THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY/IDENTITIES:
UNFINISHED BUSINESS

A POLICY REVIEW
EUROPEAN COMMISSION

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The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

A POLICY REVIEW
Foreword

European identity/identities has been a research topic on the European Commission’s agenda since the 1990s and the 5th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development. At a time of socio-economic crisis in Europe, and at the dawn of the European Year of Citizens 2013, this policy review serves multiple purposes: it not only pays tribute to the research projects conducted under the auspices of the Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities Programme over the past decade, but also looks into this research for answers on how different processes of identification with the European Union and its integration project take shape and evolve over time, and on how to reinforce solidarity among Europeans. Moreover, it provides a timely stock-taking exercise of EU-funded research, permitting for the identification of research gaps in an important area, which is bound to continue to play a role under "Horizon 2020", the next Framework Programme for Research (2014-2020).

The policy review covers more than 20, quite diverse research projects conducted under the late 6th and 7th Framework Programmes, which have a bearing on processes of identity formation and identification with(in) Europe and the EU. It presents key research findings and extracts policy implications. Its recommendations speak to policy-makers in a wide range of domains at EU, national and local levels, from education and culture to migration and social policies. A standardized overview of all projects is provided in Appendix 3.

Many of the projects discussed in this report were presented at the conference "The Development of European Identities: Policy and Research Issues", organized by the European Commission in Brussels on 9 February 2012. Key strands of research and ideas developed in this policy review were debated at this event, co-determining the way the policy review was conceived. The programme of the conference is provided in Appendix 1. More information on the event can be found at: http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/events-194_en.html.

The policy review is the work of an independent scholar, Professor Robert Miller, from Queen's University in Belfast. Several experts provided highly valuable input into the review and/or the compendium of projects. On the European Commission side, the review was initiated by Dr. Andreas Obermaier, who also contributed to the compendium of projects. Dr. Simon Schunz provided additional input, while Corina Schwartz and Iulia Marcu lent editorial assistance.
Executive Summary

The main body of this policy review reports on a set of recent EU-funded research projects, drawn mainly from the latter part of the Sixth and the Seventh Framework Programmes, all of which have explore the issue of European identity. The main body is augmented by an Appendix that provides information about each one of these projects. The Appendix also contains information about other related projects.

The projects covered in the main body of the review are:

- CRIC (Identity and Conflict. Cultural heritage and the re-construction of identities after conflict);
- ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All: Reconceptualising, promoting and re-evaluating individual and societal multilingualism);
- ENRI-East (Interplay of European, national and regional identities: nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union);
- EuNaMus (European national museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen);
- EuroBroadMap (The European Union and the world seen from abroad);
- EURO-FESTIVAL (Art festivals and the European public culture);
- EUROIDENTITIES (The evolution of European identity: using biographical methods to study the development of European identity);
- LINEE (Languages in a network of European excellence);
- MEDIA&CITIZENSHIP (Transnational television cultures reshaping political identity in the European Union);
- RECON (Reconstituting democracy in Europe).

There are four main theoretical concepts that drive the study of European identity:

- **European identity and identification** with Europe. Identity has an individual component of active choice coupled with a collective component where individuals orient themselves to one or more aggregate groups or collectivities. The collectivities to which one orients depend upon context and can be multiple, so it is more accurate to speak of a mosaic of situation-specific identity rather than identities being nested one within another. Although few people may have a primary identity as ‘European’, such an identity can become salient in specific contexts.

- **Europeanisation** refers to a hypothesized trend towards national institutions and nationally-based fields of activity or perspectives being supplanted by institutions or fields at the European level. The validity of the concept can be questioned since Europeanisation in reality may be only a peripheral variant of a larger trend of globalisation.

- **Transnationalism** is contrasted to permanent migration and refers to ‘cross-border’ living where, thanks to modern infrastructure, a person can maintain a social existence both in their current country of residence and their country of origin.

- **Cosmopolitanism** refers to actively seeking out and appreciating contact with other cultures and hence coincides with perceived European values of tolerance and equality.

Nine conceptually-distinct dimensions for the expression of European identity are used to structure the presentation of the research projects with the review of each project being placed under the heading of one or more of these dimensions:
- 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.

**Multiple social identities and biographical identity** – ENRI-East: ENRI-East centred upon national/ethnic minorities ‘stranded by history’ on the ‘wrong sides’ of national borders in eastern Europe. The EU (and by extension, ‘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, it was harshly criticized by minority members in the New Member States who feel that their interests are not heeded by the EU. Furthermore, the prospect of joining the EU can raise fears, especially among senior citizens who perceive neo-classical economic freedom and increased mobility as threats.

**Transnational intimate relationships** – EUROIDENTITIES: Being in an intimate relationship with someone from another European country and/or being a child from a transnational couple was found to be strongly associated with having a sense of European identity.

**Collective action** – RECON: Taking part in collective action that stretches across borders, such as joining a social movement or working as part of an organisation with shared goals (e.g., an environmental NGO) can promote a sense of European identity since collective action requires to some degree ‘taking the perspective of the other’. RECON found that a European collective identity is achievable despite the lack of a “European people” and that democratic legitimacy needs to be grounded in the collective will of the members of a political community. However, while European integration has transformed the old Europe of independent nation states and the EU has formally embraced democratic principles and procedures, it has not yet consolidated democratic practice bringing forth citizens’ trust and solidarity.

**Standardisation and regulation** – EuNaMus: ‘Standardisation and Regulation’ refers to procedures and practices, many of which are formal or institutionalised, for promoting a central or model cultural norm; e.g., a society’s legal or formal educational institutions. EuNaMus advocates that national museums should be used as agents for beneficial social change rather than being seen solely as repositories of historical relics through recasting the myth of the nation for a post-nationalist twenty-first century.

**Cultural production** – EURO-FESTIVAL: The creation of art or cultural artefacts can feed back into a person’s own sense of self. EURO-FESTIVAL examined the role of art festivals in creating new cultural spaces in Europe and recommended an increased presence of the EU at festivals both to promote the cultural profile of the EU in Europe and to support an important public arena.

**Intercultural translation** – CRIC: The development of European identity requires the construction and refinement of communication between constituent groups within the European Union. Mediation and inter-cultural liaison work in areas such as peace and reconciliation are important aspects of this dimension. CRIC investigated the (re)construction of heritage in post-conflict arenas through the memorialisation of conflicts. Grappling with legacies of hatred, CRIC nevertheless has been able to make recommendations relevant to policy including: a need to counteract
competitive reconstructions; local consultation is crucial; cultural heritage needs to be kept separate from post-conflict ‘truth’ debates.

**Intercultural translation** – LINEE: Genuine translation and interpretation requires real appreciation and understanding of the culture that is mirrored by the other language. LINEE investigated linguistic diversity in Europe. It concluded that English performs an important function as a lingua franca and in fact does not threaten linguistic diversity. At the same time, multilingualism is a valuable resource that needs practical support, including pedagogical techniques that emphasize multiple language ability.

**Inclusion/Exclusion** – ELDIA: Mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion are crucial for identity formation in which the self is contrasted with ‘the other’. Comparison with ‘the cultural other’ can be relatively benign but there is also the danger of perceiving the other as the ‘incomprehensible alien’. ELDIA centred on the dynamics of the interaction of minority languages with majority languages in Eastern Europe. Unlike Western European minority languages, those in Eastern Europe are rarely appreciated as cultural resources and the speakers of majority languages often know little of the culture of minority language speakers. The project proposes a variety of support mechanisms to enable minority language communities to realise their common position and utilize the EU as a means of communication.

**Structural conditions and opportunity structures** – EUROIDENTITIES: The state of European infrastructures and opportunities (or the lack of them) for mobility, broadly conceived, have practical effects that can create, or curtail, the generation of a sense of collective identification with Europe. One focus of the EUROIDENTITIES project was upon farmers. Farmers are directly affected by the agricultural subsidies coordinated by the Common Agricultural Policy, and they exist within European markets. While frustration with ‘Brussels bureaucracy’ is widespread, farmers in western Europe have stronger feelings of empowerment in influencing EU and national policies and many farmers across Europe see the EU as a valuable counterweight to their national farm bureaucracies.

**Structural conditions and opportunity structures** – Media & Citizenship: Technology and scientific advancement affects opportunity structures across Europe and recent advances in transport and digital communication infrastructures have made a transnational existence both more feasible and bearable. Media & Citizenship focussed on Arabic-language television in Europe. The project found that the new media are not enticing migrant communities to retreat into ethnic media worlds and, instead, allow users to negotiate information in a more critical and conscious way. Media & Citizenship proposed a wide variety of specific policy recommendations designed to encourage the civic participation of Arabic-speaking minorities through clarifying and augmenting the environment of current minority television media provision.

**The public sphere and state-regulated institutions** – RECON: The institutions of the European Union are crucially significant for people’s ideas of ‘Europe’. RECON’s aim was to strengthen democracy within the institutions of the European Union. This complex project put forward a wide variety of findings and recommendations under eight broad headings: (i) constitutional issues; (ii) the working of representational institutions, particularly the European Parliament; (iii) gender issues; (iv) ‘democratisation from below’ through the public sphere and civil society; (v) foreign policy and security; (vi) the political economy of the European Union; (vii) collective identity formation and the enlargement of the EU; (viii) the impact of globalisation and a comparative global dimension.

**The public sphere and state-regulated institutions** – EuroBroadMap: EuroBroadMap explored non-Eurocentric views of Europe and employed cartographic methods to convey many of its results visually. Building on the project findings, the project also presented five "visions" of
Europe: (i) ‘Europe’ as a world economic power; (ii) ‘Europe’ as a geographical entity, a continent with borders; (iii) ‘Europe’ as a normative and moral ‘soft power’; (iv) ‘Europe’ as a cluster of attractive nodes in a global network; (v) concepts of ‘Europe’ as a obstacles to the European Union.

In conclusion, the review proposes two models of European identity formation: (i) 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; (ii) a ‘Structuralist’ model in which an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from association with other Europeans. Identity arises from interacting with others and coming to the realisation that one has much in common with them. Hence, the Structuralist model posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place ‘from the bottom up’.

As well as summarising the policy-relevant findings and recommendations of the discussed projects, the review makes some additional recommendations:

(1) more research may be needed within the Structuralist paradigm on the effects of mundane/popular culture on identification with Europe, specifically three projects: (i) a project centred around the effects upon European identity of the new digital communication media; (ii) the effects upon European identity of cheap travel, particularly holiday travel; (iii) a historical research project centred around the use of primary sources to investigate the effects upon the sense of being European among the general population caused by participation in or being affected by war on the European continent from Napoleonic times up to the recent past;

(2) the European Commission could extend and expand its Policy Briefs series, having their inclusion as an explicit criterion for rating new funding applications;

(3) the activities of the SCOOP project could be funded beyond its current closing date; specifically, participation in Communications Master classes could be made mandatory at the contract negotiation stage for the Coordinators of all new research projects;

(4) the European Commission could strengthen its support for ‘knowledge exchange’ between its funded research and the policy community further by either building in funding for a ‘post-completion’ phase of dissemination of research findings and/or creating a ‘knowledge exchange’ stream of funding where participants in completed projects can bid for support to extend dissemination activities beyond the end of a project’s main grant.
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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; EUROFESTIVAL; 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
attitudes surveys. The validity of a concept of European identity has itself been questioned. It is beyond the scope of this policy review to present a comprehensive review of this vast literature. 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 as 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...
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-multilocality, 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
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.
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 relationships 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 belles-lettres 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;
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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.
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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.
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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).
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
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;
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.

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.

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.
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.
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3. Conclusion

**Culturalist and Structuralist Models of European identity formation**

Ettore Recchi has presented two contrasting models\(^5\) 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

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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;
- EUROSPHERE’s search for a more diverse and inclusive European Public Sphere.

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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.
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;
- DYLON with its recommendations for multilingual language teaching.
3.1. Summarizing comments

Explicit recommendations for specific policies, while they exist, are distinctly in the minority in the above summaries of findings and recommendations from the various projects. More common are general recommendations for the types of policy goals that could be pursued, at times coupled with suggestions about how these goals might be realised. Also very common are research findings that have implications for policy recommendations, but without these implications being followed through in the current reporting of the research. There are a number of reasons for this state of affairs.

First, many of the projects are still in progress and simply have not yet reached the stage where they are in the position to make firm, explicit recommendations. To have evidence-based policy, one must first have evidence.

Second, while both the European Commission and the academic sphere are aware that a gap in communication often exists and both have made genuine efforts to bridge this gap, with specific procedures, facilities and training opportunities in place that were not in place a short while ago, such as the SCOOP project (http://www.scoopproject.org.uk/) and the series of Policy Briefs arising directly from Commission-funded research (http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/policy-briefs_en.html), there are still ‘two cultures’ that often talk and work at cross-purposes. Academics relish complexity. At the same time, however, they are generalists by training and experience. They will move towards the abstract and seek to identify the pattern hidden in the specific. Making precise concrete policy recommendations based on research evidence moves the other way. It is one thing, for example, to establish that the impetus behind some people moving against the prevalent inertia of the general population and spontaneously developing a real sense of themselves as a European was neither the Erasmus educational exchange they had as a young adult, nor their experience of seeking and finding employment in another country, nor the appeal of higher European ideals, but instead that the real spark was meeting and forming a close relationship with someone from another country. Establishing this as a firm and generalizable research finding is quite a different thing from then going further and producing a comprehensive set of policy recommendations to do with family law, the citizenship rights of nationally-mixed couples and their children, compatible divorce and child custody practices, congruent laws for inheritance, pensions etc. etc. The provision of these latter, specific answers is often skated over.

However, the ‘two cultures’ observation can go both ways. While the drive to base policy on knowledge is legitimate, it can also be that policy-makers and advisors sometimes prefer the explicit and can feel uncomfortable with the general where the precise action is unclear and its pay-off is uncertain. Furthermore, at times the policy implication of a research finding may be that there is no policy that will provide a sure solution or that the policies that are currently in place may be the best ones available.

Taking these observations further, the categorisation of the projects into ‘Culturalist’ or ‘Structuralist’ has implications for the methods they are likely to employ and ultimately also for the types of policy they are likely to recommend. One of the main phrases that recurred regularly across the range of projects was the need for ‘bottom up’ research strategies that would allow findings to emerge from data and that would give those who were the subjects of research a voice. The ‘Structuralist’ projects do seem to have generated a different quality of findings and
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perhaps a different variety of policy recommendations in which mundane everyday cross-border activities in popular cultural domains can be seen as having more to do with promoting a true sense of being in some way European, particularly for the average person, than focused EU programmes. It is possible to have a cultural construction of Europe that is taking place independent of attempts at institutional integration and that cannot be claimed by the EU as part of the integration process.

If one follows this line of reasoning to its end, the conclusions reached could be, on the one hand, that much of what is having the most positive effects upon the growth of an identification with Europe or the EU for the majority of the population – football and other popular sports, pop music (including Eurovision), relationships with someone from far away – is beyond the EU’s immediate control. On the other hand, in some areas where the EU could make a difference, it may already have implemented the policies that will be most effective. For instance, the deregulation of air travel coupled with the Schengen agreement brought about an era of cheap fares and travel within Europe that has made direct experience of other European countries a matter of routine rather than privilege and, while the Euro zone may have been created to help make Europe a world economic power, a serendipitous effect of its existence is that an Irish grandmother on a package holiday can walk into a Spanish corner shop and make direct comparisons with the goods and prices back home.

3.2. Horizontal recommendations

The above observations do lead to some horizontal recommendations for further action by the European Commission:

1. More research may be needed within the Structuralist paradigm on the effects of mundane/popular culture on identification with Europe. Here, in fact, the Commission has anticipated the recommendation with its completed project MEDIA & CITIZENSHIP and two ongoing projects: Rhythm Changes, which studies jazz culture and Europe identity; and FREE, which is studying Europe’s most prominent form of popular culture. In addition the EUCROSS project, currently in progress, focuses upon operationalisations and explicit comparisons of the Culturalist and Structuralist models. These all could be augmented by projects centred around the effects upon European identity of the new digital communication media and/or cheap travel, particularly holiday travel;

2. There is a conspicuously-empty box in the above table, ‘Heritage’ by ‘Structuralist Association & Interaction’ (though CRIC comes close). One may observe that the transnational mobility of the common population in fact is not a new phenomenon, but one that has existed in Europe for centuries; the difference being that in the twenty-first century the mobility is to seek employment whereas in the past the transnational mobility was often that of common soldiers drawn in to participating in wars of conquest. A historical research project centred around the use of primary sources to investigate the effects upon the sense of being European among the general population caused by participation in or being affected by war on the European continent – from Napoleonic

7 An era of cheap travel that may be drawing to a close with rising fuel prices; the effects of which are being exacerbated by EU carbon-neutral environmental policies and airport fees imposed to fund increased security – an interesting example of where well-intentioned policies may work at cross-purposes. Note also that the economics of ‘cheapie’ airlines are such that they are not viable for longer-distance transcontinental travel; i.e., inexpensive air travel favours Europeanisation but not globalisation.
times up to the recent past – would provide interesting contrasts to the sense of being European among today’s lay public;

3. Concerning the ‘two cultures’ gap between the academic and policy communities, the European Commission may be well advised to extend and expand its Policy Briefs series. One way to do so would be to continue to include as deliverables the required submission of policy briefs (where relevant) within the explicit criteria for rating new funding applications;

4. Another set of activities that would help to communicate the results of EU funded projects would be to fund the SCOOP project beyond its current closing date of September 2012. Explicitly, participation in the SCOOP Communications Master classes could be made mandatory at the contract negotiation stage for the Coordinators of all new research projects;

5. One reason that projects do not communicate more could be that project budgets at times do not allocate sufficient resources for ‘knowledge exchange’ follow through. During the compilation of material from the projects for this review, it was noteworthy that the investigators from many projects are attempting to generate policy recommendations, but that this has to take place after the funding phase is over. In order to increase the impact of the research it funds, the European Commission could either as a matter of course build in funding for a ‘post-completion’ phase for dissemination of research findings and/or could create a ‘knowledge exchange’ stream of funding where participants in completed projects could bid for support to help with dissemination activities that take place after the end of a project’s main grant.
APPENDIX 1

Conference
"The Development of a European Identity / European Identities: Policy and Research Issues"
Insights from European Research supported under the 6th and 7th Framework Programmes

Brussels
EC Representation in Belgium
Rue Archimède 73

9 February 2012, Thursday

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<td>Welcome and introduction: scope of the conference</td>
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<td><em>Mr. Octavi Quintana Trias</em> (DG Research and Innovation, Director of European Research Area)</td>
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<td><em>Mr. Andreas Obermaier</em> (DG Research and Innovation)</td>
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<td><em>Prof. Robert Miller</em> (Queens University, Belfast)</td>
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<td><strong>Prof. Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann</strong> (Universität Salzburg)</td>
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<td><strong>Ms. Agnès Hubert</strong> (Bureau of European Policy Advisers, BEPA)</td>
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<td><strong>Mr. Sebastian Kurpas</strong> (Secretariat-General, President's Briefings)</td>
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<td><strong>Mr. Vassilis Maragos</strong> (DG ELARG, Acting Head of Unit &quot;Albania&quot;)</td>
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<td><strong>Mr. Tony Venables</strong> (Director of the European Citizen Action Service)</td>
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<td><strong>Prof. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen</strong> (University of Cambridge)</td>
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<td><strong>Prof. Katherine Isaacs</strong> (Università degli Studi di Pisa)</td>
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### APPENDIX 2

#### SUMMARY TABLE

Dimensions for the expression of European identity and the projects in which they appear*

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<th>Project**</th>
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* A green shaded ‘X’ indicates a dimension under which the project is discussed in the main body of the text. A small ‘x’ indicates the dimension applies, but only minimally.

