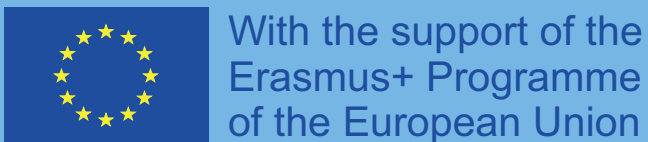


# Jean Monnet Module

## “Economic Policy in the European Union”

Session 5.1. European identity: tradition or project?

Dr Aleksandra Sojka



# SESSION PLAN

**1 Our puzzle:  
Integration, markets  
and identities**

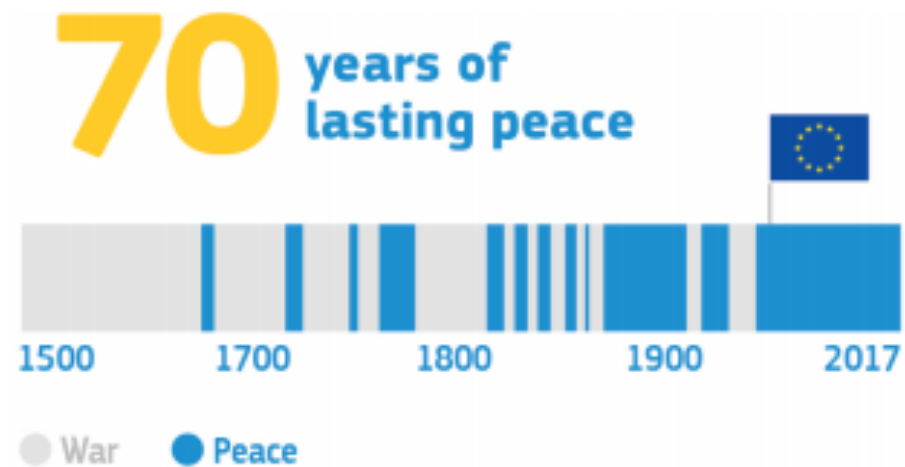
**2 Theory: What is  
European identity  
and why is it  
important for the EU?**

**3 Empirical research:  
What do we know  
about European/EU  
ownership?**

**4 The impact of  
recent crises on  
European ownership**



# INTEGRATION: MARKETS AND IDENTITIES



Source: European Commission



## THE SCHUMAN DECLARATION

“Europe will not be made in one go, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements that first create a de facto solidarity ”

Robert Schuman, May 9, 1950



# EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: MARKETS AND IDENTITIES

“De facto solidarity” - Schuman Declaration, 1950

“Ever closer union between the peoples of Europe” -  
Treaty of Rome, 1957

The construction of identity as a central element of  
the first theories of integration (Deutsch 1957, Haas  
1958)

Permissive consensus





1. Deepening, beyond economic integration
2. European citizenship
3. Common currency

**MAASTRICHT (1992)**



# EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION DRAFT (2004)

Fruit of the debates on the future of Europe in the "European Convention"

Proposed text:

- Completely new text (no treaty amendment)
- Citizen Initiative
- Charter of fundamental rights
- Union Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the European Council
- Anthem, flag, the symbolic value of a constitution in Europe (federalist ideas)









# EUROPEAN IDENTITY: WHAT IS IT AND HOW CAN WE MEASURE IT?

# EUROPEAN IDENTITY: METHODOLOGICAL AND DEFINITIONAL HETEROGENEITY



Normative versus empirical approaches (Fuchs 2011, Recchi 2014)



Identity versus identification (affective and cognitive) (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, Kaina and Karolewski 2009)



Geographical, cultural versus political identification (Kohli 2001, Bruter 2005, Cerutti 2011)



# SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

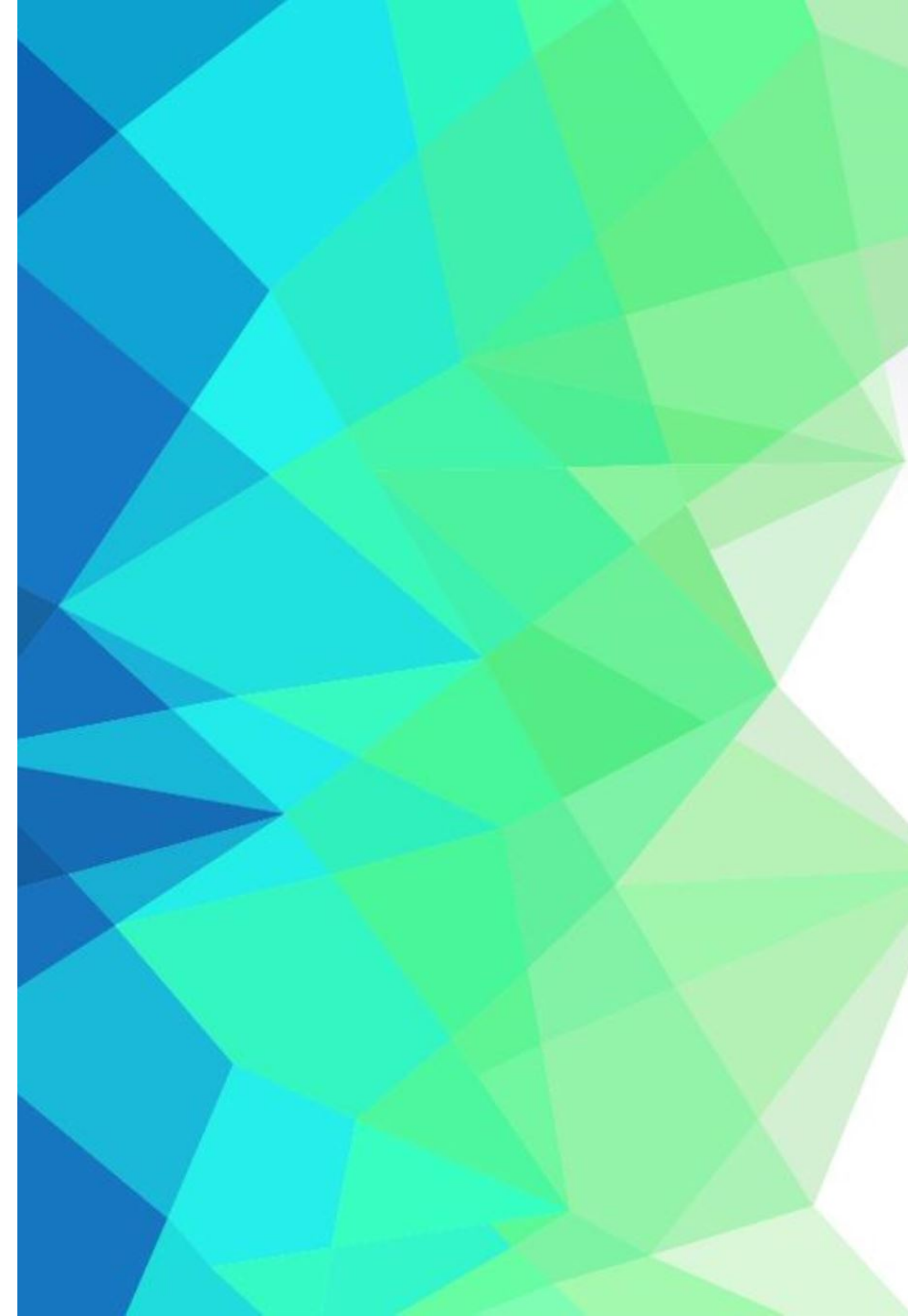
- Source: Social Psychology

**Social identity:** knowledge of belonging to a social group and the emotional meaning attributed to it (Tajfel 1981):

- positive distinction
- demarcation

Self-categorization (Turner et al. 1987), cognitive processes and perceived similarity

Political consequences of social identities: strength, stability, criteria of belonging (Huddy 2001)



# CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

**Functional value** of identity for the EU as a political system

Especially as a factor against discontent, and a source of subjective legitimacy (Easton 1975, Hix 2008, Fuchs 2011)

**European identity:** a socio-political reality anchored in individual orientations towards the EU which, together, constitute a collective identity

**European collective identity:** a shared feeling constituted in a social process ("imagined community" Anderson, 1993)



# WHAT KIND OF LOYALTY FOR THE EU?



**Civics:** collective identity based on shared supranational institutions and values of liberal democracy (Delanty 2000, Habermas 2001, Bruter 2005, Cerutti 2011)

## **Beyond civic loyalty:**

Establishing a community always implies exclusion – "European nationalism"? (Brubaker 1999, Delanty 2000, Kohli 2000, Balibar 2004)

# CRITICS

The search for **European identity** as a reflection of the mistaken idea that the nation-state will cease to exist (Smith 1993, 1995)

**European nationalism** as impossible because EU citizens do not trust each other (Miller 1995)

European identity as a stable **source of support** but not as an engine of integration (Cram 2011)

