

**EUROPEAN IDENTITY: HISTORICAL IMAGES AND THE EU  
INITIATIVES**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **EUROPEAN IDENTITY: HISTORICAL IMAGES AND THE EU INITIATIVES**

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This thesis aims to describe and analyze the historical images of European identity and the contemporary initiatives of the European Union to promote it. By analyzing the common cultural elements that European identity consists of, namely Ancient Greece, Roman Empire, Christianity, Renaissance, Reformations, Enlightenment, French Revolution, and Modernity in terms of the images of European identity, the limits of these common cultural elements and how much they have contributed to the creation of a European identity will be presented. And by examining the contemporary initiatives of European Union to promote European Identity such as creating a European flag, anthem, passport, constitution, this thesis aims to explore and present the prospects for a common European Identity. In this regard, it is the main argument of the thesis that European identity is a limited form of a collective identity, among the multiple identities that a person has.

Keywords: European identity, European Union, collective identity, national identity.

## ÖZ

### **AVRUPA KİMLİĞİ: TARİHSEL GÖRÜNTÜLER VE AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ GİRİŞİMLERİ**

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Bu tez, Avrupa kimliğinin tarihsel görüntülerini, ve Avrupa Birliği'nin Avrupa kimliğini teşvik etme politikalarını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Avrupa kimliğini oluşturan ortak kültürel öğeler Antik Yunan'dan Roma İmparatorluğu'na, Hristiyanlık'tan Rönesans, Reform ve Aydınlanma'ya, Fransız Devrimi'nden Modernleşme'ye kadar incelenerek bu öğelerin sınırları ve Avrupa kimliğinin oluşumunda ne kadar katkıda buldukları gösterilecektir. Ayrıca Avrupa Birliği'nin ortak bir Avrupa bayrağı, marşı, pasaportu ve anayasası yaratarak Avrupa kimliğini teşvik etme amaçlı girişimleri ve politikaları incelenerek, ortak Avrupa kimliği yaratılması ihtimalleri araştırılıp, sunulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa kimliği, Avrupa Birliği, ulusal kimlik.

*To all graduate students who are on the long, arduous and ultimately rewarding path to completing their theses.*

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## **I. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE THESIS**

This thesis aims to analyze and describe the historical and contemporary images of European identity. The existence of a European identity has always been a vital point in European history. Historically, the concept of European identity has been used as a means for the political ends such as, providing the inner cohesion of Europe, defining the other and taking a common position against it. These calls for a common European identity can easily be witnessed in Crusades against Islam, and Cold War against Communism. Currently, in the decades of the deeply integrated European Union in the phase of a large enlargement, the question of European identity is still on the agenda.

By analyzing the common cultural elements that European identity consists of, and by examining the contemporary initiatives of European Union to promote it, this thesis aims to explore and present the prospects for a common European Identity.

In order to provide a foundation for the upcoming arguments, the second chapter of the thesis will include the term identity, different types of

identities, identity formation processes, and will go on with the basic idea of Europe as a cultural term apart from being a geographic entity.

In order to talk about European identity, the common objective elements that it consists of should be clarified. Therefore, the third chapter of the thesis will give general historical background information in order to define the common cultural elements of European identity. From Antiquity to Roman Empire, from Christianity and Reformations, to the Enlightenment and the Revolutions, major developments in the formation of Europe will be analyzed in terms of the images of European identity. And **“the limits of these common cultural elements and how much they have contributed to the creation of a European identity”** will be examined.

The European identity is often described in a somewhat flown manner as having its foundations in Antiquity; free thought, individualism, humanism and democracy which had their cradle in Athens. The discovery of the mind, the idea of paideia (humanness), the evolution of philosophy, the beginnings of critical cognition of reality, pre–Socratic thinkers, Plato and Aristotle, the Roman Empire, the idea of Res Publica, Roman Law, the Virtutes, Roman modification of Greek philosophy, Christianity, Christian social doctrine, Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, Modernity, the growth of towns, emergence of nation-state, development of

bourgeois economy, colonization, great revolutions and their intellectual foundations: human rights, basic freedoms, emergence of civil society, and representative government are all important elements in defining a European identity. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 26)

The primary sources for European History to be used in this study will be Hay's *The Emergence of an Idea*, Norman Davies' *Europe: A History*, Wallace F. Ferguson's *A Survey of European Civilization*, and Pim Den Boer's *The History of the Idea of Europe* since they are the most systematic and efficient ones that explain the subject matter, in comparison to other sources that have been reviewed.

The fourth chapter will consider **“the achievements and failures of the initiatives of the European Union to build up a European Identity based on a national model”** and the subjective identification of these initiatives by European people will be analyzed and presented.

Although the Treaty of Rome established the fundamental aim of the European Integration as the creation of an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe, “public support” was not a vital issue until the 1980s. European integration has been an elite-led, top-down affair primarily directed by a small layer of politicians and bureaucrats with little reference to the citizens of Europe. However, nowadays European

identity is on the agenda as the integration process is developing with both deepening and widening aspects. Identity formation and culture building became the political objectives of the European Union especially after 1980s, in an attempt to repair the deficiencies of integration and to bring more internal cohesion which concluded in the Commission strategy of consciousness-raising (Shore, 2000, p. 18). According to the European Commission:

The European identity is the result of centuries of shared history and common culture and fundamental values. But awareness of it can be strengthened by symbolic action, consciousness-raising campaigns and the growing convergence of European ambitions. (CEC, 1988)

For almost three decades supporters of European Integration have been seeing the promotion of a European consciousness and the creation of a European identity as a crucial policy goal. In the early seventies several leading politicians have placed the development of a supra-national identity on top of the EC political agenda during debates on the future of European Integration. A common European consciousness was seen as an inevitable factor for the successful transformation of the EC into a genuine supra-national political union. In the late eighties, this was translated in a large scale European public relations campaign and the introduction of a wide variety of Euro symbolism. With the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht and the introduction of the so-called European

citizenship, a new kind of supra-national legal status was created in order to create “People’s of Europe”. Finally 2000s witnessed the finalization of the text of a would-be European Constitution.

Chris Shore explains the various initiatives of EC, in order to restore the awareness of a common cultural heritage as an element in the European identity. These included the creation of:

- A new EC flag, which included twelve yellow stars set against a blue background,  
Even the selection of the flag was explained through cultural basis. Twelve was the symbol for perfection associated with the apostles, the sons of Jacob, the tables of the Roman legislator, the labors of Hercules.
- A Europe-wide audio-visual area through a multilingual television channel, to bring peoples of Europe closer,
- A European Academy of Science to emphasize the achievements of European science,
- Exchange programs and voluntary work camps for young people,
- Introduction of a European dimension in education,

By Jean Monnet Awards the Commission aimed to Europeanize university teaching by creating new university courses and lectures in European integration studies.

- Harmonized European passport, driving licenses and car number plates,
- A European anthem, the "Ode to Joy" from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.
- A Europe Day -9 May- the anniversary of the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community.
- The Constitution (Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe), which is clearly the best example of these initiatives.

According to the European officials a stable foundation of legitimacy for the European Union can only be achieved when Europeans perceive a European political identity. This does not imply that they would no longer feel themselves to be Swedes, Finns, French or Portuguese, but that the sense of a European common destiny will be added to their national identities. In addition, Article F of the Maastricht Treaty stated that "the Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States".

However, these attempts to construct European culture and identity have so far been firstly based on the same symbolic terrain as the old nation-states, secondly elitist, and lastly exclusive of the European people. It has been argued by many scholars that the EU has been borrowing the conventional symbols of nationhood such as parliament, flag, anthem and constitution. In this respect, socio-psychological forms of

Europeanness have been imitating-following the forms of the nation-state. (Shore, 2000, p. 44-50)

By comparing those policies of the European Union with the classical theories of Nation-Nationalism, Nation-State Formation, this thesis attempts to illuminate the prospects for a common European Identity based on national symbols. In addition to the classical works on Nations and Nationalism such as *A. D. Smith, Benedict Anderson, and E. J. Hobsbawm*, further reference to the European Union policies, speeches of EU officials will be given during the conduct of this study.

The conclusion will draw together the arguments of this study. It is the main argument of the thesis that European identity is a limited form of a collective identity. Being European is only one among the multiple identities that a person has. It is limited in a sense that, *first of all*, the common cultural elements that European identity consists of are limited to unite the European populations under a single common European identity. *Secondly*, because of the historical, geographical and linguistic limits of the common cultural elements, the European ideas were shaped mostly with a reference to non-Europeans and the European identity was defined according to its "Others". Therefore, European identity had to be reinvented according to its "Others", as they have changed throughout history. *Lastly*, the initiatives of the European Union's to overcome these



limits and promote a European identity are also limited as they are based on the conventional symbols of nationhood such as flag, anthem, passports, a Europe day, and constitution, even though, the EU lacks the core principles and the political character of a central nation-state.

## **II. IDENTITY AND THE IDEA OF EUROPE**

In order to make an analysis of the concept of European identity, the term “Identity” should firstly be clarified. To understand identity, we need to study psychology, sociology, culture, politics and economics as well as history and philosophy. However, it is out of the focus of this thesis to analyze identity in a *profound* manner, therefore, here the term identity will be explained on a limited basis including different types of identities and identity formation processes in order to provide a foundation for the upcoming arguments.

### **2.1 THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY - IDENTIFICATION THEORIES - TYPES OF IDENTITIES**

#### **Identity and Identification Theories**

Identity, in its simplest form, is an attribute of qualification of existence. Identity explains who you are, how you behave, where you are from, defines your position in the society. Identity gives us an idea of who a particular person is, how he behaves and provides us a location in the world with determining how he relates to others, and presents the links

between the society and him. (Yurdusev in Ismael and Aydin, 2003, p. 81)

Identities are names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past. Besides their social character, identities are historical, evaluated and de-evaluated. One's placement in social categories of identity has an enormous impact on one's life, career possibilities, potential friends and lovers etc. (Alcoff, 1992, p. 3)

Identification is a process by which a person either extends his identity into someone else, or borrows his identity from someone else. The process of identification requires some connections between individuals and the world they live. The person should be recruited into an identity, which involves some kind of active engagement from the person. It is a subjective/psychological process of association between oneself and something else. Our identities are shaped by social structures but we also participate in forming our own identities. The changes in social structures, economy, technology, migration, ethnic diversity, family life and gender roles constrain individuals and shape their identities.