** The project acronyms shaded in GREEN are those discussed in the main body of the text.
The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY:</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Multiple social identities and biographical identity</td>
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<td>2. Transnational intimate relationships</td>
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<td>8. Structural conditions and opportunity structures</td>
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<td>9. The public sphere and state-regulated institutions</td>
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APPENDIX 3

List of EU funded research projects under the 6th and 7th Framework Programmes on European identity/identities questions

**EUROPEAN IDENTITY/IDENTITIES THROUGH HISTORY**

**CLIOHRES.net**: Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Research Agenda for the Citizens of a Growing Europe page 45

**CRIC**: Identity and Conflict. Cultural heritage and the re-construction of identities after CONFLICT PAGE 49

**EURESCL**: Slave trade slavery abolitions and their legacies in European histories and identities page 53

**EuNaMus**: European National Museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen page 56

**IME**: Identities and Modernities in Europe: European and national identity construction programmes, politics, culture, history and religion page 61

**EUCROSS**: The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identities among EU and Third-Country Citizens page 65

**ENRI-East**: Interplay of European, national and regional identities: nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union page 68

**EUROIDENTITIES**: The Evolution of European identity: Using biographical methods to study the development of European identity page 74

**SPHERE**: Space, place and the historical and contemporary articulations of regional, national and European identities through work and community in areas undergoing economic restructuring and regeneration page 77

**European identity/identities through practice**

**CIM**: Creativity and Innovation in a World of Movement page 80
The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

**EURO-FESTIVAL:** Art Festivals and the European Public Culture page 83

**FREE:** Football Research in an Enlarged Europe: Identity dynamics, perception patterns and cultural change in Europe’s most prominent form of popular culture page 86

**MeLa:** European Museums in an Age of Migrations page 90

**Rhythm Changes:** Jazz Cultures and European Identities page 94

**DYLAN:** Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity page 98

**LINEE:** Languages In a Network of European Excellence page 102

**ELDIA:** European Language Diversity for All: Reconceptualising, promoting and re-evaluating individual and societal multilingualism page 104

**RECON:** Reconstituting Democracy in Europe page 107

**EUROSPHERE:** Diversity and The European Public Sphere: Towards a Citizens' Europe page 109

**MEDIA & CITIZENSHIP:** Media and Citizenship: Transnational television cultures reshaping political identity in the European Union page 114

**EUROBROADMAP:** European Union and the world seen from abroad page 118

**EUMAGINE:** Imagining Europe from the Outside. On the role of democracy and human rights perceptions in constructing migration aspirations and decision towards Europe page 120
The general objective of the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence was to stimulate the unused potential that exists in the research area of history and related humanistic disciplines to give guidance and to encourage cohesion, fighting prejudice and xenophobia in all its forms.

The Network aimed at achieving and disseminating a greater understanding of both the actual histories and the self-representations of the past that are current in Europe today, highlighting diversities and connections and clarifying the context of their development. Brief description of the project: CLIOHRES.net addresses the novel historical challenges, needs and research opportunities emerging from the context of a growing Europe. Basic and unquestioned attitudes about ourselves and others are rooted in the ways that the scientific community in each country defines its research agenda.

Historians create and cultivate selective views of the national or local past, which in turn underpin pervasive ideas about identities and stereotypes.

National historiographies are still largely shaped by problems and preoccupations reflecting previous political and cultural contexts. CLIOHRES.net was created to generate and test a new structure and agenda for the community of historical research, redirecting its critical efforts along more fruitful lines.

Based upon partnerships over the preceding decades, the consortium was uniquely placed to accomplish its goals. It included all member states, accession countries and as well as neighbouring and third countries; it possessed an unrivalled knowledge of national and local differences in the use and abuse of history.
The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

OBJECTIVES

Increase integration of the European historiographical communities on a new critical basis, utilizing fully the potential created by the encounter of the existing national historiographical communities.

Involve related disciplinary fields.

The majority of the researchers were historians engaged in teaching and/or research on various countries and epochs, from ancient times to the present. Their fields comprise different directions of research, from legal, political and economic, to social and cultural history. In addition to the official members of CLIOHRES (which included philologists, philosophers, archaeologists and sociologists as well as specialists in gender studies, the history of art, architecture and literature), historians of law and human and humanistic geographers were invited to join the research groups.

Carry out six coordinated macro-research projects on aspects of the formation and self-representation of European peoples, new perspectives, methodologies and sources.

This objective was pursued on two levels, the coordinated multidisciplinary work plan of the entire Network and the activities of six Thematic Work Groups: States, Legislation, Institutions; Power and Culture, including Language, Art and Architecture; Religious and Philosophical Concepts; Work, Gender and Society; Frontiers and Identities; Europe and the World.


The results of this collaborative effort, published in Paths to Gender. European Perspectives on Women and Men (2009), show convincingly that the tools of gender history and feminist studies can be used in novel and insightful ways by ‘mainstream’ historians, to the benefit not only of gender history, but also of historiography in general.

The last and most challenging task was to address citizenship for the second time, on this occasion linked with ‘identity’. In order to do this the Network undertook a complex process of consultation and debate, eventually deciding to reformulate the theme in the plural. The results, elaborated by the six research groups over the last two years of the project, and discussed and debated repeatedly in Network meetings, are published in the final ‘transversal theme volume, Citizenships and Identities. Inclusion, Exclusion, Participation (2010).
Promote the use of categories based on connections and plurality as well as those based on division and uniqueness.

In addressing the above ‘transversal themes’ the Network worked as a whole, mobilizing its transdisciplinary, transgenerational and transnational resources, to bring out connections as well as differences in approaches and findings. One of the basic challenges that the Network faced was that of analysing and placing in context the layers of perceptions about the past that all present European societies carry with them. In many cases the efforts of generations have gone into creating a feeling of national unity, creating symbols and memories, sifting out historical experiences deemed to be worthy of either being remembered or forgotten. This is such an important level in European consciousness today that it can in no way be ignored: separateness has been created mentally and physically between our countries at enormous human expense.

The process and the results of the creation of such separateness have naturally constituted, in its various manifestations, a central object of analysis for all the CLIOHRES Thematic Work Groups. In its collaborative studies the Network has been able to illuminate a different history of the societies present in each geographical area, great and small. Such histories often wield greater explicative power than the accepted linear national narratives, including as they do change, immigration, expulsion, co-habitation, and a plurality of co-existing and competing languages, cultures, religions and political positions. This dimension of plurality and connection is present in all the Network’s efforts, and we consider this an important step towards accepting national narratives as themselves powerful historical facts, but ones which tend to obscure rather than illuminate the past of the people and territories in question.

Bring the results of the Network of Excellence to bear directly on educational and research policy, particularly on the relationship between research and teaching/learning; on the actual structure of higher education teaching and learning and support for basic research and humanistic research.

CLIOHRES.net has been in a particularly favourable position to be able to ensure that the results of its work could be taken up in actual teaching/learning situations at three higher educational levels (that is, first, second and third cycles) and in research. At the beginning of the Network’s existence this was possible especially because of the tight theoretical and operational link with its sister Networks, the Erasmus Thematic Network for History, CLIOHnet, and the Tuning Educational Structures in Europe network, in which History was a pilot subject area.

Mid-way through CLIOHRES, a new Erasmus Academic Network, based on the findings of the Network of Excellence, was designed and proposed: CLIOHWORLD (financed for 3 years by DG EAC, still running). This Network has among its main objectives those of disseminating CLIOHRES findings, including the publications, showing how they can be used in higher education, as well as formulating Tuning-style Guidelines and Reference points for a number of specific areas of historical study. Through its Quality Initiative, CLIOHWORLD assists universities in developing a quality culture, via a non-invasive, non-prescriptive self-evaluation process, in which CLIOHRES orientations provide the basis for the award of Quality Labels.

Disseminate the results both within the academic community and to a broad
Create the premises for on-going development of the NoE and its activities after the funding period.

The CLIOHRES Network of Excellence has not come to a stop at the end of the funding period. The ties, scientific, institutional and personal, created in five and a half years of intense activity continue to exist and to be vital. The Erasmus Academic Network, CLIOHWORLD, was designed taking into account the findings of CLIOHRES, and its remit is to develop those findings by preparing tools that can bring them to the attention of universities and research institutions, and make them available to both the broad public and specific groups outside higher education.

**CLIOHRES.net**

- **Funding scheme:** Framework Programme 6, Network of Excellence
- **Priority:** Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-based Society
- **Research area:** New forms of citizenship and cultural identities
- **Topic:** New perspectives on European History
The CRIC project aims to investigate the ways the destruction and subsequent selective reconstruction of the cultural heritage impact identity formation. Recent conflicts in Europe, as well as abroad, have brought the deliberate destruction of the heritage of others, as a means of inflicting pain, to the foreground. With this has come the realisation that the processes involved and thus the long-term consequences are poorly understood.

Heritage reconstruction is not merely a matter of design and resources – at stake is the revision and the reconstruction of people’s identities!

In particular, it examines how destruction as well as reconstruction affect notions of belonging and identities at different scales ranging from the individual to the pan-national.

CRIC produced substantial added knowledge in terms of empirical data and documentation relating, amongst others, to the:

- destruction and reconstruction of a range of cultural heritage sites in Europe;
- formation of memorial sites and their cultural impacts;
- use of cultural heritage sites in claims on identity;
- construction of symbols (creating notions of ‘identifying with’ and ‘being part of’).

The project, responding to this challenge, used five regional case studies to empirically document the relationships between cultural heritage, conflict, and reconstruction. In particular, it examined how these relationships involve notions of identities and values – at scales ranging from individual to pan-national – and how these relate both to the intentions (perceived and real) underwriting the destruction and to subsequent reconstruction efforts.

To ensure historical depth and comparative value, we examined zones of conflict in five European countries (Spain, France, Germany, Bosnia, and Cyprus) representing different historical contexts and different kinds of conflicts (ranging from ethnic conflict to World Wars). The five regional studies ensure historical depth, variation, and different trajectories, while the shared methodologies and axes of investigation ensure that comparative measures are reached.
The regional studies aim to respond to the following overarching questions:

- Is it possible to characterise the destruction of cultural heritage, including some of the intentions connected to such actions?
- What responses are linked to the destruction of heritage and its subsequent reconstruction at local, national, and international levels, and how might these influence identity formation and a sense of belonging?

Whereas ‘cultural heritage’ refers to a wide range of features, and can take tangible as well as intangible forms, CRIC elected to focus on physical cultural heritage; i.e., monuments, architecture, land- and townscapes, as the destruction of these is most easily identified. In addition, their reconstruction can be clearly documented and their subsequent use analysed. This focus has allowed CRIC to conduct a number of detailed case studies that investigate the sequence of events and decisions linked to particular places – be they landscapes, town squares, churches, or bridges – and identify the changing meanings and connotations associated with them. Using the tangible heritage as our basic reference point also allows the project to pursue less tangible aspects as these are expressed both in reference to the reconstructed places and through additional cultural forms such as anniversaries. The analyses aim to understand how places, through their reconstructions, participate in the creation of new meanings formed through references to, amongst others, their destruction and remaking. The case studies represent varied geographic locations and demographic makeup; but far more importantly, comparative depth also arises from their representing different historical contexts.

Substantial archival research has been carried out. For each site the detailed work in archives has shown close links between political propaganda as well as ideologies and the decisions taken about reconstructions. A substantial amount of on-site fieldwork has also been conducted. It adds a ‘grounding’ effect to the case studies as the sites are experienced and the nuances of the interplay between them and their wider environment – physical, social and political but also in more ephemeral ways – are recognised and included in the analyses. In each of the five case study areas researchers attempted to ‘track’ the sequence of events and to identify changing meanings and connotations associated with particular physical ‘places’ - be they landscapes, town squares, churches, mosques or bridges. Using these tangible elements of the cultural heritage as reference points it has been possible to pursue less tangible aspects and responses through their expression in memorials, symbols and anniversary ceremonies, and to analyse how such events develop and explore their destruction and reconstruction can create new meanings.
For two of the case studies (Spain and Bosnia), the destruction took place within the context of civil war, in one case (Cyprus) it is due to conflict between countries, whereas the other two represent different regional effects of the European World Wars, introducing contrast between the perception of destruction of rural landscapes (France) and the destruction of the urban fabric (Germany). Each in their distinct way provide opportunities to investigate the core question about the relationship between identity, conflict and cultural heritage; and collectively make it possible for the project to produce empirical documentation, new data sets, and theoretical analysis.

Through comparison within case studies the project identified major common characteristics of the processes involved and developed appropriate analytical tools:

- Identifying the main factors influencing the impact of reconstruction (e.g. local inclusion and consultation, source of finance, role of external agents, cultural authenticity);
- Explain the existence of different reconstruction strategies and explain their different visual impact on their environments, and their influence on the formation of identities;
- Understanding the characteristics of contested sites (their origins and changing uses);
- Analysing the effect of time (as a distancing factor and as a transformative one);
- Deconstruct and show the significance and impacts of anniversary events;

Identifying the main characteristics of reconstruction efforts and develop analytical concepts (e.g. spontaneous memorialisation, essentializing effects, and the institutionalization of heritage.

A major result is the concept of ‘spontaneous/grassroots memorialisation’, now used and further added to through the research by several work-packages, in particular work in Cyprus, Bosnia and Spain. CRIC has identified ‘institutionalization’ as a major characteristic of a certain kind of process and the importance of this concept in terms of post-conflict reconstruction is being developed by colleagues in Dresden. Researchers in Cyprus have initiated a parallel discussion on the effect of essentialising tendencies within heritage discourse.

CRIC’s research shows how this effect means that some groups or places becomes marginalised or invisible as one place or one narrative takes over: For instance, Gernika becomes 'the bombed town' with the nearby Durango being totally ignored, and Cypriot heritage politics label people and living culture in terms that recognise only to groups. Finally, the tangible physical character of places have been shown to matter in a number of ways, including their capability to acquire symbolic significance, their ability to stand-in for people and events, and their affective impacts on their surroundings. In line with this, the projects research has found that buildings can be used to further claims and state identities, to dominate a land-or townscape, and their reconstruction can become part of ongoing disputes.
**Dissemination**

The results have been collated within three overarching themes (each to be published as a volume). The themes are:

I. *Biographies of Place* (sites or buildings have complex, contentious or conflicting meanings; *Biographies of Place* will exemplify the roles of such sites in contemporary Europe);

II. *Memorials and Anniversaries* (examples of memorials and anniversary events, analysing their origin and changing meanings); and

III. *Subjective Landscapes*.

Other forms of dissemination produced are: two exhibitions; one film (*The Third Motherland*, about the Manorite’s search for recognition); several radio and TV interviews and various forms of press releases, and a youtube channel.

**Policy**

CRIC expects to be able to propose and draft texts based on the case studies but formulated in terms of the comparative insights that can be used for policy statements. They will include the following points:

- Financial scrutiny of donors;
- Local consultation and inclusion;
- Means of counter-acting competitive reconstructions;
- Increased awareness of the influence of external agents.

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**CRIC**

- **Funding scheme**: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
- **Activity**: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
- **Research area**: Diversities and commonalities in Europe
- **Topic**: Histories and identities - Articulating national and European identities
SLAVE TRADE, SLAVERY, ABOLITIONS AND THEIR LEGACIES IN EUROPEAN HISTORIES AND IDENTITIES

EURESCL
Coordinator: Myriam COTTIAS, CNRS - Centre de Recherche sur les Pouvoirs Locaux dans la Caraïbe
Duration: 48 months (01/03/2008 - 29/02/2012)
EU Contribution: € 1 490 171
www.eurescl.eu

Consortium: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique-Centre de Recherche sur les Pouvoirs Locaux dans la Caraïbe (project coordinator), University of Copenhagen- Department of History, University of Hull- Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Porto, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, Centre Français d’Etudes Mexicaines et Centraméricaines.

EURESCL locates the slave trade and slavery in the history of the construction of the European identity, interpreted at national or local levels, in historical and contemporary dimension, and by investigating the continuity – or discontinuity – between historical processes in which turning points might have been defined by different dates of the abolition of slavery.

The objectives of EURESCL were to:

- think of slavery, slave trade and their abolitions in a global perspective, which involves a broad definition of Europe and includes at the same time the continent of Europe and its colonial and ex-colonial areas;
- connect the national histories of Europe with each other and with their colonies or their extra-European spheres of influence;
- measure the impact of slave trade and slavery in Europe at political, economic, social, cultural, intellectual and memory levels;
- analyse the multiple genealogies of the “Black” issue, of the “Afro-descendants”, of the “black Diaspora” in Europe in order to explore contemporary meanings of the European identity;
- study the evolution of the social relationships that arise from the management of the representations of, and social practices inherited from slavery.
The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

The research activities of EURESCL were implemented, in a multidisciplinary and comparative approach, within the following thematic areas:

### FRONTIERS, NATIONALISM AND FEELINGS OF BELONGING

The objectives of this workpackage were:

- to examine the extent to which the rhetoric of, and debates about slavery and abolition shape and reshape political and national discourses and frontiers throughout Europe, creating popular understandings (or misunderstandings) of slavery and abolition, as manifested in formal constitutional arrangements in both Europe and its former colonial territories, especially in West Africa;
- to analyse the development of representations and racism between Europe, Africa and Americas, particularly through abolitionist discourses;
- to observe how frontiers, feelings of belonging, citizenship and identity have been constructed historically in continental Europe and its colonies and how law has supported these constructions in both contexts.

### ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADES, TRADE CONNECTION AND FORCED LABOUR

The objectives of this workpackage were:

- to redress the neglect of the Atlantic slave trade in the study of the history of Western Europe;
- to study commercial ties between Europe (notably Portugal, Britain and France) and Africa in comparative and long-term perspective from the 15th to 20th centuries;
- to reveal how African slavery, the Atlantic slave trade and colonial systems of forced labour have contributed to shaping modern Europe, including national identities.

### LAW, REGULATIONS, PRACTICES AND SOCIAL CONNECTIONS

The objectives of this workpackage were:

- to collect and analyse the formal and official juridical framework of the European countries and their colonies in relation to slavery;
- to apprehend the efficiency (or inefficiency) of its local application from the XVth to the XIXth centuries.

