to the all farmers in the Member States: There is clear evidence that farmers from the last enlargements feel unequally treated in comparison with farmers from the old EU Member States.

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Furthermore, farmers located in New Member States feel that they lack effective lobbying representation and, crucially, knowledge about how to work the system of subsidies. These issues should be addressed in future revisions of the CAP;

- It would be beneficial to ease the immanent insecurity in the sector by legislative measures, regional and local campaigns which encourage cooperation between farmers, as well as the diversification of the “gainful activities” of farm enterprises.

The effects of technology and scientific advances can alter the relative wealth and opportunity structures of regions. Also, transnational mobility has been transformed by the relative ease of transport and the precipitate drop in the real monetary cost of travelling across Europe. Relatedly, a direct impact of science and technology in recent years has been the transformation in modes of communication through the internet and related digital technologies that have made a transnational existence both more feasible and more bearable. Hence, policies relevant to the transportation and communications infrastructures of Europe are very relevant to this dimension.

One project that was inspired directly by the possibilities of new technology was **Media & Citizenship**, ‘Transnational Television Cultures Reshaping Personal Identity in the European Union’. Media & Citizenship provided the first European-wide empirical research on the use of Arabic language television and its influence on integration in multicultural societies.

Media & Citizenship took as its starting point that it is essential for Europe’s policymaking bodies to recognize that globalization of media infrastructure means agendas for public debate are no longer set in an environment of nationally managed spheres. The project found, however, that this infrastructure does not appear to be enticing migrant communities in Europe to retreat into ethnic media worlds. On the contrary, as the European Union’s media infrastructure becomes more complex, it is also growing richer, allowing media users to negotiate information in a more critical and conscious way. Instead of being viewed with suspicion, mediated cultural experiences should be regarded as a valuable instrument for developing a sustainable notion of transnational belonging and identity.

Media and Citizenship has produced a coherent set of policy recommendations:

- To recognise the wide viewership of EU national channels, policy makers should embrace the existence of a multitude of Arabic channels as a positive aspect of cultural integration and exchange.
- The law governing satellite delivered content should be clarified. Existing EU law to regulate television content is not enforceable for satellite and internet delivered channels. While this may be of concern, it is critical that the plurality of media available to Arabic speakers is maintained;
- The availability of satellite- and cable delivered material should be supported. These actions are essential in responding to media industry convergence that is producing a highly competitive but concentrated set of media messages within Europe;

- Mechanisms for monitoring the implementation of the EU's 2001 Communication (IP/01/31) should be further developed and refined at local, national and supranational levels in order to ensure the protection of individuals' right to possess and use satellite dishes;
- Public service television broadcasters across the EU should be encouraged to provide more continuity in formulating and implementing their diversity policies;
- Media literacy and the critical use of a variety of media sources, including the use of educational resources to enhance skills in comparing and contrasting messages, should be encouraged. In particular, account should be taken of transnational television as a mode of cultural awareness among all EU citizens;
- A review of national citizenship tests should be undertaken. Increasingly stringent national citizenship tests, particularly in the Netherlands, Germany and the United Kingdom, are largely counterproductive to the EU vision of transnational citizenship within Europe. Since the evolution of European media allows a transnational framework of cultural integration, citizenship tests should reflect the same ideology by recognising the distinction between political, legal and cultural forms of citizenship; they should take into account multiple forms of belonging and recognize their close connection to transnational television. An understanding of mediated culture should be incorporated into the notions of cultural citizenship used in citizenship testing.

2.9. The public sphere and state-regulated institutions

This dimension refers to the European political, social, economic and legal institutions associated to a large extent with the European Union and centred mainly in Brussels and Strasbourg. While one must be careful to remember that Europe is much more than the institutions of the European Union, these institutions and related organisations are crucially significant for people's idea of Europe and are often what is referred to when people talk about whether they do or do not identify with 'Europe'.

Here, more than just a subset of the opportunity structures discussed above, some sense of identification with the causes and obligations of European public spheres is required. Questions of loyalty, moral bonding or engagement on more than pragmatic grounds come to the fore. The construction of a European identity involves the 'shaping and dimensioning' of the individual's relation to the public sphere and to state-related institutions. If positive, there is a moral bonding to the precepts of the public sphere that involves engaging with the duties and obligations of that public sphere. If negative, there is detachment or, more strongly, frustration with convoluted systems of 'Brussels bureaucracy' and subsidy.

The **RECON**, 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', project related directly to the public sphere dimension. RECON had as its aim identifying strategies to strengthen democracy in the European Union. Rather than making explicit policy recommendations, RECON chose to present its results in the form of findings for various themes, which frequently have clear policy implications.