Identification is only made if the dynamics of the situation are such that it is positively, and psychologically beneficial for the individual to do so. An

image or a set of symbols can evoke identification simply because they are presented logically, attractively to an individual. For identification to be made, the symbols have to be appropriate as a mode of behavior and attitude for a particular and real experience. Ideologies provide appropriate behavioral patterns and attitudes for diffuse life situations, and one of these ideologies may be the nation which gives the identity of nationality. (Bloom, 1990, p. 53-4)

Identification theory which is concerned with the psychological relationship between an individual and his social environment-the internalization of social attitudes- clarifies the attitude and the motivation of both the individual and the mass citizenry in relation to their state and their state's international relations. Bloom defines the term socialization as that whole process by which an individual is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group, is the precise point at which the individual meets society. The human infant has an active need to internalize the social mores in order to make sense of, and achieve security in the complex human environment. In order to achieve psychological security, every individual possess an inherit drive to internalize-to identify with- the behavior, mores and attitudes of significant figures in his social environment, in other words, people actively seek identity. Moreover, every human being has an inherit drive

to enhance and to protect the identifications he has made, in other words, people actively seek to enhance and protect identity. Through a shared identification they tend to act as one unit and mobilize as a coherent mass movement. Mass mobilization is possible when the individuals in the mass share the same identification. Therefore, it is advantageous for an entity (state, organization) to evoke a common identification and to possess a monopoly of power in terms of manipulating the symbols of that identity. (Bloom, 1990, p. 23)

In order to support the arguments about the identification theories, in this part, key arguments of the most significant figures will be presented.

According to Freud, firstly, identification is the original form of emotional tie with an object; secondly, with a new perception, it may add a common quality shared with some other person. Motivation for identification may be based on the defensive model; its purpose may be survival, or also socialization, a model for understanding the psychology of group cohesion in terms of a general shared identification. (Freud in Alcoff, 1992, p. 29-31)

On the other hand according to Mead personality is a purely social construct. The individual experiences himself indirectly, from the generalized standpoint of the social group to which he belongs, or from

the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group. So the self reaches its full development by organizing these individual attitudes of others into the organized social or group attitudes, by this self becomes an individual reflection of the general systematic patterns of social or group behavior. Identification is the result of social interaction, but Mead perceives its dynamic source is bio-psychological. It is through the successful use of the identification mechanism that the infant ensures its acceptance by its immediate social environment and the fulfillment of its primary needs for basic survival. (Mead in Alcott, 1992, p. 32-9)

Erikson believes that identity formation is a progressive, ongoing, and adaptive process, inherent within each human. There is psychological dynamic not only to make adaptive identifications, but also to protect and enhance identifications already made. Individuals have a drive to strengthen and defend their identity. Erikson also indicates the importance of identity in the health of the individual and its dynamic adaptive quality from infancy through the old age. There is a clear continuum between identity, ideology and culture. Thus a change of historical circumstances -divorce, war, revolution- will threaten the individual's sense of identity by removing and altering the external social coordinates. Reaction may be either in the form of protecting the already

held identity or making a new synthesis of identification appropriate to the situation. (Bloom, 1996, p. 35-9)

Habermas posits that satisfactory group identification is the essential prerequisite for a cohesive social system, and adds that human beings are positive actors on the social state. He adds that human beings seek, through the self-reflective symbolism of identity, to locate themselves in the cosmic environment. The humans and society actively seek to find, both in terms of locating and creating, their proper and true identity. Interpretations that members of a system use in identifying one another as belonging to the same group, and through this group identity establish their own self-identity. As life circumstances change, individuals may make new appropriate identifications, individuals may also seek to protect and enhance identifications already made. Therefore, identification, which he defines as the mechanism of internalizing the attitude, mores and behavior of significant others, is a psychological imperative based in the earliest infant need to survive. (Bloom, 1996, p. 46-9)

Identity is contextual, as it changes across time and space. A person may have different identities, at different stages of his life or at different places of the world. The most essential feature of identity is its multiple natures, which means that individuals hold different identities. Physical

identity consists of his sex, age, size; personal identity consists of his ideas, understandings and experiences and; collective identity defines his membership to a social group, ethnic race, religion, nation, state or an organization. (Berting in Verkuyten and Beckman, 1995, p. 53) After making this categorization of identities, the next section will proceed with the definitions, characteristics and types of collective identities.

### **Social and Collective Identities**

Social/Collective Identity can be defined by common objective elements notably, a common religion, language, common history, customs, institutions, myths, symbols etc. and subjective self-identification of these objective elements by internalization of people, which constitutes our sense of self-consciousness, who we are. Having common objective elements is not enough unless people are aware of them.

Identities are formed through social interaction between people. People present themselves to others through everyday interactions, through the ways they speak and dress, marking themselves as the same as those they share an identity, and different from others. Symbols and representations are important in marking difference and in both presenting ourselves to others and visualizing or imagining who we are.



We use symbols in order to make sense of ourselves in relation to the world we inhabit.

At the heart of the social identity theory is the notion that an individual's membership of social categories and social groups often constitutes an important aspect of that individual's self-concept. People engage in inter-group comparisons, attempting to construct their own in-groups as both different from, and superior to, out-groups of which they are not members. Social identity is a part of individuals' self-concept which derives from knowledge of membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance of that membership. (Breakwell and Lyons, 1996, p. 18)

Social identities contain ideas describing and categorizing an individual's membership in a social group including emotional and affective components. Groups of individuals perceive that they have something in common on the basis of which they form an "imagined community". Secondly, this commonness is accentuated by a sense of difference with regard to other communities. Individuals frequently tend to view the group with which they identify in a more positive way than the "out-group." (Anderson, 1991)

Collective identities such as ethnicity and nationality provide answers to the questions of origins, destiny and ultimately the meaning of life - wholeness and togetherness, social recognition and approval. A community has to have clear reality symbols in order to be more than an abstract idea. The symbols express complex and comprehensive meanings in a simple, perceivable, vivid and penetrating way; they also have a strong emotional appeal. (Billig in Verkuyten and Beckman, 1995, p. 89)

History, culture, religion, state, institutions and bureaucrats are all influential in constructing and maintaining collective identities. Identity may be based on a region, nation, ethnicity, religion or culture, each with a complex, ambiguous meaning and shifting according to circumstances. A collective identity, national, religious or ethnic one is invariably one of many. (Pieterse in Verkuyten and Beckman, 1995, p. 72)

Since identities are historically dependent on time and space, according to time and space, the individuals may privilege one identity over another. In other words some of these identities will be stronger than others, depending on their degree and cohesiveness. It is most probably that if there is an urgent need or a common threat or if the identity in question is beneficial for the individual, the degree and cohesiveness of that identity would increase. All of the collective identities in which human

beings share today, national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive. Therefore it will be the focus of the next section.

## **National Identity**

Identity is connected to a particular place, by feeling that you belong to that place. It is a place in which you feel comfortable, or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place. A prerequisite for a strong national identity is that citizens have a sense of loyalty to the state because it redistributes social resources and provides education, infrastructure, a legal system etc.

National identity describes the condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols.-have internalized the symbols of the nation- so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of these symbols of national identity. If a mass of people share the same national identification, they may act together as one unit to make new identifications, or to enhance and protect the identifications already made. (Bloom, 1990, p. 74-5)

Identification will occur if symbols of the state present an appropriate attitude in situations of perceived threat, or symbols of the state behave beneficently towards the individual. The symbols may be formal individuals-monarchs, institutions-constitutions, ideas-ballads.

Bloom refers to Deutsch and stresses that nation-building or political integration is a process whereby the inhabitants of a state's territory come to be loyal citizens of that state. By nation-building it is meant both the formation and the establishment of the new state itself as a political entity, and the process of creating viable degrees of unity and a sense of national identity among the people. Nation-building requires the mass of individuals to make identification with the nation state. This requires that the individual actually experiences the state, and this experience is such as to evoke identification.

Nation-building only occurs if the mass of citizens, directly or indirectly, actually experience the actions of the state. These actions will evoke identification only if the state is perceived as being involved in a common endeavor in relation to an external threat, or, the state acts beneficently towards its citizens.

Factors which will affect loyalty:

1. Individual psychological traits.
2. Degree to which identification has been evoked.
3. Intensity and perceived reality of communications and propaganda.
4. The general reaction or discourse of fellows who share the same identification.
5. The sanctions and constraints possessed by the entity claiming the individual's loyalty. (Bloom, 1990, p. 72-3)

Perhaps the most important of its functions is to provide a satisfying answer to the problem of personal consciousness. Identification with the nation in a secular era is the surest way to overcome the finality of death and ensure a measure of personal immortality. To identify with the nation is to identify with more than a cause or a collectivity. It is to be offered personal renewal and dignity in and through national regeneration. Another function of national identity is the importance it gives to realizing the ideal of union. Ethnic and nation are seen simply as a sum of many interrelated families. The symbols of the society remind fellow-citizens of their cultural bonds and political kinship through reaffirmations of identity and unity. (Smith, 1990, p. 160) Further information about national identity will be given in the fourth chapter.

After having dealt with the concept of identity, identification theories, and different types of collective identities, the next section will provide the basic idea of Europe as a cultural term apart from being a geographic entity. The different arguments on borders of Europe/European will be presented.

## **2.2 THE IDEA OF EUROPE**

The term Europe as a geographic concept has a long history, but the idea of Europe is a recent phenomenon. The name Europe had existed for thousand of years and for centuries it had been something no more than a neutral geographic expression. However, until the end of the eighteen century, Europe was a notion covering certain implicit and explicit assumptions rather than a clearly defined concept.

Historically European external borders were defined and shifted several times depending on political choices. Although there has been an awareness of being part of Europe and of Europe being the discriminating element, the term itself has covered a variety of meanings, which have changed with the historical circumstances. The most confusing frontier has always been the eastern frontier. Thus, presently there is no clear sense of geographical boundaries of Europe. (Wintle, 1996, p. 6)

Until the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire, the term Europe was a geographical expression. While the word 'Europe' existed, the term 'Europeans' did not. It was in the medieval period that Europe began to be used as a value in addition to its geographical meaning; the Islamic invasions along with the barbarian and Persian invasions gave a sense of Christendom to European identity since Europe and Christianity began to be used interchangeably with combining the Christianity as a wall against non-Christian world. Later, in the 18th century, although Christianity continued to play a role, it was no longer the dominant force since Europe began to possess civilizational values especially after secularization, Renaissance, Reform, Enlightenment, scientific revolutions and overseas expansion. The European identity became the symbol of freedom, progress, and civilization and Christian humanism.

The two world wars were an evidence of the collapse of European alliance system based on balance of power and were devastating for the idea of Europe and European identity. After the end of the Eastern Question with the First World War, by the formation of a western oriented Turkish Republic taking place of the fallen Ottoman Empire, the communism replaced the adversarial role of Islam. After the Second World War communism made up the perfect other not only as an instrument for uniting the western liberal democracies but also as a mechanism unifying them with exceeding the challenges of nation states.

Thus, Islam's place as an "other" was replaced by communism. During the Cold War, Europe was degraded as being an economic community among capitalist nation states against the totalitarian communism. However, with the transformation of European order since 1989, the geopolitical boundary between the EC/EU and the East which had seemed permanent suddenly disappeared. The absence of an ideological enemy at the central European borders created new opportunities to reconsider the geopolitical boundary existed between EU and the East.

For those reasons, where Europe starts and ends as a geographical and political entity is one of the most important questions challenging European identity today since there is no agreed version of the geographical scope of Europe. That is a fact, which proves once again that Europe, even in geographical sense, is not an objective reality apart from a state of mind (Wintle, 1996, p. 23-4).