### CONSTRUCTING OTHERNESS: CIRCULATION AND IDENTITY IN EUROPE
This workpackage aimed at analysing contemporary social and cultural dimensions of the construction of otherness in relation to the heritage of transatlantic slavery and the collective representations attached to the past and present relations with Africa. Focussing on the social experience of afrodescendant populations in European and North American (ex-) metropolitan societies and in Caribbean and Latin American ex-colonial societies, it emphasizes their consequences on identity construction and interethnic relations. Although slavery was a common experience, the diversity of the social constructions deriving from it and of its contemporary actualization places the reflexion in a double local and global dimension.

**Slavery and slaves in Continental Europe**

Articulated within the long historical duration (11th - 16th centuries) and a territorial expanse extended to the known world system of medieval and modern Europe, this workpackage integrated the history of slavery into the history of European nations through structured historical investigation that involves relating trafficking in people to political jurisdictions and movements across religious frontiers.

**Interaction of research and education**

The objective of this workpackage was to produce a synthesis of major aspects of the slave trade and slavery, with clear and creative teaching strategies and up to date guides and materials.

**EURESC**

Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)

Activity: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union

Research area: Diversities and commonalities in Europe

Topic: Histories and identities - Articulating national and European identities
The overarching objectives of Eunamus are:

- To conduct a comparative study of the formation of national museums in Europe and deliver a rich picture of national museums in all their social, political, and intellectual complicity;
- To reveal the historiographic practices that underlie national museums’ uses of the past and to understand how they mould collective sensibilities, notions of community, citizenship, and boundaries of difference;
- To examine the semiotics of national museum buildings and gathered material heritage and make visible the material culture that unites and defines European sensibilities and values;
- To interrogate the policy making and policy implementation actions of national museums and understand how these institutions have acquired their roles as social agents;
- To locate the European citizen as an active participant in the making of national museums and understand the reception of national museums;
- To facilitate for national museums to act as arenas for dialogue between European
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citizens about what it means to belong to a nation and to Europe.

**Research and emergent findings**

**Eunamus** research runs parallel within five different research strands. The five strands culminate with the concluding strand *National Museums, History and a Changing Europe*. The integrated findings from the project will be presented in a Final Publishable Report launched at the final conference in Budapest 12-15 December 2012. Until then, findings are continuously published in Open Access Reports and discussed at conferences and public events. Findings emerging, two third into the project, relates to issues of how national museums interact with nation-building; how they represent great historical narratives and how they manage conflicts and international relations. Ongoing investigations on national museums’ material heritage, museums on the web, museum policies and audience identities and experiences will further enhance the knowledge of the role of museums for national and European identities.

**National museums and state-making**

Eunmaus provides for the first time a comparative set of data on the creation of national museums in 37 European countries. Comparisons, together with the project’s theoretical framework, prove the long standing relevance of national museums as a central part of a nation state’s cultural constitution, providing the political constitution of the state with a connective tissue of a shared history and a shared material culture. The cultural constitution provides the political constitution with a more stable and plastic counterpart for negotiating conflicts in the cultural sphere.

Forming part of a cultural constitution, National museums shape national identities and provide citizens with a sense of us and them. Frames for identification are created by the great historical narratives they represent, their objects and museum buildings. Today many nation states display an ensemble of national museums including one or more art museums; archaeology and history museums, ethnology and anthropology museums, cultural history museums, natural sciences museums, military museums, open air museums and several other types. These key institutions have developed gradually during the last 250 years in relation to cultural, social and geopolitical changes. The diversification of museum types is partly caused by the splitting of existing collections and partly through a desire to express national identity via the utilisation of new categories of material heritage.

Long-term wise, there is a strikingly high level of engagement in the initiation of national museums, the societal support upholding them and the longevity across political change, both within and outside the political constitution.
This high level of engagement may both be seen as a consequence, and a measure, of the capacity of national representation, as negotiated and manifested in national museums, to interact with, and even shape, political communities. It is clear that national museums have played a variety of roles in state-making and nation-building.

**INTERPLAY BETWEEN STABILITY AND CHANGE**

One of the most significant observations developing from the comparative analysis is the ways in which national museums display both stability and change. On the one hand, museums retain heavy inertia. Any national museum is a major infrastructural unit comprised of an extensive collection and an often massive and impressive set of buildings. It contains a vast accumulation of professional knowledge. On the other, the creation of national museums is very much an ongoing process. In periods of rapid political and societal change, new museums may be added to the state’s ensemble of national museums and collections may be re-interpreted. In their studies of how the past is being used in national museums, Eunamus researchers have sought to go beyond the idea that national museums foster political and cultural traditionalism. The broad scope of these studies shows that whilst national museums certainly continue to be a stabilizing institution, its great historical narratives and interpretations of collections is constantly adapting to contemporary society.

Significant revisions in existing national museums followed the dynamics of modernization and political turmoil after the dissolution of the old Empires in East, Central Europe and South-east Europe in the 19th century and early 20th century. Here museums participated in the making of nations such as Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Bosnia, and Slovenia. The creation of the Soviet Republic and the Yugoslavian Republics caused substantial re-interpretations of ethnographic collections in particular. After the devolution of these Republics, the regional variation of these parts of Europe again fuels national identities. In these processes, national museums may lose their significance, boost nationalism, or take on new roles negotiating the complex heritage of the 20th century or project European multi-cultural identities.

**IDENTITIES AND MATERIAL CULTURE**

Material culture and museum institutions in general are very important for identities and Eunamus are developing conclusions that present how this takes place. Here, Eunamus research considers the manner in which Europeans negotiate and represent their national and European selves in national and regional museums, as well as in online museum-like engagements.

The theoretical basis for these studies is the notion that a sense of Europeanness is manifested implicitly in material performances, including those in national museums; that as Europeans we have acquired an implicitly-understood language of things.
These investigations have three points of focus: objects and buildings as implicit representations of identity at a national and European level; the production and characterisation of national identities in regional and local museums; and a consideration of new online engagements which in their style of selection, collection, memory making, socialised negotiation and representation possess the characteristics of, and supplant the performances of, museums.

To consider representations of identity at a national and European level, Eunamus have investigated the ways in which national museums are experienced by citizens and tourists. The huge influx of tourists visiting most national museums, in many cases in higher numbers than national citizens, means that the nation is performing itself as much for the extra-national citizen as for its own citizens. In the context of the European construction, national museums have contributed more and more explicitly to the expression of European history and directly seek to address its international public and more specifically the European citizen.

Eunamus researchers have conducted a fieldwork in eleven European cities to form conclusions on the national museums in the cityscape; the architectural identities of these museums; and the material performances to be found in national museum exhibition galleries.

To further enhance knowledge on the ways in which national museums are experienced by citizens and tourists, Eunamus has studied museum visitors. A series of case studies consider the ways in which people are active knowledge-producers of nation and citizenship and not only consumers of the museum’s messages. The aim here is to map public understanding of the nation and Europe in the present; how museum visitors use the past to construct national and European identities. This research thus provides important information on how national museums can contribute to social cohesion and cooperation, and asks how they fit into the modern cultural landscape as institutions shaping society. The data has been collected through questionnaires and interviews, as well as focus groups and they are currently in the process of analysis.

**RESPONDING TO DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE BY NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES**

Emerging findings from Eunamus research on national museums in the world of contemporary policy making suggest that there are a diversity of ways of producing museum policies in Europe. In some countries, for example Greece, the museums themselves make policies, in other countries, for example Sweden, the initiatives may be more in the hands of governmental office holders. How to respond to demographic change and digitalisation is at the heart of policy development. Today, national museums have been chosen as sites where the ethnic, cultural and artistic identities of the nation are being actively negotiated. In Western Europe, national museums have responded to demographic changes by three main lines of development.
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The multi-cultural challenge have been met with the introduction of a “diversity” of histories and “dialogue of cultures” giving collections new social function in an increasingly transnational world. The reactivation of a mythological view of the past and of the nation as a particular ethnic or cultural composition displays an almost opposite line of development. A middle ground is occupied by historical museums taking a reflexive stance towards to great historical national narratives.

National museums also testify to the ways in which national identities inherently are constructed at a transnational level. National museums have always claimed to represent the world outside of national borders. In very different ways, the British Museum and the Louvre stand as essential models of museums with universalist ambitions. In many cases, there has been a direct corollary of imperial and colonial enterprises and ambitions. Today, this heritage is difficult, causing these institutions and others to deal with demanding international relations. Transnational professional networks and organisations play important roles in this development.

EUNAMUS

Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
Activity: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
Research area: Interrelation between collective representations and uses of history and cultural evolution in an enlarged Europe
Topic: Creativity, culture and democracy
IME addresses three major issues regarding European identities: what they are; in what ways they have been formed; and what trajectories they may take from now on. European identities in this project refer to a wide range of definitions of “us, the Europeans” proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current European Union (EU), in particular in nine cases: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

The project first investigates the diversity of European identities as it manifests in the nine cases. It then examines the various ways in which these diverse self-definitions have been formulated and maintained in different societal, cultural and systemic settings and in which they have been interacting with various processes and forces. It then aims to identify commonalities among diverse European identities in the nine cases as the basis of grounded projection of possible trajectories European identities may take as the processes of European integration continue.

IME sets out to pursue three main hypotheses:

1) IME addresses three major issues regarding European identities: what they are; in what ways they have been formed; and what trajectories they may take from now on. European identities in this project refer to a wide range of definitions of “us, the Europeans” proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current European Union (EU), in particular in nine cases: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

2) The diversity of European identities can be explained by one of or a combination of following dimensions: the type of state; dominant religious heritage; material development; and geo-political historical legacies;

3) Commonalities in European identities will be found along axial groupings such as the civilisational constellations.

“Who are we?” is indeed a perennial question; it is at the same time a very modern one in that modernity is characterised with the unprecedented degree of self-reflexivity exercised by various actors. The question of identity, therefore, never loses its urgency and relevance in modern society. The question of European identities is particularly urgent in today’s society as the level of contestation regarding the identity of Europe has risen to a new height for a number of reasons, many of which are clearly related to EU integration processes. To begin with, there is a now familiar problem of “democratic deficit” in the EU. Fifty years have passed since the founding of the current EU but the levels of identification with and active participation in it among
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1) European identities are not a top-down affair. They are products of interaction among competing programmes of identity construction and maintenance proposed by various actors; citizens remain low. There is also a real crisis of governance in the EU with the dramatic and successful expansion of its membership, which, some fear, could lead to further alienation of the citizens.

The saga of the constitutional treaty, one of the proposed remedies for the crisis, has clearly highlighted the depth of the problem; the very raison d’être of the EU is now contested. Needless to say the EU is not the same as Europe, but there is no denying that the perception of the EU in deep crises has made the issue of European identities more salient. Furthermore, the idea of Europe has recently been politicised yet again because of the spread of the “clash of civilisations” theory. Asking „What is Europe?” and „Who are the Europeans?” is no longer an academic pursuit but an endeavour which has direct repercussions both on the domestic and international levels.

Asking these questions in today’s Europe is now a political act, another reason why the question of identity is urgent and relevant. In a wider context, the relentless advance of globalisation is also adding to the pressure to ask the question, „who are we?”. Arising from this context, IME aims to provide a synthetic and more comprehensive understanding of European identities as lived and expressed by the people of Europe in order to equip ourselves to address these pressing concerns.

**Objectives**

1) To map the diversity of European identities across the cases studied in relation to the above four dimensions of state, religion, strength of civil society and geo-historical and geo-political background;

2) To analyse in each case how European identities have evolved within the specific historical context in relation to other forms of identification, especially national identity;

3) To investigate the role of the EU integration processes in modifying the contemporary identities, especially in its relationship to national and religio-ethnic identities;

4) To examine the extent to which religio-ethnic minorities influence identity construction programmes of the majority, and their unique contribution to the articulation of European identities;

5) To seek commonalities in European identities across the cases by way of systematic comparison;

6) To test the validity of theory of multiple modernities as a sound basis for projecting the trajectory of the future of European identities.

**Research activities**
IME research activities follow a number of steps designed to address research objectives successfully and to test the three major hypotheses effectively. Four consortium members worked together to produce a common theoretical framework focusing on the linkage between the study of identities and the theory of multiple modernities. This has prepared the background against which each team’s empirical work was to be pursued. In parallel to the development of a theoretical framework, each team engaged in an extensive literature review to synthesise existing literature and findings.

Among others the second objective of the project, namely analysis of historical evolution of European identities, was addressed in particular at this stage as well as groundwork necessary for the first (mapping the diversity of European identities), third (analysing impact of EU integration processes on identities) and fourth (analysing the interaction between religio-ethnic minorities and majority populations in identity construction) objectives were carried out. IME then entered the fieldwork stage. First the consortium focused on the state and the EU as an actor in identity construction through an extensive examination of policy documents as well as academic literature. A collective volume mainly based on the extensive country-by-country literature review, *Europe, Nations and Modernity* (edited by Atsuko Ichijo, published by Palgrave Macmillan) was published in 2011.

Interviews with EU and government officials were also carried out where data was not readily available. At the conclusion of this stage, the consortium found that the EU as an actor in identity construction tended to keep a low profile in each of the countries investigated and that there were competing identity projects emanating from the state actor in each country. Having investigated the „official” level, the consortium moved on to investigate the civil society actors and ordinary people. Mainly through interviews, the consortium collected data on discursive structure regarding identity construction and maintenance and analysing it in reference to the theory of multiple modernities. During the fieldwork stage, the consortium gathered data necessary to achieve the first, third, fourth and fifth (identifying commonalities among European identities) objectives.

With all fieldwork concluded, the consortium engaged with country-by-country analysis to give a comprehensive view of the various levels of discourse on identities in a given country. The consortium members produced briefings of findings based on the country-based analysis, and the co-ordinator has drafted a briefing for European level users.

The consortium was then engaged with the most exciting phase of analysis, namely thematic comparison. Comparative analyses on issues ranging from the response to the Bologna Process, the place of religion in education to opposing Europe and catching up with Europe were carried out with a variety of permeation of cases. All these reports are available from the project’s web page. The final analytical report on the crisis of representation of Europe is being concluded, and it is envisaged that the comparative analyses would be published as an edited volume by late 2012.
European identities exist. But they are dynamic and fluid, and fundamentally diverse. They are not something one can catch and keep in a display case. They have been formed by interactions amongst countless factors and are being reshaped and re-articulated in response to what is happening in the world. Still our research has detected some commonalities. In certain circumstances, common understanding of what Europe is and what it means to be a European emerges and becomes either a reference point or a point of contestation. While commonality in European identities is there, homogeneity is not. Common European identities are formed, reshaped and perhaps sometimes put in storage by people of Europe in response to what is happening. In these turbulent times, therefore, room for common European identities is increasing.

Major points to raise:
- Citizens in Europe are capable of constructing their own understanding of what ‘Europe’ is. It is sometimes aligned with the state or the EU’s stance, sometimes articulated as a critique of ‘official’ positions;
- While ‘Europe’ is often seen as ‘modernity’, there are various signs that suggest that citizens and civil society actors are exploring a different model of being European;
- When discussing ‘Europe’, anxiety over the rise of neo-liberalism described as ‘globalisation’ or ‘Americanisation’ often surfaces suggesting another possible trajectory of building European-wide solidarity.

IME
Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
Activity: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
Research area: Diversities and commonalities in Europe
Topic: History and Identities - Articulating National and European Identities
In parallel with globalisation, European Union policies have considerably broadened the scope of ordinary citizens’ social practices beyond the borders of nation states. Europeans today can travel, work, study and retire abroad freely (i.e., without visas and other state permits), using low cost airlines made possible by EU deregulation; they can vote for the European Parliament and local governments in any member state, regardless of their nationality; they can collect pensions as foreign residents at a local post office; they can buy property securely within a mutually recognised legal system; they can shop online in another EU member state without having to pass through custom offices.

All this opens possibilities of interaction with other Europeans, even while sometimes staying in one’s own country, due to the scope and strength of communication technologies. Many of these aspects of everyday life might simply be put down to globalisation. But new relationships and experiences often have a distinct regional – i.e., European – scale and intensity.

The EUCROSS project seeks to map the cross-border individual behaviours of EU residents (nationals, mobile EU citizens, and third-country nationals), by distinguishing a detailed palette of physical and virtual mobility practices. The relationship between such practices and collective identities shall then be examined, aiming to pinpoint which cross-border activities are indicators of an emergent European we-ness, and thus which deserve to be better recognised as an everyday taken-for-granted benefit of EU citizenship.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Which cross-border practices are more likely to foster some form of identification with the EU – e.g., contacts with foreign friends and/or unwanted foreigners, periods of labour mobility abroad, buying property abroad, business and tourist travel, or consumer relations with international companies?

- Under which contextual and individual conditions do these experiences promote a higher sensitivity to ‘Europe’ – rather than the ‘local’ or the ‘global’ – as an identity catalyst?

- Which social groups are more prone to adopt a European mindset in the wake of the Europeanisation of everyday life?

In addressing these questions, EUCROSS uses the concepts of ‘Europeanisation’, ‘European identity’, ‘cross-border practices’ and ‘cosmopolitanism’; drawing on and elaborating from their meanings in the contemporary social science literature – and especially in sociology, anthropology, political science and social psychology. In a state of the art review of literature on the Europeanisation of everyday life, EUCROSS found that seldom are these concepts treated altogether, specifying the link between spatially and culturally-situated behaviours on the one hand and collective identifications and value orientations on the other. Moreover, few studies examine socio-cultural Europeanisation and supernational identifications comparatively, and none includes simultaneously native and immigrant populations, who in fact may attest of different modalities in which the practice-identity link can take place.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

The EUCROSS project will first and foremost furnish a large-scale, unique and independent quantitative survey, fleshed out by qualitative follow-up interviews. It will seek to advance existing studies on sociological Europeanisation by going beyond conventional data, such as the surveys provided by Eurobarometer, and by taking its findings deep into a detailed breakdown of the changing everyday life and social practices of Europeans. Moreover, it will extend a realm of research on the internationalisation of European societies that has mostly been limited to social theoretical debate rather than empirically established findings. This study will also plug directly into current efforts in European social survey work and represent an exemplary piece of carefully designed, comparative, mixed-methods in sociology.

To disentangle empirically the factors and mechanisms that link together the cross-border practices facilitated by European integration, globalisation and/or other dimensions of collective identity, EUCROSS adopts a two-stage, mixed quantitative/qualitative approach.

In the first stage, a quantitative survey is carried out among nationals, intra-EU movers (Romanian citizens) and third-country nationals (Turkish citizens) who reside in six European countries (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Romania, Spain and the United Kingdom). The survey consists of computer assisted telephone interviews of a sample of 8,500 individuals:
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- Nationals: 1,000 cases sampled in all 6 countries;
- EU citizens abroad (Romanians): 250 cases sampled in 5 countries (the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain);
- Third-country nationals (Turks): 250 cases sampled in 5 countries (United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Romania).