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Theme 1 *'The Constitutionalisation of the EU, the Europeanisation of National Constitutions, and Constitutionalism Compared'*

Selected findings:

- RECON found that the EU has a material constitution, but that this does not qualify as a democratic constitution. A distinguishing feature of the EU's material constitution is that it is conditioned on compliance with the common constitutional traditions of the Member States and their democratic norms. The Lisbon Treaty did not clarify the EU's constitutional character, but has rather caused more uncertainty and ambiguity;
- Further rounds of reforms and EU citizens' explicit consent are needed for the EU constitution to be legitimate and sustainable over time;
- European integration has made national constitutions more transnational;
- The ratification procedures used for EU constitution-making remain determined at the national level;
- The EU's constitutional processes – as is also the case in Canada – have been closed and executive-driven: in both cases the problem is the lack of openness and democratically accountable processes;
- The ability of governing parties to secure the support of their own constituencies remains crucial in winning national referendums on EU Treaties.

Theme 2 *'Representation and Institutional Make-up of the EU'*

Selected findings:

- The quality of the debates in the European Parliament compare favourably with those in national parliaments;
- Informal party networks are important for interactions between parliaments at the European and national levels;
- The diffusion of specialised European Union agencies testifies to changes in the Union's executive order and its relationship to political representation. Regulatory content and the level of political uncertainty can to a certain extent explain agencies' relative independence;
- The representation of individuals and of whole democratic peoples (Member States) in the European Parliament are best reconciled by decision rules that require double majorities.

Theme 3 *'Justice, Democracy and Gender'*

Selected findings:

- The European Parliament is a more gender-inclusive institution than the Council;
- From a gender point of view, the democratic quality of the EU's decision making is improved under the ordinary legislative procedure, in which the directly elected European Parliament has to approve EU legislation together with the Council;

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- Gender equality arguments are often countered and overridden by those of business-oriented groups;
- Democratic processes at national level are not found to serve female citizens and their claims well. Studies of national transpositions of the Goods and Services Directive show that the European agenda is often overridden by domestic national politics, and that there is a deep and systematic exclusion of women and women's interests from decision making processes that directly affect them;
- Conformity by Member States to EU law on gender equality may be superficial;
- The EU plays a generally progressive role in the field of gender equality and anti-discrimination policies;
- When a country moves beyond the minimum gender equality threshold set by the EU, however, the EU effect decreases and, through having set a minimum, may even turn into a negative effect;
- Encouraging the inclusion of women's civil society voices in the decision-making process would strengthen gender democracy in the EU.

Theme 4: *'Civil Society and the Public Sphere'*

Selected findings:

- Euroscepticism is forcefully amplified through media debates;
- Citizens' disconnect from the EU is strengthened by European Parliament election campaigns, which are dominated by national politics and interests;
- Besides actors such as government officials, civil society and political parties, citizens play a major role in debates on EU legitimacy. Citizens overwhelmingly oppose the current functioning of the EU and justify this criticism with concerns for democracy;
- Mass media not only inform readers about EU issues but also enable readers to evaluate the EU in democratic terms;
- The increased politicisation of the EU - meaning that politics, policy making and the EU polity itself have become issues of public contention - has proven to be not the main cause, but rather part of the cure for the EU's ills. European and national parliaments, courts and public spheres are pivotal keys for the democratisation of European governance. National parliaments represent the national people, and they hold national governments to account for their EU policies, and link these to domestic will formation and legislation. National parliamentary debates also enhance the transparency of EU politics and policies, inform citizens about EU issues and help to form public opinion. The European Parliament, the European Court of Justice and transnational civil society expose and represent European public interests in decision making that otherwise would remain behind closed doors;
- Social actors such as civic associations, NGOs, trade unions and stakeholders, increasingly identify themselves as representatives of a 'European civil society'. These actors question EU decisions that do not comply with the universal criteria of justice, democracy and the rule of law, and they favour a form of democracy that reaches beyond the nation state and encompasses global concerns.

They support the European Commission and the allocation of decision-making power at the supranational level in areas such as social policy, anti-discrimination and environment.

Finally, **EuroBroadMap**, 'The European Union and the World Seen from Abroad', relates to the public sphere dimension in its aim to produce non Eurocentric views of Europe. EuroBroadMap had two interlinked objectives: (i) to demonstrate that different visions of the European Union in the world currently exist; (ii) to examine the place allotted to the EU in the visions of the World produced by other non-European countries and to chart their implications.

EuroBroadMap presented its findings in the form of five visions:

Vision I: *"Europe" as a World Economic Power'*

According to this vision, the main challenge for Europe is to maintain its economic advantage inherited from history and to face the challenge of competition from other traditional cores (the USA, Japan) and new emerging economic powers (Brazil, China, India, Southern Africa).