### III. COMMON CULTURAL ELEMENTS OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND THEIR LIMITS

In order to talk about European identity, the common objective elements that it is consisted of should be clarified. Therefore, in this chapter of the thesis general historical background information will be given in order to define the common cultural elements of European identity. From Antiquity to Roman Empire, from Christianity and Reformations, to the Enlightenment and the Revolutions, major developments will be analyzed in terms of the image of European identity. And **“the limits of these common cultural elements and how much they have contributed to the creation of a European identity”** will be presented.

According to the European Commission “the European identity is the result of centuries of shared history and common culture and fundamental values”. (CEC, 1988)

Although there is not an agreement on the existence of a common European identity, most scholars accept that if we are to discuss it, we should take into consideration the elements it may or may not consist of.

Therefore, in order to:

- understand contemporary European developments through a consideration of the history of the idea of Europe,
- consider the aspects of European cultural diversity through investigations into European culture,
- examine fundamental components of European culture,
- locate Europe as a political and economic entity in a context of global change; this chapter will briefly explain the common cultural elements of European identity.

### **3.1 COMMON CULTURAL ELEMENTS OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY**

#### **3.1.1 ANCIENT GREECE**

The European identity is often described in a somewhat flown manner as having its foundations in Antiquity; free thought, individualism, humanism and democracy which had their cradle in Athens. The Greek tradition of the polis, the civilization of social life and the Greek understanding of politics had a deep influence on political and cultural life of Europe. There is a cultural bond between Ancient Greece and Europe in terms of forms of culture, political and social organization, religion and ethics. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 35)

The geographic conditions for human development in Greece seem to have been influential in defining the political and economic characteristics of the city-states of the Ancient Greece. Miniature islands and city-states which were broken up by nature, lacked resources to support growing population, so trading posts and colonies established in Anatolia, Italy, even in Middle East. The geography which affected the developments in trade, colonization, was also the reason of disunity and diversity among the city-states, as one major power was never able to dominate the whole area. (Carrie, 1966, p. 8)

Despite the fact that there are cardinal differences between the forms of Ancient Greek Democracy and Modern European Democratic practices, it is a fact that the former has a huge influence on the latter. Greek democracy was for citizens only; participation was limited to those titled as citizens, excluding slaves. There was no doctrine of equality of all men. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 30) However, despite slavery Greece was the fatherhood of democratic idea and practice, and individual freedom. (Carrie, 1966, p. 9) Greek Democracy consisted of a law code, legislative assembly, jury courts, demos and people, equality before the law, public servants accountable for their actions.

Greek Religion; animism and fetishism, saw the world as one great city of Gods and man. (The Olympian Pantheon – Mount Olympus – Zeus,

Hera, Apollo god of light, Ares god of war, Poseidon god of sea, Dionysus god of wine) Although this form of religion was not influential in European religion, it was felt in various cultural domains of European people, such as literature, drama, music etc.

The view of man as a rational entity and the application of the rational faculty to the understanding and control of the universe is also a great contribution of Greece to Europe. The discovery of the mind, the idea of paideia (humanness), the evolution of philosophy, the beginnings of critical cognition of reality, pre-Socratic thinkers, Plato and Aristotle have all influenced European philosophy. (Carrie, 1966, p. 7) Foundations of western philosophy were established by Socrates, Plato, Aristotle who were the pioneers also in the fields such as epistemology, speculative and natural philosophy, idealism, theory, logic, dialectic, physics, biology, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, arithmetic and geometry.

The influence of their original thought in the fields of art, literature, and science shaped the culture of Western Europe. We can find poetry, drama, art, scientific speculation and political institutions that we can comprehend. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 35) In the field of arts Greek tradition has a huge impact on European culture. For example; Greek literature, the forms of epic poetry of Homer deeply affected classicist authors, in

drama tragedias of Sophocles and comedies of Aristophanes have influenced classic and modern European drama.

In addition, politically, diplomatic relationship in terms of negotiation, resolving disputes, and trade agreements, dual hegemony of Athens and Sparta, balance of power system were all models for inter-state relations of Modern Europe. (Viotti, 2001, p. 40)

Because of the difference in language, customs, characteristics and distinct systems of governance; confrontation between the Greeks and Persians, was regarded as the confrontation between Europe and Asia, freedom and despotism. (Boer, 1995, p. 15) Persian and Peloponnesian wars were important in creating a Greek identity which was the start of subjective labeling of Civilization to Greece, Europe, and West. (Free Hellas, Glorious West, the land of Liberty, the home of Beauty and Wisdom vs. East, seat of Slavery, Brutality, Ignorance, and Tyranny)

This subjective labeling of Civilization to Europe is common for European history, as Europeans regarded their others as inferior, uncivilized and ignorant which can easily be witnessed during the Medieval and Modern periods, and the period of Cold War, even some scholars argue that current attitude towards migrants is influenced by this wave.

During the Macedonian Rule in the Hellenistic Age, which first controlled Greece then Persia then Egypt then India, Greek culture was disseminated throughout the civilized world. Macedonian Rule was a transitional period from the city-state culture of classical Greece to universal and composite culture of the Roman Empire. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 42) In other words, during the Hellenistic period Greek culture spread and leavened.

As a conclusion, much of the Greek civilization was lost; much rediscovered during Renaissance; much survived for Greece to claim to be the heir; much is still felt in many European countries; and much was absorbed by Romans and passed to Christian and Byzantium traditions, which will be the theme of the next heading.

### **3.1.2 ROMAN EMPIRE**

The founding of the Roman Empire by Augustus was the decisive step in the creation of a world-state in which were gathered together under one ruler and under the protection of the Pax Romana the civilized peoples of all those lands that border on the Mediterranean. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 51) During the first five centuries of that era, the Roman Empire supplied the framework of civilization. Within that framework the various ancient cultures interacted upon one another and became more cosmopolitan. In

deed, two new ingredients of lasting importance; firstly, the Christian religion, and secondly the conception of a universal, international world-state with laws that were the common possession of all civilized people were added to the evolution of Western civilization.

One of the unique characteristics of the Roman world which distinguished it from any other civilization was its quality of cohesiveness and unity in its organization. The physical bonds, the network of military garrisons stationed in every province, and the network of stone-built roads linked the provinces with Rome. In addition, the organizational bonds, the common principles of law and administration, universal army with common standards provided the unity in a vast geographic domain. These characteristics of the Roman Empire had deep impact on European political life. (Davies, 1996, p. 173)

Roman Empire was an imperial international system, including Italy, Germany, Britain, Spain, France, North Africa, Egypt, and the Middle East. It was viewed as the legitimate authority by the vast majority of its diverse communities.

In the field of politics and society, the accomplishments of Rome were impressive and lasting. An empire essentially Mediterranean, expanded to the north till Hadrian's Wall, to the east the Rhine and Danube, and

North Africa and the Near East, excluding much we now consider European. The management of the vast Roman domain meant a considerable measure of uniformity in administration, and preservation of order, by honoring the conception of Law. (Carrie, 1966, p. 11-12)

Roman law is the most enduring contribution to world history. The word Law comes from the Latin word Lex which means the bond that binds. Even this word demonstrates the uniformity of administration over a large territory. Roman law which can be regarded as one of the main pillars of European civilization, included the governance of the empire, rationalizing the legal and administrative systems throughout the empire, standardization of currency, weights and measures. It included Twelve Tables which were equally binding on all citizens. Twelve Tables distinguished the two main components:

The State Law (*jus civile*) which regulated the relations between the citizens, and the International Law (*jus gentium*) which regulated the relations between the states. (Davies, 1996, p. 175)

Its legal system was perhaps Rome's greatest contribution to civilization. It was more just and humane than any previous code, and it has formed the foundation for the civil law of most modern European countries. Based on the jurisprudence rather on legislation, the Roman code was constantly reinterpreted to keep it with harmony with the changing needs



of the age. Justice and human brotherhood was the most important aspects, that equity is more important than legality and that all free man are equal before the law. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 54) According to Cicero this rule of law not only ensured sound government, commercial confidence, and orderly society, but also provided the people with the highest degree of safety. In addition Roman order provided the quality of city life, housing, cleanliness, food and personal security, widespread educational opportunities for all of its citizens. (Viotti, 2001, p. 45-46)

Once the Empire adopted Christianity as the state religion, religious conversion became a matter of imperial policy. As the Roman world became Christian, the Christian Church replaced the imperial Rome as the institution (*Res publica Christiana*), and the Papacy started to be seen as the sole defender of the Christendom and Europe, which will be dealt in the next the part.

### **3.1.3 CHRISTIANITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES**

Until the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire, the term Europe was a geographical expression. While the word 'Europe' existed, the term 'Europeans' did not. It was in the medieval period that Europe began to be used as a value in addition to its geographical meaning; the Islamic invasions along with the barbarian invasions, gave a sense of

Christendom to European identity since Europe and Christianity began to be used interchangeably with combining the Christianity as a wall against non-Christian world. (Wintle, 1996, p. 13)

Throughout the middle Ages the unity of the Roman Catholic Church was the bond that held together various peoples of Western Europe. In the middle ages, the vacuum left by the decline of the Roman Empire was filled by the growing awareness of Christendom, not just as a religious community but also as a coherent political entity. Davies indicates that “the spiritual and temporal leaders of Christianity gradually assumed the responsibility of the Caesars”. (Davies, 1996, p. 291) As the Roman world became Christian, identification of Europe with Christendom emerged, Empire and the Papacy started to be seen as the sole defenders of the Christendom and Europe. (Res publica Christiana) However, after the dissolution of the Roman Empire the Christian Church replaced the imperial Rome as the one and only institution.

During Middle Ages the notion of the unity of humankind was the Christian Church. The private and public life was conducted in the framework of Christianity. In the three centuries which followed the deposition of the Roman Empire, the foundations of medieval civilization were laid in blending of Roman, Germanic and Christian elements that

was to make up the composite culture of the Middle Ages. (Carrie, 1966, p. 15)

The main characteristics of the era according to Norman Davies were:

- Physical, social and intellectual immobility.
- Slow pace of technological change.
- Closed character of feudal society.
- Fixed and theocratic perceptions of human life.
- Hierarchy; everyone and everything that was inherently inferior should be subordinated to their superiors.

Medieval civilization is called theocratic; as it was governed by the pervasive concept of the Christian God. God's will was sufficient to explain all phenomena. The service of God was seen as the sole legitimate purpose of all human enterprise. (Davies, 1996, p. 314)

During this era Islam, as a universal religion, appealing to all nations, classes, sexes, provided the perfect other of Europe and Christianity. The interaction of Christians and Muslims has provided one of the most enduring features of Europe's political and cultural life. Islam's conquests turned Europe into Christianity's main base. Muslim territory cut the Christians off from all direct contact with other religions and civilizations. Islam provided the solid, external shield within which Christendom could

be consolidated and defined. Islam provided the single greatest stimulus to what was eventually called Europe. There were two main tasks for Christendom: to fight Islam and to convert the remaining pagans.