In the second stage, via in-depth qualitative interviews, the meaning given by individuals to cross-border practices, their collective identifications, and the role that the European Union, globalisation, and the nation play in these personal narratives, is investigated among a select sub-sample typology of 160 respondents to the quantitative survey:

- 30 interviews each in Denmark, Germany, Italy, and the UK (10 of nationals, 10 of Romanians, 10 of Turks);
- 20 interviews each in Spain (10 of nationals, 10 of Romanians) and Romania (10 of nationals, 10 of Turks), where we only have one sub-sample of immigrants.

Research activities of the EUCROSS project have been then defined in Workpackages 2 to 8 with the goals of:

- giving theoretical and methodological support to the surveys (WP 2);
- designing the data collection tools (WP 3, WP 4, WP 6);
- implementing the fieldwork (WP 5, WP 7);
- reaping findings with the analysis of collected data (WP 8).

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**EUCROSS**

**Funding scheme:** Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)

**Activity:** Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union

**Research area:** Diversities and commonalities in Europe

**Topic:** European Identities: Inner and outer perceptions of Europe and the EU
The ENRI-East study was aimed at a deeper understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent. The project addressed both macro and micro influences in a broader historical perspective with a strong focus on applying bottom-up processes of identity formation by drawing on actual practices. This enabled the detailed exploration of the ways in which European, national, and regional identities are constituted and negotiated through individual and group narratives and practices within an increasingly complex set of institutional arrangements.

The ENRI-East project aimed at the detailed study of the impacts of these two “moving” factors on the everyday lives of peoples and their feelings of “belongingness” or social affiliation.

The study was guided by the fundamental rationale of the EU, namely to enlarge the zone of European peace and prosperity in a continuous process, without generating new artificial boundaries. Analysis and interpretation has been conducted with the aim of improving the status quo, identifying and solving problems through the elaboration of viable and realistic recommendations.

Such a comparative study has never been conducted before and has required the development of new types of empirical instruments – ethno-linguistic, ethno-cultural that, in combination with mainstream quantitative and qualitative instruments, make this study unique. It addresses the complicated issues of post-communist Europe concerning historic memories and cultural heritage.

Its results will enable EU and European NGOs to understand and address such emotional
or social infrastructures of both receiving and issuing countries. Altogether, 8-10 million people that belong now to ethnic minorities through Eastern Europe have been affected by historically politically set boundaries.

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**Objectives**

To understand the mechanisms behind European, national and regional identities, the way they are constituted and negotiated through individual and group narratives and practices within an increasingly complex set of institutional arrangements.

To explore the interrelation between individual identities (increasingly complex), group identities (where there is a growing significance of cosmopolitan and European identities parallel to national and regional identities), and institutional frameworks (still dominated by the state, but with the increasing significance of non state actors).

To make inroads in conceptualising different identity regimes and re-examine the ways in which identity and sovereignty are coupled.

To understand the diverse set of nested and interlocking institutional, historical and cultural frameworks within which different European identities are constantly negotiated and reshaped.

These objectives are integrated within four general research themes. The first one deals with the interplay of identities and cultures by comparing 'mother nations' and their 'residual groups abroad'. The second theme is a cross-cutting approach which addresses nations and states: more exactly, the attitudes and policies of 'mother nations' and 'host nations' toward the 'residual groups' and vice versa. The third research theme comprise the realities of the self organization and representation of "residual groups abroad" (ethnic minorities) along the East European borderland. Finally, the last research theme of the project deals with path dependencies, historical memories, present status and expected dynamics of divided nations in Eastern Europe.
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**Geography**

The project’s empirical research has focused on the nation states on both sides of the new Eastern border of the European Union. Research was carried out in the following states: Poland, Hungary, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia, and Germany. The project explored particular cases of nations and ethnic groups that live on both sides of the main political dividing line that now splits the European continent into at least two geo-political parts. One part is constituted by the European Union to the West of this line, while the Eastern part of the continent is composed of countries that formed the Soviet Union and are now conventionally labelled as NIS (Newly Independent States). In this particular geo-political region, one can identify about two dozen “divided nations” or ethnic groups that have found themselves on both sides of the new geopolitical “fence”.

**Ethnic minority groups studied in the project:**

- The Polish Minority in Belarus
- The Slovak Minority in Hungary
- The Russian Minority in Latvia
- The Belarusian Minority in Lithuania
- The Polish Minority in Lithuania
- The Russian Minority in Lithuania
- The Belarusian Minority in Poland
- The Ukrainian Minority in Poland
- The Lithuanian Minority in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast)
- The Hungarian Minority in Slovakia
- The Hungarian Minority in Ukraine
- The Polish Minority in Ukraine
- Special Case Study Germany (re-emigrated ethnic Germans and Jewish “quota refugees”)

**Project’s portfolio of empirical methods**

The project has applied a set of quantitative and qualitative methods and has generated the respective collections of new unique empirical data sets. The empirical portfolio includes the following data sets:

1) ENRI-VIS – the Values and Identities Survey (6,800 face-to-face interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries. Most of the survey questions are compatible with other transnational surveys, such as the World Values Survey, the European Social Survey, the New Democracies Barometer and others);

2) ENRI-BIO (a series of 144 qualitative, biographical in-depth interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries);
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3) ENRI-EXI (a series of 42 qualitative, expert interviews with governmental and non-governmental representatives of ethnic minority groups in eight countries);

4) ENRI-BLOG (online content analysis of weblogs and Internet periodicals run or maintained by ethnic minority group members);

5) ENRI-MUSIC: special study on cultural identities and music; an innovative, multidisciplinary pilot effort in Hungary and Lithuania.

**FINAL RESULTS/ POTENTIAL IMPACT AND USE**

*Project’s Briefing paper and Regional workshops (in Riga and Trnava/Bratislava)*

The ENRI-East consortium has produced a special Briefing Paper that was presented at the final open conference for stakeholders in Brussels (September 2011). Further summaries and discussion papers have been presented at two regional workshops – in Latvia (May 2011) and Slovakia (June 2011). All these reviews are available at the project’s website.

*Series of project research papers*
ENRI-East is producing a series of research reports that includes the following:

a) Summarizing and generalizing reports:
   • Theoretical and methodological backgrounds for the studies of European, national and regional identities of ethnic minorities in European borderlands;
   • Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities among the ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe;
   • ENRI-East Thematic Comparative papers and synopses of authored articles of ENRI-East experts (9 tender papers and a further bibliography of project-related publications).

b) Contextual and empirical reports of each of the 13 studied ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe

c) Series of empirical survey reports:
   • Methodology and implementation of ENRI-VIS (Values and Identity Survey);
   • ENRI-VIS: Code and Reference Book;
   • Qualitative sub-studies of the ENRI-East project (ENRI-BIO, ENRI-EXI, ENRI-MUSIC, ENRI-BLOG).

All these papers are available fully or partially on the project’s website:

http://www.enri-east.net/project-results/en/

Major conclusions

Overall, ENRI-East confirms the finding that a tolerant political and social environment promotes integration processes which preserve cultural and ethnic identities, while discrimination and political pressure generates defiant nationalism as a response.

Members of studied ethnic minorities:

- demonstrate clearly multi-faceted types of identity (a highly pragmatic mix of a variety of available cultural and social “assets”);
- they are mostly attached to the areas where they have been born and educated;
- are loyal citizens-cum-patriots-cum-Europeans.

Preferred patterns of identities have a dynamic character and depend primarily on social status, settlement patterns and visibility.

- Ethnicity and ethnic languages of minorities are important, but not dominating factors contributing to identity formation;
- The strongest predictors for particular types of identity would be age and social status of minority members, followed by their religious affiliation (in specific cases);
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- Settlement patterns vary significantly over different among different ethnic minorities;
- In a European context, attempts to discriminate minorities lead to higher visibility.

EU (Europe) is popular as an ideal and a model to emulate with regard to a peaceful and respectful approach to resolve possible inter-cultural and social conflicts and the European Union in general as well as individual national and regional governments have the responsibility to moderate in complex ethno-political conflicts involving minorities, titular nations and sending nations.

Inter-ethnic conflicts and tensions could be resolved most efficiently, if their individual components are properly addressed (cultural heritage, languages, social justice) and the socio-economic environment in general is favorable.

**ENRI-East**

Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
Activity: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
Research area: Diversities and commonalities in Europe
Topic: Histories and identities - Articulating national and European identities
The Evolution of European Identity: Using Biographical Methods to Study the Development of European Identity

EUROIDENTITIES
Coordinator: Prof. Robert Miller, Queens University, Belfast (UK)
Duration: 36 months (01/03/2008 - 28/02/2011)
EU Contribution: € 1 422 081
www.euroidentities.org

Consortium: Queens University Belfast-School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work (Coordinator); Otto-Von-Guericke Universität Magdeburg- Institute of Sociology; Uniwersytet Lodzki (University of Lodz) - Institute of Sociology, Faculty of Economy and Sociology; University of Wales Bangor - School of Social Sciences; Tallinn University of Technology - School of Economics and Business Administration; Institute of Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences - Department Sociology of Work and Social Policy; Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II- Dipartimento di Sociologia.

The Euroidentities project used advanced methods of in-depth qualitative biographical interviewing and analysis to gain insights into the evolution and meanings of a European identity or identities from the 'bottom up' perspective of the individual.

The political context underpinning the research was the awareness that the development of a positive identification with the 'European project' by ordinary citizens is crucial for the long-term success of the European Union and the sense that this identification at present is, at best, imperfectly realised.

The knowledge context underpinning the project is that hitherto research into European identity has been driven almost exclusively by a 'top down' elitist perspective that focused upon the development of an identification with 'Europe' through centrally-driven policies.

The project's research strategy targeted five special 'sensitized groups' - aggregates whose life experience will have caused them to confront questions of their own identity within Europe.

Two additional groups emerged during the course of the analysis that provide special insights into the factors that affect the development of an identification with 'Europe':

- 'External to Europe' interviewees either: (a) whose origins were from outside Europe by virtue of being born into families where the parents are of different nationalities who have had to deal with their culturally mixed origins in a way that promotes a 'cosmopolitan' outlook towards Europe and/or (b) European-born persons who had lived for a significant portion of their lives outside the continent.

- An 'intimate relations' group who either were in a close personal
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relationship with a person from another European country and/or were the child of a cross-national couple.

**Targeted Groups**

The five groups, corresponding to work packages, are:

- Mature adults who experienced cross-border educational exchange schemes, such as ERASMUS, earlier in their lives (to assess whether educational mobility can realise greater goals of promoting a permanent life-long change in perspective and lasting integration across European national borders);

- 'Transnational workers' at all levels, from menial economic migrants through entrepreneurs to 'high end' technological workers who are either presently working in a country different from their country of origin, or whose careers have involved a significant amount of time abroad;

- Farmers who have to act within a dense structure of regulations and continental markets, so that they have to incorporate 'European thinking' into their daily practices and have long traditions of dealing with European regulations and markets.

- Individuals involved in ‘cultural contacts’ both at high and popular levels, including active participants or spectators of activities that span European borders, and including workers in areas of outstanding natural beauty or traditional cross-border cultures, and scholars developing European school texts, especially history books;

- Participants in civil society organisations which span countries or have a specific European or cross-border context; for example, ‘reconciliation’ groups of Polish and German people bridging the gap of World War II, conflict-resolution groups in Northern Ireland and environmental groups addressing cross-border or global ecological risks.

**Key Findings**

- Language proficiency was crucial; both competence in English as a lingua franca but also competence in the local language for the geographically mobile as a means of both integrating with the local culture and protecting oneself from exploitation;

- There was considerable overlap of membership in the sensitized groups (e.g., an educationally-mobile person who married a person they met while on the exchange and ended up working in their country);

- While educational exchange programmes generally were effective at placing students, the support they received upon return often was lacking. The reintegration into the educational programme of the ‘home’ institution was not always effective, sometimes with adverse effects on degree progress;
The international experience of Erasmus students was markedly different than that of other types of students who studied abroad (foreign language students and students doing their whole degree in another country). There is a developing tendency for Erasmus students to find themselves in an Anglophone ‘Erasmus bubble’ where they interact with students from other parts of Europe but not with the host country;

For those in the transnational worker category, ‘affective’ motives (e.g., cosmopolitan contact with other cultures, escaping personal difficulties at home etc.) were of equal significance to instrumental motives such as higher income or career advancement;

East European farmers were very ambivalent about the E.U. - longing for subsidies but confused by bureaucracy;

One of consistently strongest causes of developing a true ‘European’ sense of self was being from and/or involved in a cross-national ‘intimate relationship’;

The dominant motives for involvement in trans-European civil society organisations were altruistic, though this was tempered by a realistic assessment of practical possibilities;

People originating from outside Europe were often the most appreciative of European ideals of human rights and the rule of law.

While very few would consider themselves ‘European’ in preference to a national, regional, local or other, non-geographic, identity, a key overarching finding is that of the existence of a ‘European mental space’ in that many, perhaps the majority, of persons living in present-day Europe have psychological fields of reference or orientation that transcend regional and national boundaries while still being limited within the geographical and institutional boundaries of the continent. The widening of geographical and symbolic room to manoeuvre through the use of the European opportunity structure through the lessening of practical and structural barriers of mobility, coupled with the widened perspective of a ‘European mental space’ makes biographical trajectories less and less confined to national borders and cultural boundaries.

However, the emergence of both new identities and collectivities, inclined to transnationalism and fluidity, should not lead us to think that we are in the presence of a linear process. In fact, more than one element suggests abandoning any kind of evolutionary or deterministic vision. Firstly, as clearly emerges from our data, identification is neither an easy nor a conscious process; it is rather a kind of biographical work which implies an internal discourse where individuals must call into question their knowledge and must be ready to review their cognitive certainties; it is a process which can entail considerable costs, and at any point reverse itself, change direction or be blocked as a result of both negative experiences and the lack of resources. Secondly, persisting inequalities, both at micro and macro level, can play a contrasting role, generating differences and divisions which can weaken emerging transnational/multinational/supranational belonging. We could even say that top-down processes could counter the bottom-up Europeanization process visible in people’s daily lives.

**EUROIDENTITIES**

Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
Activity: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
Research area: Diversities and commonalities in Europe
Topic: Histories and identities - Articulating national and European identities
SPACE, PLACE AND THE HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY ARTICULATIONS
OF REGIONAL, NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES THROUGH WORK
AND COMMUNITY IN AREAS UNDERGOING ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING
AND REGENERATION

SPHERE
Coordinator: Prof. Tarik SENGUL, Middle East Technical
University (Turkey)
Duration: 36 months (01/04/2008 - 31/03/2011)
EU Contribution: € 889 239
www.sphereeurope.eu

Consortium: Middle East Technical University Ankara -Centre for Public Policy and Urban (Coordinator),
London Metropolitan University -Working Lives Research Institute, Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und
Berufsforschung der Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Uniwersytet Slaski , Universidad Complutense de Madrid-

SPHERE investigated the formation and evolution of European cultures and identities rooted historically in specific occupational contexts with a distinct regional base. It aims to assess the consequences of transformatory economic restructuring for the workplace, family and locality, and to show how such changes impact upon individual and collective identities, traditions and customs. The project examined:

• how ‘new’ identities might emerge, and older ones survive;
• how processes of economic change and regeneration impact on the significance of place as central to people’s sense of history and feelings of belonging;
• how the arts, literature and media have functioned to establish understandings of place;
• how communal and collective organisations affect the preservation or renewal of historical identities;
• how associative collective action and political participation within these regions and localities have survived.

The project chose six regions that are undergoing restructuring due to the decline of their tradition industry:

• three coal-mining areas: in Turkey the Black Sea coal mining province of Zonguldok, in Britain the former South Yorkshire coalfield and in Poland the mining region of Upper Silesia;
• and three manufacturing areas: in Germany the Northern Bavarian metalworking region, in France, the metalworking and paper manufacturing area of Corbeil-Evry in the Essonnes to the South East of Paris, and in Spain the Levante region of textile, tailoring and shoe manufacturing.

SPHERE explored themes of identity and belonging: how do such alignments and affiliations survive (or not) the socio-economic changes that accompany restructuring and the broader political and demographic remodelling of Europe’s cultural landscapes? Its multidisciplinary analysis deepens insight into the ways life experiences are interwoven with a range of cultural practices to construct new identities; it addresses the sources and

The trajectories of historical development,
The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

To deepen understanding of concepts and definitions with regard to cultural identities in the context of rapid and widespread socio-economic change.

To identify the types of work and economic life that have replaced former industries and to examine the impact of these transformations and transitions on traditions, alignments and cultural formations.

To explore how the political and social identities forged under a past industrial order may survive the collapse or radical transformation of that order.

To examine the role of a range of cultural practices in representing ideas of place.

To analyse the effects specific regeneration processes have in changing cultural landscapes through reshaping ideas of place, identity and belonging.

To provide the means of constructive and critical dialogue about the nature and extent of cultural change across Europe as a whole.

SPHERE starts from six distinctive regional identities historically rooted in specific occupational contexts around strong communities in Europe’s largest economies: France; Germany; Poland; Spain; the United Kingdom; and Turkey. All have undergone profound socio-economic transformations with associated challenges to cultural identities and practices. The project focuses on changes to historic regional and cultural identities where regional regeneration projects have attempted to introduce new industries or services or jobs and to create new cultural and economic landscapes and assesses the impact this has had on cultural identities linked to work, class and gender, as well as the effects of EU or other regeneration processes on understandings of place and on people’s sense of belonging. To assess the impact of Europe on the complex evolutions of community, regional and national identities, some of the regions chosen accessed or use EU regeneration funding, while others relied largely either on regional or national state subsidies or on market processes.

By drawing on both the humanities and social science, it goes further and asks questions about the complex interconnections of history, place, culture and identity within households, the community and its collective organisations. The deindustrialisation and economic restructuring of former industrial areas represent processes of transition that impact decisively on established cultures nurtured over time, and it is as a result of such deep shifts and transformations that notions of identity and culture loom ever larger. Europe’s social and
cultural landscapes are marked by these transformations. Their impact on the identities and cultures that derive from the range of experiences, customs and traditions that earlier ways of living and working brought into being, however, is largely under-researched. It remains vital for understanding the future cohesion and identity of the regions themselves, as well as for making sense of the historical formation and cultural diversity of the European Union.
CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION IN A WORLD OF MOVEMENT

CIM

Coordinator: Maruška Svašek, School of History and Anthropology, Queens University Belfast (UK)
Duration: 27 months (01/06/2010 - 30/09/2012)
Total grant (including EU Contribution): € 807 455
http://heranet.info/cim/index

Consortium: Queens University, Belfast (Coordinator); VU University Amsterdam; University of Oslo, Norway Museum of Cultural History; Manchester School of Art, Manchester Metropolitan University.

CIM analyses how globalising forces may stimulate or hamper forms of cultural production through an examination of creative practices across Europe, South Asia, West Africa, Australia, South America and the Caribbean. Involving anthropologists and art historians, the project explores notions of creativity and modes of dynamic improvisation among professional gallery artists, roadside artists, and producers of popular religious images, as well as curators, project leaders, and others in cultural centres, museums and religious sites.