Key findings:

- A functional region much larger than the EU, including Russia, Turkey and Northern Africa can be identified through an analysis of trade and air flows between the countries of the world from 1980 to 2010;
- This Euro-Mediterranean functional area is internally divided between a western part oriented toward Africa and Americas and an eastern part oriented toward Asia and Middle East;
- The cost of not having an EU could be very high in functional terms. The corporate economic power of the EU in terms of trade will be dramatically reduced without a common external policy;
- EU action at the World Trade Organisation is characterized by power rather than by leadership. In international negotiations the EU is generally seen as a rigid and conservative actor, constrained by the time-consuming procedures for garnering support from 27 Member States and by the institutional complexity of its policy-making apparatus;
- The period 1990-2010 is characterized by a growing internal coherence but a shrinking external influence of the EU in the world. This result is true for diplomatic relations (votes at the United Nations General Assembly) and economic flows (trade).

Vision II: *"Europe" as a Continent with Borders'*

The vision of Europe as a continent with precise borders has been present since the origin of the European Union. Different delimitations of "Europe" have been proposed based on geography, history, culture, and religion, but they rely on ideological perceptions and have no scientific or juridical basis.

Key findings:

- EuroBroadMap confirms that Europe is internally and externally perceived as a "geographical" continent with relatively clear borders towards the south with Africa, but more unclear borders towards the east, with the problematic inclusion/exclusion of Russia and Turkey.

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However, the fuzziness of “European borders” is not an exception in the world and the same uncertainty about mental borders can be observed between Northern and Southern America, or between Asia and Oceania.

Vision III: *“Europe” as a Normative Soft Power*

Despite, or because of, its military weakness, the European Union generally considers itself as a normative power supporting democracy and human rights on a world scale. This vision of Europe as a normative “soft power” is somehow related to a more general feeling of moral superiority inherited from history, in particular Antiquity and the Enlightenment.

Key findings:

- Migrants perceive Europe as having “double standards”. When migrants are interviewed, the EU is mainly considered as a promoter of human rights that does not respect migrants’ rights;
- Europe is often perceived as a member of an “occidental club” which includes the EU and other rich countries (the USA, Japan, Australia, etc.). This grouping is not a subjective perception but it is statistically confirmed by an analysis of common voting at the United Nations General Assembly;
- The image of the EU is that of a powerful actor capable of acting strategically to defend its own interests. As a result, however, the EU has increasingly become an object of criticism from countries pinpointing the often-patronising nature of its policies and its proselytizing nature. Most of the time, such criticism is linked to the history of colonialism or is made in reference to its belonging to ‘Western civilisation’. The North-South divide is – rhetorically at least – very much alive.

Vision IV: *“Europe” as an Attractive Cluster of Nodes in Global Networks*

This vision suggests that Europe could become a cluster of advanced global cities, firms and universities which would ensure a flow of innovations in the knowledge economy that would be able to balance the decline of traditional activities. EuroBroadMap examined which places or actors are the most likely to participate successfully in a global network strategy, where external attractiveness is crucial.

Key Findings:

- Countries and cities of the European Union are not all equally attractive to foreign students and potential migrants. A clear concentration of attractive places appears in the richest part of the EU, but there are specific contributions from world cities like Paris and London;
- The attractiveness of “Europe” to outsiders is not independent of geographical distance, historical legacy and social networks. Important variations in the attractiveness of EU states and cities can be observed, resulting from the countries of origin of migrants;
- The perception of Europe is influenced by gender and other social characteristics of migrants. A country can be more attractive for men than for women. Countries can also be associated with different values, according to the social level or the objectives of migrants;
- Countries and cities of the EU display different comparative advantages in global economic networks. For example, the UK appears dominant in financial networks and Germany in trade exchanges. France has specific connections with Western Africa, Spain with Latin America, etc.

Vision V: *"Europe" as an Obstacle to the European Union*

Each of the four common visions of "Europe in the World" above has specific advantages but also shortcomings. None of them, in the opinion of EuroBroadMap, provides a sustainable future for the institutional development of the EU because they are, in fact, contradictory, requiring different definitions of the geographical area called "Europe" and different strategic choices concerning political priorities. The contradiction can only be solved if one decides to give up references to a mythical notion of Europe and replace it by a secular concept of the European Union. In this case, the problem is no longer a question of identity or of so-called "civilization", but a question of strategy and political choice to be debated by citizens and their political representatives. In scientific terms, EuroBroadMap considers "Europe" to be an epistemological obstacle to the understanding of the European Union. One could equally well say that "Europe" is a political obstacle, because it is simultaneously used very frequently in political debate and never clarified, which introduces internal ambiguities and external perceptions of double standards.