Then, in the 18th century, although Christianity continued to play an important role, it was not enough to define Europe. Christianity was no longer the dominant force since Europe began to possess civilizational values especially after the developments that will be analyzed in the following headings.

### **3.1.4 RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION, ENLIGHTENMENT**

Renaissance and Reformation were the twin cradles of European modernity. They were the engines of change of political, cultural and social character of the European society.

#### **Renaissance**

Renaissance came from the word, Renatio, which meant rebirth, spiritual rebirth, resurrection from the dead, independence of mind, liberation and refreshment, and awareness of human potential. (Davies, 1996, p. 469)

Renaissance - cultural rebirth was the ethical and humanistic movement that elevated individual. (Viotti, 2001, p. 53)

The main causes of Renaissance were:

- the growth of cities and trade,
- the rise of rich and powerful capitalist patrons,
- technical progress,
- the malaise of the Church,
- the depression surrounding the Church's traditional teaching.

(Davies, 1996, p. 469)

The mode of thinking which is supposed to distinguish modern European civilization both from medieval Christendom and from other non-European civilizations such as Islam had no clear beginning and no end. However, with Donatello, Gilbeto, Leonardo da Vinci and Machiavelli, Florence can claim to be the pioneer of Renaissance and 'the mother of modern Europe'. It somehow contrived to be the most remarkable feature of the age and yet to be separated from the main aspects of everyday political, social and cultural life. (Davies, 1996, p. 470)

The New Learning of Renaissance consisted of the:

- Cultivation of the long-neglected classical authors such as Cicero, Homer,
- Cultivation of ancient Greece as an essential partner to Latin,

- Rise of biblical scholarship based on critical study of the original Hebrew and Greek texts which also provided an important bond between secular Renaissance and the religious Reformation.
- Man-centered view of Renaissance, on the dignity of man, individual conscience, autonomous individual.
- Scientific endeavor, the principle that nothing should be taken as true unless it can be tried and demonstrated.
- Synthesis between faith and reason, tradition and innovation, convention and conviction.
- Developments in printing, publishing of books in national tongues which in turn resulted in the national sentiment and nationalization of culture.
- Self-confidence, that humanity was capable of mastering the world in which it lived.

The essence of the Renaissance lay not in any sudden discovery of classical civilization but rather in the use of which was made classical models to test the authority underlying conventional taste and wisdom. In the long term, Renaissance was the first stage in the evolution which led via the Reformation and the Scientific Revolution to the Enlightenment. Davies views Renaissance as the spiritual force which cracked the mould of medieval civilization, setting in motion the long process of disintegration which gradually gave birth to “modern Europe”. (Davies, 1996, p. 574)

## **Reformation**

At the second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Martin Luther initiated the forces that were to divide the universal church into warring sects and to make religious dispute the important center for political rivalries, economic and social discontents. The explosive forces of the new nationalism, the new ethical and moral interests of the bourgeois class and the new humanistic piety, combined with the old grievance against Rome and the discontent with the clerical system resulted in the split of the unity of the ancient church, beyond all hope of rebuilding it. (Ferguson, 1958, p. 373)

Main reasons of Reformations according to Ferguson were:

- Influence of Humanists,
- national oppositions to Rome,
- changing spirit of the age,
- the abuses in the church which were; wealth and temporal power, the jurisdiction of papal courts, the avarice, ignorance, immorality of clergy, and the sale of indulgences.

In 1508, Martin Luther nailed a sheet of 95 theses to the door of castle church, against the sale of indulgences (paper certificates guaranteeing relief from punishment). Within 10 years Augustinian monk from Saxony

Martin Luther found himself at the head of Protestant revolt. Luther, a medieval monk, aimed to restore the institution of which he was a member to its purity and original purpose from which he felt that it had deviated. According to Luther religious belief should be a matter of private conscience to decide rather than for the state to enforce, which was first the sign of the trend toward secularism. (Justification by faith alone) (Carrie, 1966, p. 32) Secular and religious authority should be separate. His struggle for a right relationship with god, undercut papal authority and any hope for a unified Christendom. (Viotti, 2001, 54)

The Reformation caused a wave of religious revival which affected not just the scholars but the masses. Its aim was keeping Catholic Church intact, cleansed and unified religion. It aimed the religious revival driven by popular disgust at the decadence of the clergy. (Davies, 1996, p. 482)

Luther was distinguished with his argument of “justification by faith alone”. In Switzerland a humanist named Zwingli who insisted on the authority of the Bible, and turned to the evangelical Christianity. In 1518 Zwingli started his movement by denouncing indulgences, authority of bishops, shared the concept of justification by faith alone. And Calvin whose main focus was predestination, insisted in the separation of church and state, and offered to find the sole source of joy and guidance in the daily reading of bible. By emphasizing the necessity of bible



reading, he made a major impact on education and popular literacy in the protestant countries.

Lutheranism appealed directly to independent-minded princes especially in the German cities. It also appealed to the urban bourgeoisie, nobility, landed gentry and magnates. It confirmed the legitimacy of their rule while maintaining the existing social order by using of national languages, translations of bible into national languages, using their own national language in literature.

By encouraging the critical study of the New Testament, the Renaissance led the new generations to dream about lost virtues of primitive Christianity, and the lost age of Antiquity. In Ferguson's words, Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it.

After reformation, the Christian religion was not abandoned, but the power of the church was gradually enclosed within the religious sphere. (Davies, 1996, p. 492)

### **Counter-Reformation and the Wars of Religion**

Catholic Reformation was the reform of religious moral. It intended to bring together all the forces of the church against the growing threat of

Protestantism by the revival of a more vital Catholic piety, and by the removal of abuses. In other words, its endeavor was the defense of the holy Catholic faith.

Its main aim was to convert the heathen, to reconvert the lapsed, and above all to educate. The Jesuits who were the main actors of this process aroused immense fear and hatred, came to be seen as the church's secret police, accountable to no one. Council of Trent provided the new doctrinal definitions and institutional structures. But idea of blind obedience continued.

In Germany in 1555 at the Peace of Augsburg: each prince was to decide on the religion of his subjects and Lutherans living in Catholic states were to be tolerated. In each country the church whether, Protestant or Catholic, had become closely identified with the national, political and governmental interests of the state. There was growing religious tolerance, for example Poland-Lithuania contained the mosaic of Catholic, Orthodox, Judaic and Muslim faiths even before Lutheranism and Calvinism. But pressures of Catholic Church pushed Northern Europe Protestant and Russia Orthodox. In spite of these developments, passions and hatreds once reserved for the campaign against Islam now fired the conflicts between Christians. Protestant and Catholic fears of

domination surfaced in the wars, they were fighting for the only true faith.  
(Davies, 1996, p. 506)

Thirty Years War may be regarded as an extension of the international wars of religion between Catholic and Protestant, and an important stage in a Continental power struggle involving most of the states and rulers of Europe.

Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia which put an end to that conflict marks the end of the era of religious conflict and beginning of the new era of dynastic and national wars for economic and territorial enlargement. It laid the foundations for the modern state system of Europe by the recognition of the sovereignty of states.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) put an end to that conflict and set the ground plan for international order in central Europe for the next century.

- It brought an era of equilibrium, and it may be regarded as the birth of Modern European state system.

- It laid the foundations of the principle of Balance of Power, the acceptance by all powers of the right of all to exist. (Stability within competition and conflict)

- By declaring the idea of sovereign states as opposed to the community of Christendom, it laid the foundations of modern nationality.

- It strengthened the Princes by granting them the right to sign foreign treaties. (Viotti, 2001, p. 51)

The Pope Innocent X protested the agreement as it dashed the hopes for a united Christendom for ever. (Davies, 1996, p. 565)

Christianity continued to play a role in the self-image of Europeans during the 18th century but it was no longer the dominant force. By the 18th century Europe and Christendom were no longer synonyms. (Pin den Boer, 1995, p.38) Reformation was a fatal blow to the ideal of united Christendom. Until the 1530s Christendom had been split into two halves- Orthodox and Catholic. From 1530s onwards it was split into three- Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant. And the Protestants themselves were split into ever more rival factions.

## **Enlightenment**

The Age of Enlightenment refers to the 18th century in European philosophy, and is often thought of as part of a larger period which includes the Age of Reason. This movement advocated rationality as a means to establish an authoritative system of ethics, aesthetics, and knowledge. The intellectual leaders of this movement regarded themselves as courageous and elite, and regarded their purpose as

leading the world toward progress and out of a long period of doubtful tradition, full of irrationality, superstition, and tyranny, which they believed began during a historical period they called the "Middle-Dark Ages". They believed that human reason could be used to combat ignorance, superstition, and tyranny and to build a better world. Their principal targets were religion and the domination of society by a hereditary aristocracy. (Davies, 1996, p. 610-11)

The consensus between Reason and Faith, as promised by the Renaissance humanists was naturally and necessarily followed by Reason. As a reaction to the excessively decentralized institutions left over from the medieval era, absolutism came into existence. Diplomacy was increasingly governed by the Balance of Power- a doctrine which viewed any change in one part of Europe a potential threat to the whole. The Roman Catholic Church settled into a routine that no longer sought to recover the Protestant lands. Much of its energies were directed abroad, America and India. The impact of Europe's growing contacts with distant continents and cultures was the questioning and comparing the religions, folklore, and culture of the world with European and Christian assumptions.

In France architects of enlightened ideas were Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau; although differentiating in their arguments they agreed

that, man through the use of his rational faculty could understand, and then master his environment and could organize the perfect society for himself. (Carrie, 1966, p. 50) In specific, Voltaire (fair to say) fought for tolerance in religion, peace and liberty in politics, enterprise in economics, and freedom for citizens. Montesquieu argued that the principle of separation of powers is a precondition for freedom in internal politics, and identified Europe with the idea of freedom. Rousseau became well-known for his concept of social contract and that man is born free. He found the meaning of life in social justice.

This movement, as well as providing a framework for rise of capitalism and the birth of socialism, led the way to the American and French Revolutions, from which the latter one will be explored in the following heading.

### **3.1.5 FRENCH REVOLUTION**

The developments that had taken place during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries had significant effects on the political and cultural life of European people. The technological and organizational changes namely the invention of steam-power driven machinery (Industrial Revolution), brought the actual use of machinery in every aspect of daily life. (Farming, steam power, machines, mines, factories)

Secondly, and more importantly, the political developments taking place in the new continent namely War of American Independence, and the Declaration of Independence by the 13 Colonies gave a new sense to European political life. In 1776, after the American Declaration of Independence by the 13 colonies, it was declared that; all men were equal, all had inalienable rights-life, liberty and happiness, governments secure these rights deriving their powers from people, people have the right to change governments to effect their safety and happiness. This was a sign of growing social awareness of the masses.