It provides new understandings of the practices/conditions of visual production in an era of increasing global interconnectedness. Central assumption is that creativity should not be measured by assessing the relative novelty of end products, a rather particular Modernist construct of creativity, but rather by exploring: practices of dynamic improvisation as part of ongoing processes of cultural production, appropriation, consumption and (re)contextualisation.

These processes take place within broader social fields in which distinct notions of creativity may co-exist, merge or clash with alternative discourses of cultural value. The research focuses upon dynamic improvisation by:
• contemporary artists, roadside artists and

CIM uses an overarching theoretical framework to analyse the dynamics of creativity and innovation, based on four central notions: ‘transit’, ‘transition’, ‘transformation’ and ‘improvisation’. This framework was developed by Project Leader Maruška Svašek in Anthropology, Art and Cultural Production (Pluto 2007) and in her contribution to Cultural Expression, Creativity and Innovation (Sage 2010).

Transit refers to the translocal and transnational movement of people, objects and images across space and time.

Transition deals with transit-related changes in terms of the changing meaning, value, and emotional efficacy of objects and images.

Transformation concerns the dynamic ways in which cultural producers relate to changing social and material environments they find themselves in.

Improvisation explores how these actors, engaged in creative activities, react to new challenges and demands by taking on contextually specific roles and identities and by gaining various degrees of ownership over creative processes and their outcomes.
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producers of popular religious images who recycle, appropriate and merge globally circulating styles and images;
• curators and project leaders in cultural centres, museums and religious organisations who, interacting with the object/image producers, recontextualise their products, aiming to stimulate innovative forms of transnational cooperation and interculturalism.

**OBJECTIVES**

To demonstrate how object/image production and the institutional management and evaluation of cultural production are shaped by implicit and explicit definitions of creativity.

To demonstrate how transnational cultural production can trigger new forms of creative interaction, cultural hybridity, critical dialogue and empathy.

To demonstrate how power struggle can be an important dimension of transnational creative interaction by:
(a) acknowledging the significance of individual or group-specific notions and experiences of ‘creativity’;
(b) critically exploring how different notions of creativity may affect the power dynamics within transnational projects and events;
(c) critically addressing the dynamics of cultural ownership in connection to ideas and practices of creativity related to different/changing value systems, (d) taking a bottom-up approach that is not limited to ‘the West’ and that undermines ethnocentric and elitist approaches to creativity.

**METHODOLOGY**
All researchers have done fieldwork in their fieldwork sites, conducting structured and semi-structured interviews, participating in relevant events, and visually documenting relevant objects/images/ events (photography and in some case film).

**RELEVANCE TO EUROPEAN IDENTITY RESEARCH**
In a world of global interconnectedness, it must be acknowledged that European and extra-European spheres of cultural and creative production are strongly intertwined through complex histories and contemporary practices of transit, transition and transformation. This view acknowledges the significance of historically specific migratory flows, trade connections, religious movements, emerging art markets and other networks, established over centuries between Europe and other parts of the world.
CIM is interested in appropriations of artefacts and aesthetic ideologies across translocal, transnational and transcontinental regions in partially overlapping fields of art and religion. Some of the projects explore aesthetic dimensions of diasporic identity formation on the European continent,
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namely in Oslo and, Paris (Sri Lankan refugees), and Belfast (Indian migrants).

**CIM**
Funding scheme: Through the ERANET Plus project "HERA JRP (Humanities in the European Research Area – Joint Research Programme)"
Topic: Humanities as a Source of Creativity and Innovation
EURO-FESTIVAL contributes to the comparative cultural sociology of contemporary European society. The aim of the research was to examine the role of festivals as sites of transnational identifications and democratic debate.

EURO-FESTIVAL found that the inherent openness, interest in diversity and spirit of tolerance that drives art, literature and music festivals makes them ideal vehicles to carry a political message or to incite cultural discussion, beyond the level of the nation-state. The project recommends an increased ‘pre-sence’ of the EU at contemporary arts festivals across Europe, through active participation, direct funding and sponsorship, but that this presence should not extend to the creative impetus that gives rise to festivals and that their creation and development should be allowed to come from ‘the ground up’.

Festivals are about transmitting ideas, more specifically the ideas of openness, curiosity, cultural diversity, internationalism and, last but not least, critical inquiry. Hence, the attendance of an arts festival also signifies, even if not always embodying, a wish or determination to learn about the other and to critically reflect about contemporary developments in politics and the arts. The proliferation of arts festivals in Europe today has to be understood as a growing demand for

Alongside identifying the potential benefit of arts festivals to a multi-cultural society, EURO-FESTIVAL looked at the challenges facing existing festivals and factors that might discourage the emergence of new festivals. These are predominantly linked to financial sustainability, with many festivals relying on a mixture of public subsidies, private sponsorship and income from ticket sales.

The proliferation of festivals in Europe represents a growing interest in sharing cultural ideologies across society, and policy makers should view them as providing an opportunity to endorse such a progressive, collaborative outlook. Contemporary European arts festivals are European in being located in Europe; and by addressing issues relating to diversity, human rights, openness and democracy that are at the core of European values. But Europe (as in the European Union), like the nation-state, is often a suspect category as representing specific vested interests. The internationalism of festivals is a far more important category, both ideationally and as an organisational format, than “Europe” and this is unlikely to change in the near future.

The absence of the European Union as sponsor, other than occasionally and on a low level, however also means that the EU cannot even benefit from arts festivals in terms of ‘branding’ in the way that regions or cities are doing by
content that matters, and also for providing support to festivals. The presentation of this content in specific settings, namely, in venues that facilitate physical (and not solely virtual) interaction and community-building among strangers.

**OBJECTIVES**

- Explore how festivals use aesthetic forms to symbolize, represent and communicate social and political life (European, national, sub-national) from the perspective of different actors, including programme directors, funding promoters, performing artists and the audience;

- Study the way in which festivals frame the discourse of identity in relation to arts with particular attention to the local/European and local/global interfaces as well as the conundrum of difference (diversity) and similarity;

- Analyze how festivals represent sites of competition for access to resources, status and power and how this competition impacts on debates about representation, openness and the public sphere.

**METHODOLOGY**

EURO-FESTIVAL looked at 13 arts festivals across a range of genres, which represent some of the more prominent of contemporary European arts festivals: the Venice, Cannes, Berlin and Jewish film festivals; the Hay, Berlin and Borderlands literature festivals; the WOMAD, Umbria Jazz and Barcelona Sonar music festivals; and the Vienna Biennale, Brighton and Vienna urban mixed-art festivals.

For each case study, the researchers attended the event in one or more years and took detailed notes on a specific list of criteria. These included the overall staging of the event, the size and type of the attendees, how each performance was received by the audience and the nature of the festivals’ revenue. Between ten to twenty individuals were interviewed for each event, including festival directors, sponsors, artists, journalists and stakeholders.

The project also collected information from voluntary questionnaires completed by members of the audience, designed to look at public attitudes towards art and festivals. As part of the process, the researchers also examined festival brochures, official and unofficial documentation and any media reports written before, during and after each event. Using the data, the researchers produced an analysis of the history of arts festivals in Europe, their evolution, their role in contemporary society and a discussion of methods used for gauging the impact of a festival on society.

The project highlights the link between the historical incentive for festivals, which were typically held to help “overcome regional divisions”, and the trend in contemporary arts festivals towards encouraging internationalisation and cosmopolitanism.
EURO-FESTIVAL
Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
Activity: Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
Research area: Diversities and commonalities in Europe
Topic: Creativity, culture and democracy
The FREE project aims at understanding the impact of Europe’s most widely-shared social practice and expression of popular culture – football – on identity dynamics in an enlarged Europe.

FREE seeks to explore an apparently non-political, but fully existing sub-cultural European public space of communication: the European football scene in the largest sense. Rather than consider football a mere producer of cultural singularity and thus a driver of diversity, it takes into account its ambiguous nature as both outlet for particular identities re-enacting traditional antagonisms and a shared passion that impacts attitudes towards these very identities and may produce unexpected commonalities.

The FREE project is based on the assumption that citizens are not abstract social agents whose political attitudes and actions are determined according to principles of rational choice. Quite the contrary: their motivations and decisions seem to be even more driven by their feelings and perceptions, by irrational reactions and behaviour patterns, by deeply rooted sentiments of belonging and identity.

Football inevitably contributes to shaping such cross-European perception patterns and to creating positive or negative affective bonds between “ordinary people”. Even more so as the game is itself a producer of strong collective emotions.

FREE is designed as an integrated interdisciplinary project. Its consortium includes anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists and historians, with the aim to bring together research that is often scattered and fragmented.

Its research strategy is based on methods that are not only complementary, but effectively interconnected, with all different disciplines concerned providing input into the design of the empirical data collection, which include large quantitative surveys (telephone and online) in nine different European countries, as well as different methods of anthropological field work.

FREE is divided into six complementary thematic areas.
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**Thematic Areas**

The project starts with two historical approaches:

- The first one focuses on the history and impact of European football competitions. It will retrace their significant contribution to a Europeanisation process in the area of football, which has both a top-down and a bottom-up dimension and which started already in the early decades of the 20th century. The FREE project thus hopes to underpin its anthropological analysis of contemporary football by a sound knowledge of the game’s historical origins and of the specific role competitions have played over time in creating a particular temporality and patterns of cultural transfer among Europeans.

- The second historical approach deals with football as producer of collective memory through transnational media events. The project aims at assessing if and how football contributed and is still contributing to the emergence of a continental ‘imagined community’. It does so by adopting a cultural-historical approach to the exploration of a ‘European collective memory’ produced through the transformation, by means of media communication, of performative acts into long-term collective patterns of meaning, and by extending the concept of ‘lieux de mémoire’ to this specific form of popular culture.

The findings from these historical studies will feed the sociological and anthropological work of two other thematic areas:

- Everyday lives and football identities will be at the centre of the anthropological field work that will be carried out in different European countries. Research will not only focus on an understanding of the football phenomenon as being related to class relations and subculture, but at the same time as a symbolic domain that offers strategies of action for the construction of social identities at various levels. Regular primary supportership and phenomena of secondary fandom, but also mainstream practices of identity display at the occasion of international tournaments will be studied. A special emphasis is laid on Eastern Europe as a “blind spot” on the mental map of West-European football fans and “Eastern” strategies of negotiating perceptions and identities.

- FREE also wishes to provide new knowledge about performance practices and identification processes which could be called the growing ‘feminisation of European football’. It will provide answers to the question if and how female fans adapt to and/or resist men’s domination, how they use fandom for their own gender projects and if and how they position themselves in the European discursive field. This investigation of women’s football as physical activity and performance as well as a spectacle for consumption offers various opportunities for producing new knowledge about the evolution of gender constructions in Europe, and for identifying similarities and differences in the various countries.
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**Expected results/potential impact/policy issues**

Both the quantitative and qualitative research carried out within the above-mentioned thematic areas are expected to feed into two policy-relevant fields of research from the political sciences:

- The FREE project aims to redefine and widen the concept of a European Public Sphere, which is very often limited to purely political and economic issues. Based on the assumption that in the field of popular culture, especially football, such a European public sphere of communication, deliberation and exchange – within and beyond the political borders of the current EU – does exist, the project wishes to obtain deeper insight into the degree of “Europeanness” of this public space. On a conceptual level, this will allow the application of major concepts and notions of postmodern thought to a social practice that has been disregarded by all major theorists of postmodernity, but which may be capable of providing new insight into concrete expressions of the postmodern condition, including the process of ‘reflexivity’, which is of high relevance to the reception and perception of the ongoing process of European integration.

- Finally, FREE will take the research of football supporters’ networks to a distinctly European, rather than national, level. It will study implications of the concept of “stakeholder empowerment” in relation to the oft-quoted “European Model of Sport” and thus produce policy-relevant new findings on changing perceptions of the transformed governance structures of European football as a legitimacy-enhancing project. Applying traditional and innovative methods of anthropological research on the “institutionalised minority” of organised football supporters, it will complement in a pertinent way the findings from quantitative research on large attentive and general publics with new insights into how a clearly defined institutionalised stakeholder group experiences and shapes ‘their’ Europe.

The expected findings of the FREE project may be of interest to European policy-makers, to stakeholders of European football governance, to academics engaged in European anthropology (but also in history, sociology, political sciences, intercultural communication and gender studies), as well as of course to European citizens, who are likely to be reached by the targeted dissemination outlets in general and sports media.

European policy-makers have developed a strong interest in all aspects of sport, a social and cultural area where European legislation and initiative had long been restricted. The growing awareness of sport’s European dimension and interest in its role in the European integration process has led to a series of position papers, reports and documents, such as the Commission’s White Paper on Sport, which lists the reasons for European initiative in the field and details a tentative action plan for European policy-makers. The FREE project should provide policy-makers with data not only on the evolution of perception patterns and attitudes between Europeans, but also on the opinion of an attentive and aware public with regard to the need to safeguard a traditional European model of sport/football through European regulation initiatives.

For the football stakeholders, such as of course international and national federations, associations of professional clubs or representatives of amateur football, but also the media and
economic partners of the game the project, by providing empirical European evidence for what is so far mainly assumptions or generalisations, will produce interesting findings beyond the national level that will impact their decision-making.

Concerning academia, football, with its multiple societal and political implications, is by definition a very complex object of study that mobilises a variety of disciplines of the social sciences. The FREE project can thus be expected to be of interest to a rather large number of researchers in different fields.

At the same time, thanks to the popularity of its object of study, the project has an exceptional potential for attracting the interest of the citizens themselves through the media. The fact football is a seemingly apolitical activity with strong hidden socio-political implications gives the FREE project a formidable opportunity to raise citizens’ self-awareness and knowledge about society: while reflexes of denial and selective perception are extremely difficult to deconstruct in matters of political history, the very fact that football “is only a game” (and one that is widely shared without any linguistic difficulties) reduces considerably the level of automatic distrust and the threshold of inhibition for introspection and open-mindedness.

**FREE**

**Funding scheme:** Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)

**Activity:** Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union

**Research area:** Diversities and commonalities in Europe

**Topic:** Anthropology of European integration
Museums, as stated by ICOM in 2006, are service institutions for society and their development devoted to the conservation and transmission of cultural values. Today, these institutions that work on identity representation or as identity agents find themselves in the middle of a process involving the construction of a pluralistic and complex civic community related with the variety of the ever-changing needs of people, as well as with the multiplicity and multi-ethnicity of contemporary culture.

It is well-known that the topic of migration of peoples and cultures and the consequent “layerization” of societies and identities are not recent issues triggered by the international economy and the process of globalization: they are in fact widely recognized as fundamental elements to the establishment of modern Europe, from its onset five centuries ago until now. The results of these migration processes are unexpected melting-pots and hybridizations that can change the form of the world we know, “re-morphing” not only the geographical borders of states and nations but also all the conceptual boundaries we are involved in.

As Homi Bhabha stated, “the 'locality' of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as 'other' in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the dynamics of today’s multiethnic and multicultural Europe asks for a shift also in the organization, design and use of cultural institutions – such as Museums - from an approach focused on the formation of national identities to a new one based on the today’s complex multiplicity of voices and subjects involved. They should be able to foster a rewriting of the great national narratives, considering a more articulated transnational and transcultural scenario.

Existing scholars produced critical analyses of the ‘backlash against diversity’, documenting the contemporary rise of repressive State measures designed to limit access of new migrants to the National territory and citizenship. At the same time, other scholars have moved away from the idea of the Nation-State, proposing a postcolonial vision: either postnational solutions, which decouple the cultural (nation) from the political (state), or transnational paradigms, which implicitly discard the focus on the nation-state as obsolete and questionable. In this social, political and cultural context, Museums have undergone profound transformation processes.

From announcing national identities and monophonic narratives, they are now discussing the challenge whether or not to be turned into supporters of new pluralistic civic communities, capable of responding to ever-
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problem of outside/inside must always itself be a process of hybridity, incorporating new 'people' in relation to the body politic.“

Each category of Museum (Historical, Ethno-graphical, Archaeological, etc.) has specific needs and character and each requires a specific deepening in order to evaluate whether or not, and on what extent, are, wish or need to be involved in these changes. And which role they can play in collaborating to define new citizenship and/or to include new Identities. The questions of how all these remarks, these changes and these new theories influence the practice of design exhibitions and museums are of a great interest. The ‘exhibitionary complex’ theorized by Tony Bennet has to be interpreted and exploited in the new light that postcolonial and cultural studies have cast on Museum institutions.

Therefore, MeLa Project objectives are, on the one hand, to study and deepen the above-mentioned theoretical reflections and, on the other hand, to evaluate their operational effectiveness. Elaborating a critical space needed to survey, define and test consequences on the practice of curatorship, the design of exhibitions and the typology of the museums. MelA reflects on the role of museums, dealing with several complex and crucial issues such as history, socio-cultural and national identity, but also exhibition design and museography, in order to investigate how museums can respond to the contemporary challenges of globalization, European integration and achieve a relevant advancement in terms of knowledge in the field.

To fulfil its objectives the Project built a Consortium of nine European partners, including different universities, two museums, a research institute and a small enterprise, which have all been chosen for their specific expertise and skills in the fields of the project. They will lead each an individual collaborative Research Theme to produce advancement of knowledge finally converging in what could be defined the permanent Think Tank of the project designed to exploit all the different research themes findings and to develop different kinds of outcomes such as:

- a series of public discussions and workshops, to involve the European community of scholars and the wide public; a Critical Dictionary, plan to be a source reference to Museums scholars and practitioners;
- a travelling exhibition to better disseminate the research findings in a more wide and friendly way targeted to general public;
- a series of documents and events specifically devoted to stakeholders and policy makers.

At the same time, suggestions and recommendations elaborated will be tested by design explorations, proposing both real and digital solutions that will contribute to tune and better shape project results and outputs.

**Project Central Questions**

- How are cultural negotiation processes re-mapping museum and curatorial
The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business

practices as site, institution, category, organisation, set of social processes?

• How do museums deal with the challenge of representation of cultures in the contemporary society?

• How can museums play the role of mediators in cultural exchange?

• How do museums take the commitment of dialogic, participative and multisensory forms of visitor engagement that challenge the authoritarian and mono-centric form of existent didacticism?

• How does multiculturalism result in museum displays, if any?

• What different kinds of cultural objecthood are produced by the reconfiguration of the relations between objects, and between objects and persons, within museums where such concerns predominate?

• How can the visit to an exhibition be transformed also into a journey into the other-than-self, introducing a comparative vision or multi-vocal narration?