3. Conclusion

Culturalist and Structuralist Models of European identity formation

Ettore Recchi has presented two contrasting models⁵ for the ways that European identity or, more precisely, a sense of identification with Europe and fellow Europeans, could be fostered:

1. A 'Culturalist' model in which an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from core, established European values and their expression in public practices, most notably in governance and the operation of the legal system. This viewpoint emphasizes the essentialism of Europe and posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place 'top down' or in which identity is internalised and comes about through the exposure to influential discourses and symbols. If the internalisation has taken place in childhood or adolescence, the primary mechanism is socialisation. If the internalisation is taking place during adulthood, the primary mechanism is persuasion or indoctrination.
2. A 'Structuralist' model in which an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from association with other Europeans. This viewpoint emphasizes the importance of social interaction and posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place 'from the bottom up'. Identity arises from interacting or associating with others and coming to the realisation that one has much in common with them. It is most persuasive if the person is an adult or at least an adolescent old enough to conceive themselves as placed within a social nexus with other like-situated persons.

Recchi also remarks that, of the two models, until recently the Culturalist has been dominant in research on European identity. This observation can be extended to posit that the contrasting models of patterns of European identity formation can be applied to categorise the core

⁵ Recchi, Ettore. 2012. 'Transnational Practices and European Identity: Theoretical foundations, research developments and policy implications. Paper presented at the conference *The Development of European Identity/Identities: Policy and Research Issues*, European Commission, Brussels, 9 February 2012.

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approaches used by the various research projects, both those reviewed above and the complete set of those covered in the compendium appendix.

One Culturalist group that emerges is a group in which the core emphasis is upon European heritage:

- CRIC, with its emphasis upon the memorialisation of conflict;
- EuNaMus, as the role of the national museum for creating the myth of the nation is recast for a post-nationalist twenty-first century;
- CLIOHRES, with its project of reassessing the uses and teaching of European history;
- EURESCL's rediscovery of an unacknowledged and largely obscured European history of slavery;
- SPHERE, documenting how regions reeling from the collapse of their traditional proud industries reformulate these traditions as they are recast economically;
- EUMAGINE's investigation of the way 'European myths' focus migration decisions.⁶

The second Culturalist group are those projects located very much in the present:

- EURO-FESTIVAL's investigation of the way that contemporary arts and cultural festivals create new European cultural spaces;
- ELDIA with its strong advocacy for the revival of Europe's 'small languages', particularly the less-recognised linguistic minority languages of the east of Europe;
- RECON's goal of using research evidence and analysis to revitalise democracy in Europe;
- EuroBroadMap's study of how 'Europe' is perceived both within and without the continent;
- IME in its study of a hypothesized evolution of multiple European modernities in the twenty-first century;
- Rhythm Changes' study of the transformation of North American-origin jazz into a very European art form;
- MeLa*, in which the role of the museum is being recast to relate to the identities of new migrants in a Europe whose population composition is changing;
- EUROSHERE's search for a more diverse and inclusive European Public Sphere.

⁶ A caveat: 'core' or dominant emphases are being used to categorise the projects into the typology. This is not to say that projects do not have features of other parts of the typology. They do. For instance, within the 'Culturalist Heritage' cell, the fraught negotiations of memorialisation that CRIC studies very much take place within a present, however, these presents have to deal with enduring legacies of past conflicts. Similarly, EUMAGINE is studying the interactions of people who were located outside Europe who now have migrated, but it is studying these persons' relation to an established perspective on Europe as embodying a European heritage of human rights and the rule of law.

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	<u>Model</u>	
	Culturalist <u>Exposure & Persuasion</u>	Structuralist <u>Association & Interaction</u>
<u>Period</u>		
<u>Heritage</u>	CRIC EuNaMus CLIOHRES EURESCL SPHERE EUMAGINE	
<u>Present</u>	EURO-FESTIVAL ELDIA RECON EuroBroadMap IME Rhythm Changes MeLa* EUROSPPHERE	ENRI-East EUROIDENTITIES LINEE Media & Citizenship CIM FREE EUCROSS DYLAN

Finally, challenging Recchi's observation that the study of European identity has been dominated by the Culturalist perspective, a significant proportion of the projects reviewed fall predominantly into the 'Structuralist/Present' category:

- ENRI-East with its focus on the evolving identities through interaction with 'majority' populations of groups made linguistic and ethnic 'minorities' by border shifts;
- EUROIDENTITIES, centred around the 'biographical work' that its interviewees have carried out as they construct a sense of self that has often been challenged by circumstances to consider their place in Europe;
- LINEE with its lateral look at how multilingualism is really used;
- Media & Citizenship's myth-breaking investigation of the dynamics of Arabic satellite television viewing in Europe;
- CIM's focus on the cross-cultural creative process;
- FREE with its study of interactions made possible by the universal language of football;
- EUCROSS' position as the only project to adopt and operationalise an explicit comparison of the Culturalist and Structuralist perspectives from the outset;
- DYLAN with its recommendations for multilingual language teaching.