Specifically, the major effect of the French support to the American war of independence was the bankruptcy of the French treasury, which was the one of the most important factors behind the Revolution. (Carrie, 1966, p. 56)

In 1779 an idea was born, in other words the seed of an idea planted long ago, came into flower in France. It was an idea of universal applicability that intended to organize society on a new basis to substitute the people, the nation for the king as the source of sovereignty. (Carrie, 1966, p. 58)

French Revolution was a complete overthrow or a system of government together with its social, economic, and cultural foundations. It promised

liberation from the traditional oppressions enshrined in monarchy, nobility and organized religion. The argument of this part is to show that French Revolution was a universally applicable idea to organize society on a new basis of liberty, equality, union, which laid the foundations of Modern Europe. It was universal because the revolutionaries were acting on behalf of all people, pitting themselves against tyranny, accepting the common humanness of man.

In the First Phase, which was between 1789-1794, we witness the sweeping away of all the institutions of the previous political and social order. King was deposed, and the Republic declared. Within two years a constitution was drafted. France was to be a constitutional monarchy; the locus of power was in the hands of the legislature. There was a shift in the idea of divine derivation of monarchical institution, and the principle of popular sovereignty was introduced. The people and the nation replaced the king as the source of power in the state. The idea that 'Full sovereignty rests with the nation, there is no other source of authority' was established. (Boer, 1995, p. 65) In religion, the civil establishment of clergy turned all the priests into salaried state officials, and sequestered all Church property.

In the Second Phase instability continued till Napoleon became first the Consul in 1802 and the emperor in 1804. Expansion of France under the



rule of Napoleon meant that the ideas and institutions of the Revolution were spread, leading to a measure of unity and coherence. It formed an excellent breeding ground for nationalist movements all around the world.

The most important phenomenon was the concept of Human Rights.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen on 26 August 1789 included the articles listing mankind's natural, inalienable and sacred rights.

- Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.
- The purpose of political association is the preservation of right to liberty, property, safety from and resistance to oppression.
- The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation.
- Arrestment and punishment according to Law.
- Freedom of thought and conscience, religion.
- Free communication of thoughts (speaking, writing, and publishing).
- Equality of taxation.
- Right to property.
- Slavery was outlawed.

By the declaration of these rights, foundations of the concept of the modern state, in the sense of centralized administration applying

common laws uniformly to all citizens over the whole territory, and the abolition of privilege or class distinction were established. From top to bottom, the structure of the state was to be renovated with the new administrative divisions, new education methods, even with the new measurement units and calendar. All these presents the strong bond between the French Revolution and Europe in terms of forms of political and social organization, culture, and religion.

### **3.1.6 MODERNITY**

Modernization is the complex series of transformations which communities undergo. Its starting-point is the traditional type of agrarian, peasant-based society, where the majority of people work on the land and produce their own food; and its destination is the modern type of urbanized and industrial society, where most people earn their living in towns and factories. (Davies, 1996, p. 759)

The developments in agricultural production, mobility of labor, new sources of power-coal, gas, oil, electricity-, transportation, aviation, capital investment, communication, foreign trade, industrialization, local, regional and international migration, education have all been influential in the way to modernity.

The dynamism about the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe exceeds anything previously known. Europeans were impressed by the new forces which surrounded them. They witnessed new physical forces, from the electric current to dynamite; new demographic forces which went along with an extraordinary growth of population; new social forces which brought the masses face to face with public concern; new commercial and industrial forces that prospered on the extreme expansion of markets and technology; new military forces that could mobilize millions of men and machines; new cultural forces which generated movements of mass demands; new political forces which won unchallenged supremacy throughout the world. (Davies, 1996, p. 763)

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe was the center of technical, economic, cultural, intercontinental power. Its losers were who could not adapt and compete, who were the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Austria-Hungary.

With reference to the political developments; with the emergence of new ideologies, the foundation of political life of Modern Europe was established. Politics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century centered on the monarchies whose supremacy were restored but gradually undermined by the three great movements of the age, namely, Liberalism, Nationalism, and Socialism.

## **Liberalism**

Political liberalism focused on government by consent. Pioneers were the American Revolution, English parliamentarianism, and the revolution in France. It included the rule of law, individual liberty, constitutional procedures, religious toleration, and universal rights of man.

On the other hand, economic liberalism focused on concept of free trade, doctrine of *laissez-faire*, and included the right of men of property, and to engage in commercial and industrial activities without restraint.

## **Socialism**

The middle classes had been deeply influenced by the ideals of democracy of the French revolution, the Industrial Revolution brought important economical and social changes, and the lower classes started to be influenced by Socialist, Communist and Anarchistic ideas. Socialism opposed to exploiters and manipulators, and stressed on the protection of society as a whole. By subordinating the individual rights to the common good, they aimed to guarantee a tolerable life to poor and the oppressed through equal distribution of wealth.

According to Davies from the start-point of 1815 the century evolved through three clear stages, those of reaction (1815-48), reform (1848-1871) and rivalry (1871-1914). In the first stage the Congress of Vienna (1815) tried to suppress the changes, restore the rights of monarchy. It set the conservative Continental order against all reformers and revolutionaries. But after 1848, in the second stage, the powers reluctantly accepted that controlled reform was preferable to endless resistance, and important concessions were made. Constitutions were granted, national independence movements were supported. In the final stage, Europe entered a period of intense rivalry, aggravated by diplomatic realignments, military rearmament, and colonial competition.

### **European Imperialism**

It differed from the earlier forms of imperialism; it was a world-wide struggle for control of the remaining countries for exploitation. The supply of raw materials, cheap labor, and semi-finished products was planned to maximize the benefit to the mother country. World's resources are finite so states which set up a colonial gain a permanent advantage. The growing competition for colonial resources was one of the major reasons leading to international conflict. Seeds of problems were emerging; namely rivalry between France and Germany, and Eastern Question, which were to end in a major continental war devastating the whole

Europe. The five European powers were going on the general war which they had continuously and persistently avoided for ninety years.

### **3.2 THE LIMITS OF THE COMMON CULTURAL ELEMENTS**

The aim of this chapter has been to show that, although the European people are all affected from the same historical experiences such as the Ancient Greek and Roman traditions, Christianity, Renaissance, Reform, Enlightenment and French Revolution, these historical realities are not experienced by all European people in the same ways. Even though Europe is perceived as the source of democracy, human rights, nation-states, industrialization and capitalism, all of these concepts show different specialties in different European communities. As identity is dynamic and historically dependent, there is plurality of histories and cultures which make up European identities rather than the concept of cultural unity. (Delanty, 1995, p. 156-57)

There may be a familiar history shared by most Europeans, however lived from different perspectives. Thus, there is not one image of Europe but rather there are a variety of images such as the German Europe, the French Europe or the British Europe. In other words, different nationals of Europe do not perceive the historical experiences at the same manner. To provide an example: Athenians might relate their

understanding of European democracy to Ancient Greece. On the other hand, French Europeanness also encompasses liberal values, but they are related to a Europeanized version of French enlightenment and revolutionary values. (Risse, 2000, p. 6) And this reality is making the formation of a European identity more difficult to achieve. (Bellier, 2000, p. 2)

Secondly, there is not a definite geographic map of Europe. If we search the boundaries of Europe, historically European external borders were defined and shifted several times depending on political choices. The most confusing frontier has always been the eastern frontier. When territories were lost to non-Europeans it was not of Europe, however when regained, the same territory was again regarded in European borders. Even Spain was regarded as out of Europe when controlled by Muslims. Thus, presently there is no clear sense of geographical boundaries of Europe. For that reason, where Europe starts and ends as a geographical and political entity is one of the most important questions challenging European identity today since there is no agreed version of the geographical scope of Europe. That is a fact, which proves once again that Europe, even in geographical sense, is not an objective reality apart from a state of mind. (Wintle, 1996, p. 24)

Thirdly, language is also one of the other core values of individual culture and an important element on creating a common culture since it facilitates communication not only within the community but also between the political administration and mass public. Even though Latin and English were used as a common language in different times in Europe, currently in the European Union of 25 members there are twenty official national languages. Thus, language is one of the biggest barriers for the establishment of a common European identity.

Last but not least, in spite of a chapter wholly devoted to Christianity above, it can not be argued that there is a common religion uniting all Europeans, as there are the divisions among Christians (Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants), not to mention the existence of other religions in Europe (Judaism and Islam).

On the other side of the coin, explaining European culture with the references from the wisdom and scholarship of Ancient Greece, the law and architecture of Rome, the spread of Christian civilization, scientific revolution, the age of reason, the triumph of modern liberal democracy would also be misleading, as, this is a selective re-reading of history, which systematically excludes Europe's dissolute episodes. (Brown, 1996, p. 96)



Derrida argues that Europe has been presented as the ideal example of everything pure, authentic, spiritual; a teleological model for everybody else: a “Universal Heading” for all the nations and the peoples of the world. Europe has always defined itself as the capital of culture, human rights, international law, and freedom of thought. As a result, European cultural area refers to a distinctive, bounded region set apart from others by race, religion, language and habitat. And this is a threat facing Europe, to return to old forms of nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and religious fanaticism. (Derrida, 1992)

Although most people today prefer to acknowledge European identity with democracy rather than totalitarianism, it is obvious that colonization, fascism, racism, genocide, xenophobia are also elements of European history. (Delanty, 1996, p. 114)

In addition, awareness of a shared history seems difficult to be an element of European identity since there are also historical divisions and prejudices which also constitute an obstacle to produce a unified historical tradition. The core European values notably, Greco-Roman tradition, Christian theology, Renaissance humanism and individualism, Enlightenment rationalism and science, tradition of civil rights, democracy, rule of law and so on, divided rather than uniting the peoples of Europe, and resulted in serious conflicts most of them took place in

the form of bloody wars. The length of a book of History of European Wars would without doubt be lengthier than this thesis. (Brown, 1996, p. 118)

Since there is plurality of histories and cultures which make up European identities, instead of defining European identity by a sense of solidarity arising out of shared histories, the point of unity is found outside Europe. Therefore, European identity was defined according to its “Others”, which will be the main topic of the next section.

### **3.3 THE ROLE OF THE “OTHER” IN THE FORMATION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY**

Identity is a dualistic concept, for every ‘us’; there must be a corresponding ‘them’. For identification process, there is a need for the other. It is a logical condition that identification requires distinction. Creation of the boundaries between self and other constitutes the process of the construction of identities. (Bloom, 1990, p. 50-1)

How the other perceived is rather important in identity formation and the relations of different collectivities or groups. The other may just be seen as a difference, something or somebody with some unfamiliar characteristics

that make the characteristics of the unit of identity or collectivity in concern familiar.