**Foreseen key findings**

• to develop and advance knowledge in relation to the state of the art about the topic of museums in the multi-national society, improving the understanding of their new sustainable and innovative roles, missions and potential forms in citizenship processes and policies;

• to investigate, explore and systematize the relevant possibilities, opportunities, limits, critical urgencies and needs of new museums and exhibition roles, in theories and models of good practice in order to empower museums to define and evaluate criteria, approaches, formats and indicators as appropriate for their exhibitionary complex;

• to critically elaborate scenarios & proposals for new forms of museums and exhibitions suitable to respond effectively to the challenges of the present age of cultural complexity and layerization. Also testing how physical forms, spaces and their organization can possibly affect this change of role and scope (new architectural expressions, new interiors, new models of exhibition spaces, etc.).

The research outcomes are intended to be factual tools not only for academic and cultural institutions in rethinking and reorganizing themselves, but also for museums practitioners, stakeholders and policy makers.

**Foreseen key potential impacts**

• Impact on stakeholders and public awareness by developing a common understanding of strategic issues and a shared vision of Museums, Galleries and Libraries’ new role in Contemporary Society, their objectives and their priorities;

• Impact on relevant Museums and Libraries’ community, practitioners, policy makers, educational institutions, by promoting diffusion of relevant issues pursued during the Project development and by its final Outcomes.

**Foreseen key potential contributions**

• Contribution to the raising of Public Awareness about Identity Complexity and its
representation within the EU cultural arena and agenda: one of the most important expected impacts is devoted to the necessity of becoming a milestone or a reference research project in the field of Cultural identity and Heritage complexification, stratification and hybridation in the contemporary multi-cultural society of migration;

- Contribution to re-defining Museums and libraries’ missions: new Collections and Archives "use values" for the migration society: the consortium will take the challenge of envisioning and evaluating new Museums missions contributing to design innovative collections and archives exploitation modalities which are closer to people and social expectations to paying special attention to cultural diversity.

**CONTRIBUTION TO CULTURAL POLICY MAKERS & THE MUSEUM/ LIBRARY COMMUNITY**

For policy makers the project will bring contributions and give advice on planning modalities of cultural heritage an museums contents appropriation by diverse, marginalized and moving communities and therefore on inclusive education and access to knowledge.

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**MeLa**

- **Funding scheme:** Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
- **Activity:** Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union
- **Research area:** Diversities and commonalities in Europe
- **Topic:** Reinterpreting Europe's cultural heritage: towards the 21st century library

Rhythm Changes: Jazz Cultures and European Identities is a transnational interdisciplinary research project which examines the inherited traditions and practices of European jazz cultures in Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK.

Rhythm Changes seeks to develop new insights into cultural exchanges and dynamics between different countries, groups and related media.

Five work packages tie directly into the theme of Cultural Dynamics, and aim to develop a broader understanding of the relationship between canonicity, tradition and myth, community and identity.

Rhythm Changes will:

1. Investigate the concepts of national thought and identity in jazz using international comparison.

2. Collate jazz-related data, including relevant research, performance projects, interviews, and cultural policies, from 5 key countries in Europe, and from various disciplines, and will move from specialist analysis towards interdisciplinary and transnational synthesis.

3. Study national identities, representations and stereotypes in jazz.

4. Examine the interaction between cultural memory, arts and tourism by showing how jazz venues and festivals preserve, reflect and inform a sense of cultural memory.

5. Further pan-European humanities research by establishing networks that encourage transnational co-operation, collaborations and the work of early career researchers.

6. Implement a programme of targeted dissemination activities which communicate findings to a transnational audience of relevant policy makers, academia and the public.
 Themes and Research Questions

**Canon, History and Ideology** - This strand will examine how jazz has developed in each partner country and how the music relates to arts policies, cultural infrastructure and education.

Research Questions:
- How has the cultural canonicity of jazz developed over time, in changing circumstances and amidst changing available media?
- How are distinctions of ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture reinforced or challenged within transnational jazz contexts?
- How do different versions or interpretations of jazz history compete and underpin opposing ideological evaluations?

**Identity, Hybridization and Communities in Flux** - This strand examines the way in which jazz can transcend national borders through musical language and style. The project team is particularly interested in evaluating recent trends in jazz and the way in which projects deliberately seek to fuse music from different parts of Europe (Balkan Jazz, musicians’ collectives etc.).

Research Questions:
- How does jazz negotiate its functions of identity-affirmation within transnational contexts?
- How does the adoption of jazz (popular culture) in high culture negotiate the registers of traditionalism and avant-garde?
- How does jazz culture take account of high culture (parody, subversion)?
  What forms of hybridization occur in different European contexts?

**Nation, Identity and Inheritance** - This strand explores the concept of a national sound or national ideals in music. We often hear about concepts such as the Nordic Tone or the Dutch sound but want to examine where these concepts come from. In other words, do they exist as inherent qualities or are they bound up with some kind of national mythology?

Research Questions:
- What role do notions (self-images, stereotypes) of national identity play in the conceptualization and international spread of jazz culture?
- How do such notions relate to other forms of cultural identification?

**Cultural Dynamics and Social Transformations** - This strand is concerned with the social ambience of jazz, its cultural dynamics and the relationship between jazz practice and its social settings.

Research Question:
- Given that jazz cultures are influenced by their social settings, how do they, in turn, influence social ambience, e.g. in the form of public manifestations of cultural or historical remembrance; jazz festivals, venues, etc.?
**KEY FINDINGS**

The Rhythm Changes team has been active in presenting initial findings at a range of prestigious conferences. Rhythm Changes panels were featured as part of the Nordic Jazz Conference in Helsinki in August 2010 and the Jazz and Race, Past and Present conference in Milton Keynes in November 2010, the Current Issues in European Cultural Studies: ACSIS Conference, Norrköping, July 2011, and the AHRC-funded CMPCP conference at the University of Cambridge, July 2011. Details of conference papers and events appear on the project website.

Members of the project team have also been actively involved in publishing initial findings and over 12 publications have been completed during the reporting period. For example, the November 2010 issue of Jazzforschung featured articles on ‘Jazz Research in Britain’ and ‘Jazz Research in Austria’ authored by Dr Tony Whyton and Professor Franz Kerschbaumer respectively.

A special double issue of the Jazz Research Journal, which focuses on jazz collectives as an expression of European identity, is currently in press, and Professor Tony Whyton edited the jazz volume of the Ashgate Library of Essays on Popular Music which included articles on jazz and Europe as well as a chapter on the changing discourse of jazz and popular culture. Professor Franz Kerschbaumer also co-edited Eurojazzland, an edited volume to be published by Northeastern University Press in June 2012. Country reports and research collaborations with the Europe Jazz Network will also be published in 2012.

The Rhythm Changes website was established at the start of the project in May 2010 and has subsequently become the main portal for sharing ideas and information about the project, and disseminating the work of the project team. As part of the study of cultural dynamics, members of the project team have been engaging in studies of jazz within new media settings. One aspect of this investigation includes a posts page where the project team share ideas, experiences and information and invite comments and contributions from those who are interested in the project. Within this context, the team aims to explore how a sense of jazz community develops in on-line environments and how experiences of jazz are shared away from traditional cultural and geographical borders.

Over the duration of the Rhythm Changes project, the project team organised a series of Knowledge Transfer (KT) events that encourage different audiences to contribute to the project themes and to exchange ideas and experiences. Knowledge Transfer forums are public events that raise awareness of the Rhythm Changes research questions and the broader themes of the HERA Joint Research programme and demonstrate how issues concerning inheritance and identity play a part in everyday life. To date, Rhythm Changes has hosted Knowledge Transfer at the prestigious London Jazz Festival (Nov 2010), the Music Centre Netherlands ‘Dutch Jazz and World Music’, (December 2010), the Maijazz Festival Stavanger (May 2011). Other Knowledge Transfer activities include collaboration with the Europe Jazz Network on their ongoing research programme (see below), and a Dutch ‘Real Book’ project, established in partnership with Music Centre Netherlands (MCN).

The first Rhythm Changes conference took place in September 2011 at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam. The event featured presentations from researchers representing over 24 countries and regions and was clearly the most significant conference for new jazz studies since the development of the field in the early 1990s. The conference provided both scholarly and professional communities with opportunities to share ideas and to engage with questions of jazz and national identity that are central to the Rhythm Changes project and the HERA JRP. As an international event, the conference facilitated exchanges between different stakeholder groups and included a concert and reception at the Bimhuis Amsterdam.
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**Potential impact and policy issues**

Outputs from Rhythm Changes will reach a variety of audiences. The use-value and impact of the project, therefore, will vary according to the types of activity undertaken. Publications will reach a range of audiences, from scholars to students to jazz enthusiasts. Most importantly, they will serve to plug a much needed gap in critical scholarship about jazz in Europe. Rhythm Changes conferences will bring together leading scholars in the field to discuss issues surrounding inheritance and identity and the findings from these activities will have a resonance beyond the jazz studies community.

The practice-led outcomes will impact on musicians, artists, students and audiences. Musicians will participate in performance projects and education workshops, developing an awareness of the Rhythm Changes research questions through practice-led activities. Performances are being scheduled as part of high profile festivals and performance events in order to maximise the impact on audiences. The Dutch ’Real Book’ project will generate a body of compositions and lead sheets that will both encourage new work and challenge concepts of Dutch jazz. This initiative, developed in partnership with Music Centre Netherlands, will be a resource that will be sustainable beyond the duration of the project, adding between 50 and 100 new titles per year to the Dutch ’Real Book’. This initiative will clearly have an impact on performers, composers and audiences and will also assist policy makers such as Music Centre Netherlands in achieving their core objectives of promoting and nurturing Dutch music.

The Europe Jazz Network (EJN) is a Europe-wide association of producers, presenters and supporting organisations who specialise in creative music, contemporary jazz and improvised music created from a distinctly European perspective. The membership includes 79 organisations (Festivals, clubs and concert venues, independent promoters, national organisations) in 24 European countries. EJN exists to support the identity and diversity of jazz in Europe and broaden awareness of this vital area of music as a cultural and educational force. The Rhythm Changes team is working in partnership with the Europe Jazz Network on their current research programme, feeding in qualitative case studies to their quantitative social and economic survey. The research will serve to demonstrate the value of jazz in different European settings and will enable national jazz agencies, festivals and venues to make the case for jazz within different cultural settings. Policy makers will also be interested in this work and the broader comparative studies of Rhythm Changes, which will address the way jazz works in different contexts.

**Rhythm Changes**

Funding scheme: Through the ERANET Plus project "HERA JRP (Humanities in the European Research Area – Joint Research Programme)"

Topic: Cultural Dynamics: Inheritance and Identity
In the context of the emergence of a knowledge-based society, DYLAN sought to identify the conditions under which Europe's linguistic diversity can be an asset rather than a drawback -- how a European knowledge based society designed to ensure economic competitiveness and social cohesion can be created within a European Union that, following enlargement, is linguistically more diverse than ever.

Its goal was to investigate how different modes of thought, argumentation and action, which are themselves linked to different languages, partake in the development and transmission of knowledge, and what role they play in the control of interactions, problem solving and decision making. The project aimed to provide scientific backing to the concept of multilingual repertoires as resources that can be put to use in a variety of professional, political and educational contexts.

This implies, however, that citizens are able to understand and exploit these different ways of reasoning, as well as different ways of controlling, dealing with, and resolving problems. One of the preconditions for such processes to occur is that citizens become multilingual.

Therefore, the project supports the EU’s orientations to language education, particularly the view that foreign languages constitute one of the most important “new basic skills” citizens need in order to take an active part in the creation of a European knowledge based society. It will also identify and assess the benefits of multilingualism for the management of knowledge in Europe.

**Objectives**

- To develop an analytical approach based on the concept of multilingual
repertoires as resources; the implementation of these repertoires serving as a defining dimension of practices in different social, particularly work-related contexts;

- To identify the conditions under which individual and societal multilingualism can be turned to advantage;
- To assess what society can do to structure and orient multilingualism, and to propose measures for the effective, cost-effective and democratic management of linguistic diversity.

**Impact**

DYLAN assessed and compared competing communication scenarios in various professional and institutional settings in order to identify their respective advantages and drawbacks, as well as their relative efficiency and fairness. Advantages and drawbacks should be understood in a broad sense, including social and cultural dimensions as well as financial ones. The research results serve as a benchmark for a better understanding of complex processes in which key aspects of language learning and communicational practices are combined. This should lead to recommendations for more robust and systematic language policies.

**Research**

The project’s analytical framework is organised around four sets of variables: language practices; representations of multilingualism and linguistic diversity; language policies implemented by the authorities and language strategies of private sector companies; and the linguistic environment in which actors operate. These variables influence each other in a number of ways, and the use and development of multilingual repertoires has been studied not only through the variable sets themselves, but also through their interrelations. The empirical work took place on three terrains that have particular relevance for the management of multilingualism in Europe: Companies (Work Package 1); EU institutions (Work Package 2); and Educational systems (Work Package 3).

The investigation of language processes on these three terrains was integrated through three transversal questions: Efficiency and fairness in language practices; the Emergence of linguistic varieties; and Patterns of multilingualism in European history. The work performed mainly consisted in continuing the data collection and in diversifying the existing corpora (audio/video recordings, documents and interviews, web sites) and enrichment of corpora favouring variation and systematization of ongoing analyses in the three fields.

New analyses were inspired by conversation analysis (for recordings of actual plurilingual talk) and by discourse analysis and social representation theory (for documents and interviews). The analyses focused on the description of the diversity of multilingual practices, representations and strategies. Data and analyses on practices, policies/strategies and representations in different settings and in target institutions and enterprises have been compared, aiming to a systematisation and integration of the different dimensions and activities.
New reflexions have been developed on the way in which language and culture are both embedded, convergent and divergent in various practices and representations (e.g. language diversity and epistemic diversity; e.g. practices of English as a *lingua franca* in which participants use ELF linguistic resources and behave, interpret, produce meanings within the framework of their own specific culture). DYLAN’s foray into the notions of creativity and innovation (which were not part of the project’s initial conceptual framework) enabled it to shed new light on the data collected and analyses carried out up until then. In particular, it allowed for a confrontation between different types of analytical input, and for a reconceptualisation of the notion of multilingualism as an asset. In the case of companies, empirical work has given more substance to the notion of creativity through various manifestations. This also made it possible to assess practices in terms of a greater or lesser sensitivity to surrounding diversity, as well as in terms of greater or lesser innovation potential. Both discourse and practices point in the direction of the "linguistic imagination" deployed by actors in order to make themselves understood or to understand the other in another language. In so doing, actors draw on diverse linguistic resources (other languages, in accordance with perceived proximity with the target language) as well as gestures and other visual resources.

Several teams investigated these resources as going beyond individual actors, in the sense that they can be viewed as "distributed" resources and skills, whether among colleagues (possibly as part of hiring strategies that favour "native speakers") or among speakers who find themselves propelled into more or less improvised roles as translators. What is at stake in creativity can also be observed in reference to social actors’ capacity to develop innovative reasoning (sometimes called "cognitive diversity"). This may be a professed concern in the discourse of managers who belong to a given corporate culture; but it can also be a visible dimension of the sequential unfolding of actual practices, as shown by the convergence between creative brainstorming activity and linguistic negotiations in situations of multilingualism at work. Issues of creativity are intimately connected with issues of efficiency and correspondence between tasks and goals; in fact, the latter set of issues, often in conjunction with matters of fairness, take precedence over creativity or operate as a conduit through which creativity is addressed. Actors have been asked about their vision of creativity on the workplace or about what links they see between multilingualism and creativity; the use of lexemes like "creative" and "creativity" has been investigated, along with the associated delimitations and applications of these terms with respect to specific situations or specific communication strategies within companies. While these terms are commonly used by managers, they turn up much less frequently in the discourse of other informants. It appears that at a general level, socio-economic actors’ sensitivity to creativity is correlated with proximity to company level strategies that set store by linguistic and cultural diversity.

The observation of actors’ actual practices (independently of whether or not they use the term "creativity" in team meetings or brainstorming sessions, for example) indicates that they only rarely state that they are, or intend to be "creative" – they simply are. Language practices reveal ways of doing and participation modes that can be looked at as instances of implementation of creative processes. In this context, creativity refers to solutions that emerge in situations of language contact, which may be improved or dealt with in an informal, "do-it-yourself" way ("bricolage") by participants. Instances of interaction characterised by the hybridisation of language registers, code switching and code-mixing constitute vantage points for the understanding of how multilingualism can prove creative. Some analyses have emphasised the "do-it-yourself" ("bricolage") processes through which participants interact by calling upon resources drawn from several languages, whether in order to solve problems or in order to think in an innovative and creative way, by opening up new conceptual vistas through the confrontation of different ways of saying things - that is, different ways to look at the world.
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DYLAN

Funding scheme: Framework Programme 6, Integrated Project
Priority: Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-based Society
Research area: The variety of paths towards a knowledge society
Topic: Linguistic Diversity
LINEE is a scientific network of nine European universities that investigated linguistic diversity in Europe. A Network of Excellence, LINEE was co-funded by the 6th Framework Programme, and ran from November 2006 to October 2010.

LINEE addressed four thematic areas: Language, Identity and Culture, Language Policy and Planning, Multilingualism and Education, and Language and Economy. Each of these topics was studied at the European, national and regional levels.

LINEE studied multilingualism in Europe in four thematic areas:

1. **Language, Identity and Culture**

   Researchers in this area investigated how – or whether – language, identity and culture depend on each other, how important they are for people, and what problems and opportunities arise from these interrelations. These were some of the questions asked: How is European identity promoted and perceived – for example by European cultural tourism? In the minds of different actors, how relevant are language and culture to national identity and cohesion? How important are a local dialect or language for people in a particular area?

2. **Language Policy and Planning**

   Researchers in this thematic area examined language policies, their impact,
adequacy and perceptions by citizens. They conducted interviews with policy-makers in the EU, analysed national laws, and studied the implementation and impact of language policies in specific regions.

3. Multilingualism and Education

Researchers in this area examined, for example, the way in which pupils, students and adults learn languages, their language attitudes, and how they behave in multilingual contexts. The goals of different school systems, and how these school systems achieve their goals, were examined by exploring the role of English and multilingualism on a supranational level, analysing certain countries’ language curricula, and examining teaching, learning and language practices of people in specific regions.

4. Language and Economy

Researchers in this thematic area tried to answer questions such as: What are the goals of immigrants or employees in multinational enterprises? How do they achieve their goals with respect to the use of differing languages? What problems do they encounter? How do they solve these problems? How valuable is multilingualism in the job market? These questions were addressed from the European, national and regional perspectives.
The project ELDIA is a multidisciplinary effort to revitalize minority language, vehicular language and language maintenance studies and combines linguistic, sociological, legal, and statistical experts from seven European countries into a consortium committed to investigating multilingualism and linguistic diversity.

The research is based on societal context analyses and fieldwork among both majority and minority speakers from samples of carefully selected multilingual speaker communities along the main cultural watershed of Europe, on both sides of the great East-West frontier and in different socio-political contexts.

The central aim of the project is to create an easily applicable measurement instrument, the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar), which can be used for the investigation of further language situations within and outside Europe.

The project will also create a novel dataset for future research and will substantially contribute to the international networking of early-career researchers. Above all, by departing from the reality of multilingualism due to new language policies, new forms of mobility, new media and technologies, new methods of research, new dangers to minority languages, and new forms of globalization, the linguistic landscape in Europe is experiencing a profound transformation.