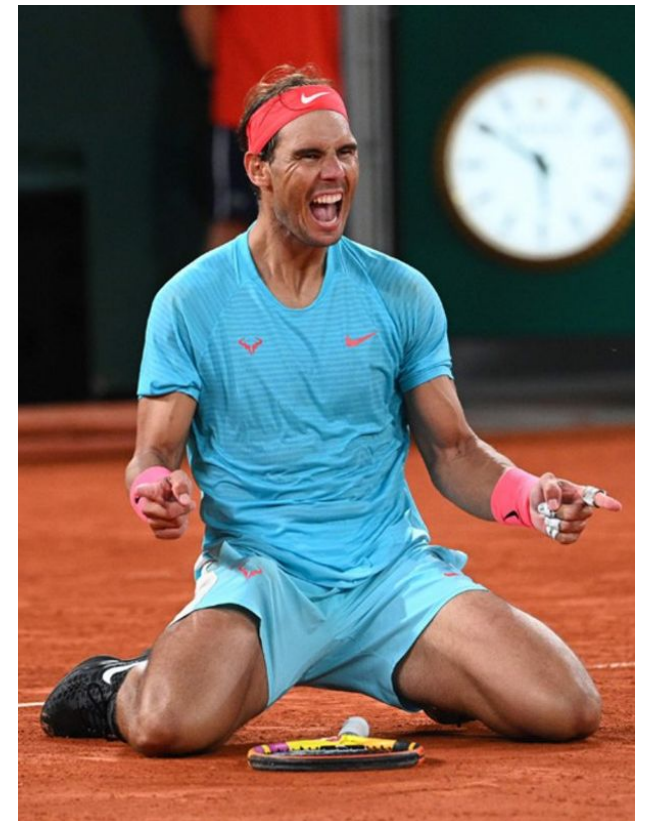


# BANAL NATIONALISM (MICHAEL BILLING, 1995)

Numerous subtle and seemingly inconsequential reminders of national belonging and pride that we find in our daily lives

We are surrounded by language, symbols and objects that remind us that we belong and should be proud of our country.

Examples: money, stamps, news, corporations, national and global contests...









# THE “TECHNOLOGIES” OF THE EU IDENTITY

The “**technologies**” of **national identity**: everything that institutions do to promote a feeling of attachment to the country

In the case of the EU - we can also detect these types of “technologies”:

- **symbols of collective belonging** (the flag, the anthem, the motto, passport, the common currency)
- founding **mythology** (the day of Europe)
- a **positive image** of the EU as a whole (the Union as cosmopolitan, inclusive, liberal values, well-being)
- **European citizenship** (rights and obligations, integrating and delimiting function)



# THE EURO AND THE IDENTITY





# NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES

The construction of European identity **is not a zero-sum process**

- National and European identity are compatible, tend to nest (Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001)
- Alternatively: the marble cake model (Risse 2010)

The exact relationship depends on the particular socio-political context (national frameworks - framing) and can be influenced by political elites (Díez Medrano 2004)

**Exclusive national identities:** the main obstacle to European integration (Hooghe and Marks 2008)

**Education** as a key predictor of European identification, added value of the Erasmus programme? (Kuhn 2010)





**LET THE DATA TALK!**

**Eurobarometer** - the EU public opinion poll in all member states

# EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

	Unique identification	Dual identification
National ID first	Only national 33%	National & European 55%
European identification first	European only 2%	European & National 8%

Data: Eurobarometer, Nov. 2019

# EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL CRISIS AS TRIGGERS FOR MORE SUPRANATIONAL IDENTIFICATION? (I)

**Brexit:** disintegration but also mobilization in defence of EU membership

**Economic and migration crises:** activation of the logic of identity?

**Democratic crises** and debates on European values

America's vision has gotten worse

**Global pandemic:** expect the EU to act!

The **war** in Europe: effect of the invasion of Ukraine?

**Solidarity issues** are back (lessons learned from previous crises?)

# EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL CRISIS AS TRIGGERS FOR MORE SUPRANATIONAL IDENTIFICATION? (II)

## Possible mechanisms:

Increased awareness of EU membership and its implications

Political mobilization of European identifiers (United Kingdom),

Negative Brexit example (membership is no longer taken for granted)

Relevance of European solidarity debates (transnational and international)

**Alternative explanation:** socialization and generational change

# THE IMPACT OF CRISES ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY: SUMMARY

Stable and well established

- 70% perceive themselves as an EU citizen
- 63% say they feel European to some extent compared to 33% of unique national identifiers
- 65% feel attached to Europe and 57% to the EU

European identification associated with younger age, higher education, professional occupation, social interaction with other Europeans

Winners and losers of European integration

The elite-mass gap

Bottom line: **Greater sense of European identification**

But it is not clear whether the change driven by specific crises or by generational change



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