On the other hand, the other may be seen as a threatening force and it does not make some elements of the identity unit just familiar things, but valuable, right and good. In this case the identity is formed largely in negative terms and through exclusion. Therefore, by treating the others in negative terms and negating them, you in fact make your identity affirmative and positive without ever describing yourself. However, self-definition does not necessarily require the negation of others. It may be done through differentiation or distinction as well. Identity formation is a dualistic process with its inclusion and exclusion aspects. (Yurdusev in Ismael and Aydın, 2003, p. 82-3)

However, the problem with the European identity is that, the concept of exclusion, otherness is very powerful in the formation of European identity. In the European case since there is little within the European traditions capable of uniting the continent, the point of unity is found outside Europe. Instead of identity being defined by a sense of belongingness and solidarity arising out of shared life-worlds, it becomes focused on opposition to an "Other". Then "We" is defined not by reference to a framework of shared experience, common goals and a collective horizon, but by the negation of the "Other". The purity and stability of the "We" is

guaranteed in the name of the otherness. This dichotomy between “Self” and “Other” has been central in the making of European identity. (Breakwell, 1996, p. 16)

Indeed, one of the reasons why the European identity was uncertain, changeful and complex was the fact that the European ideas were shaped mostly with a reference to non-Europeans. Since non-Europeans changed many times in history, it is a normal process that the perception of European identity changed. As the category of non-Europeans is so wide, the idea of Europe too, is so complex and diverse. (Delanty, 1995, p. 161-162) Therefore, European identity had to be reinvented according to its Other, as they have changed throughout history. (Islam, Turks, Ottomans, Russians, Nazi Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and USA, the Third World) Therefore, constantly changing others of Europe has been the effective and determinant force in the formulation of modern European identity.

As a conclusion, it can be argued that since European identity has been formed mainly with exclusion of the other rather than inclusion or definition of the self; as diverse historical experiences resulted in divergent traditions in different European states, common cultural elements of the European identity are only limited to constitute a common European identity. The

next chapter will proceed with the initiatives of the European Union's to overcome these limits and promote a common European identity.

## IV. CONTEMPORARY IMAGES OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN THE EU

This chapter will deal with the subjective identification of the common cultural elements by European public. **“The achievements and failures of the initiatives of the European Union to develop a European identity on a national model”** will be analyzed and presented.

### 4.1 EU PROJECTS TO INITIATE A COMMON EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Although the Treaty of Rome established the fundamental aim of the European Integration as the creation of an ever-closer union among peoples of Europe, “public support” was not a vital issue till the 1980s. European Integration has been an elite-led, top-down affair mainly directed by a small layer of politicians and bureaucrats with little reference to the citizens of Europe. However, nowadays European identity is on the agenda as the integration process is developing with both deepening and widening aspects. Identity formation and culture building became the political objectives of the European Union especially after 1980s, in an attempt to repair the deficiencies of integration and to bring more internal cohesion which concluded in the Commission strategy of consciousness-raising. (Shore, 2000, p. 18) A European

identity is started to be regarded necessary for the European Union to achieve cohesion, solidarity, subsidiarity, and cooperation, and to avoid fragmentation, disorder and disagreement of every kind; military, social, economic and political. Almost all potential sources of a European identity are welcome: political, ideological, economic, cultural, historical, geographical, ethnic, etc. (Moreira, 1997, p. 6)

As a result of this understanding, for almost three decades supporters of European Integration have been seeing the promotion of a European consciousness and the creation of a European identity as a crucial policy goal. In the early eighties several leading politicians have placed the development of a supra-national identity on top of the EC political agenda during debates on the future of European Integration. A common European consciousness was seen as an inevitable factor for the successful transformation of the EC into a genuine supra-national political union. In the late eighties this was translated into a large scale European public relations campaign and the introduction of a wide variety of Euro symbolism. With the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht and the introduction of the so-called European citizenship a new kind of supra-national legal status was created in order to create "People's of Europe". Finally the 2000s witnessed the finalization of the text of a European Constitution.

Chris Shore explains the various initiatives of the EU, in order to restore the awareness of a common cultural heritage as an element in the European identity.

Naturally, the definition of the term “European Identity” was the first of these initiatives. According to the European Commission:

The European identity is the result of centuries of shared history and common culture and fundamental values. But awareness of it can be strengthened by symbolic action, consciousness-raising campaigns and the growing convergence of European ambitions. (CEC, 1988)

Other initiatives to mention; included the creation of:

- A new EC flag, which included twelve yellow stars set against a blue background,  
(Even the selection of the flag was explained through cultural basis. Twelve was the symbol for perfection associated with the apostles, the sons of Jacob, the tables of the Roman legislator, the labors of Hercules.)
- A Europe-wide audio-visual area through a multilingual television channel, to bring peoples of Europe closer,
- A European Academy of Science to emphasize the achievements of European science,
- Exchange programs and voluntary work camps for young people,



- Introduction of a European dimension in education,  
(By Jean Monnet Awards the Commission aimed to Europeanize university teaching by creating new university courses and lectures in European integration studies.)
- Harmonized European passport, driving licenses and car number plates,
- A European anthem, the "Ode to Joy" from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.
- A Europe Day,  
(9 May, the anniversary of the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community.)
- The Constitution, (Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe) which is clearly the best example of these initiatives.

According to the European Commission a stable foundation of legitimacy for the European Union can only be achieved when Europeans perceive a European political identity. This does not imply that they would no longer feel themselves to be Swedes, Finns, Frenchmen or Portuguese, but that the sense of a European common destiny will be added to their national identities. (European Commission, 1988) In addition, Article F of the Maastricht Treaty stated that "the Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States". A similar reference can be found in The Draft Treaty for Establishing a Constitution for Europe Article 5 states:

“the Union shall respect the national identities of the Member States, inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government.”

However, these attempts to construct European culture and identity have so far been, firstly based on the same symbolic terrain as the old nation-states, secondly elitist, and exclusive of the European people. It has been argued by many scholars that even though, the EU lacks the core principles and the political character of a central nation-state it has been borrowing the conventional symbols of nationhood. The EU is trying to construct a unique political entity that transcends the nation-state; but this new Europe is constructed on the same symbolic grounds as the nation-states such as parliament, flag, anthem, passport, constitution, military, currency, map etc. (Brown, 1996, p. 88) In other words, the European identity project is aiming to turn the supranational organization to a super-state into a national narrative, with the same technical simplifications. The European Union applies the same nation state invention to a larger scale. In Shore's words the EU policies aim to “Make Europe a nation-state of the nation-states Europe”. (Shore, 2000, p. 40-1)

Quoting Anderson as a framework of reference, the way in which the European Union is promoting European identity is that of an official

nationalism. In following the chosen procedure, creation of European identity resembles the style of nationalism and nation-building that flourished in Europe after 1850s. (Russia, British Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, etc.) This lateral type of ethnics was usually composed of aristocrats and higher clergy; which in the EU case included bureaucrats and elites. Other classes were simply subsumed under the common myths and customs attached to the glories of the ruling house. The dominant lateral ethnics, which formed the state's ethnic core, was gradually able to incorporate middle strata and outlying regions into the dominant ethnic culture. Through its military, administrative, fiscal and judicial apparatus, which the EU lacks, it was able to regulate and disseminate the support of values, symbols, myths, traditions and memories that formed the cultural heritage of the dominant aristocratic ethnic core. Like it, European identity is meant to be effective in terms of propaganda, militarism, primary education, rewriting of history and affirmation of identity. (Moreira, 1997, p. 14)

By comparing those policies of the European Union with the classical theories of Nation-Nationalism, Nation-State Formation, the prospects for a common European Identity based on national symbols will be tried to be illuminated. Further reference to the European Union policies, speeches of EU officials will be given during the conduct of this study, in addition to

the classical works on Nations and Nationalism such as A. D. Smith, Benedict Anderson, and E. J. Hobsbawm.

## **4.2 NATION, NATIONALISM, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY**

### **Nation**

Before starting a discussion of national identity vs. European identity, first of all, the term nation should be clarified. Although the phenomenon has existed and exists, most scholars observe that no exact scientific definition of the nation can be formulated. (Hugh-Seton Watson, Gellner, Hobsbawm, Smith). As Walter Bagehot has replied, when being asked the question 'What is a/the nation?': "We know what it is but when you ask us, we cannot very quickly explain or define it".

Therefore, it is possible to argue that there is no satisfactory criterion for deciding which human collectivities should be labeled as nations. Attempts to establish objective criteria for nationhood, or to explain why certain groups have become nations and others not, have often be made, based on single criteria such as language, common territory, common history, cultural traits or whatever else. However, all such objective definitions have failed, for the obvious reason that, since only some members of the large class of entities fit such definitions and can

be described as nations, exceptions can always be found. The world is divided among more than 200 nations which have their own unique characteristics, and most of them do not fit into the classical definitions of the term 'nation'.

However, in order to demonstrate the different opinions, the definitions of the influential scholars will be presented. For instance, according to Hobsbawm, 'Nation' is the community of the citizens of a state, living under the same regime or government and having communion of interests; the collectivity of inhabitants of a territory with common traditions, aspirations and interests, and subordinated to a central power which takes charge of maintaining the unity of the group.

Hugh-Seton Watson states that a 'Nation' is an aggregate of men speaking the same language, having the same customs, and endowed with certain qualities which distinguish them from other groups of a like nature.

And Gellner defines a 'Nation' as a state or a political body which recognizes a supreme center of common government and also the territory constituted by that state and its inhabitants considered as a whole.

Another classical definition is from Anderson; according to him 'Nation' is any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a nation. To put it in another way, a nation exists when significant number of people in a community considers themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one. According to Anderson, a nation is an imagined political community, and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

- It is imagined because, the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-member, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.
- Nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.
- Finally, it is imagined as a community because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal friendship and solidarity. (Anderson, 1991)

However the arguments in this chapter will be based on the classical definition of A. D. Smith since it is the most systematic and efficient one that explains the subject matter. According to Smith, there are three necessary elements for the definition of the nation. (Smith, 1990, p. 14-8)

Firstly there must be a historic homeland, the cradle of our people. The homeland becomes repository of memories and associations, the place where our heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought.

Second element is the idea of a patria, a community of laws and institutions with a single political will. The term citizenship is the recognition of that patria, including the civil, legal, socio-economical, and political rights and duties among members which excluded the outsiders.

Last element is the measure of common culture, understandings, aspirations, values and traditions among the population that bind the population together in their homeland. Therefore, historic territory, legal-political community, and common civic culture and ideology are the components of the standard, Western model of the nation.

A 'nation' therefore can be defined as a named human population sharing a historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and

duties for all members. (Smith, 1990, p. 14) However, such a definition differs from any conception of state which refers to public institutions exercising a monopoly of coercion and extraction within a given territory. Presently, in only ten percent of the states, the total population shares a single ethnic culture. Most contemporary nations are, in fact, polyethnic, many have been formed around a dominant ethnies, which annexed or attracted other ethnies into the state to which it gave a name and cultural character.

## **Nationalism**

It is difficult to point the emergence of nationalism to a fixed period. Nevertheless, it can be argued that it was in the late 17th and early 18th centuries Western Europe that nationalist ideals, images and symbols first started to appear.

Nationalism is a form of culture, thus can signify various concepts, namely:

- the whole process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-states,
- a consciousness of belonging a nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity,
- a language and symbolism of the nation and its role,



- an ideology, including a cultural doctrine of nations and the national will and prescriptions for the realization of national aspirations and the national will,
- a social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realize its national will. (Smith, 1990, p.72)

However, the ideology of nationalism states that the world is divided among nations, each with its own individuality, history and destiny. The nation is the source of all social and political power, and loyalty to the nation overrides all other allegiances. Nations must be free and secure if peace and justice are to prevail in the world. Human beings must identify with a nation if they want to be free and realize themselves.