Maintaining linguistic diversity has been defined as one of the central strategic political aims in Europe. Consequently, not only academic researchers and members of the wide variety of language communities but also policy-makers need up-to-date knowledge and new, effective tools.

The empirical work is based on 13 case studies conducted with multilingual Finno-Ugric speaker communities in 8 countries:

- Northern Sámi in Norway;
- Meänkieli speakers and Finns in Sweden;
- Karelians and Estonians in Finland;
- Karelians, Veps and Seto in Russia;
- Kvens in Norway;
- Võro and Seto speakers in Estonia;
- Estonians in Germany;
- Hungarians in Austria and Slovenia.
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and focusing on multicultural identities and the agency of individual speakers, the project will contribute to the practical and scholarly understanding of the mechanisms of language diversity in an unprecedented way.

The project

1. Reconceptualizes European language diversity by shifting the focus from acquired multilingualism (teaching major European languages such as English or French to monolingual speakers of European nation-state languages) to an understanding of multilingualism as part of the European cultural heritage, involving the use of both national and regional/minority languages alongside more international vehicular languages.

2. Develops interactional and constructivist models by shifting the focus from conflict-based models (rivalry of languages, multilingualism as a psychological or socioeconomic burden to the individual or to the society) to models that stress societal dialogism and joint agency. Instead of “languageness”, language as an abstract system, ELDIA concentrates on “languaging”: active language use and language choices.

3. Developing a more differentiated view on minority languages, ELDIA shifts the focus from simplistic questions of speaking/understanding vs. not speaking/not understanding a language to the complex role of language as a carrier of symbolic functions and cultural values and to the broad spectrum of language-based cultural practices.

Objectives

• Create a novel multidisciplinary research approach which duly takes into account the multilingualism of the modern European minorities: Instead of dealing with isolated questions of language as a system, a “commodity” or a part of ethnic identity, ELDIA emphasises speaker agency and interaction and the parallel use of multiple languages: native and vehicular, majority and minority ones.

• Create new knowledge and new tools. In addition to up-to-date reports and case studies, ELDIA will create the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar), a testable, descriptive and predictive model of the dynamics of European multilingualism which can be used for assessing and evaluating the state of languages and speaker communities.

• Identify gaps in language policies and develop sustainable policies for the future.

• Create an interdisciplinary network of specialists.

Description of work

For each case study involved in ELDIA, so far the following steps have been taken, following a centrally planned research design and in continuous cooperation:

• Context Analysis, i.e., the assessment of available data and research on the
state of each community at issue. This research phase was finished in September 2010, and summaries of the results are being published in the series Working Papers in European Linguistic Diversity.

- Questionnaire survey: questionnaires translated into 23 different majority and minority language varieties were sent in January 2011 to informants representing the minorities at issue and to majority control groups. The questionnaires have been processed for statistical analyses, the statistical data has been submitted to researchers and the data analyses are currently being conducted.

- Interviews: During the spring of 2011, 8 individual and 8-9 focus group interviews have been conducted for each involved case study. The interviews were recorded and transcribed; currently they are being annotated and analysed.

- Media Analyses and Legal Analyses: Parallel to the fieldwork and data analyses, case-specific media analyses and analyses of the legal frameworks were conducted. All the results of the case studies and analyses will be summarised in book-length case-specific reports which will form the basis for the Comparative Report and the EuLaViBar.

- Reaching out to speaker communities is often only possible with the help of organisations and clubs. While many of these were very helpful and displayed a positive attitude towards our work, seeing it as a positive sign of recognition, other communities obviously have begun to interpret outsiders’ research interests as an unwelcome intrusion into their affairs.

- In a similar vein, the reactions to our research questions by individual respondents and interviewees- despite the unified and centrally planned research design - have been extremely different, varying from explicit disapproval to extreme interest and sympathy.

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**ELDIA**

**Funding scheme:** Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)

**Activity:** Activity 5 - The citizen in the European Union

**Research area:** Diversities and commonalities in Europe

**Topic:** Vehicular languages in Europe in an era of globalisation: history, policy, practice
The nation state has been the institutional mainstay of modern democracy. Today, this particular political form is challenged and may be transcended by something new. Can the state form as such be reconstituted in Europe, and if so, at what level? Are alternative forms more viable? Having established three ideal type models of European democracy, the RECON project has evaluated their viability as possible options for the EU – with the aim of identifying strategies to strengthen democracy and rectify deficits. This has been undertaken by considering how the models would establish democracy institutionally as well as through detailed analysis of a range of important EU policy areas.

Each of the three RECON models represents a possible solution to the democratic challenges facing Europe. Taken together, the models offer a comprehensive framework for assessing Europe’s democratic challenges, which has formed a common ground for RECON’s research. These models yield assessment standards and tools to analyse and integrate research on the developments and conditions for democracy from a range of different thematic angles. The interdisciplinary project has drawn on primary and secondary data, and used a variety of qualitative and quantitative

**Audit democracy**
Model 1 entails reframing the EU as a functional regulatory regime. Democracy is here directly associated with the nation state, assuming it is only at a national level that trust and solidarity can be fostered, and that the member states delegate certain tasks to the EU level. As such, the EU is accountable to the member states, which can both authorise and confine EU operations.

**Multinational federal democracy**
Model 2 entails establishing the EU as a multinational federal state with a sense of common identity and collective values among European citizens. With democratic procedures and a common identity, decision making and legislation would be legitimate at the federal European level.

**Post-national democracy**
Model 3 entails developing a post-national union with an explicit cosmopolitan orientation; a European subsystem of a larger cosmopolitan order where citizen sovereignty has replaced state sovereignty. This is a model for democracy beyond the state as democratic rule is configured in a multilevel structure of government.
methods, including interviews, surveys, single and comparative case study analysis, discourse and media analysis, process tracing, focus groups and legal analysis.

The complexity of the European project gives rise to different and divergent developmental paths within the various institutional orders and policy areas. What do developments within the EU’s institutional and constitutional realms tell us about the prospects for democracy; what form of civil society is emerging and how does it contribute to a common identity and a European public sphere; what do developments within areas such as foreign and security policy and gender policy tell us about the nature of the EU; and how does the EU compare with other cosmopolitan developments? Through a five-year period, more than 120 participating researchers across Europe and beyond have conducted independent and basic research on these questions.

RECON finds that the institutional, as well as the civic conditions, for a legitimate public justification process in the EU are not fully compatible with any single model. But the EU has been moving beyond model 1, and towards model 3 in some important areas. The EU is clearly more than a regulatory regime but less than a federation. European democracy remains an unrealised promise. The system of representation is incomplete, although it also contains novel democratic possibilities, and the requirement of a European public sphere has not been met.

More details and publications from RECON’s research on identity formation and enlargement, including a number of RECON reports and working papers are available on the project website. See also RECON’s publications database with close to 1,400 entries, the RECON Online Working Paper Series and RECON Report Series, as well as the RECON Newsletter, which has been issued 2-3 times per year.
EUROSPHERE
Coordinator: Prof. Hakan G. Sicakkan, University of Bergen (Norway)
Duration: 60 months (01/02/2007 - 31/01/2012)
EU Contribution: € 4 056 373
http://eurospheres.org

Consortium: University of Bergen (Coordinator); Austrian Academy of Science; University of Amsterdam; Sabancı University; Aalborg University; University of Helsinki; Institute of Psychology of Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic; University of Osnabrück; Tallinn University; Université Libre de Bruxelles; Granada University; Institute of Population and Human Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Trento University; Central European University; Norwegian Social Science Data Services; Fondation Maison des Sciences de l’Homme; Cardiff University.

EUROSPHERE both contests and complements existing academic work on the European Public Sphere (EPS) by creating innovative perspectives on the EPS that are suited to handle the complex diversity of European societies to identify the conditions that enable or undermine the articulation of inclusive EPSs.

EUROSPHERE:
• examines factors that are challenging the fabric of European democracy;
• identifies options relevant to optimizing citizens’ involvement in the European democratic processes;
• assesses different strategies for strengthening of European inclusive democratic, plural institutions.

Thematically, EUROSPHERE focuses the following important policy dimensions regarding the public sphere:
• The internal integration and cohesion of society (i.e., the European Constitution and European citizenship and identity);
• The boundaries of public sphere and of the demos that it accommodates (i.e., European enlargement, mobility, migration, and asylum policy).

Rather than creating public sphere models that suit certain normative ideals, EUROSPHERE provides innovative perspectives on the public sphere that are suited to handle the diversity of European societies. Toward this overall scientific objective, the project adopts the “diversity perspective”. The notion of state legitimacy produces a corresponding notion of legitimacy of individuals.

EUROSPHERE inquires into which forms of public sphere include/exclude which groups, to what degree, and on which matters. With this perspective, EUROSPHERE endeavours to identify elements of openness in various kinds of public spaces towards the idea of a EPS.

EUROSPHERE inquires into how political interaction and aggregation of interests on European issues can happen at multiple levels across various types of communicative public spaces. While doing this, EUROSPHERE treats experts/elites, think tanks, political parties, social movements, citizens’ initiatives, and electronic/print media as both political/social actors and as components of communicative public spaces.
**SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVES**

- Provide an innovative scientific perspective for comprehensively addressing the prospects for a common EPS.
- Develop novel research tools for this purpose.
- Identify the features of sub-European public spaces and various social/political actors which facilitate/obstruct the articulation of a EPS.
- Assess the alignments and misalignments between citizens’ features, public spaces, and the EPS.
- Define areas of contestation and conflict in attempts to develop a diverse EPS.
- Assess the feasibility of certain supranational strategies for articulating a EPS.
- Create a EUROSPHERE Knowledge Base.

**THEORY**

EUROSPHERE identifies the factors that facilitate or obstruct the articulation of an inclusive EPS. The expected impact of its findings is a set of possible solutions to the problems related with the lack of communication between citizens, various social/political actors, diverse sub-European spheres, and European institutions. EUROSPHERE develops a new set of approaches to the EPS, which they term the “diversity perspective”. This perspective produces novel angles on the communication between European institutions and citizens, based on a fresh and context-sensitive notion of the public sphere. The outcomes of EUROSPHERE thus constitute a novel perspective and a reliable knowledge base for political action and interaction towards creating a common EPS.

As the foundation of a major comparative research effort, EUROSPHERE posits diversity as an alternative to the perspectives of difference. One advantage of the diversity perspective is that it provides a multi-theoretical richness and conceptual diversity, thus enabling this project to capture the particularities of different European contexts that cannot be captured with a singular theoretical approach. This requires an integrated and comparative research design that takes into account the relationships between sub-European public spaces, different social and political actors, citizens’ involvement and the emerging EPS. The research design, therefore, is based on responses to policy issues of theoretical relevance, which take account of: (1) the relationship between European integration and social cohesion across different identities, across different types of citizenship, and the EPS and; (2) the boundaries of Europe.

Earlier research on the EPS has shown us that, under current conditions, it is difficult to realize a common EPS in the foreseeable future, but that there are traces of a EPS in the making on some policy issues. Most importantly, it has drawn attention to the integrative, democratizing, legitimizing, and meaning-creating roles of the public sphere. The focus on EPS as a means of achieving democratic legitimacy at the European level can easily be justified normatively, but, has not been substantiated empirically. Further, earlier research teaches us little about how the public sphere can be inclusive in the European context of deep and complex diversities. Existence of a
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near-perfect procedural or deliberative democracy, including a public sphere where citizens freely exercise their rights of free speech, assembly, critique, deliberation, opposition, etc in order to form the public will is a necessary but not sufficient condition for democracy. If we accept that any notion of state legitimacy produces a corresponding notion of legitimacy of individuals, it is important to inquire into what forms of public sphere include/exclude which groups, to what degree, and on which matters.

As empirically shown in numerous sociological and social anthropological studies of national public spaces, in contexts of diversity, such standards can be discriminatory, marginalizing, and excluding. As a supplement to the contributions made by the democratic legitimacy debate in empirical EPS studies, EUROSPHERE conceptualizes the EPS as a means of inclusion for democracy. Thereby, the project both contests and complements the existing academic work on the EPS with the following overall research question: Are inclusive European Public Spaces possible under conditions of complex diversity; national path dependencies of polity forms, institutions and policies; multilevel governance; and shifting boundaries within and of the EU?

EUROSPHERE comparatively assesses the features of social/political actors and of sub-European communicative public spaces that promote or hinder development of various types of European belongings and citizens’ involvement in European policy making. Think tanks, political parties, social movements/citizens’ initiatives, and trans-European networks of these are, in this respect, treated as both sub-spaces and actors.

**METHODS**

EUROSPHERE collects and deploys relevant data about the features of communicative public spaces, of social/political actors, and of individuals in sixteen European countries. Concerning data-collection about social/political actors, at least three social/political actors were selected in each category (i.e., 3 think tanks, 3 political parties, 3 social movements, 3 newspapers and 2 TV channels) in each country and three European party federations, three trans-European networks of civil society organizations, and two trans-European networks of think tanks. Leaders of these organizations and networks as well as their other important members were interviewed. Concerning data collection about communicative public spaces, also here the units of observation are social/political actors; however, this time they are treated as sub-spaces of the communicative public spaces. Here, the key data collection activity focuses on the interrelationships and patterns/substance of interactions between the different types of social/political actors claiming to belong to or to be speaking on behalf of the same communicative public space (e.g., the substance/patterns of interaction between a political party, a social movement, a media actor, and a think tank). EUROSPHERE also collected data about the discourses of public spheres, citizenship, involvement, identity, etc. of which social/political actors are a part of as well as data about the features of openness/closure in these communicative public spaces.

Existing survey data about the features of individuals who are associated with the five types of communicative public spaces through their engagement/involvement with
different social/political actors were being taken from previous European surveys such as ESS, EVS, and Eurobarometer as well as other international sources like ISSP. The survey data concerns individuals’ involvement in political processes, their levels of co-otherness, patterns of multiple belonging, mobility patterns, patterns of multiple orientations to public spaces as well as the individuals’ relevant background. At the national level, EUROSPHERE analysed how and why political parties, social movement and non-governmental organizations, think tanks, and media actors (newspapers and TV-channels) form or join networks and channels for influencing the public debates at sub-national, national, and European levels. At the trans-European level, the project focussed on European party federations, trans-European networks of movements and NGOs, and trans-European networks of think tanks, and how and why different organizations operate in these networks and channels. On both levels, we collect data about the institutional features of these organizations as well as data from interviews with their formal, informal, and oppositional leaders.

The Eurosphere Knowledgebase will contain analyzable data and Eurosphere findings on the condition of the EPS and European Citizenship; that is, it will include Eurosphere’s outputs about key European actors’ notions of European diversity, their different political visions about Europe, and what they envision a EPS to be. The Knowledgebase will make publicly available, among others, institutional data on selected political parties, social movements, citizens’ initiatives, think tanks, and media actors in 16 European countries; data from interviews with organizational and opinion leaders as well as internal opposition leaders of these organizations; Eurosphere’s working paper series containing analyses of these data; information about and links to other relevant data sources and publications, and an online data registration system.

**SELECTED FINDINGS ON IDENTITY**

Perceptions, political actions, participation (and the experiences this gives) and social group belonging all matter and must be taken into account when trying to explain the diversity of attitudes towards the EU. However, in explaining citizens’ attitudes to European integration, the following social-psychological identity aspects proved to be more important than political participation and belonging:

One of the novel concepts created by Eurosphere, co-otherness, which means individuals’ ability to treat oneself as an equal other (or selflessness) and their ability to oscillate between different identity references, is found to lead to strongly positive attitudes towards the idea of developing a European polity. On the other hand, people with strong individual identities (self-centred individuals who are neither co-others nor community-servers) exhibit moderate levels of agreement with the development of a European polity. Further, individuals having higher degrees of community-orientation, that is those who are more occupied with serving their own (national) community, appear to have strongly negative attitudes to the idea of developing a European polity. Political participation, mobility and living in contexts of multiple belongings are the most important determinants of increased co-otherness. Amongst these, increasing “political participation” “mobility” is the only area that can be politically intervened without serious ethical problems if the policy goal is to increase identification with the European integration processes.

High levels of grassroots participation and organisational participation lead to positive attitudes towards the development of an EU polity. Higher support for EU integration
among participating citizens have multiple interpretations: it could reflect that individuals that participate politically see their interests served by a more integrated Europe they can influence. The finding could also be interpreted as working in the opposite direction: that the experience of participation makes individuals more positive to integration. If that is the case the finding suggests that the EU should continue the difficult and complex endeavour to encourage its citizens to participate by facilitating new arenas of participation at the EU-level.

Finally, belonging to the majority group has a negative impact on the attitudes towards the EU polity, meaning that belonging to the ethnic or national minority or another group that is discriminated against, leads to positive attitudes towards the EU Polity. That the majority populations are more cautious towards the EU Polity has at least two possible interpretations: Firstly, majority citizens with a clear ethno-national belonging to a national state that are not discriminated against, prefer political problems and decisions to be resolved within the framework of their nation-state. Secondly it could mean that the EU (because of its disconnectedness from the nation states) is successful in its efforts in reducing discrimination, and that this is reflected in support for EU integration among groups that experience discrimination. These explanations need not be mutually exclusive. The implication for policy would be equally contradictory: to be more cautious of expanding EU-level policy further, but continue the anti-discrimination work of guaranteeing minority rights in the member states.
Media and Citizenship provides empirical data on the use of television among Arabic speakers and their understanding of cultural belonging in seven EU nations. Media & Citizenship studies the ways transnational media, in particular Arabic language television, reshape the political landscapes of citizenship in the European Union. It provides the first European wide empirical research on the use of Arabic language television and its effect on integration in multicultural societies.

Following large scale quantitative research in the capital cities France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom, we conducted focus group studies in those countries and Cyprus, to explore how Arabic speakers themselves construct citizenship in the light of their media use, and their adopted national cultures. Those results were then discussed with the communities in a series of public engagement events, and a short documentary made of the results.

Models of democratic participation and citizenship continue to be based on the nation state, while political debate is no longer contained within its boundaries.

Concerns around extreme expressions of Islamic fundamentalism on one hand, and the advance of moral panics around a threatening religious difference on the other, have brought Muslim communities into the core of political and media debates about citizenship in Europe. Those communities, unlike earlier diasporic communities, have access to a shared ‘public sphere’, the space of Arabic language television.