Civic-territorial model of the nation views nation as an association of human beings living in a common territory under the same government and laws. It aims to integrate and bring together the disparate ethnic populations into new political community. (Smith, 1990, p. 80-1)

However, there is also ethnic-genealogical model of the nation which includes the same ethnic kinsmen in the present boundaries of the ethno-nation and aims to expand by including ethnic kinsmen outside the lands they inhabit or by forming a much larger ethno-national state

through the union of culturally and ethnically similar ethno-national states; these are irredentist and pan-nationalisms. (Kupchan, 1995, p. 5)

At the political level, nationalism as an ideology is a doctrine of the units of political power and a set of prescriptions about the nature of the power-holders. There is too an economic level of nationalist activity. Nationalism ideally prescribes a self-sufficiency of resources and maximum control over their homeland and resources. Beyond that, nationalism operates at the social level by prescribing the mobilization of the people, their legal equality as citizens and their participation in public life for the national good.

### **National Identity**

Identity is connected to a particular place, by feeling that you belong to that place. It is a place in which you feel comfortable, or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place. National identity describes the condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols, and have internalized the symbols of the nation, so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of these symbols of national identity. If a mass of people share the same national identification, they may act together as one unit

to make new identifications, or they may together to enhance and protect the identifications already made.

Once the mass of the people have made identification with their nation-state, social groupings-family- will tend to socialize new generations into that same identification. As identification is a dynamic process, this socialization will also continue through modifications and adaptations.

#### Fundamental Features of National Identity:

- an historic territory, or homeland,
- common myths and historical memories,
- a common mass public culture,
- common legal rights and duties for all members,
- and a common economy with territorial mobility for members.

(Smith, 1990, p. 14)

In the cultural sphere, national identity is revealed in a whole range of assumptions and myths, values and memories, as well as in language, law, institutions and ceremonies. In the political sphere, national identity is the norm of the nation as the sole unit of political loyalty and action. National aspirations tend to combine with other non-national economic, social or political issues, and the power of the movement often derives from this combination.

The concepts of autonomy, identity, national genius, authenticity, unity and fraternity form an interrelated language that has its expressive ceremonials and symbols. These symbols include the obvious attributes of nations – flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths, folk costumes, museums of folklore, war memorials, ceremonies of the remembrance for the national dead, passports, frontiers – as well as more hidden aspects such as national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales, form of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts, modes of town planning, legal procedures, educational practices and military codes – all those distinctive customs, mores, styles and ways of acting and feeling that are shared by the members of a community of historical culture.

What functions does national identity continue to serve that other types of identity either fail to cover, or address rather inadequately?

The functions that national identity fulfils for groups and individuals according to Smith:

- a) External
  - 1. Territorial: Nations define a definite social space.
  - 2. Economic: Nations guarantee the quest for control over territorial resources.
  - 3. Political: National identity strengthens the states and its organs.

b) Internal

1. Socialization of individuals as nationals and citizens mainly through the compulsory, standardized, public mass educational systems.
2. The nation also provides a social bond by shared values, traditions and symbols.
3. A sense of national identity provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world. By discovering the culture we rediscover ourselves. (Bloom, 1990, p. 52-3)

Perhaps the most important of its functions is to provide a satisfying answer to the problem of personal consciousness. Identification with the nation in a secular era is the surest way to overcome the finality of death and ensure a measure of personal immortality. To identify with the nation is to identify with more than a cause or a collectivity. It is to be offered personal renewal and dignity in and through national regeneration. Another function of national identity is the importance it gives to realizing the ideal of union. Ethnic and nation are seen simply as a sum of many interrelated families. The symbols of the society remind fellow-citizens of their cultural bonds and political kinship through reaffirmations of identity and unity. (Smith, 1990, p. 162)

The individual in the solution of finding answers to identity questions, takes his identity from a cultural collectivity, he becomes a citizen, that is, a recognized and rightful member of a political community that is, simultaneously a cultural community of history and destiny.

Today national identity is the main form of collective identification. Whatever the feelings of individuals, it provides the dominant criterion of culture and identity, the sole principle of government and the chief focus of social and economic activity. All of the collective identities in which human beings share today, national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive. Not only has nationalism, the ideological movement, penetrated every corner of the globe; the world is divided, first and foremost, into nation-states. Other types of collective identity – class, gender, race, religion, region – may overlap or combine with national identity but they rarely succeed in undermining its hold, though they may influence its direction. National identity pervades the life of individuals and communities in most spheres of activity.

#### **4.3 EUROPEAN IDENTITY AS A FORM OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY**

It was the idea of the former heading that, at the moment what is defined as national identity exercise a more potent, strong, effective and durable influence than other collective identities such as class, gender, race,

religion, region (Europe). This type of collective identity is likely to continue to command humanity's loyalties for a long time to come, despite the fact that other large-scale but looser forms of collective identity, such as European identity, emerge alongside national ones.

Following this argument, the problem with the European identity is that, even though the officials and documents of the EU repeatedly state that "the Union shall respect the national identities of the Member States", the EU policies to create and promote European identity are borrowing the conventional symbols of nationhood such as parliament, flag, anthem, passport, constitution, military, currency, etc. However, the EU lacks the core principles and the political character of a central nation-state. (Brown, 1996)

By imitating the socio-psychological forms of the nation-state to promote European identity European officials behave as if, identification with one social group comes at the expense of identifying with other groups. In other words, the more you identify with Europe, the less you identify with your nation-state. However, it is problematic to assume that individuals have only some limited space available for identifying with collectivities, and the more you identify with Europe, the less you can feel loyal to your nation-state, your region, or your locality. Such a zero sum view of collective identities is rather questionable. Rather, it is argued here that

individuals and social groups hold multiple identities; therefore the real question to be asked concerns, how much space there is for Europe in given collective identities. (Risse, 2000, p. 2)

As it is presented in the second chapter, we know from both social psychology and sociology that the most important feature of identity is its multiple nature, which means that individuals hold different identities which are invoked depending on the different social contexts. Since a collective identity, national, religious or ethnic one is invariably one of many, and it is historically dependent on time and space, there are circumstances in which only one specific identity matters and the individual may choose one identity over another. (Berting in Verkuyten and Beckman, 1995, p. 53) It then depends on the social context of relations which of these multiple identities are invoked and become most important.

For example, a Bavarian German European might strongly feel Bavarian when he goes to Prussian Berlin, while he might strongly feel his Germanness when complaining about the disorganization of Italian traffic control when he gets stuck at the Bologna streets. Yet, when this Bavarian German visits a bar in the American Midwest, he might quickly identify with some other fellow Europeans feeling strongly about their Europeanness; since they cannot find decent beer. (This example does



not aim to make implications about Italian traffic or American drinks.) Person's identity as a Bavarian is nested in his German identity, which is again nested in his Europeanness. There is nothing to prevent individuals from identifying with Bavaria, Germany and Europe simultaneously, and displaying each allegiance and loyalty in the appropriate context and circumstance. (Risse, 2000, p. 5) (See Appendix A)

In spite of the EU policies, many scholars no longer think that European and national identities constitute "either-or" propositions. Yet, most of the evidence is actually consistent with it, like the Eurobarometer data also presents the identification with the "nation first, Europe second" approach is common among European public. (See Appendix B) Due to this hierarchy between people's sense of belonging and loyalties, currently, the local and national identities are more effective on people's lives. (Yurdusev, 1997) Europe forms the outer boundary, while one's region or nation-state constitute the core. (Risse, 2004, p. 5)

When defining the relationship between the European and the various national identities, it is also appropriate to refer to Jacques Santer, who used the analogy of an orchestra and its instruments to illustrate this relationship. Just as the orchestra depends on the constituting instruments, so also, the European identity cannot do away with its

constituting national identities. Rather, the European identity must find its roots in the differences and diversity of national identities. (Tarkus, 2003, p. 67) Therefore, it can be argued that the adoption of a supra-national identity such as European does not mean the displacement of local or national ones. (See Appendix C) In other words having a national identity is a key component of developing a European identity. (Bellier, 2000, p. 21)

There might be much more Europeanness enshrined in national cultures and, hence, a much stronger collective European identity than is usually assumed. However, in order to make a comparison with the national identity, this identification process might encompass a much longer, and probably also more contested history than the fifty years of European integration. As a result, it should be accepted that the present European identity is made up of a multiplicity of national identities. Given, on the one hand, the common European cultural heritage, and, on the other, the considerable cultural differences between the countries, it is much more likely that the EU will remain a multinational political system for handling affairs better managed on an international multilateral cooperative level. In order to function successfully in this form *the EU does not need an identity similar to that of a nation-state*. (Tarkus, 2003, p. 68) For European nations to achieve a European Union beyond the economic level, they have to step back from the idea of nation and start working

towards a plural and inclusive identity. (Moreira, 1997, p. 14) In other words, Given the diversity of cultural identities in Europe; Europeanization is likely to succeed only if it creates identification within pluralization rather than unity.

If a European political community is created that will have a popular resonance and character, then we may be sure that it will be founded on the basis of a common European cultural heritage by a Pan-European nationalist movement that is able to build common European myths, symbols, values and memories out of this common heritage, in such a way that they do not compete with still powerful and vigorous national cultures. Only in this way can Pan-nationalism create a new type of collective identity, which overarches but does not abolish individual nations. Only in this way can the dilemmas of universalism and particularism be resigned. With the ongoing enlargement of the European Union to include up to 27 members, only such an image of European identity will be applicable to a very culturally diverse Europe. (Yurdusev, 1997)

## **V. CONCLUSION**

As argued throughout this thesis, the aspirations to unite Europe under a single common identity failed sometimes due to the lack of common objectives elements, and sometimes due to the individuals' unwillingness to subjectively internalize the existing common elements.

In order to point out those common cultural elements of European identity which constitute the foundations of the political, social, cultural and economic structures of modern Europe, chapter three included the general historical background information. The aim this chapter has been to show that, although the European people are all affected from the same historical experiences such as the ancient Greek and Roman traditions, Christianity, Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment and French Revolution, Modernity, these historical realities are not experienced by all European peoples in the same ways. There may be a familiar history shared by most Europeans, however lived from different perspectives. Since, all of these concepts show different specialties in different European communities, there is plurality of histories and cultures which make up European identities rather than the concept of cultural unity.

Secondly, there is not a definite geographic map of Europe. If we search the boundaries of Europe, historically European external borders were defined and shifted several times depending on political choices. For that reason, where Europe starts and ends as a geographical and political entity is one of the most important questions challenging European identity today since there is no agreed version of the geographical scope of Europe.

Thirdly, language is also one of the other core values of individual culture and an important element on creating a common culture. However, currently in the European Union of 25 members there are twenty official national languages. Thus, language is one of the biggest barriers for the establishment of a common European identity.

Since there is plurality of histories and cultures which make up European identities, the European ideas were shaped mostly with a reference to non-Europeans. In other words, European identity was defined according to its "Others", which was one of the reasons why the European identity was uncertain, changeful and complex. Therefore, European identity had to be reinvented according to its "Others", as they have changed throughout history.

As a result of these limits of European identity, in an attempt to repair the deficiencies of integration and to bring more internal cohesion to the Union, identity formation and culture building became the political objectives of the European Union especially after the 1980s. Those attempts to restore the awareness of a common cultural heritage as an element in the European identity were the main focus of the fourth chapter.

It has been argued by many scholars that, even though the EU lacks the core principles and the political character of a central nation-state, it has been borrowing the conventional symbols of nationhood. (flag, anthem, passports, a Europe day, constitution) By imitating the socio-psychological forms of the nation-state to promote European identity European officials behave as if, identification with one social group comes at the expense of identifying with other groups. However, we know from both social psychology and sociology that the most important feature of identity is its multiple nature, which means that individuals hold different identities which are invoked depending on the social context. There is nothing to prevent individuals from identifying with Bavaria, Germany and Europe simultaneously, and displaying each allegiance and loyalty in the appropriate context and circumstance.

Due to one of the specialties of identity, namely, as the identifier becomes larger, the identified becomes less to be affected from it, Europe forms the outer boundary, while one's region or nation-state constitute the core identity. Therefore, all of the collective identities in which human beings share today, national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive.

While comparing the influence of national identity and European identity on individuals, Smith asks the question "Who will feel European in the depths of their being, and who will willingly sacrifice themselves for so abstract an ideal? In short, who will die for Europe?" It is interesting to observe that the answer has already given by Benedict Anderson as:

Dying for one's country, which usually one does not chose, assumes a moral dignity which dying for the Labor Party, Amnesty International or the European Union cannot rival, for these are all bodies one can join or leave at easy will.

For European nations to achieve a European Union beyond the economic level, they have to step back from the idea of nation and start working towards a plural and inclusive identity. (Moreira, 1997, p. 14) In other words, given the diversity of cultural identities in Europe; Europeanization is likely to succeed only if it creates identification within pluralization rather than unity. European identity cannot compete with

national identities or replace them, in deed; *the EU does not need an identity similar to that of a nation-state.*

As a conclusion, it is a fact that to some extent European people share the same historical heritage. On the other hand, although presently European identity has some limits that are stemming from the cited reasons, process of identity formation is continuous and a long-term project so no one can predict the future of European identity since there is no fixed identity. However, by accepting the diverse elements of identities among European states, a unity may be formed under pluralistic and inclusive principles, which may in turn provide the foundations of a common European identity.

In fact Derrida's approach to this subject in his book 'the Other Heading' summarizes the whole argument of this study in a sentence, and would be the best way to conclude the thesis. As he stated, being European is only one among the identities that a person has:

*"I am not, nor do I feel, European in every part, that is, European through and through. I feel European among other things."*



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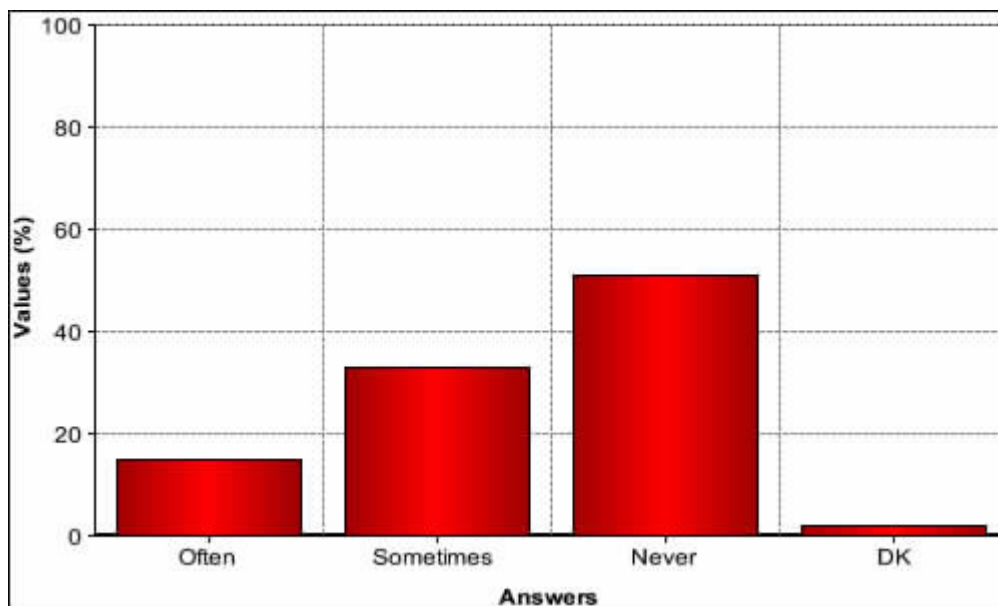
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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

**Question:**

Do you ever think of yourself as not only (nationality), but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?



April 2002, Eurobarometer

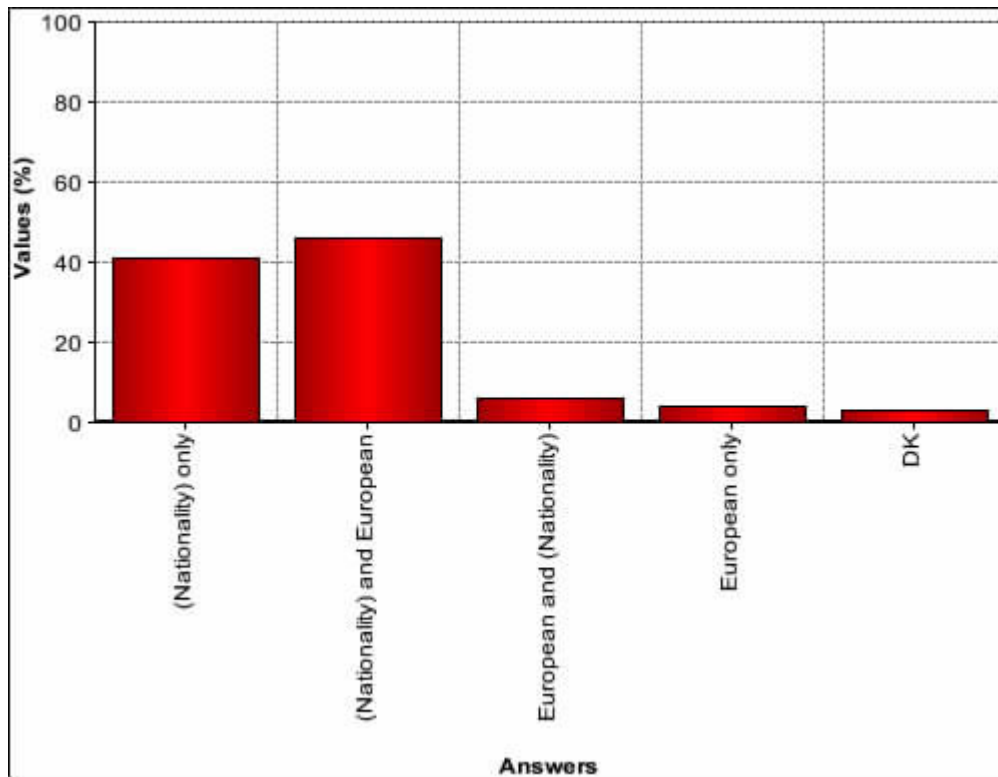
## APPENDIX B

### Question:

In the near future do you see yourself as...?

### Answers:

- (Nationality) only
- (Nationality) and European
- European and (Nationality)
- European only
- DK



April 2004, Eurobarometer

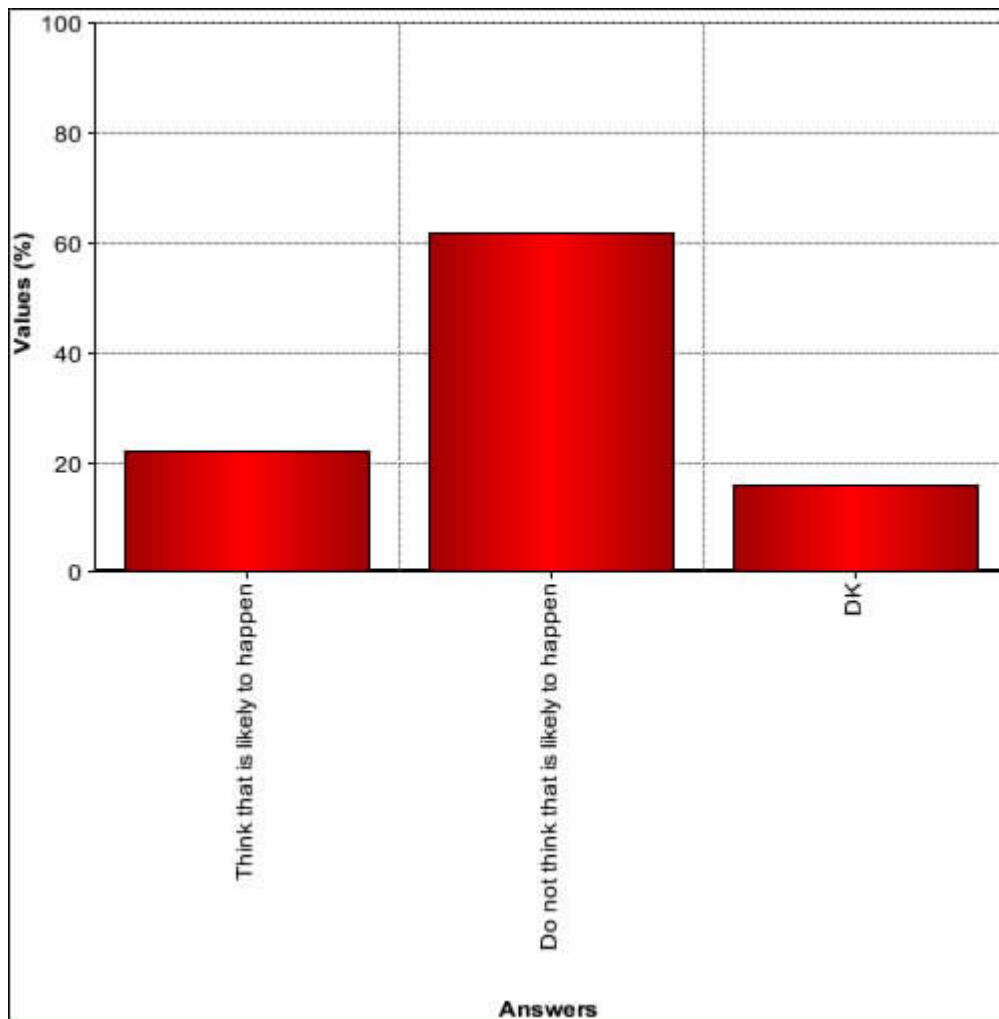
## APPENDIX C

### Question:

Regarding the building of Europe, the European Union, some people may have fears. Here is a list of things which some people say they are afraid of. For each one, please tell me if you think that is likely to happen, or not?

### Subquestion:

(Our country) not really existing anymore



April 2001, Eurobarometer