The results of this project show that in fact Arabic speakers predominantly use Arabic language television in combination with the channels of the European nations in which they live, in particular for news. There is concern among Arabic speakers about the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment and perceived anti-Arabic bias on European channels. At the same time the communities are developing forms of bicultural, transnational and cosmopolitan belonging in which their attachments to dual or multiple states can be negotiated.
MEDIA IN THE EU

The media landscape of the twenty-first century is highly complex. Convergence of technologies mean content is available across media platforms, and, more critically, across national boundaries. National control of news agenda is no longer possible. Within the EU—a transnational entity—a harmonised media environment is both expected and desirable, as the ‘Television without Frontiers’ policy made clear. The EU today is a highly developed satellite environment which reaches across twenty-seven nation-states. Satellite delivered television gives access to content that is not within the scope of EU regulation. Under EU rules, satellite delivered content is regulated at the country of upload not of download. EU states therefore have limited regulatory control over satellite delivered content. This particularly becomes an issue when satellite delivered material originates outside the EU, in particular from outside the Western world. Today, hundreds of Arabic language channels, television and radio, are available freely through satellite or cable delivery to Arabic speaking households in Europe. Not only are national channels from the Arabic region widely available live via satellite dish reception, but there are also transnational channels, from Al Jazeera to Al Manar.

This has led to a fundamental shift in the ways minority and migrant groups perceive their connection to the country of origin. The tradition of diasporic-focused media in which content was delivered in the host country but in the language of the country of origin enables communities to bring multiple perspectives to the experience of local or international events. Furthermore, the satellite channels bring media from different nations together in a space which is, at least for the viewer, a single simultaneous space of news. News from the country of origin is no longer, as it used to be, months old, nor is it mediated by others and shot through with nostalgic framing. Instead, it is immediate, equally aired within the country of origin and the host country. Yet there is remarkably little research on who watches satellite television. The project is the first to offer reliable audience data on a large scale across Europe about who is watching satellite television and what impact it has on the viewers. None of the Arabic channels retransmitted in Europe depends on advertising revenues for its existence. Partly as a consequence of this, there are no ratings data about the European audiences of such channels. Al Jazeera (which proves in our study to be overwhelmingly the most watched channel by Arabic speakers across Europe) has some research; but in general the field is uncharted.

METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

The project wove together a questionnaire, a one week media survey and focus groups of Arabic speakers to understand the use of media in the EU. Over 2,400 Arabic speakers were surveyed of whom 100 in each country then completed a media diary. The dominant pattern of viewing was a combination of national television with Arabic language television across all countries. In the overall group we found that television was the preferred medium of nearly 70% of the sample, with Internet and newspapers equal second at less than 20% of the sample. Over 90% of the overall sample claimed to use both EU national and Arabic television.

There were predictable correlations between country of birth and preferred television channels (those born in Europe were less likely to prefer Arabic language channels, and those born in Arabic countries prefer their national channels). The diary data are very rich and indicate a series of patterns that confirm the questionnaire data. The most watched Arabic language channel is Al Jazeera, except in Paris, followed by Al Arabiya. Informants rely on Al Jazeera and local (national) channels for news. For entertainment there is a typical mix of Egyptian satellite and local
television, and for sport (except in Spain where Al Jazeera offers Moroccan soccer) local channels predominate. The quantitative data did not support the hypothesis of a retreat into ethnic media worlds – on the contrary, more than 90% watch both Arabic and local EU TV channels. Only 7.3% of respondents exclusively watch Arabic channels, and only 1.3% of respondents watch local EU-channels only.

Indeed, there is evidence that respondents consciously move between channels with a sharp awareness of the varying ideological perspectives of the Arabic language channels and of the domestic EU channels. There was a clear correlation between country of origin and viewing behaviour, later confirmed by focus group results. Overwhelmingly the migrant groups in Madrid, Paris and Amsterdam were of North African Maghrebian origin. This group we describe as “bicultural” in so far as viewing behaviour oscillates between local national channels (French, Spanish and Dutch respectively) and retransmitted local television of the country of family origin (chiefly Morocco and Algeria but also Tunisia). This pattern survived even in Paris, where a high proportion of Arabic speakers were locally born. The group typically visited the country of family origin at least once a year even when third generation citizens of their European home.

The second group (including those non Maghrebi respondents in London, Berlin and Stockholm) is more ‘transnational’ in so far as it was more ethnically mixed and more likely to watch the transnational channels, such as BBC Arabic, Al Jazeera, CNN and Al Arabiya. This group, which included a mix of refugees, students and long term residents also visits their country of origin less frequently. They too followed domestic issues in their country of birth, via internet or local television station, but there was greater emphasis on the Arabic language sphere as a space of debate and reflection independent of the particular homelands. Finally, we introduced the term ‘Mediterranean’ as a descriptor for the sense of belonging among Arabic speakers in the eastern Mediterranean where Cypriot Arabic speakers regard Arabic as a ‘home’ language.

**Citizenship**

Cultural belonging has been complex throughout EU history but with globalization and access to newer media the complexities have increased. However, little of the debate about what it is to be a European acknowledges the importance of satellite delivered television to those attempting to understand their own place in Europe. Policy with regards to satellite delivered content could thus be improved by implementing the plurality of the media landscape as a positive aspect of European identity. The events of 9/11 and an interpretation in terms of the rhetoric of a ‘clash of civilizations’ between Christian and Muslim communities continue to be reinforced in the European context. From the murder of Theo van Gogh and the terrorist bombings in Madrid in 2004 to those in London 2005, relations between migrant communities and the host European cultures have deteriorated. Anti-immigrant sentiment was evident in elections in the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, while Nicolas Sarkozy publicly denigrated the veil in 2010; multiculturalism was explicitly rejected by both David Cameron and Angela Merkel in early 2011.

Participants throughout the focus groups made strong associations between European citizenship and the adoption of certain public norms relating to the state bureaucracy and the rule of law. The absence of the rule of law, justice and
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democratic practice are often considered as a major reason for leaving their country of origin and migrating. These concerns were repeated and drawn out in the public engagement events in the seven capitals. It is in this context that the EU and its member states have increasingly developed more rigorous policies on migration. It is striking that the EU and its members, while self-consciously developing notions of transnational belonging and identity, fail to recognize adequately the many different sub-and supranational forms of belonging and identity of their own citizens. Our project identifies in particular the impact of transnational television of notions of belonging. Its results indicate the necessity of improved or alternative migration policies and citizenship tests that do take the variety of forms of belonging, and their close connection to transnational television, into account.

Identity, belonging and civic literacy

Arabic speakers across the seven member countries were actively engaged in the process of debating their allegiances to Europe, to the country of heritage and to the broader Arabic speaking ummah, or state. There was a strong sense that while they resented being treated as aliens, they did belong and engage with civil society in Europe. First generation migrants across the group used Arabic television to feel at home, to reinforce the language and to celebrate the family coming together. For others, their Arabic homeland and its culture was essential to them, or became essential to them when they had children. Some particularly in the ‘transnational’ group adopted a clear cosmopolitan identity often rooted in the global cities such as London where they were at ease with other cosmopolitans.
The EuroBroadMap project aims to produce a non-Eurocentric view of Europe in the world. The first step is to gather and analyze subjective views of Europe from inside and outside EU through: [WP2] a large quantitative survey of mental maps of students and [WP3] a qualitative approach to migrant’s visions of the continent.

Two large scale studies have been carried out. The first was a quantitative survey focused on 9,350 students in 43 cities of 18 countries in the world. It assesses variation of the perception of Europe in the world by a homogeneous population of students between 20 and 25 years old).

The questionnaire combines different kinds of methods: drawings on maps, open questions, ranking, etc. Variations in answer are examined according to both geographical location and social status. The survey has been done in EU countries, eastern and southern neighbouring countries and countries more remote from Europe. Even though the analysis is still in progress, the survey already shows interesting results on the perception of Europe even though the analysis of the maps is still in progress.

For example, there were huge differences in the open-ended question where students were invited to associate five words to Europe with EU students using an economic and institutional vocabulary and other students having a varied point of view with reference to luxury, wellbeing, development level but also domination and racism. However, whatever the words used, Europe appears as one of the most attractive places in the world for the students.

The second study focused on migrants from an anthropological perspective. It aimed to check variation in the perception of Europe in space and time among a particular population -- migrants chosen according different origins (Asia, Africa, South America) but also according to the steps in their migration project (a planned migration project, transit migration and settlement in Europe).
This research concentrated on three major migratory 'routes' to the European Union: a southern route that crosses the Mediterranean Sea (Mali, Senegal, Morocco, and Malta); an eastern route through the former Soviet countries (Romania) and Central Asia (India); and finally Latin America (Argentina). Focusing on the evolution of the representations from candidates for migration prior to their departure, to migrants in transit and then to immigrants already settled in Europe, this text shows the ambivalence of these visions of Europe, between an image of the European Union as a pole of attraction and the European Union as a proving ground. In relation to the former, the project also studied the way the migrants develop strategies to enter and settle in Europe linked with these visions (how migrants represent the constraints and opportunities offered by migration).

Three specific issues concerning these visions are discussed: the articulation between memory and history, especially the vision of Europe as a continent of democracy, freedom and rule of law, and the notion of debt; the vision of Europe as a space of welfare and opportunity but also of discrimination and racism; the representations and knowledge the migrants have of European migratory policies, through their individual experience and social relations, and the strategies they use to get round the constraints of these policies.

The next step is to compare those subjective visions to normative discourses in the politic and ideology fields (WP4). Individual mental maps are compared to collective representations: websites of organization, tourist guides, teaching books, international media, etc. The analysis of normative visions also shows that there are two kinds of dividing lines: some between the visions of the EU members, some between the members’ visions and those of EU institutions such as the Commission. These are a major source of misunderstanding when it comes to some external relations issues.

The WP aims to check how the conceptions of ‘Europe’ stands in relation to political discourse. The project is working to produce a set of visions of Europe from both inside and abroad from an institutional point of view in the different countries studied -- comparing the discourses of Europe on itself and the discourse of Europe abroad. For this purpose EUROBROADMAP analyzes a limited number of representative bodies paying particular attention to the cartographic representations of Europe they produce. The specific body of documents that are being analysed includes the websites of international organizations and national foreign offices, the teaching materials used in respect of history and geography, and the international economic media. The project will also analyze political votes in terms of UN resolutions, which, though not directly flows, nevertheless reveal linkages or oppositions between groups of countries across different periods of time.

Particular attention is paid to (carto)graphic representations of Europe and other world divisions and to functional divisions of the world based on flows and networks analysis (WP5). Spiritual flows that are revealed by individual and collective mental maps are then compared to four types of effective flows linking the EU and the rest of the world (Trade, Aid, FDI, migrations) in order to examine possible discrepancies. The most important discovery about functional divisions of the World is that the EU is embedded in a wider functional region including both its eastern and southern neighbourhood.

In terms of a synthesis of results, a first crucial step is the production of a coherent set of country synthesis that will integrate the discoveries made across the project.

**EUROBROADMAP**

- Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
- Activity: Activity 4 - Europe in the world
- Research area: Europe’s changing role in the world
- Topic: Europe seen from the outside
EUMAGINE is a collaborative European research project aimed at investigating the impact of perceptions of human rights and democracy on migration aspirations and decisions. It aims to study how Europe is perceived from outside the EU, and how these perceptions affect migration aspirations and decisions.

The consortium is a spin-off from the European Network on “International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion” (IMISCOE), a EU network of excellence. EUMAGINE focuses on how people’s perceptions on democracy and human rights – in relation to their regions and countries of origin as well as places abroad – affect their perceptions on and attitudes to migration.

The project seeks to understand how perceptions on human rights and democracy are formed and translated into aspirations and decisions to migrate to Europe or elsewhere. These processes are influenced by factors at three levels.

The macro level includes factors that are common to all potential migrants, such as national policies on emigration and immigration, the overall economic and political situation in the country, the mass media, and the human rights and democracy level.

The meso level encompasses the factors in between the individual and the society at large. Most important are local and transnational networks through which people collect information and exchange ideas.

Finally, the micro level concerns characteristics of individuals. Perceptions are shaped not only by the human rights conditions within a country, but also by individual-level factors such as gender and political allegiance. Also the resulting aspirations to migrate are clearly influenced by gender, age, educational attainment, labour market situation, political-juridical status etc.
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**Conceptual Framework**

Attempts to migrate to Europe are preceded by amongst others perceptions on human rights and democracy in Europe and in the home country, and aspirations to migrate. These aspirations could be very broad wishes for going to Europe or elsewhere, or more specific preferences in terms of destinations and modes of migration (e.g. through family reunification, family formation, temporary work programmes, asylum, or illegal entry).

Migration-related perceptions and aspirations develop within a specific cultural, political-juridical and economic setting, which is often referred to as the „emigration environment“. Ethnographic studies have demonstrated how migration aspirations are linked with socially and culturally constructed perceptions. These include ideas and meanings attached to the migration project as well as subjective images of one’s current environment and thoughts about potential destinations. While the Europe of the European Union is the principle focus of this project, it will also explore how in the mind of residents of various emigration countries Europe compares with other major destination countries, notably the United States, Russia, Australia and Canada.

**Focus of research**

EUMAGINE investigates the following five overarching research questions:

1. How are human rights and democracy related to imaginations in migrant sending countries constructed?
2. How are perceptions on human rights, democracy, migration and possible destination countries affected by various factors?
3. How do perceptions on human rights and democracy and „geographical imaginations“ relate to migration aspirations and migration?
4. How to develop a better informed migration policy, taking into account human rights and democracy as important migration determinants?
5. How to contribute to local capacity building in source countries, in order to prepare the ground for locally based research initiatives?

**Research design**

*Case-study approach*: in order to study the variety of contextual influences on the perceptions of human rights, democracy and subsequent migration aspirations and decisions, the project opts for a case-study approach. The project is based on the belief that by comparing and contrasting a diversity of local contexts, it is possible to make analytical generalizations about how these perceptions are formed, and how they influence migration decisions and aspirations. Therefore, the starting point is to generate an in-depth understanding of perceptions, aspirations and motivations in a variety of selected areas of origin of migrants.

*Between-country comparisons*: The project encompasses Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine, four countries that are sources of substantial migrant populations in Europe. Furthermore, these countries are attraction poles outside Europe’s external borders for migrants coming from further afield. Migration flows to Europe from and through these countries include regular migration based on family formation/reunification, asylum or employment, as well as irregular migration.
Within-country comparisons: In each country, four research locations have been located: 1) an area that is characterized by high emigration rates; 2) a second, comparable socio-economic area with low emigration; 3) a comparable area with a strong immigration history; and 4) a location with a specific human rights situation.

Diversity within the potential migrant population: EUMAGINE’s target population is the general population in the 18-40 age groups of the four countries and sixteen localities. Beside other relevant individual level variables such as age, gender, socio-economic and political-juridical status within the target population, the project will include a comparison of perceptions on human rights and democracy, and migration aspirations and decisions of three conceptual categories of persons: voluntary non-migrants, involuntary non-migrants and migrants.

Work performed since the start of the project

Data collection in four countries and sixteen research areas

The political, economic, social and human rights and democracy background of the four countries as well as their migration history and a description of the four research areas in each of the countries was compiled in four separate country and research area papers. The full version of these Country and Research Areas reports can be consulted in Project Papers 2 (Senegal), PP3 (Ukraine), PP4 (Morocco) and PP5 (Turkey) on the project website. Special attention went to the prevailing discourses on migration in each of the 16 research areas. The final choice of the four research areas in each of the four countries was as follows:

1) Areas with high-emigration rates: Todra Valley in Morocco; Darou Mousty in Senegal; Emirdağ in Turkey, and Zbarazh in Ukraine. These areas are characterized by established and continuous high emigration flows.

2) Comparable socio-economic areas with a low emigration rate: Central Plateau in Morocco; Lambaye in Senegal; Dinar in Turkey; and Znamyansky in Ukraine

3) Areas characterized by a strong immigration history: Tangier City in Morocco; Golf Sud in Senegal; Fatih in Turkey; and Solomyansky in Ukraine.

4) Areas with a specific human rights situation: the Tounfite Region in Morocco; Orkadiéré in Senegal; Van Merkez in Turkey; and Novovodolazky in Ukraine.

Survey among 8,000 persons

During the months of September and November 2010, 2 pilot surveys took place in each of the countries in all 4 research areas, totaling 480 interviews. The results and experiences served to fine-tune not only the questionnaire but also the sampling strategies and training of surveyors. The questionnaire was also translated into (and back-translated from) a variety of local languages: Turkish, Kurdish, Russian, Ukrainian, Wolof, Peul, Arabic and of course French. The biggest challenge proved to be the development of a common sampling strategy applicable in both densely populated urban areas with very small nuclear families (e.g. 2 to 3 person households in Kiev, Ukraine) as well as sparsely populated rural areas with very large households (e.g., 30 to 50 persons households in Orkadiéré and Darou Mousty in Senegal). The
actual survey covered 8,000 persons (500 in each of the 16 research areas) and took place simultaneously in the 4 countries during the first half of 2011. survey results are expected to be posted on the website by the end of 2011.

**Qualitative data collection**
The data collection is taking place from October till January 2012. A total of 320 informants will be interviewed (20 in each of the 16 RA). Each group of 20 informants per RA will be diverse in five aspects: 1) Gender (approximately half men and half women); 2) Age (young and old within the range of 18 to 39 years old); 3) Occupational status (unemployed, employed in various occupations); 4) Migration experience (with and without a personal migration experience, having friends; and/or relatives with a migration history, belonging to transnational migration networks); and, 5) Migration attitudes (aspiring or not aspiring to migrate).

**Expected final results and their potential impact and use**
The project results are expected to have an impact on four levels:

*Update of the State of the Art* - first of all, the project’s results are expected to advance the state of the art in the field with the contribution of various disciplines and area studies. The foremost impact of the project lies in its knowledge value, which will come out of the descriptive and analytical parts of the research. It is the first study that systematically elaborates on the meaning of Europe outside the borders of the European Union, especially from a human rights and democracy perspective, in contrast with a vast amount of studies concentrating on perceptions and imaginations of Europe from within-EU member-states.

*Academic partnerships* - secondly, the project results should enhance cooperation between researchers in Europe and in the regions and countries under analysis. Being composed of seven partners, three European and four ICPC universities/research institutions, the consortium will focus on the situation in third countries (Ukraine, Senegal, Morocco and Turkey). The involvement of the universities/research institutions in these four ICPC countries as partners in the consortium guarantees a non Eurocentric approach of the under-researched topic of role of perceptions of human rights and democracy on migration aspirations and decisions within „source“ and „transit“ countries itself.

*Joint international research efforts* - thirdly, the project results are expected to allow the academic community to prepare for future steps towards engaging in a significant joint international research effort.

*Information and knowledge towards policy formulation* - finally, the project results will contribute information relevant to the development and implementation of policy at national or European level in relation to international institutions, providing information and improving knowledge for policies in the fields of human rights, democracy, international migration, international relations, development, integration, labour. The goal is to contribute to a deepening and updating of our understanding of what actually might be a balanced human rights, democracy and migration policy in its broadest sense. This enhanced comprehension will ultimately
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contribute to sustainable, economically competitive and cohesive societies and also to the benefit of people and countries from less developed regions.

**EUMAGINE**

Funding scheme: Collaborative Project (Small and medium scale focused research project)
Activity: Activity 4 - Europe in the world
Research area: Conflicts, peace and human rights
Articulation of the rule of law and protection of human rights at national, European and international level